

MONSANTO**THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS****23 July 1991****Dr F van Zyl Slabbert**

1. A fundamental confusion in foreign policy concerns the process of change in South Africa. It is a two dimensional process – away from domination; towards hopefully democracy. A plausible argument can be made that South Africa has moved irreversibly away from Apartheid domination (e.g. De Klerk/Bush); an equally plausible argument can be made that South Africa is not irreversibly on its way to a democracy (Mandela and Black US Caucus.) They are talking about different things. However, it is easier to argue the case for the former than the latter. If we had to wait until we are irreversibly on our way to democracy – sanctions will never be lifted. Not lifting sanctions could make this even more difficult.
2. The ANC is in any case losing the strategic initiative on sanctions. Their views do not any longer have the same policy impact, vide Africa, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe etc. More and more, even though bodies maintain sanctions, e.g. OAU, it is no longer honoured by member countries. Quite soon the ANC's position will become irrelevant if they do not reposition. They are aware of this. Attempts are being made (helped by the American Chamber in South Africa) to involve a multi-party spectrum to draw up an "Investment Code".
3. There is a growing awareness domestically, across the spectrum, that lifting sanctions alone will not induce investment. There has to be visible demonstration of domestic peace and stability. This brings the whole debate back to the creation of a non-partisan security system and the imperatives of successful negotiation.
4. Lifting of sanctions has had a morale boosting effect. People feel more positive. This, in conjunction with change in sporting relations, creates the feeling that South Africa is on the mend and becoming more and more internationally acceptable.
5. The collapse of East European regimes has forced into prominence two fundamental processes in international relations: good governance – democratic rule and sound management of economy – market driven economy. Any political strategy opposing this increasingly comes into disrepute. Therefore to the extent that sanctions is identified with a strategy of revolutionary transition, it works to the detriment of a party/movement espousing it. ANC is becoming increasingly sensitive to this.