

African National Congress

Office of the President

c/o 51 Alexandra Park Road

LONDON N10 1DG

30 June 1990

His Excellency

Shridath Surendranath Ramphal, A.C., Kt., C.M.G., Q.C.
Commonwealth Secretary General

2 Carlton Gardens
LONDON SW1Y 5HX

Dear Sonny

Before you leave the office to which you have contributed so much, I wish to convey, on behalf of myself, my colleagues and the people of South Africa, our deeply felt appreciation and gratitude for the great support you have given in our struggle for humanity.

I'm aware that your interests cover a wider area and no doubt many organisation representatives and individuals have written and will be writing to you to express their appreciation for the enormous work you have done for them. For my part, I wish to concentrate on South Africa which, together with the Commonwealth, has occupied such a large part of your time over the past 15 years.

These years have been momentous ones for the Commonwealth, and have seen the dramatic changes in South Africa, the crumbling of Portuguese colonialism and the emergence of Mozambique and Angola as independent republics, the end of the British colonial rule and the independence of Zimbabwe, have known the protracted negotiations culminating in the independence of Namibia and finally the building up of a new force in South Africa

which apartheid will not be able to resist.

You have seen the signs of all these developments through the changes in De Klerk's policies. You have been part of it all, and the Commonwealth with you.

I recall our meetings in London and at State House in Lusaka, especially over the period of the EPG visit and the leading role you played in that vitally important initiative. Over the past year the release of waiter Sisulu and others, the unPanning of the ANC and other organisations and individuals, above all, the release of Nelson Mandela from jail and all that this meant for the struggle, owe much to the work you have done. We thank you.

Even so, there is still so much to do. In the work that awaits handling by us, namely, delivering an independent, non-racial democratic South Africa, we shall expect all our friends to give us support and assistance. And you, my Brother, shall not be found wanting.

We wish you the very best in the years ahead, and once again, we thank you for what you have been and what we know you shall continue to be.

Matla ke a rona.

Yours in struggle

O. R . Tambo
President, ANC

1990-07-04 17=30 COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT.

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OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL
MARLBOROUGH HOUSE PALL MALL- LONDON SW1V 6HX

4 July 1990

Mr Oliver R Tambo

President

ANC

Fax No: 081 883 0629

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We missed you last night but I was glad to have been able to see you soon after my return to London. Adelaide thought you would like to see the following text of my remarks at the Dinner.

With warmest personal regards and best wishes for your continued return to good health.

Emexu' Anayoku

1990-07-04 17:30 COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT.

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Extracts From Remarks by Chief Emeka Anyaoku,
Commonwealth Secretary-General,
at Dinner for Mr Nelson Mandela at Commonwealth House

on Tuesday, 3 July 1990

Mr Nelson Mandela
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

Let me begin by saying how honoured and delighted I am that you have all been able to come here this evening. In saying this, I do not intend my words in any pro forma sense. As many of you will probably know, I formally assumed office as Commonwealth Secretary-General only two days ago. This dinner in honour of Mr Nelson Mandela is therefore literally my first public act. And it is particularly right and fitting that it should be so.

If the Commonwealth has a leitmotif; if, as it were, the Commonwealth has a peculiarity which sets it apart, it is surely its inevitable stand on the racial question, wherever and however it may rear its head. The Commonwealth, as this gathering needs no reminding, has fought racism, especially in Southern Africa, with a tenacity and resolve unparalleled by any other comparable international organisation. And if there is

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The South African economy is the motor engine of Southern Africa. To invest in a post-apartheid South Africa

will therefore be to Invest in South Africa and beyond. it will be to invest", in stability and democracy. But I will not belabour' this point because I believe the nature of ' twhp*' makes that utterly unnecessary. There must be few

international financial centres that can compete with the City of London in its knowledge of the South African economy, its ways and bye-ways. In this matter therefore, you are truly interlocuteurs valables, as the French say.

Incidentally, I understand that fear of a majority-ruled South Africa ending up in a soviet-style regime of the old stamp once held back some investors from considering a future role in South Africa. The irrationality of that fear is well brought out in the story of an Afrikaner who, troubled by the thought of black majority rule and the possibility of a Soviet-style set-up emerging with it, went to consult a soothsayer. "Soothsayer, soothsayer, tell me, who will govern this country in the next 50 years? Will it be a black

government or a white government?" he asked in some considerable trepidation. The soothsayer went into a trance and out came the answer: "It will be a white government".

"Thank God!", bellowed our Afrikaner friend in great relief, But not all his anxieties were thus assuaged, "And while I still have you in your trance", he continued, "tell me, soothsayer, what will a pint of Lion Beer cost then?" "Three roubles", came the answer.

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disconcerting, The immediate priorities will of course be in the areas of health, housing, education and employment where the apartheid regime's dereliction of black South Africa has been signally stark. Take, for example, the problem of black unemployment. According to the findings of Market Research Africa published in 1988, unemployment among black South Africans in metropolitan areas stood above 50%, If you take South Africa as a whole, the Government's own Current Population Survey estimated that some "85% of all unemployment and visibly under-employed" people were black South Africans. The odds are that the situation has worsened in the Intervening two years.

The need is no less urgent in the area of training. Today, there are some 800 odd management accountants in South Africa. Not one of them is a black South African. There are more than 1,000 white chartered accountants but fewer than 12 black chartered accountants. as for black architects, they are as real as unicorns!

X wish therefore to add to the many responsible voices from inside and outside South Africa urging the international business community to stand ready to join a post-apartheid south Africa in a partnership for development and democracy. I urge you to join in this noble task not only for the usual reasons which would in any case have impelled you to consider the prospect seriously, but for other reasons as well.

But- I must now conclude and I cannot, do so without adverting to one issue which is of immediate importance. The South African Government and the ANC are about to enter into negotiations which should lead to the end of apartheid. To put it another way, the two principal parties are about to undertake what we have consistently urged on them all these past many years, But you will all agree that relative to the Government, the ANC will be embarking on the path of

negotiations from a position of great disadvantage.

After 30 years of proscription and enforced exile, the ANC has to re-establish itself in the country from scratch, in addition to the responsibility of repatriating and re-settling tens of thousands of refugees from all over the world, Clearly, it will need all the material assistance it can

mobilise to re-establish itself as a functioning and credible political party if it is to discharge its responsibilities, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, to his credit, has recognised the legitimacy of this need and is reported to have encouraged external funding for the ANC. Mr. Mandela himself has already appealed to the international community for assistance in this regard. I echo this appeal not just on behalf of the ANC but in the true and wider interest of all the people of South

Africa whose prayers are for a peaceful, stable, democratic

and non-racial society. In helping them you will be helping to make that prayer a reality.

Thank you all for your attention.

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Mr F.w. de Klerk has proved a wiser man and it would be churlish not to recognise that his coming to power has contributed to the changes that have so far taken place in South Africa. But the decisive factors which have brought us to this point of hope and promise are really two: the unremitting

resistance by the black majority inside South Africa and the pressures by the international community including especially economic sanctions. This is the view of the generality of Commonwealth governments, a view restated only as recently as last May when the Commonwealth committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa met in Abuja, Nigeria, to review developments in South Africa.

The point of this evening, however, is not so much about the past as about the present and the future. It is true that none of the basic structures of the apartheid system has yet been changed. That "evidence of clear and irreversible change" upon which everything else hangs has still to come in. But at the same time, as a result of the recent changes, we have now begun to see moves towards negotiations; and a real possibility of the end of apartheid seems for the first time in sight. It is this possibility of the ending of apartheid which provides

As you know only too well, the reconstruction of a post-apartheid South Africa will be a task of enormous proportions. The legacy of apartheid is particularly grim and

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Crth.-tr"

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one man who by the example of
and dignity inherent in the ca
Nelson Mandela. And to begin
opportunity to honour this man

me, a singular pleasure.

life, has drawn out the poetry
of multiracialism, that man is
Secretary-Generalship with an
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Nelson Mandela's presence here with us this evening
bespeaks something else. It is proof positive of the
significant changes that have taken place in South Africa in
recent months - changes that have brought apartheid to its
crossroads. For how else can one describe the fact that the
Government and the ANC have taken the first tentative steps
towards negotiations with the Groote Schuur meeting at the
beginning of May?

In 1986, I accompanied the commonwealth Eminent Persons
Group on their mission to South Africa to promote, as the
language of the Nassau communique put it, dialogue between the
South African Government and the true representatives of the
black majority. The culmination of the Group's consultations
was a meeting with the then state President, P.W. Botha, in Cape
Town on Wednesday 12 March 1986, after having met with Mr
Mandela in Pollsmoor prison eatlier in the day, Mr Botha's
determination that there would be no change in his time could
not have been made clearer then and subsequently on May 19 when
the South African Defence forces bombed Gaborone, Harare and
Lusaka from where the Eminent Persons Group had just returned to
hear the Government's reply to its proposals at a meeting with
Ministers in Cape Town planned for that very day.

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INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
809 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA, NEW YORK, NY 10017-3580

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5 July 1930

Hr. Oliver Tambo
FAX 081-883-0629

Dear Oliver,

Franklin Thomas, President, Ford Foundation, will be in London from Friday July 20 through Tuesday July 24 and would appreciate an opportunity to make a brief call at your residence.

Mr, Thomas or his secretary can be reached by telephone 212-573-5383

or fax number 212-661-7246.

I am available (at office 212-9845510 or home 914-779-5797) through Sunday July 8. I will be in London (Sheraton Park Tower 071-235-8050) from Monday night July 9 until Thursday afternoon July 12 when I depart for several weeks in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

With very best wishes to you and Adelaide from Anne and myself.

Sincerely

Wayne Fredericks

HE 1919-1989: 70 Years of Leadership in International Educational Exchange

TELEPHONE: (212) 883-8200 â– TELEX: TRT 175977 â– FAX: (212) 9S4-5452 - CABLE: INTERED

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3049 EAST GENESEE STREET
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NORTHEAST
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13224
TELEPHONE (315) 446-5990

6 June 1990

President Oliver Tambo
African National Congress
P.O. Box 31791

Lusaka, Zambia SOUTH AFRICA

Dear President Tambo:

The Synod of the Northeast is a regional governing body of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) covering the states of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York,

Rhode Island, and Vermont. The Annual Meeting of the Synod of 1989 was composed of 152 commissioners (voting delegates) elected to represent a constituency more than 1,200 congregations with approximately 320,000 members. The Synod's judgments on public issues directly govern the programs of its own agencies and provide guidance for the presbyteries and congregations within its jurisdictions. The Synod's statements and policies require careful consideration by the entire membership of the Synod and represent the best judgment of the denomination's governing body in the region of the Northeast.

The attached Resolution on South Africa Sanctions was adopted by the Synod Mission Council (the body with authority to act on behalf of the Synod between annual meetings) at its March 1990 Meeting in Stony Point, New York. We hope that it will be useful to you as you and your colleagues deliberate issues related to the Federal Government's appropriate role in this important matter.

Grace and Peace,

The Rev. James MacKellar
Stated Clerk

cc: President Bush, President deKlerk, Oliver Tambo, Nelson

Mandela, William Swing, U.S. Senators & Representatives,

Rev. James Andrews, Presbytery Stated Clerks, Executive
Presbyters, PA Staff

Presbyteries of: albany boston cayuga-syracuse elizabeth genesee valle
y geneva Hudson river long island

MONMOUTH NEWARK NEW BRUNSWICK NEWTON NEW YORK CIT
Y NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND NORTHERN NEW YORK
PALISADES SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY U
TICA WESTERN NEW YORK WEST JERSEY

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA SANCTIONS

WHEREAS, the current South African Government has taken several hope-producing steps toward Black socio-political empowerment, including the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC);

WHEREAS, these actions have received positive responses from the people of color in South Africa, their expatriate sisters and brothers and the world community;

WHEREAS, It is generally agreed that economic sanctions have contributed to the climate of negotiation and compromise that appears to exist in South Africa today;

WHEREAS, The State of Emergency, which gives the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Defense Force (SADF) wide-ranging powers to arrest, imprison, displace and destroy people and communities, is still operative;

WHEREAS, The ANC has identified the lifting of the State of Emergency as a pre-condition to negotiation with the South African Government and has called for the continuation of sanctions until these conditions are met;

WHEREAS, The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and Synod policies of limited selected divestment and economic sanctions have been effective and continue to be the denomination's position;

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Mission Council of the Synod of the Northeast meeting on 15-17 March 1990, at Stony Point, New York:

(1) re-affirms the Synod policy of limited selected divestment and urges the General Assembly Council to do so.

(2) urges the United States banking and business communities as well as the Congress and Bush Administration to continue the sanctions and other economic measures currently in place.

(3) encourages the leadership of the African National Congress to continue to plan for and work towards negotiations with the South African Government.

(4) urges the South African Government to lift the State of Emergency, and repeal The Group Areas, Land, Separate Amenities and Population Registration Acts.

Resolution on South Africa Sanctions

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<5) directs that this resolution be sent to President George

H. Bush, President deKlerk of South Africa, The U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, the Senators and Representatives from the eight states of the Synod of the Northeast, President of the African National Congress - Oliver Tambo and Deputy President Nelson Mandela, the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly and the Presbyteries of the Synod of the Northeast.

10 July, 1990

The Rev. James MacKellar
Stated Clerk

The Synod of the Northeast

3049 East Genesee Street

Syracuse

NEW YORK 13224

USA

Dear Rev. MacKellar,

It was with deep appreciation and sincere thanks that we received your letter of June 6, 1990 and the enclosed Resolution on South Africa adopted by the Synod Mission Council, addressed to our President, Oliver Tambo.

Indeed the Resolution will be very useful to us in handling the question of sanctions. Your letter is now being forwarded to our President so that he knows of the work of The Synod of the Northeast.

Yours sincerely,

ANTHONY MONGALO

SECRETARY FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS