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MEMORANDUM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FRONTLINE STATES FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN PREPARATION FOR THEIR MEETING WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FOREIGN MINISTERS: LUXEMBOURG, 12 - 13 JUNE, 1989.

The meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the Frontline States and the European Community comes at a critical time in the struggle to end apartheid, liberate the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and bring peace to Southern Africa.

The evolution of the situation has forced the Pretoria regime into a vulnerable position in which increased pressure, now, will have an important effect in reducing the capacity of the regime to maintain itself in power and to carry out its programmes.

The South African economy is in very grave crisis. Its continuing dramatic decline is having a serious impact on the ability of the regime to find the material means to perpetuate the apartheid system. Of particular importance is the fact that no new capital is coming into the country; capital is flowing out through disinvestment by both South African and foreign firms and through repayment of the external debt. In this situation, new meaningful economic sanctions, including financial sanctions, will have an impact greater than similar measures might have had a few years ago.

The Pretoria regime continues to suffer from a further narrowing of its social base as many whites begin to move towards democratic positions. This is happening precisely because of the deepening crisis of the apartheid system which is having a direct impact on the white population. Accordingly, the more that crisis is deepened through internal and external action, the more rapid will be the process of greater numbers of whites moving away from apartheid positions.

The black oppressed have emerged out of 3 years of a national state of emergency more strengthened in their resolve to continue the struggle to liquidate the apartheid system. In the same period, and in the face of extreme repression, new forces have entered the struggle as active participants for a fundamental transformation of the situation.

Across the face of South Africa, a powerful spirit of defiance is building up among the people, openly challenging the very state of emergency itself and affirming the readiness of the people to make the necessary sacrifices to win victory.

The process leading to the independence of Namibia constitutes a serious blow against the apartheid regime. It emphasises precisely the point that the system of white minority rule in South Africa itself, is doomed to collapse. When Namibia does become independent, all international attention will focus on



South Africa, leading to a further weakening of the international positions of the Pretoria regime.

The defeat of the South African Defence Force in Angola has also contributed to the weakening of the positions of the Pretoria regime vis-a-vis the independent states of Southern Africa. Enemy losses in Angola have also helped to turn increasing numbers of whites in South Africa against the SADF and its acts of aggression. The higher the losses of the apartheid army, through the intensification of the armed struggle within South Africa, the greater will be the resistance of the white population to service in the apartheid army.

The international community has remained seized with the issue of apartheid. The world movement against apartheid continues to grow in strength and continually adopts new measures against the racist system. The more actions the Pretoria regime takes to entrench itself in power, the greater the realisation by the international community that it needs to take concrete action to help end the apartheid system. The independence of Namibia will further confirm the peoples of the world in their conviction that the anachronistic system of apartheid must come to an end without delay.

In the light of all this, the Pretoria regime has begun to project itself as one that is committed to the "dismantling of apartheid". Its leading representatives are visiting many Western countries to convince the governments of these countries that the change of leadership from P.W. Botha to F.W. de Klerk represents a change of policy. All this is done precisely to reduce and ward off international pressures against apartheid South Africa.

The reality is that the ruling National Party has not changed its policy. It remains committed to the perpetuation of the apartheid system and the continuation of its campaign of repression against the democratic forces of our country. Already the regime has renewed the state of emergency.

The population of political prisoners continues to increase, while the number of those sentenced to death because of their political activities is growing at an alarmingly rapid rate. This year, the regime raised its military budget by almost 25 per cent because of its determination to ensure its survival through increased repression and continuing external aggression.

The struggle to end the apartheid system must continue and intensify. A very important element of that offensive is the total isolation of this criminal system. It is our belief that the Frontline Foreign Ministers should take up this matter as one of the principal points of discussion with their European Community counterparts.

The countries of the European Community should ensure that they do not assist the Pretoria regime to break out of its political



and diplomatic isolation. The Frontline Ministers should therefore raise their concern about what seems to be an increasing frequency of visits by leaders of the apartheid regime to the countries of the European Community.

The EC as a whole remains South Africa's leading economic partner in all spheres, including trade, investment and finance. The Frontline Ministers should reiterate the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, and push for the EC to support this call.

Furthermore, we would urge support for positions already communicated to the EC Foreign Ministers by the Liaison Group of the Anti-Apartheid Movements of the European Community, with which we agree. These are that immediately, the EC should:

1.0. enact legislation and regulations at the EC and national levels to enforce all existing EC measures against South Africa. In particular, the oil embargo should be made comprehensive and mandatory. All new investments and loans to South Africa should be prohibited. Of special importance is action by the EC governments, both singly and collectively, to take all necessary action to stop the banks within their countries from rescheduling outstanding loans to South Africa. An EC-wide monitoring system should be instituted to ensure strict compliance with these EC measures.

2.0. adopt immediately the following additional measures:

2.1. a ban on all South African coal imports into the EC whether they come directly or via third countries;

2.2. a ban on all imports of agricultural products from South Africa;

2.3. a ban on all imports of South African uranium;

2.4. a ban on all air-links between South Africa and the EC;

2.5. an EC-wide policy terminating all no-visa agreements with South Africa;

2.6. close the South African mission to the EC in Brussels;

2.7. take appropriate steps to prevent nationals of EC member states from serving in the SADF and other agencies of repression in South Africa;

2.8. impose a mandatory ban on all nuclear cooperation with South Africa and seek a similar ban by the UN Security Council;

2.9. work for the suspension of South Africa from membership of the International Atomic Energy Authority;



2.10. extend the EC ban on military collaboration to include a ban on recruitment by South Africa of EC nationals with access to classified military or security information;

2.11. prohibit EC-based companies and their subsidiaries in South Africa, from supplying the South African military, police and intelligence services and from topping-up the salaries of white employees while on call-up by the SADF;

2.12. legislate to prohibit the import of arms and war materiel from South Africa, in keeping with the decisions of the UN Security Council.

We should further draw to the attention of the EC the fact that the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act is now on the South African statute books. This is part of the body of repressive legislation which the Pretoria regime is using against the democratic movement. Its application will also affect funds given to this movement by the EC. The latter should therefore demand of the Pretoria regime that it repeals this law.

The Frontline Ministers should draw the attention of the EC to the fact that the representatives of the ANC in the EC and other countries are targets of assassination by the Pretoria regime. Already, the representative in Paris has been killed; two attempts have been made of the representative in Brussels; the office in London has been bombed.

We should therefore urge the EC governments to take all the necessary measures to protect the ANC offices and representatives in their countries. At the same time, they should make the strongest possible representations to the Pretoria regime about the impermissability of the criminal acts that agents of the Pretoria regime have carried out against ANC diplomatic missions.

As we have said, the number of political activists awaiting execution in South Africa is increasing very significantly. The ANC and the democratic movement as a whole are very concerned to save the lives of these patriots. The EC Ministers should be pressed to put maximum pressure on the Pretoria regime not to carry out these and any other political executions.

The matter of the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela, should also be taken up with the EC Ministers. They should be asked to put even more pressure on the Botha regime on this issue.

Pressure should also be put on the regime to end the state of emergency and therefore bring to an end such acts of repression as detention without trial, press censorship and the banning and restriction of individuals and organisations.



The EC should also be asked to take a public position on the forthcoming September 6th Tricameral Parliamentary elections. This is an apartheid institution and therefore its renewal through these elections, only serves to perpetuate the apartheid system.

The EC should state it publicly that it is opposed to these elections and that South Africa should move without delay to the position where it has one parliament elected by all the people of South Africa on the basis of a universal, adult suffrage.

We remain very concerned that everything be done to ensure that the Pretoria regime does not disrupt or in any way complicate the process leading to the independence of Namibia. We should urge this on the EC that it puts maximum pressure on the Botha regime in purrsuit of this objective.

Finally, the point should be made that the European Community should, through its actions, be seen to be aligned with the forces of democracy, national independence and peace in Southern Africa, against racism and apartheid, aggression and destabilisation. Implementation of the proposals contained in this document would help to achieve this aim, as part of the process of bringing a speedy end to the apartheid system.

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