

observer Mission to the United Nations

January 10, 1989

NELSON MANDELA RECEPTION COMMITTEE IN THE UNITED STATES

Dear Friends,

I am writing concerning the possible impending release from imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, I am sure you are aware of the widespread speculation that he will be released early in 1990. Already within South Africa a National Reception Committee has been established to prepare for his release. It was under the auspices of that Committee that the reception for Walter Sisulu and his colleagues was organized after their release in October. The release of Nelson Mandela is bound to have a profound impact on the course of the freedom-struggle in South Africa as well as being an occasion to celebrate for all who have campaigned for his release. But we are also concerned that South African President F.w. de Klerk and his allies may use Mandela's release to demobilize the momentum for continuing pressure on the apartheid regime. We are writing to enlist your support in a project to ensure that this doesn't happen.

Following consultations with the African National Congress, the internationally renowned churchleader Archbishop Trevor Huddleston has undertaken to establish a Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee with headquarters in Britain. Archbishop Huddleston worked with Nelson Mandela in the 19u0s and now lives in Britain. Together with a group of prominent international figures, Archbishop Huddleston has appealed for National Reception Committees to be formed in each country.

Archbishop Huddleston outlines the main purposes of the Reception Committee in the enclosed appeal. Briefly they include maintaining and intensifying pressure for Nelson Mandela's release; and furthering the on-going struggle for the unconditional release of all other political prisoners and detainees in South Africa and the ending of apartheid.

This committee will be particularly important in the United States, where the Bush administration and its allies are certain to use Mandela's release as a further argument against increasing real pressure on the apartheid regime. The release of Nelson Mandela should not be used to slow the pace of international efforts to isolate apartheid, but should rather serve as a springboard for a

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

801 Second Ave., Suite 405, N.Y., N.Y. 10017 Tel:(212) 490-3487 Tlx2225602 Fax: (212) 972-6499 .

Nelson Mandela Reception Committee in the United States

January 10, 1990, page 2

intensification of the pressure on the South African government until apartheid has been abolished. In particular we will be focusing attention on efforts to:

' Press for the U.S. government to adopt stronger and fully comprehensive economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa at a national level.

' Press the O.A.S. government to support the South African peoples' call for the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions through the United Nations.

I am writing to enlist your participation as an endorser of the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee in the United States. It is not envisaged that the National Reception Committees should supplant existing structures but rather act to provide a framework for co-ordinated activity around the release of Nelson Mandela in the coming months.

Your participation as an endorser of the committee would involve your name being listed as an endorser, your signing a press statement to be released at the time of Mandela's release welcoming his release and calling for intensified pressure until apartheid is abolished. We would also hope you will make a financial contribution toward the cost of this campaign. I will be in touch with you in the near future about additional activities we may develop.

Since Nelson Mandela's imprisonment in 1962, millions of people all over the world have participated in the campaign to secure his freedom. His release must be not only an occasion for great celebration but also a time for us to intensify our work to dismantle apartheid.

With best wishes,

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Chief Representative

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U.S. Mandela Reception Committee  
National Endorsers  
Morton Bahr, President, Communications Workers of America  
Bishop Browning, Presiding Bishop Episcopal Church  
Rev. Calvin Butts, Abyssinia Baptist Church, NY  
Emilio Castro, World Council of Churches  
U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference  
Honorable George Crockett  
Jennifer Davis, American Committee on Africa  
Representative Ronald Dellums  
Mayor David Dinkins  
Hazel Dukes, Chair, NY State Conference NAACP Chapters  
Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa  
Rev. Carl Flemister, Regional Minister of the American Baptist Church  
Rev. James Forbes, Riverside Church  
Assemblyman Roger Green  
Stanley Hill, Executive Director, DC 37 AFSCME  
Rev. M. William Howard, Reformed Church in America  
Charles Hughes, President, Local 372, DC 37 AFSCME  
Coretta Scott King  
Bishop William Lazareth, Metro NY Synod, Lutheran Church  
Bruce Lee, Regional Director, UAW Reg. 6 (West)  
State Senator Franz Leichter  
David Livingston, President, District 65 UAW  
William Lucy, Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME;  
President, Coalition Black Trade Unionists  
Leon Lynch, Vice President, United Steel Workers of America  
Jay Mazur, President, International Ladies Garment Workers Union  
Sam Meyers, President, Local 259 UAW  
Joe Nangle, OFM Conference of Major Superiors of Men  
National Lawyers Guild ,  
Network, A Catholic Social Justice Lobby  
Margaret Nolty, SC, Associate Director, Leadership Conference of Women Religious  
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Jan Pierce, Vice-President, District 1-CWA  
Representative Charles Rangel  
Dennis Rivera, President, Local 1199, RWDSU  
Bettye Roberts, President, DC 1707 AFSCME  
Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 65 UAW  
Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Representative Pat Schroeder  
Jack Sheinkman, President, ACTWU  
Robert Simpson, President, Local 743, Teamsters, Chicago  
George Smith, Regional Director, UAW Reg. 8 (South)  
Tim Smith, Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility  
Assemblyman Edward Sullivan  
Ida Torres, President Hispanic Labor Committee, Central Labor Council AFL-CIO  
Richard Trumka, President United Mineworkers of America  
Edwin Vargas, President, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights  
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Canaan Baptist Church  
Philip Wheeler, Regional Director, UAW Reg. 9A (New England)  
World Council of Churches, U.S. Office

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST

APAR'THEID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

0 Demand the Release Of Nelson Mandela and

, 0 ALL OTHER Political Prisoners

'0 Demand One Person, One Vote 0 I ' , \_ , e

, \_ . , 0 Demand Total Sanctions NOW %

' . . 0 Boycott Manufacturers Hanover Trust

Friday, Feb 2, 4:30 P.M.

Outside the South African Consulate/UN Mission

346 East 48th Street, bet. 15f & 2nd Aves.

organized by:

: Nelson Mandela Reception Committee (0.5.) .. a

9/0 Disirid 65, UAW, 13 Astor Place, 4H1 F3005 New York. N! 10003 (212) 673-5120 913.402,

Partial listing of sponsors: All Peoples Com American Committee on Africa; Bishop Edmund B  
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dent. ILGWU': National Lawyers Guild; Network. a Catholic Social Justice Lobbying Network  
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EYEWITNESS REPORT

South Africa on the Eve of  
Nelson Mandelats Release

Hear

Patrick ttTerroaM Lekota

Publicity Secretary

United Democratic Front

(The UDF is the targest Anti-Apartheid Organization in South Africa)

0 Patrick ttTcrrorh Lckota is a former soccer star who earned the name  
tttcrrof, for his brilliance On the soccer field;

0 Jailed for 13 out of the last 16 years for Anti-Aparthcid activities;

0 Imprisoned on Robbcn Island with Nelson Mandela;

0 Released from prison in December, Lckota resumed his duties as

Publicity Secretary of the UDF;

0 Lekota handled coordination of the WM public response to De Klerkts

Feb. 2 statement to parliament announcing concessions to the

Anti-Aparthcid movement.

Fri. Feb.16, 7 p.m. ,

Martin Luther King Labor Cente

Local 1 199, 370 W 43rd St, bet. 8th & 9th Aves.

Organized by: . .

Nelson Mandela Receptton Committee (U.S.)

0/0 District 65, UAW, '13 Astor Place, 4th Floor, New York. NY. 1 0003 (212) 673-5120 ext.

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January 26, 1990

10: Key Africa Fund Contacts

From: Jim Cason

Re: Nelson Mandela's Release

You have certainly heard by now that both the African National Congress and other groups inside South Africa believe Nelson Mandela may soon be released from prison. The press has speculated it maybe as soon as when President F.W. de Klerk addresses parliament on February 2.

Mandela's release would certainly be a tremendous victory for the people of South Africa. There is concern, however, that the release of Mandela may be used by the South African government and its allies to demobilize the anti-apartheid struggle, and particularly the struggle for sanctions. Walter Sisulu, Desmond Tutu, the iNC and an international committee of prominent anti-apartheid leaders headed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston have called for the formation of reception committees to organize around Mandela's release. In the United States, the ANC has called for the establishment of a Nelson Mandela Reception Committee (U.S.).

We have attached more information about these committees, and urge you to consider forming one in your local area.

Already Nelson Mandela reception committees are being formed in some cities in the U.S. Although local groups are each pursuing their own strategies, many of the groups are arranging to:

- ' Hold a press conference on the day of or the day after Mandela's release to both celebrate his release as a victory for the people of South Africa and recommit local organizations to the continuing anti-apartheid struggle (in some cities these are being tied into on-going local campaigns for divestment, etc.).

- ' Urge city councils, state legislatures, or other organizations to pass a resolution on the day of Mandela's release, or shortly thereafter, celebrating his release and pledging to continue anti-apartheid work until full democracy is brought to South Africa.

- ' Organize large, public rallies or educational forums in the weeks following Nelson Mandela's release to celebrate this victory and discuss on-going local campaigns to support the anti-apartheid struggle. (The Africa Fund is developing a new campaign focusing on the demand for democracy in South Africa and the demand for sanctions in the United States, contact Rob Jones for more information).

Please keep us informed of your ongoing activities.

Established by The American Committee on Africa. 1966 - Contributions are tax-deductible  
Tilden J. beMelle, Chairman

Jennifer Davis, Executive Director

MODEL RESOLUTION ON THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA

Whereas the government of South Africa systematically denies the Black majority basic human rights, freedom and justice under the policy of apartheid; and

Whereas the apartheid regime continues to jail, torture and even assassinate its political opponents; and

Whereas the white minority government, under tremendous pressure from the resistance of the Black majority and the impact of international sanctions, now seeks to portray itself as having "unchanged" by lifting some segregation provisions and releasing some political prisoners, most notably Nelson Mandela; and

Whereas the people of South Africa have welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, but have insisted that apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be abolished and replaced with full democracy, including the right to vote on the basis of one person, one vote in a unified, nonracial South Africa; and Whereas the Africa Fund, a non-profit organization, has launched a "Vote For The People" campaign to highlight the demand for full democracy in South Africa and full sanctions in the United States:

Therefore be it resolved that:

1) we, the , welcome the release of

Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, and we call for the release of all other South African political prisoners;

2) He continue to condemn the racist apartheid system practiced by the South African government.

3) We call on the United States Congress to pass full, comprehensive economic and political sanctions against the racist government of South Africa and keep them enforced until full democracy is established in that country.

Suggested implementation: Send a copy to the VOTE FOR DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN, which will deliver it to the people of South Africa. Forward copies to the members of your Congressional delegation and to President Bush.

For more information, contact: VOTE FOR THE PEOPLE, c/o The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038: (212) 962-1210

The American Committee on Africa  
198 Broadway 0 New York, N.Y. 10038 0 (212) 962-1210  
' OLDEST ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZATION SAYS SOUTH AFRICAN  
PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT FALLS SHORT  
CALLS FOR TOUGHER SANCTIONS  
For immediate release Contact: Adotei Akwei  
February 2, 1990 Richard Knight  
212/962-1210

NEW YORK ... "South African State President F.W. de Klerk's announcement  
Otoday is a significant first step, but the time has long passed for first  
steps," said Jennifer Davis, Executive Director of the American Committee on  
Africa, the oldest anti-apartheid organization in the United States.  
"Apartheid has not ended in South Africa, ' said Davis, "In terms of practical  
restrictions the country is now back to where it was in 1960.'  
'If F.w. de Klerk is serious about dismantling apartheid, he must embrace  
the South African peoples' demand for one person, one vote. Until that demand  
is met, the O.8. should intensify the economic pressures which helped to force  
these initial concessions," said Davis.  
The people of South Africa have forced F.W. de Klerk to take these  
actions, and for them it is certainly a great victory.  
At the same time, de Klerk's concessions clearly demonstrate the need for  
stronger international pressure; the government made these moves precisely  
because they have lost more than \$32 billions through direct and indirect  
sanctions over the last five years.  
ACOA has received two separate eyewitness accounts of police  
attacking Joyful demonstrators with dogs and teargas, clubbing them off the  
streets of Johannesburg shortly following the President's Announcement.  
This raises serious questions about the sincerity of de Klerk's statement.  
(more)  
Supporting Africanfreedom and independence since 1953 - Established The Africa Fund. 1966



Apparently the government is not prepared to meet the minimum conditions necessary for free political dialogue. To end the bane and restrictions on organizations, especially the African National Congress, and people and suspended political executions is an important first step, and the release of Nelson Mandela will also be an advance. But how can the government call for a dialogue when the troops remain in the townships, the harsh emergency laws remain in effect and thousands of people remain in jail? The government must meet the minimum conditions for negotiations as established by the people of South Africa.

Behind the rhetoric of the government's Klerk's statement, ACOA noted that the cornerstones of apartheid still remain intact: The Group Areas Act, the Land Act, the Population Registration Act all remain in force. Above\_all, 75 percent of the people of South Africa still cannot vote to elect their - nation's leader.

"The United Democratic Front, South Africa's largest anti-apartheid organization, today called for sanctions to be intensified. We will continue to work with people in every part of America to intensify the drive for comprehensive and meaningful sanctions. These sanctions would be the best guarantee that freedom will at last come to the suffering people of South Africa,' said Davis.

The American Committee on Africa was formed in 1953 to support the African National Congress's Defiance Campaign, led at that time by Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. ACOA has spearheaded the drive to end U.S. investment in South Africa, leading the campaign for divestment and selective purchasing measures at the state and municipal level and to pass sanctions legislation in Congress.

Press PacketI including statement from anti-apartheid ANC, United Democratic Front and trade union federation COSATU available from ACOA

ARC LEADER CALLS FOR KORE SACTIONS

Excerpts from Interview with  
Thabo Mbeki, Foreign Affairs Secretary  
of the  
African National Congress

'MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour" February 2, 1990

Robert Hacieil: Should governments like the United States now lift the sanctions they have imposed?

Thabo Hbeki: No, they shouldn't. Sanctions were imposed to end apartheid. There is still apartheid in South Africa, that's why you need negotiations to end it. There's still apartheid in South Africa and even when a process of negotiations starts, the fact that it starts does not guarantee that it's going to produce this result of a democratic society in South Africa. I think it's very important that nobody should go overboard. The fact of an announcement of the lifting of a ban on the ANC and the future release of a Mandela and all this kinds of thing do not in themselves end apartheid. And to the extent that it was necessary to put pressure on South Africa to end apartheid the pressure needs to be sustained.

Hacleil: Until when?

Hbeki: Until the people of South Africa agree to a constitution. A constitution for a democratic South Africa. This has been the history of our region. Sanctions, for instance, against Rhodesia were lifted by the international community at the point that the people of Zimbabwe agreed to a new constitution. With a similar situation with regard to Namibia, and in this instance South Africa ought not to be an exception.

Haeleil: Negotiations for a new constitution on such fundamental matters as one-man-one vote could stretch on for a very long time, could they not? In the meantime your economy would be denied foreign trade that could help it to flourish.

Hbeki: But you see that's precisely the point why the pressures have to be sustained. Because you could indeed have a situation in which the Pretoria regime plays for time, stretches out those negotiations for many years. And to stretch out negotiations for many years means you continue apartheid. You continue the suffering of the people. So the pressures need to be kept on in order to expedite this process so that then the rest of the world deals in the end with a government genuinely representative of all the people of South Africa. So that when they lend money or investments are made by private companies they know that they are acting in the interests of the people of South Africa that they've agreed.

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198 Broadway 0 New York, N.Y. 10038 ' (212) 962-1210 Tilden J. LeMelle, Chairman  
Jennifer Davis, Executive Director

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APARTHEID

VOTE FOR THE PEOPLE

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THESE PEOPLE WANT TO VOTE

IN SOUT H AFRICA

You Can Help

El VOTE for Democracy

M VOTE for Sanctions

BALLOT

DEMOCRACY SANCTIONS

C1 YES, every South African deservesfull democracy -the El YES, true democracy will comet  
o South Africa only when

right to vote. I vote yes to the call for one person, one vote in the government is under  
real pressure. That is why I vote for

a unified, nonracial South Africa. comprehensive mandatory Sanctions immediately.

El NO, ldon'tbelievethat democracy is the answerforSouth C1 NO, we don't need to pressure  
the white minority govern-

Africa. I vote no to democracy. men. I vote no to sanctions against apartheid.

The Africa Fund will mail your ballot for democracy to the I

Name\_\_\_\_\_ people of South Africa to register your support for their

demands. The ballot for sanctions will be delivered to Can-

Orgamzahon\_\_\_\_\_ gress to aid the push for comprehensive sanctions against

Address \_'\_\_\_\_\_ South Africa.

City,StateZip \_\_\_\_\_ 1:1 I've enclosed my contribution to support the campaign.

RETURN TO: VOTE DEMOCRACY CAMPAIGN, The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038

The government is detaining, beating and torturing men, women and children, every day for the crime of demanding democracy in the land of their birth.

The government, under pressure from sanctions is making changes to try and relieve sanctions pressure while maintaining white minority rule.

The government denies more than 75 percent of the people voting rights because of the color of their skin.

#### CHANGE AND NEGOTIATIONS

What is Change?

CHANGE, says the white minority government, has already begun with the release of some political prisoners, the desegregation of some beaches and the other moves announced with much fanfare in recent months.

CHANGE, says the Black majority, cannot come when thousands of political prisoners are still in jail, many anti-apartheid groups are still banned and the vast majority of people do not have the basic rights of freedom of speech and association. Change must be based on negotiations for real political power through one person, one vote in a unitary, non-racial state.

#### Organizing Resistance

The people of South Africa are building democratic, representative organizations to press their demand for majority rule. The one-million member trade union federation COSATU is leading this campaign together with the 700 grassroots community groups, local township committees and other organizations that have come together to form a United Democratic Front of organizations opposed to apartheid.

The people of South Africa have called on the international community to intensify pressure for change through comprehensive economic sanctions to help to cut off the dollars that shore up apartheid.

#### Negotiations and Change

The people of South Africa have been pressing for peaceful change in their country since the beginning of this century. The government has historically responded with brutality.

Now the apartheid state wants a new face — the face of change.

Activists inside South Africa are asking is this a new face or a new mask for apartheid?

To put this new look to the test, the people of South Africa have demanded the government allow popular organizations and their leaders basic freedoms of speech and assembly so they can participate fully in the political life of the country. Trade unions, community groups and the national liberation movements are demanding the government meet five minimum demands for free political activity before they will sit down and talk:

1. Release all political prisoners and detainees;
2. End all restrictions on individuals and organizations, including the liberation movements;
3. End the state of emergency, repeal all legislation designed to restrict political activity;
4. Remove troops from the townships, and
5. Cease all political trials and executions.

federation. He can't vote.

oil of Churches. He can't vote.

ill VOTE for Democracy

#### CHOOSE SIDES IN SOUTH AFRICA

THESE ARE SOME SOUTH AFRICANS WHO CANNOT VOTE

Albertina Sisulu, 74, is co-president of the United Democratic Front. She is an acknowledged leader of the anti-apartheid

Federation of South African Women and has represented the anti-apartheid movement in meetings with President George

Bush, the United Nations and European leaders. She can't vote.

Jay Naidoo is General Secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the one million member trade union

Zwivhuthi is head of the Lutheran Church in the northern Transvaal and a member of the Northern Transvaal Coun-

Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Southern Africa and 1984 Nobel Prize winner. He can't vote.

The people are organizing campaigns to defy unjust laws and reject the policies of apartheid.

The people are calling on the international community to continue pressing South African through comprehensive economic sanctions.

The people are demanding one person, one vote on a single voters role in a unified, nonracial state.  
YOU CAN HELP

iZl Why this Campaign?

THE VOTE FOR DEMOCRACY is a dramatic way to demonstrate your support for the people of South Africa and their demand for one person, one vote on a common voters role in a unified nonracial state.

THE VOTE FOR SANCTIONS is the first step in working to support this demand in theUnitedStates. Dollars from theU.S. have propped up the apartheid regime for years. The first sanctions passed by the US. Congress in 1986 put some pressure on apartheid. But more pressure is needed if the Black majority in South Africa is to realize their fundamental political rights.

M Vote

Begin work today. In less time than it takes to read your morning newspaper you can fill out and cast a ballot for democracy and a ballot for sanctions.

Mail these ballots to The Africa Fund. We will send the ballots for democracy to the people of South Africa. The ballots for sanctions will be sent to Washington, to urge Congress to support strong pressure for an end to apartheid. .

The Africa Fund will mail you an update on the campaign for democracy in South Africa, with details about the current situation and the next steps you can take to help create a free, democratic and nonracial South Africa.

M One Vote Is Not Enough

To win an election and even more importantly to win this struggle for democracy, we will need hundreds of thousands of votes in the United States. Votes that can send a powerful signal to SouthAfn'ca that the American people aren't fooled by signs of change, but are demanding the fundamental right of all people to freedom and democracy.

For More Information-contact:

or The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, NY, NY 10038

tZi VOTE for Sanctions

southern africa

PERSPECTIVES

Voices for Liberation

1989

The Struggle for a Democratic South Africa

Looking to 1990

Over 4,000 delegates from more than 2,000 organizations gathered in Johannesburg in early December 1989 to demand the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a non-racial, democratic constitution that will lead to a free South Africa. The Conference for a Democratic Future which was organized by the Mass Democratic Movement, declared that the government of South African State President F.W. de Klerk is not interested in creating a democratic South Africa, nor is it interested in genuine negotiationsf,

The delegates went on to say that iide Klerk is buying time to re-order the forces of minority domination and win over some of our people to his fraudulent schemes?

In a final resolution delegates set out minimum conditions for free political activity that would have to be achieved before negotiations could begin. They also called on the international community to intensify pressures for comprehensive sanctions.

These conclusions were presented to a special session of the United Nations General Assembly which met in New York immediately following the conference, to consider the issue of apartheid. Because they summarize so concisely the position of the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa, we reprint in full the text of speeches delivered at the United Nations by Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of South Africals largest trade union federation, COSATU, and Max Coleman, a Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission.

Afrapix/Impact Visuals

The Africa Fund (associated with the American Committee on Africa)

198 Broadway 0 New York, NY 10038

JAY NAIDOO 7;;

General Secretary :5" E  
of the Congress of E  
South African E  
Trade Unions  
Representative  
from the Mass  
Democratic  
Movement in  
South Africa

I speak to you today representing the aspirations of millions of South Africans belonging to the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), an alliance of major anti-apartheid organizations in my country, the core of which is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

It is indeed an honor to address this important gathering. The freedom to express my views is a right that I am denied in the country of my birth. I wish to pay special tribute to the Special Committee Against Apartheid which has contributed so much over so many decades to our struggle for freedom. Our deep gratitude also goes to all the countries that have remained steadfast in their support of our legitimate struggle for freedom in all its diverse forms. The reasons why we have gathered here are clear. Apartheid is condemned as a heinous crime against humanity; apartheid has been found guilty of subjugating, brutalizing and degrading millions of people in South Africa and in the whole of the sub-continent. The record of destabilization includes Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and includes millions killed, maimed and wounded, and permanently devastated areas in our sub-region. Millions in South Africa and the neighboring states have become refugees in the land of their birth.

Apartheid is an international issue and, therefore, it is not only the task but also the duty of the United Nations to act swiftly and decisively to remove this scourge from our world.

The time to effect change is NOW! The Nationalist Party today faces a deep-seated and irreversible crisis. Its political and economic strategies aimed at reforming apartheid lie in tatters. Brutal repression under successive states of emergency has failed to dent the mood of resistance against apartheid.

Worker militancy under the banner of the one-million-strong labor federation COSATU has struck at the roots of apartheid - the cheap labor system. The energies of millions of our people have been unleashed by the Defiance Campaign launched by the Mass Democratic Movement.

We have made the streets of our cities and townships the ballot boxes of the oppressed. The people have voted overwhelmingly to destroy apartheid.

Today the centrality of the African National Congress in the political life of South Africa is unchallenged. Millions of people, black and white, accept the vision of a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa based on one person, one vote on a common voters role. It is in this context that we ask you to give apartheid no quarter, no space to consolidate and breathe life again into its decaying body. It is this vision of the majority of the people of South Africa that we are asking you to support.

Recently, the de Klerk regime has begun to make vague noises about negotiations. This is only because the regimes

Today the centrality of the African  
National Congress in the political life  
of South Africa is unchallenged.

crisis of rule and legitimacy has been exacerbated by our internal mass struggles and by the international campaign to isolate apartheid. The regime is unable to rule in the old way and is now seeking to restructure apartheid along a new line of defense. The Nationalist Party's five-year plan



demonstrates this point. Its two key components are: on one hand the protection of group rights which implies perpetuation of white minority domination, and on the other hand the adherence to greater law and order which translates itself into increased repression against the anti-apartheid opposition.

We believe that many of the concessions de Klerk is making are the result of our internal mass struggle and of external pressures, including economic sanctions.

Accordingly, the Mass Democratic Movement firmly rejects any attempt to relax the pressure on the apartheid regime, as well as attempts to help the regime break out of its isolation. We are shocked by the international bankers rescheduling South Africans foreign debt and we condemn the continuing undermining of existing sanctions measures, in particular the arms and oil embargoes.

We reiterate that the root cause of the escalating civil war in South Africa and the increasing destabilization of the region remains the disastrous economic and political policies of the apartheid regime.

Millions of people, Black and white, accept the vision of a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa based on one-person, one vote on a common voters roll.

Therefore, our struggle for peace and justice can only be strengthened by the intensification of international pressure, in particular, by the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the United Nations Security Council.

We want to make this categorical assertion in spite of the fact that the Pretoria regime has criminalized our right to do so and in spite of the hypocrisy of those who claim that Black South Africans would suffer if sanctions were imposed. It is we, the victims of apartheid, who have chosen the weapons and we have chosen, among many others, the economic weapon of sanctions to break the back of this regime.

We have suffered too long under apartheid. We want to break the present logjam between the forces of social progress and peace and those who represent the Violence of apartheid. Intensified international pressure will operate decisively in favor of the forces of social progress and peace. \_ . .

There is today a new climate of peace and friendship in the world. We welcome that because we have seen that historically our struggle against apartheid is ultimately a struggle for peace and justice.

If the Pretoria regime is serious about negotiations they should create the climate for free political activity as put forward in the OAU Declaration adopted in Harare and which represents the views of the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa.

This climate would allow our genuine and legitimate leaders and organizations to come forward, debate, rally and mobilize public opinion as a prerequisite to negotiating a permanent and lasting solution to the civil strife in my country.

On 9 December, 4,600 representatives to the Conference for a Democratic Future representing the overwhelming majority of the people in South Africa, adopted the Harare Declaration as the Program for the transition from an apartheid South Africa to a democratic South Africa.

The Conference for a Democratic Future brought together the broadest spectrum of political opposition to apartheid ever seen in our country, from core forces organized under the MDM to sporting, religious, black business, political parties in urban areas as well as from many homelands and rural areas. No country in the world has achieved such depth of unity amongst its people and we ask the countries of the United Nations to take note of this.

Therefore, our struggle for peace and justice can only be strengthened by the intensification of international pressure, in particular, by the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the United Nations Security Council.

In spite of the diversity of opinion, the delegates were united in their commitment to isolate and destroy apartheid. The conference resolved to intensify the struggle to transform our country.

In that context, the achievement of individual human rights and political and economic power for all South Africans must be seen as fundamental to our struggle for freedom. We will have to redress the inequalities caused by apartheid and in particular to restructure the economy where, through a process of democratic planning, resources will be allocated to stimulate the growth of employment and the development of industry and agriculture for all the citizens of South Africa.

In this context there is no place for group rights that perpetuate minority, racial or economic domination although there is respect for the diversity of cultural, religious and language groups.

In the end we want to make it very clear to international forums such as the United Nations that no solutions, internal or external, can be imposed on us. We have sacrificed too much and for far too long to hand over this final stage of our liberation to anyone.

The process of political settlement and the drafting of a constitution for a new South Africa will have to be mandated by the masses of our people through a Constituent Assembly elected on a non-racial basis.

Our march to freedom is irreversible. Our country is at this moment pregnant with the hope of a new South Africa. Our free nation is being born out of the womb of a dying order;

Decisive international action against apartheid now can

mean the difference between life and death for tens of thousands of our people. A consensus declaration adopted in this special session of the United Nations General Assembly will be a powerful moral and political incentive to those countries that are genuinely committed to our struggle for democracy in South Africa.

We want to clarify however that consensus cannot be reached at the expense of the fundamental principles put forward and cherished by our people. We strongly hope that if such a declaration is adopted that the international community will remain vigilant and will observe strictly the terms of that declaration. We in South Africa are people of both vision and of action and are weary of too many empty pronouncements against apartheid made in international forums.

I urge you in conclusion to act in unison and support the principles our people have put forward and to excise this cancer from the body of humanity and to thereby welcome to the community of civilized nations a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

I thank you.

- December 12, 198.9

MAX COLEMAN

Human Rights Commission

Introduction

I wish to address you on the current state of repression exercised by the apartheid regime, in an attempt to assess whether a climate conducive to negotiation exists today. I shall also refer briefly to the economic imperatives which are now determining the political strategies of the regime and having an effect on the course of repression tactics. Finally, I would like to make a few remarks about how I believe the international community can respond to these tactics and make a meaningful intervention towards our common goal of dismantling apartheid and creating a democratic South Africa.

The Current State of Repression

South Africa is presently halfway through its fourth successive year of a State of Emergency with all of its powers firmly in place and in use. Also in place and in operation is the permanent legislation of the Internal Security Act, together with its homelands imitators.

Detention without trial continues in daily use through both emergency and security legislation. After nearly thirty years of this indefensible practice the apartheid regime has run up the appalling record during that time of detaining over 75,000 political opponents, torturing countless thousands in the process, and being responsible for the deaths in detention of 69 people. Many thousands of women and especially children, some as young as 11 years of age, have passed through the detention cells. Determined mass hunger strikes by detainees early this year have succeeded in discouraging the regime from using detention without trial on the mass scale of previous years, but detentions continue and so do hunger strikes.

Restriction of political activists has now replaced mass detentions and there are presently about 600 living under restrictions in conditions which often amount to house arrest. Detention within jails has been extended to detention within homes at the victims expense.

The use of apartheid courts both to incriminate peaceful political activity and to withdraw activists from the political arena, is increasing by leaps and bounds. Currently there are over 300 political trials in progress involving thousands of people. More than 3,000 political prisoners are languishing in apartheid jails, 350 of them (including Nelson Mandela) sentenced for so-called security offenses, the rest for so-called unrest offenses. Over 80 political prisoners are now on death row awaiting execution by hanging.

Other ongoing repressive actions against individuals include the denial or withdrawal of passports (a privilege, not a right) and the gagging of over 500 people whose names appear on a special list and may not be quoted (including 31 who are deceased and 107 living abroad).

Anti-apartheid rally in Johannesburg

Freedom to organize political activity continues to be severely limited. Four organizations are banned as unlawful, 32 are restricted from engaging in any activity

whatsoever, one is restricted from engaging in political activity, and two are prohibited from receiving any foreign funding. In addition a large number of political actions are declared iisubversiveii, including boycotts, stayaways, civil disobedience and the promotion of alternative structures of local government, education, justice, etc. Similarly campaigns calling for release of detainees and political prisoners, for an end to compulsory military service, for disinvestment and other sanctions, and many more, are all subversive. Freedom of assembly is likewise severely limited. A blanket ban on all outdoor political gatherings is currently in force for the fourteenth consecutive year, and a blanket ban on certain indoor meetings is in its fifth year. While some marches, rallies, demonstrations and protest meetings are granted permission under considerable pressure, many more are refused and are broken up, often with the application of force. Blanket restrictions are currentlyin force on all funerals in over 70 black townships.

Freedom of expression through the media is under the tightest control. Emergency regulations prohibit the reporting of tiunrestli, actions of the security forces,

Afrapix/Impact Visuals

treatment of detainees and the making of tsubversive statements". Other legislation forbids quoting a tlistedii person and reporting on prison conditions. Individual publications are banned for possession or distribution and newspapers can be shut down or suspended.

0 Informal repression, falling outside the official controls of formal security legislation, is assuming increasing importance for the apartheid regime. Its most open form, the National Security Management System, recently downgraded but largely intact, serves to gather information on the ground, feed this to the State Security Council and carry out instructions for the neutralizing of political activists and organizations. Lower down in profile are sponsored vigilante groups who violently prop up apartheid-created structures of homeland governments and black local authorities, by eliminating their opponents and creating the image of black-on-black violence. At the bottom of the scale are the shadowy hit squads, several of which have recently been shown beyond doubt to be police- and army-based structures operating through a line of command which may very well emanate from the top. These hit squads are responsible for numerous acts of terror including assassinations, abductions, bombings and burglaries.

. Finally mention needs to be made of external repression, involving destabilization of the entire southern Africa region, and acts of terror even further afield. It is sufficient here to mention that the methods used include invasion, commando raids, hit squads, sponsorship and support of surrogate forces, political pressures and economic pressures. It is feared that the fledgling Namibian nation is about to be added to the list of victims.

This is not the time to relax the pressure. On the contrary, there could be no better time to intensify pressure of all kinds, since a unique opportunity exists for the international community to influence the time-scale for the demise of apartheid.

A Climate Conducive to Negotiation?

0 It will be clear from the above litany of repressive measures available to the apartheid regime that virtually all of them are in current use. Emphasis may have shifted here and there, but none have been abandoned. Furthermore, when the inevitable lifting (or modifying) of the State of Emergency comes about, practically the entire range of options will still be available under permanent legislation.

0 Does, therefore, a climate exist now which is conducive to negotiations that could lead to an end to apartheid? The answer, clearly, is NO. There is, as matters stand, no possibility for a normal political process to take place, with freedom and security to meet, discuss, inform, organize, debate, criticize, influence, convince -- all the stuff of which normal political intercourse is made.

The Crisis and Strategy of the Apartheid Regime

What can be expected of the apartheid regime now and in the future, given that they show no signs either of abandoning repression or entering into negotiations genuinely intended to bring apartheid to an end and to replace it with a majority government?

First it must be recognized that the regime is in deep economic crisis which is now the driving force behind its political strategy, both internally and internationally, but particularly the latter. The crisis stems from foreign capital outflow, precipitated in 1985 by the declaration of a partial State of Emergency in July of that year. The loss of confidence by foreign investors and banks that ensued, turned into a flight of capital that during the next 4 years amounted to 25 billion Rand (about 10 billion dollars). At the com-

mencement of the flight, the foreign debt of South Africa stood at 24 billion dollars and today stands at about 20 billion dollars. Thus in the 4 years that have elapsed, the foreign debt has only been reduced by about 4 billion dollars. The rest of the capital outflow was due to disinvestment not only by foreign investors but also by South African businessmen using both legal and illegal means and thereby illustrating their own loss of confidence in the economy.

In spite of reaching 3 successive debt repayment agreements with foreign creditor banks, most recently in October, for part of the outstanding loans, South Africa nevertheless still owes around 20 billion dollars, of which over 8 billion must be paid in the coming 4 years. In other words debt repayment in the next 4 years will have to be about double of that during the last 4 years, and the net capital outflow may well be as much as the last 4 years; the bleeding goes on apace.

Where are the foreign funds to come from in order to keep pace with this continuing and massive capital outflow? Given that virtually no new loans have been made to South Africa by the international financial system since 1985, the necessary foreign exchange can only come from two sources: either from foreign reserves held by the South African Reserve Bank or from balance of payments surpluses on foreign trade. The first problem is that the foreign reserves have virtually been wiped out (the official figure is a meager 2 billion dollars, equivalent to about 6 weeks of imports, but the South African Reserve Bank has itself obtained short term loans, possibly against forward gold sales, of an undisclosed amount which could equal or even exceed the official reserves).

The second problem is that balance of payment surpluses are not running at the 2 billion dollars per annum rate required to meet repayment commitments, and there are limits to which exports can be boosted and imports reduced. Increased sanctions would worsen an already critical situation. The only real way out for the apartheid regime is to reverse the capital flow by securing new foreign loans or rolling over old ones, and that means restoring confidence in South Africa as a stable country, politically and economically, to invest in.

For some time already, starting with the withdrawal from Angola and the commitment to United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, we have seen a new political strategy beginning to unfold. This strategy can be described as twin-track in character: the one a track of high-profile, ostensibly enlightened action; and the other a track

of low-profile, repressive actions. Track one to woo the foreign investor, track two to control internal resistance, since there is no intention to give up control. Thus detention without trial has been reduced considerably, but released detainees have been restricted. More use is made of the courts, to give repression of political opponents a veneer of respectability. The State denies it has any political prisoners, and proceeds to release a handful of high-profile prisoners, while continuing to hold thousands, mostly lesser known.

More death sentences than hitherto are commuted, but hangings still continue. Instead of old-style outright banings of organizations, use is now made of restrictions allowing the organizations a continued existence, but unable to function.

Some marches, rallies and demonstrations are permitted if high profile; others are not, and are broken up. The State Security Council has been downgraded and subordinated to the Cabinet, but still continues to function.

A greater reliance has been placed on the use of vigilantes and hit squads, for which until recently the State could deny responsibility. The birth of Namibia was allowed to happen, but it could quickly join the other States of the region in facing economic and other strangulation. Finally, it is certain that the State of Emergency will soon be lifted or modified since this represents the greatest single impediment to the restoration of foreign investor confidence. However, it could be replaced by invoking Unrest Area legislation already on the statute books, capable of declaring localized mini-states-of-emergency which would not attract the same adverse attention.

The Response of the International Community

We urge the international community not to be taken in by the blandishments of track one. This is not the time to relax the pressure. On the contrary, there could be no better time to intensify pressure of all kinds, since a unique opportunity exists for the international community to influence the time-scale for the demise of apartheid. Internal resistance provides the engine for change in South Africa, but there is no doubt that the international community has a major role to play in materially influencing the rate of the change.

\_ December 12, 1989

#### CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

The Conference for a Democratic Future for South Africa was successfully held on December 9th,

1989. Over 2,000 organizations were represented giving the meeting the broadest spectrum seen

since 1955. At the Conferences Close the delegates called for increased international pressure,

especially in the area of economic sanctions and financial loans. In particular, they highlighted three

actions they wanted the international community to take:

- . To intensify all international pressure especially mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

- . To identify and combat those circumventing the sanctions campaign through setting up internal monitoring committees to force companies to adhere to the sanctions campaign.

- . To call upon the IMF and other international banks to reverse the decision on the rescheduling

of South Africa's debt and not to reschedule South Africans outstanding debt.

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