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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR PLENARY MEETING FOR
NELSON MANDELA

Courtesy

- I am very pleased to welcome you on behalf of the American people.
- We recognize and salute your tremendous contribution to the cause of freedom in South African and throughout the world. I know that as you travel from coast to coast, you will sense that my feelings are shared by all the American people.
- We respect and admire you, and what you stand for.

U.S. Engagement in South Africa

- We are committed to the end of apartheid and the establishment through negotiations of a non-racial, multi-party democracy in South Africa.
- Our approach will be even-handed in support of all those who are working for peaceful change.
- We are concerned about the threat to de Klerk from the right just as we are concerned about those in the black majority who still refuse to commit themselves fully to peaceful means of change.
- We want to recognize progress in a balanced way, helping both you and President de Klerk as we can.

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PER NSC WAIVER #2021-02
By MM NARA, Date 7/16/2021

Sanctions

- We will continue to enforce fully the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which contains the strictest sanctions of any of South Africa's major trading partners.
- Our sanctions were designed to encourage progress toward dismantling apartheid, and in particular to bring about negotiations between the Government and genuine representatives of the black majority.
- The legislation provides that when certain conditions are met, the President can modify or lift one or more sanctions.
- When these conditions, including an end to the State of Emergency and the release of political prisoners, are met, my intention is to consult closely with Congress on actions we might take to modify or lift one or more sanctions.
- Our moves, when they are made, will be designed to move the negotiating process forward.
- Lifting some sanctions, when permitted by the CAAA, will encourage the National Party and its constituency to keep moving forward, and maintain the credibility of our policy.

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- Even suspended sanctions can play a positive role: should there be backsliding by the Government, and if they are responsible for a breakdown in negotiations, I will have the authority to restore sanctions to their original status.

Assisting the Negotiating Process

- Only South Africans can determine the future of their country, but the United States is ready to assist in the process.
- We will continue our \$30,000,000 aid program directly to the disenfranchised people of South Africa, principally for education and leadership training.
- ✓ -- In addition, Congress has just appropriated an additional \$10,000,000 to assist the process of democratization and negotiations.
- We are prepared to facilitate the return of the exiles, which must be done with international involvement. Any U.S. contribution can be provided only through UNHCR, as in the case of Namibia.
- We know you see an urgent need for housing assistance. Congress has been reluctant to provide funds for social services (housing, health, education, etc.) while these remain segregated. If you agree that now is the time for us to support such programs, we hope you will state that clearly to Congress and the American people.

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- We also see merit in working with the SAG to increase budgetary allocations, and to obtain a greater say now in how the money is spent.
- We want to help the most those who share our basic values, including multi-party democracy, market-based economies, and respect for human rights. Conversely, policies that stifle the private sector or restrict individual economic initiative, and ambiguity about the commitment to abandon the armed struggle for the path of negotiations, are likely to constrain our ability to help.
- In fact, Congress has made clear that the \$10,000,000 they just appropriated cannot be made available to organizations that remain committed to violence.

Negotiations

- We support negotiations incorporating all elements of South African society into the process of peaceful change.
- Both you and President de Klerk play crucial roles. You must support each other's efforts to keep your constituencies moving along with you.
- I was troubled by the controversy that arose in connection with President de Klerk's planned visit. I wanted to meet with both of you to discuss the way forward for South Africa, and I look forward to seeing the State President in the near future.

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- I am very concerned about the growing pressure on President de Klerk from the right. This can derail the peace process if he becomes politically isolated from his own constituency.
- I know that you, too, face grave difficulties in building a consensus in your constituency.
- However, rhetorical positions, and further preconditions, can jeopardize the entire process.
- The demand for a constituent assembly, for instance, is troubling. No party should be asked to surrender its position before negotiations on mutually acceptable solutions.
- We urge you to continue in the spirit of your first formal meeting with the Government (the Groote Schuur meeting), to seize the opportunity to move ahead in a spirit of compromise, tolerance, patience and flexibility.
- For our part, we will vigorously criticize any party that backs away from negotiations. We will also continue to press the Government to foster the conditions you need to fully and fairly represent your people.

Violence

- Let me just reiterate here that we believe that violence from all quarters must end.
- The ANC has an opportunity to help establish new climate of non-violence.

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- We are looking for bold steps from all those who can help bring an end to this tragic cycle.

Post-Apartheid Society

- South Africans soon will face the task that Americans faced over 200 years ago -- determining the constitutional formula best suited to their unique situation.
- Only South Africans can choose their future government, but the United States has strong hopes for the emergence of a multi-party democracy, a system that has brought freedom and prosperity to people around the world.
- We support the concept of universal suffrage. But even we do not have simple one-man-one vote. Our House of Representatives and Senate is one example of democratic rule, rooted in our own great historical compromise. Switzerland, Belgium, and other countries have different forms of democratic rule.
- We will continue to support an American business presence in South Africa in light of the progressive role it has played in transforming racial attitudes and practices.
- I urge you to make clear that you too want them to continue their useful activities and to remain to help rebuild your economy and provide jobs when a new South Africa is achieved.
- The United States would be glad to provide whatever expertise we can to assist the opposition in its studies of

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various systems of constitutional democracy and economic models. You'll be facing a lot of tough issues. Don't hesitate to ask for our help.

International Affairs

-- I was pleased to learn of your interest in U.S.-Soviet relations and the changes in Eastern Europe. Like South Africans, people around the world are urging their leaders toward democracy and freedom.

-- As the movement toward democracy continues, we remain concerned about countries with poor human rights records, such as Cuba, and those responsible for incidents of international terrorism, such as Libya and Iran.

Visiting the U.S.

-- We wish you a pleasant stay in the U.S. I understand that your schedule is an extremely heavy one, but I am glad you will see much of our country.

-- The American people join me in our desire to support you and your struggle for a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

-- This is a desire that is widely shared, across the political spectrum. You can maximize your support in our country, and in the Congress, by keeping your appeal focused on the core issue that is our common concern: ending apartheid.

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