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MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL
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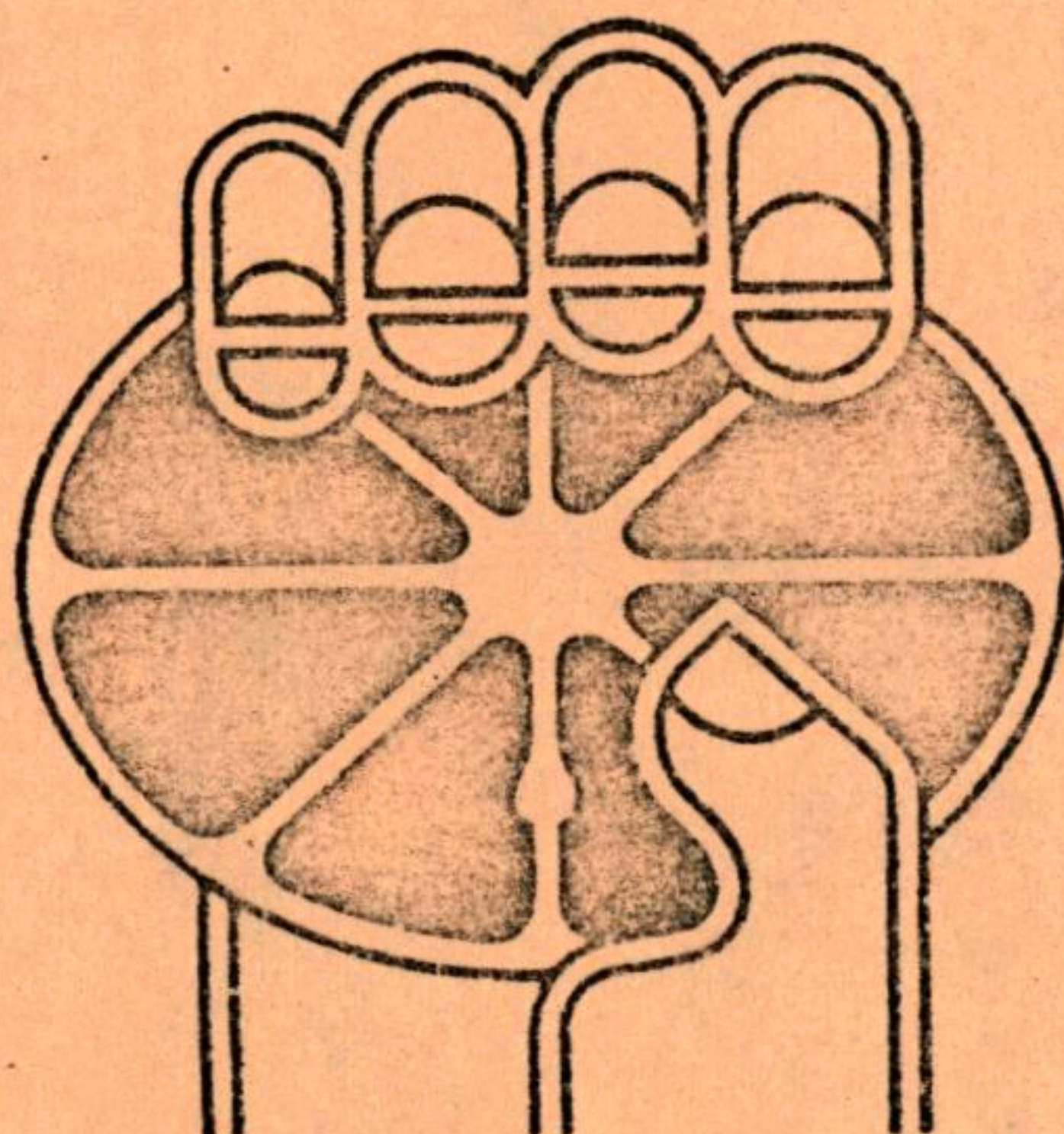
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PAN EUROPEAN REGIONAL COMMISSION

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

April 11 to April 16 1977

Ste Foy La Grande, France



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SURPRISINGLY SINGING

While whites
on sabbath greens
slowly bowling,
on weekends
growing gold,
back home
black men
break backs,
surprisingly
singing.

Barry Feinberg

INTRODUCTION

This ISMUN workshop held at Ste Foy La Grande, France, took place within the framework of the Pan European Regional Commission. It brought together activists from a number of countries to discuss the theoretical and practical problems of concerted action to end the apartheid regime of South Africa and its hegemony throughout southern Africa.

This topic was chosen as it is high on the list of priorities of a number of European Member Associations and is also a key issue for the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

The lecturers were able to contribute through their personal experiences and theoretical studies to the process of deepening the awareness of the participants. Their views expressed at the workshop and as summarised here do not necessarily reflect the views of ISMUN. They were presented to stimulate debate and discussion.

Funding for the workshop came from individual ISMUN Member Associations, in Europe and in particular from the European Youth Foundation in Strasbourg. The use of the Chateau de la Lambertie at Ste Foy La Grande was made possible through Mr Guy Marchand of "Citoyens Du Monde". Additional material facilities in the form of photocopying were provided by Rank Xerox.

The lecturers were Mr Selim Gool from ANC/SACTU and Mr Georg Hrach from International Arbeitskreis.

It is hoped that this report (together with the background papers listed below) will be useful material for continuing action on the Southern Africa issue.

ISMUN Secretariat

June 1977

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Summary of lecture by Selim Gool, and subsequent discussion

1. Dutch colonialism (1652-1806)

When the Dutch East India Company first landed settlers at the Cape in 1652, to grow food to provision their ships en route to the East, they encountered hunting and pastoral peoples - the Nama and the Khoi - who refused to work for them. Hence from the beginning, a labour shortage occurred. Slaves were imported from West Africa, Mozambique and Angola.

Whenever they had the opportunity, the men from the Company garrison escaped and established themselves as independent farmers. Land was there for the taking and enterprising individuals were able to help themselves. Whilst initially the produce of these farms had to be sold through the company, it was not long before the newly established burghers attempted to break free from the Company monopoly of trade with Europe. Production activities included wines, furs, and over time cattle ranching.

At the same time African tribes were migrating southwards in southern Africa; the two most important of these were the Xhosa and the Zulu. The Xhosa settled in the area now known as the Transkei - they were cattle farmers and so increasingly they clashed with the Dutch "Trekboeren" moving north eastwards largely over the question of land.

2. British-Dutch conflict (1806 - 1901)

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the Napoleonic wars in Europe and a British maritime challenge. In 1806 a British expeditionary force landed in the Cape with the claim it was a British Colony. The ideas of the new settlers conflicted with the Dutch again principally over land. Lord Craddock's mercantile bourgeois proclamation on charging land rents conflicted with the feudal ideas of the Dutch, who very much continued as before.

The slave trade was terminated by the British during the 1830's. The Dutch in the "Great Trek" migrated northwards across the Orange and Vaal rivers. They were seeking security in part, and in part an identity for themselves. Further massacres of the African tribes and particularly the Zulu ensued.

Thus in due course the Dutch formed the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Transvaal. These states were weak with minimal budgets. The dominant ideology was Calvinist on a pre-capitalist base. Limited trading continued but it was necessary for goods to pass through the coastal areas of Natal and the Cape, which after the mid-nineteenth century were both controlled by the British.

The discovery of diamonds in the late 1860's and gold on the Rand in 1886 brought violent changes in South Africa. The Dutch tried to hush the discoveries as they feared outside infiltration and influence but they failed. After the initial alluvial deposits had been worked out, capital investment was necessary to continue further exploitation. Although the diamond industry began with many small entrepreneurs it was not long before the British South Africa Company

(later known as De Beers), which was controlled by Cecil Rhodes, prime-minister of the Cape, dominated the industry. The issue of labour supply returned as it had in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The Africans had been subdued and were, under the policy of Lord Sheppston herded into reserves. Thus when labour was needed it could easily be sought, and when the economy was depressed, the Africans could be sent back to the reserves. In 1865, the Cape introduced pass laws for Africans from outside this British area. Labour relations were codified in the Masters and Servants Act (1856). This infamous charter of serfdom has been vividly described as follows:

"Designed to enforce discipline on ex-slaves, peasants, pastoralists and a rural proletariat, it survived a century of industrialism and became the model for similar laws in white supremacy colonies throughout south, central and east Africa. The Act of 1856 remains with its offspring on the South African statute book: a grim reminder of the country's slave-owning past and a sharp instrument of racial discrimination. For though it is nominally colour-blind, the penalties are invoked only against the darker workers, some 30,000 of whom are sentenced annually for breaches of the labour code.

The offences can be grouped under three heads: breach of contract, indiscipline, and injury to property. The first group includes failure to commence work at an agreed date, unlawful absence from work, desertion and strikes. Among the disciplinary offences are disobedience, drunkenness, brawling and the use of abusive language. Finally, a servant can be jailed if he damages his master's property with malice or negligence, uses it unlawfully, loses livestock or fails to report the loss. Convicted servants are not given the option of a fine, however trivial the offence, by the original Act. It authorised a sentence of one month's imprisonment for breach of contract or discipline by a first offender, and six weeks with solitary confinement and spare diet on a second conviction. A servant who damaged his master's property faced two month's imprisonment for a first offence, and three for a second, in each case with solitary confinement and spare diet. An employer who withheld wages could be sentenced to a fine of not more than £5" (1)

The Boers too needed labour for their farms. They devised a labour tenants' scheme whereby African subsistence farmers were employed to work on the farms and were, in return given a small subsistence plot and payment in kind.

The gold discovery on the reef quickly led, as with the diamond industry, to the need for capital and a rapid formation of the Chamber of Mines in 1889. This Chamber was and is an instrument of economic repression controlling the stockmarket and the balance of payments. The foreign capital came from Britain, USA and Germany and merged with indigenous South African capital; skilled labour came from depressed areas of Europe and unskilled labour from the reserves.

The white labour had a tradition of labour unions, from his European experience - the counterparts formed in South Africa were racist as they were formed to protect the interests of white workers against white capitalists and black workers. It was the use of gold as the world's international money integrated South Africa into the world's capitalist system with the implications of free flows of labour and capital.

It was the Boer Wars (1899 - 1902) which enabled the British to gain control of the gold mines by replacing the inefficient Dutch Transvaal administration by a British one. The Boer Wars devastated Dutch Afrikaner farming and by creating a Dutch dependency on the British left them in full control.

3. Growing industrialisation : More severe African repression

The first decade of the twentieth century saw an unstable Europe and a disastrous fall in the gold price. To maintain profits, labour needed to be kept cheap. Thus African wages were slashed by 30%, whilst short term contracts (6 - 8 months) enabled the employers to maintain a flexible response to profit maximisation.

The creation of the Union of South Africa from the four republics used the Constitution of the Transvaal as a model. The violation of the economic, social, civil, and political rights of the Africans was thus codified throughout the territory. Although the Boer War was fought to achieve British control, the Union retained the mentality of protectionism from international economic competition and further augmented the repression of Africans. For example:

- a) Native Labour Regulation Act (1911) - this was a tightening of the Masters and Servants Act and which laid down the conditions under which the supply of workers to various areas should occur.
- b) The extension of pass laws and strengthening of company control of labour initially through the Rand Native Labour Association and company compounds.
- c) Land Act (1913) - which froze the proportion of land available for African use at 13% and made it illegal for an African to buy or rent land from a white. Thus the African was forced to become a landless labourer based on the reserves. Excess African labour supply ensured survival wages only.

The Pact Government of 1924 (which brought together the white skilled trade unionists from Creswell's Labour Party and the Nationalists) continued the repression. It was the failure of the 1922 Rand revolt, where the white mine owners' attempts to cut costs by employing African workers caused a strike by the white labour aristocracy, which had to be violently crushed that led two years later to the success of the workers demands at the polls. The repression again built on former Acts and policies.

- a) The Mines and Works Act (1924) codified white job reservation
- b) The so-called civilised labour policy by which unskilled non-whites in state and parastatal ventures (such as the railways) were replaced by whites at high statutory minimum "civilised" rates of pay.
- c) The extension of pass laws in the Native (Urban Areas) Acts of 1923 and 1930 and the introduction of the Department of Labour and labour bureaux further controlled the mobility of the African.

Land and labour were thus increasingly controlled. But the Pact Government and the 1948 Nationalist Government continued the same direction of profit maximisation through various state subsidies and protection of fledgling industries from outside competition.

This has increasingly been through parastatal organisations for the supply of basic goods and services needed in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. The list of industries includes rail transport, iron and steel manufacture (ISCOR), electricity generation (ESCOM), oil from coal production (SASOL), uranium enrichment (UCOR), fertilizer production etc.

It is clear from the above that the Nationalist Government since 1948 has simply continued the policies and directions of the previous three hundred years. They have only implemented the system more rigorously through a more systematic application of apartheid and with continued foreign assistance in the form of investment, banking services, military aid, manufacturing and technical co-operation. It is to this assistance that action groups in Europe should turn.

(1) H.J. and R.E. Simons: *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969, p23. Both the British colonies and the Boer Republics had their own Masters and Servants laws and these laws were all incorporated into the legislation of the Union.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD MINES: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS BLACK AFRICAN NEIGHBOURS.

Summary of lecture by Hans Georg Hrach, and subsequent discussion

1. History and structure of the mining industry

Since gold mining began in the Witwatersrand in 1886, this significant sector of South Africa's economy has had labour supply problems. The industry now depends upon migrant labour supplies from both within South Africa and the nearby countries.

The gold mining industry is highly centralised through the Chamber of Mines and the common recruiting agencies begun in 1896.

The industry has been a continual focus for the struggle between the English capitalists, the English and Boer workers and the African workers. In essence, white workers wanted to increase the scarcity of their skills and the mine owners wanted to decrease this scarcity by creating a more competitive market by employing cheaper, though not necessarily less skilled African labour. In this struggle the State has paid a far from neutral role.

White workers regarded themselves as a labour aristocracy from the early days of the industry. 1922 was the high water mark in its formation: a strike broke out on the Witwatersrand when mine owners tried to cut their costs by reducing the number of highly paid (ie white) workers and replacing some of them with Africans. The 1924 Mines and Works Act passed as a result of the 1922 Rand Revolt solidified the industrial colour bar and protected the white worker.

The position of the African worker has been determined not only by the vested interests of the white mine workers but also by the profit motive pressures of the mining capitalists. Today these pressures are increasing and this has led certain whites to support mechanisation and the formation of black unions as a means of weakening the power of the white unions and thus eventually cutting costs. It is this which has no doubt led the South African government to advertise recently:

"There are huge untapped profit deposits in South Africa" (1)

2. Labour supply in the mines

The use of foreign migrant labour within the South African mines has been and remains a significant lever that the mining companies have used to dominate the triangle of southern Africa. The number of African mine workers from South Africa as a proportion of all African employees in South African mines fell from 40% in 1950 to 23% in 1973.

The table below presents the picture of recruitment of Africans from the main sources over the years 1969 to 1973. Since then the picture has undergone a number of changes. In mid-1974, Malawi stopped

(1) Annual Mining Review, 1976 - advert placed by South African government

recruitment by WENELA (2); this was supposedly due to a plane crash in which 72 Malawians were killed, but it has also been suggested that this ban was in reality due to pressure from the OAU. However recruitment restarted in Malawi in 1976.

The number of workers from Mozambique has fallen from around 90,000 in 1973 to 70,000 in 1976. The Mozambique Convention has regulated the recruitment and employment of Mozambicans for South Africa since 1901. The Convention includes a deferred payment clause under which South Africa paid Mozambique in gold annually part of the workers' wages. Due to the recent difference between the official and market price of gold, the Portuguese Government was able to use the proceeds of the sale of this gold to finance its war against FRELIMO. With an independent Mozambique, the South African Government wishes to substitute Rand for gold and has thus restricted the flow of Mozambique workers into South Africa as a lever against its neighbour.

In recent months the proportion of black mine workers coming from Zimbabwe and from inside South Africa has increased. It is estimated that by the end of 1976 there were about 30,000 black Zimbabweans working in the mines. From South Africa itself the proportion is now around 43% of the total African labour force in the mines - around 180,000. It is clear that the South African Government is fearful of too great a dependence on foreign workers and has thus both increased labour recruitment within the homelands and started to play the nearby black governments against each other.

1973: Composition of nationality of labour force in gold mines (3)

Lesotho	76,300
Botswana	17,800
Swaziland	4,600
Malawi	106,900
Mozambique	87,100
South Africa	85,000
Total	377,700

1975: Composition of nationality of labour force in gold and platinum mines (3)

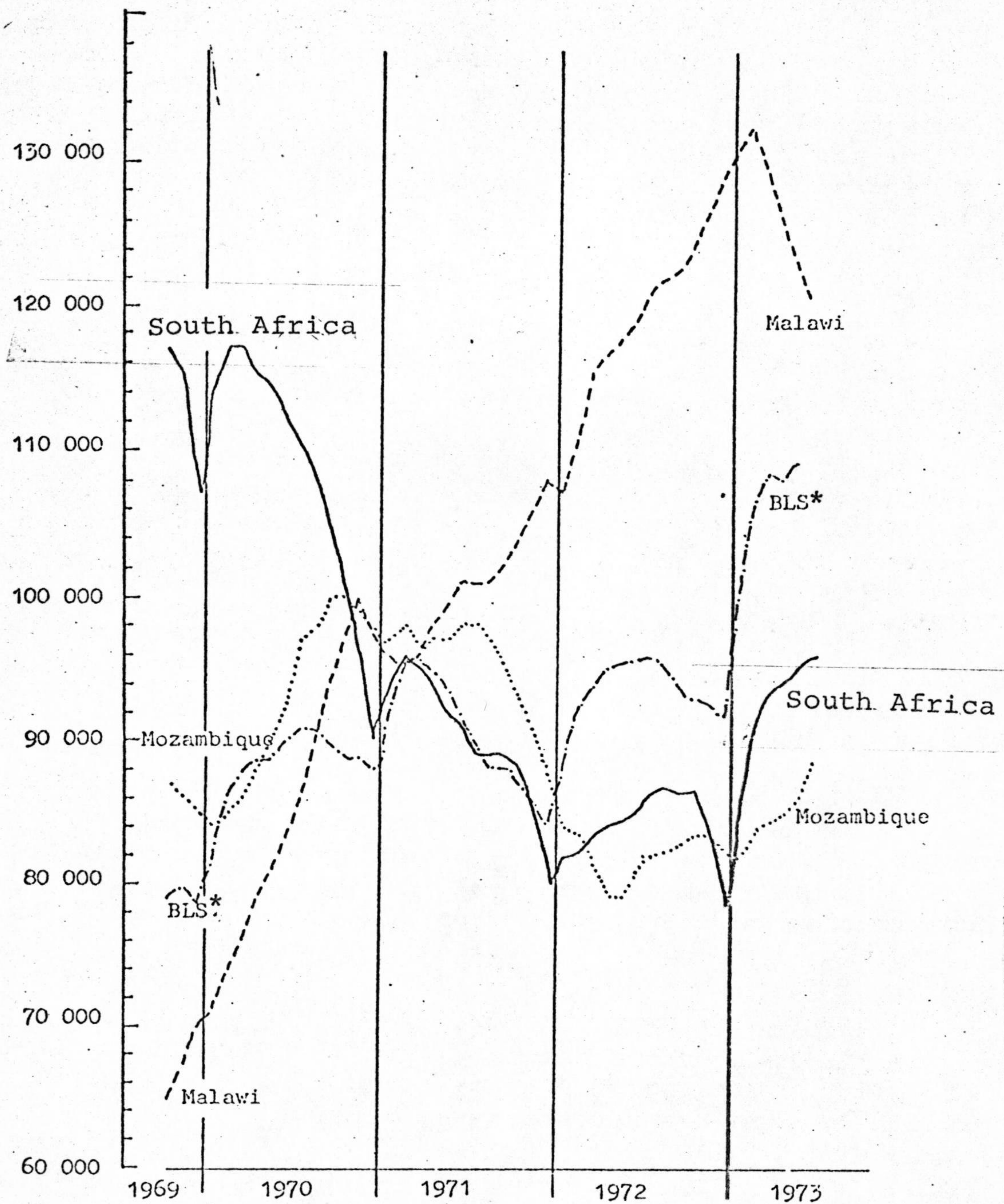
Lesotho)	
Botswana)	125,000 (30%)
Swaziland)	
Mozambique	98,000 (24%)
Tropical areas (4)	11,000 (3%)
South Africa	180,000 (43%)
Total	414,000

See Figure 1 below for main sources of recruitment

-
- (2) Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
 - (3) Source: Department of Mines
 - (4) Areas north of 23° S latitude i.e. Malawi

Figure 1

MAIN SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT OF AFRICAN MINE WORKERS



Source: Chamber of Mines of South Africa

*BLS: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland

3. Mechanisation

There appear to be a number of interrelated reasons why South African gold mines are beginning to experiment and research mechanisation methods.

- (a) As the market price of gold is no longer fixed, a potential for higher profits now exists. This could come about by cutting costs through mechanisation eg no explosions, relatively lower wage bill per unit of output, three shifts per day, less waste material transported to surface etc.
- (b) To cut the wage bill particularly for white workers
- (c) To render the 1924 Mines and Works Act irrelevant by removing the need for the use of explosives and hence for (white) miners with a blasting certificate. This will contribute to breaking the power of the white labour aristocracy and give more power to the mine owners.
- (d) The recruitment of white workers is becoming more difficult
- (e) The need for South Africa to reduce its dependence on black foreign workers from exporting countries due to their increasing political instability.
- (f) Mechanisation will enable the mining companies to make "more productive use" of its black labour force, and thus pay them a little more, whilst simultaneously making higher profits.

To carry out a mechanisation programme it is initially necessary for the companies to reduce the rate of labour turnover. This is being done by the construction of black townships for the worker and his family adjacent to the mine. By the end of 1976, it was estimated that 10% - 12% of workers were housed with their families in such new housing.

With a reduced rate of labour turnover, the companies can afford to invest in the training of Africans which is done "like the training of parrots" according to one white supervisor. A specially designed language is used to train illiterate and unschooled black Africans to operate and repair mining machines without the assistance of Europeans. The methods are based on a learning-by-doing process.

Such a programme will clearly lead to higher profits for the companies. But with a greater stabilisation of labour turnover in other industries as well as mining (due also to capitalisation), it is likely that the rates of unemployment for black South Africans will increase.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND STATE REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Summary of lecture by Selim Gool.

1. The State Sector

Foreign capital from western Europe and USA invests heavily in the South African private industrial sector, mostly in the more dynamic industries such as electronics and the motor industry. This investment is in partnership with local South African capital but foreign capital also invests through loans in parastatal industries such as I.S.C.O.R. and E.S.C.O.M. For all these investments, the State Sector is vital. Its role is shown in diagram 1 below.

The State Sector is essentially the machinery to control labour by various means in order to cheapen the price of inputs such as electricity, iron and steel, fertilizers etc; and thus it plays a key role in the process of capital accumulation and high profitability.

Thus the State Sector has a number of concrete objectives which include:

- controlling reproduction of labour power through the Bantustan policy,
- controlling migration of unskilled African labour through pass laws
- restricting development of trade unions for Africans
- subsidising transport, credit etc for agricultural industry

Through these means the State (including the parastatal industries) can maintain a sufficiently attractive business climate for foreign investors.

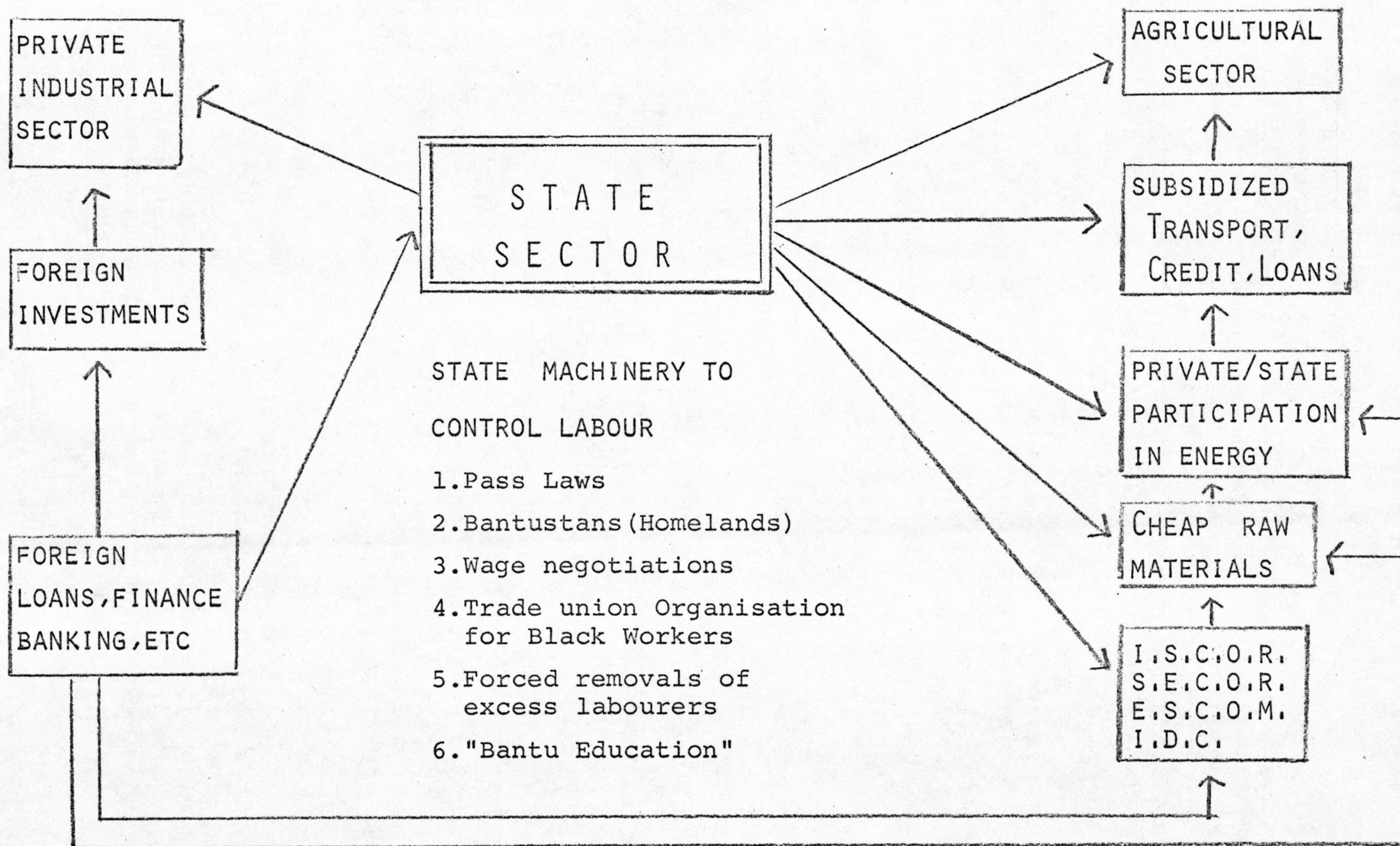
2. Anglo-American Corporation

The above is a simple theoretical outline of the role of the South African State. At a more practical level we can consider the particular example of the private industrial sector. Diagram 2 below illustrates one large South African trans-national corporation and its links in South Africa and abroad - namely the Anglo-American Corporation.

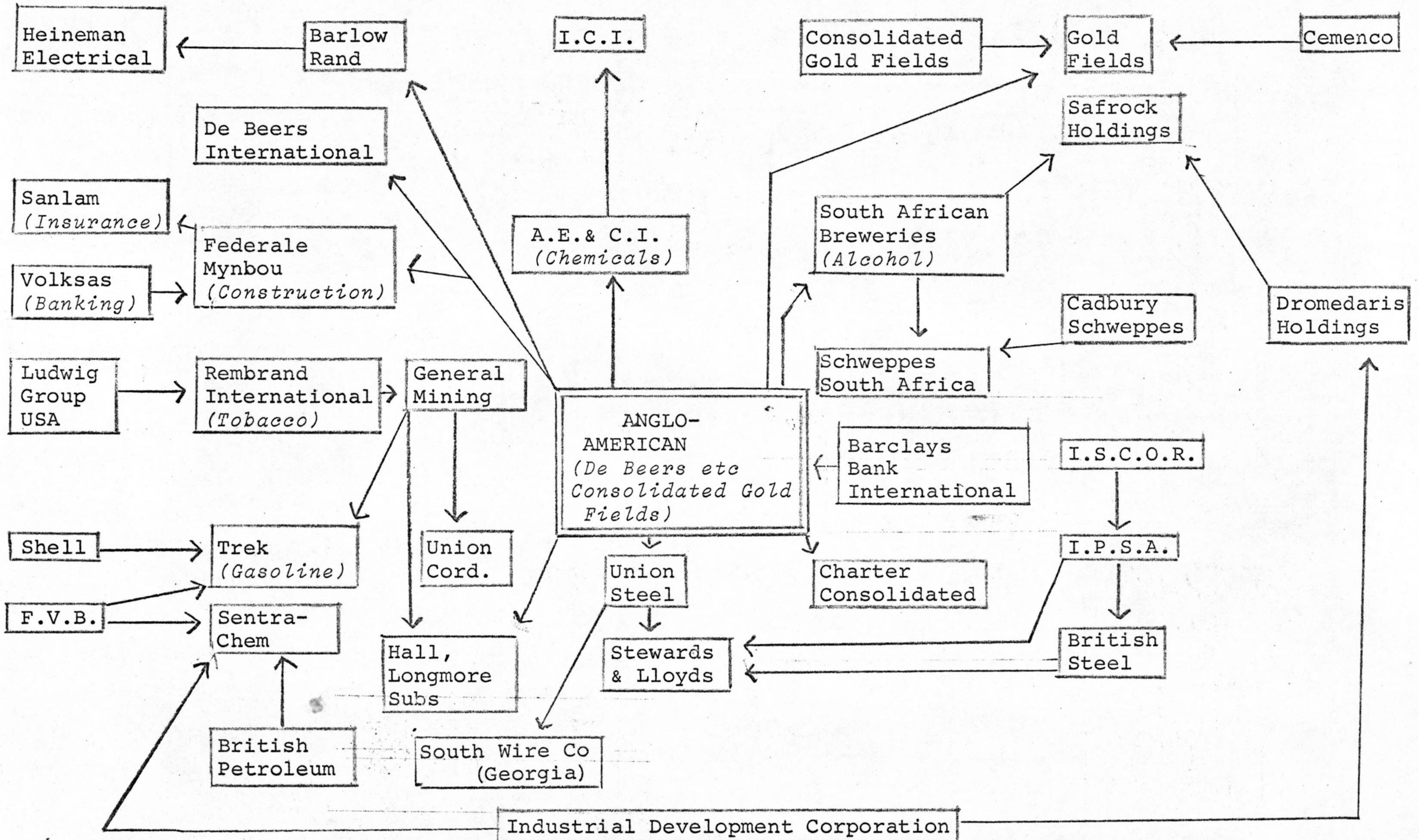
This company is the fulcrum of the South African economy with foreign capital from USA, FRG, and UK linking with the predominant South African interest of the Oppenheimer group. The diagram illustrates clearly the complex pattern of interpenetration and shows that it is false to separate one sector or one industry in South Africa from the totality of the economic, social, and political structure. Because of state legislation, company structures have developed out of the repressive role of the State - a role which since the early colonial period has been used to cheapen labour and thus other inputs for industry and agriculture.

It is therefore clear why solidarity movements, research programmes, and trade unions etc are making mistakes if they look at one company alone. For example Barclays Bank International cannot be analysed in isolation. The system of interpenetration is such that

DIAGRAMMATIC PRESENTATION OF ROLE OF STATE SECTOR IN
SOUTH AFRICA



U . K .



one private company is linked to other companies, to parastatals and the whole repressive apparatus of the State Sector.

3. Foreign Investment in South Africa

As has been shown capital in South Africa is so interdependent (and this comes from the historic forces of capital accumulation in South Africa (farming), from mining (Anglo-American), foreign investment, and state capital) that to separate one company from another is artificial. Thus to differentiate between so-called "good" and "bad" investors is also absolutely wrong. In a situation in which there is an absence of collective bargaining on the part of workers, where the State has both the right and the power to move labour where and when it wants, capital reaps all the benefits of super-exploitation. This is the link between foreign investment and the State Sector.

Every capitalist class wishes to cheapen the cost of labour as a result of its profit-seeking methods of production. In South Africa there is a continual discussion of the comparative wage levels of different skills in Europe and South Africa. This discussion is misplaced as it ignores the repression of the State Sector in South Africa.

For example European workers have trade unions and political parties to protect their interests as a result of 150 years of political struggle. In South Africa this has not happened as the State has practised every means of restricting collective bargaining, forced removals, limited education etc in order to push workers into industry and keep the price of the labour low.

The Bantustans are an integral part of this war against African workers. They (and the homelands) have been established to enable labour power to be reproduced. Their population consists of women, children, the old and disabled. All men of working age are forced into industry or agriculture. The women remain to reproduce labour power for work outside - in the mines, factories, and farms.

The competition between capital in South Africa is latent. All are agreed to reap the benefits of State repression. None of the legal parties, whether Nationalists, Liberals, United Party or Progressives challenge this machinery. The super-profits of all companies, whether transnational, or whether Dutch or Anglo-Saxon capital, depend upon a state machinery which has grown up over 300 years and which no-one wishes to dismantle. Thus competition remains at a low level with such an interdependency of private and state capital with apartheid.

Foreign investment in South Africa occurs because the rate of profit there is higher than the world's average due to cheap labour policies outlined above. Liberals in Europe have long argued that foreign investment in South Africa will help African workers to gain higher wages. This is not true! It will only increase profits. The liberals have also stated that the apartheid economy will collapse internally due to lack of skilled labour and low capital investment. Again this is not true. The South African economy has functioned brilliantly and capitalists view it as a model of a totalitarian state.

4. South Africa and the rest of the world

The South African economy has managed to achieve its high rate of profits due to the totalitarian means of controlling labour through a state machinery. Every European government is now attacking the standard of living of its workers to revive profitability and their means are often comparable with those used in South Africa.

Despite the high level of exploitation of European workers (relatively high profits per worker due to high capital investment) the rate of profit has been falling. It is thus preferable for export capital to seek a non-European base in its struggle for profits. South African and other Third World Countries such as Brazil and Iran where the workers are not organised provide the possibility of a revival of profitability for European companies.

5. The struggle in Europe

Students and workers in Europe need to relate to their own situation - one of unemployment, inflation, and wage freezes. These are the means used by capitalism to try to raise its profitability in Europe. But for the present investment capital is seeking alternatives in the Third World, including South Africa. Investment there, however will only accelerate the expansion of the apartheid economy. Thus the current unemployment crisis in Europe and the maintenance of white supremacy in South Africa are different aspects of the same process. The fact that there is greater scope for investment in South Africa can always be used as a threat by European firms in their conflicts with workers. Hence workers and students in Europe have an interest in fighting apartheid in South Africa. They must struggle in solidarity with the African workers by fighting against capitalism both in Europe and in the Third world.

ACTION CASE STUDIES - A ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION

A Summary of activities presented at the round table and at other times during the workshop - selected countries

1. Netherlands

a) School lessons

These are given to pupils aged between 15 and 18 by one section of the Groningen group. The objectives of these are:

- To trace the links between the social system in the Netherlands and that in South Africa
- To present information
- To emotionally involve the students

The course consists of 3 lessons over a period of 3 weeks

b) Outspan boycott

This is a boycott of Outspan oranges intended to reach individual and institutional consumers as well as traders.

The objectives are:

- To give information
- To lead to more direct forms of action from churches, trade unions etc

The approach is

- i) A letter is sent to traders asking them not to sell Outspan products
- ii) Campaigns are held to encourage individuals and institutions to boycott. These use films, street theatre, meetings (in churches, schools, political parties, youth clubs etc), an information bulletin, pickets outside shops, adverts in newspapers (paid for by sympathetic city councillors).

The conditions for a successful boycott are

- i) Good organisation
- ii) Many people
- iii) All participants to be aware of the background to the boycott and fully up to date on the current developments in South Africa
- iv) Knowledgeable of trading arrangements in the country and city
- v) To have made an exact evaluation of the successes and failures of previous boycotts

c) Bank boycott

This idea originated during the Vietnam war in the USA where action groups campaigned against companies and banks assisting the war. In the Netherlands banks have and are giving loans to private and parastatal companies in South Africa.

The campaign in the Netherlands began by individual questioning by Church members of directors of certain banks: this was possible through personal links. To assist this individual action support groups were begun.

The action in Groningen took the following forms:

- i) Two members of the Action Group talked to the local branch management of a particular bank and asked them to withdraw their investments in South Africa.
- ii) Following their refusal 30 or 40 people regularly picketted all branches of this bank in Groningen. They handed out leaflets and attempted to discuss with customers, many of whom were for the first time confronted personally with the bank's involvement in South Africa.
- iii) The Action Group had printed special cards and these were given to customers to complete if they wished. These cards read:
"Because of the bank's involvement in South Africa, I withdraw my account and wish it to be transferred to"
- iv) Special leaflets were given to employees stating that the boycott action was not directed against them personally but against the bank as an institution.
- v) It is estimated that around 100 people withdrew their accounts.

The Groningen group also participated in a one-day national campaign against a particular bank. This bank countered with an advertising programme to coincide with the day. Their counter-offensive took the form of leaflets etc using the following arguments:

- in doing business political points of view do not count
- withdrawal of involvement in South Africa will mean unemployment for some staff in the Netherlands

The conditions for a successful boycott of banks are:

- i) A focus on those banks with the clearest involvement in South Africa
- ii) A very informed action group - all all economic aspects of the bank's activities.

2. Yugoslavia

For six months ending 31/3/77 the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia has run a general campaign in support of liberation struggles and for solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression. This has covered a number of countries including those in Southern Africa.

The objective of this campaign was:

- To give information
- To raise consciousness
- To collect material support (finance etc)

The means used, with the UN Clubs Federation playing a major role in this campaign have been:

- i) Talks and exhibitions in schools - prepared by members of the UN Clubs Federation
- ii) Production of posters and leaflets

- iii) Collection of 1 dinar per pupil in schools for the assistance of victims.

3. Poland

The objectives of the work of SSP ONZ on southern Africa (in co-operation with the Committee of Foreign Solidarity) have been

- To give information to university students
- To raise the level of awareness

The campaign has concentrated on three areas of support: ANC in South Africa, SWAPO in Namibia, and MPLA in Angola. It has also given consideration to the dissemination of information on apartheid.

The format of this campaign has been:

- i) Student seminars throughout the universities of Poland
- ii) Studies and research work by the students in Katowice
- iii) Cultural activities performed by members of the liberation groups.

TEACHING METHODS FOR USE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA QUESTIONS

Summary of Round Table Discussion led by Veslemøy Wiese

1. The starting point for this Round Table was a presentation by Veslemøy Wiese about her objectives in the preparation of the teaching aid:
 - to teach English
 - to stimulate analysis of the situation in southern Africa
 - to counteract the current trend in education which which trains students not to think
2. What was the procedure used?
 - a) To consider previous knowledge - it seemed that most people in Europe had a superficial awareness of apartheid as a racial division but their awareness went no further.
 - b) To relate to the life situation of people in Europe the life situation of the people of southern Africa. This could be done through comparisons of:
 - migration and its procedures
 - education
 - lack of food
 - external investment
 - c) The means used for this must be appropriate to the audience. In the particular example under discussion - non-working middle class housewives in Norway - this was through the use of folk stories and history.
 - d) It is intended that these methods will stimulate an analysis of the southern Africa situation.
3. It appeared that the "Ambassador System" used for the teaching of international education in Yugoslavia (ie where each participant regularly presents information on one part of the world or one country) could be modified to relate more to the historical context of Yugoslavia. For example this linkage has already been accepted in the case of the PLO and the partisans during the Second World War.
4. The Dutch schoold group were trying to create this linkage but had a number of difficulties:
 - the time factor: the education authority only permits the group three lessons
 - the politically conservative nature of the education authority and the need for a cautious presentation
 - nevertheless certain parallels were made such as dividing the class using personal characteristics
 - other pressure points used to relate Netherlands with South Africa were the imminent closure of a nearby Dutch textile factory and its movement to Durban, thus creating unemployment in the Netherlands; and also cultural, family, and sports links.
5. Such linkages should also be used in leaflets and where possible other publicity material. The Swedish Group had done this by making a leaflet based on interviews with two or three persons and their attitudes to South Africa. As these were local figures their views were able to reach the consciousness of the public to a greater extent.

WORKING GROUP A : TUESDAY 12th APRIL 1977

1. Domination by South Africa over the neighbouring countries exists in a number of forms - trade, labour migration, company structures, military presence etc. However although Angola and Mozambique are now independent sovereign states they are not able to escape the influence of South Africa. For example Mozambique had, at least until recently been sending black workers to the South African mines - though these numbers had now decreased due to Mozambique's refusal to accept changes in the means of payment.
2. The war in the south of Angola continues, and Angola is being continually threatened by the presence of South African troops in Namibia. The situation on Angola's northern border remains unsolved with mutual accusations of assisting rebel forces.
3. It was agreed that French, Belgian and American support for Zaïre in its fight against the "Katangan rebels" must have pleased the South African government, as since Cuban military support for MPLA in Angola it has continually tried to involve western powers in the fight against "communism" in Africa.
4. Some discussion of SWAPO followed both in terms of its internal support and its strategy. SWAPO is often accused of being overwhelmingly composed of Ovambo people but it now had the support of the Asian population in Namibia and a number of other (albeit smaller) African political groups.
5. There was also some discussion of the key strategic elements in the southern African military and political conflict. These included:
 - Although Angola and Mozambique are now liberated they remain weak
 - South Africa is continually improving its military and energy supplies
 - Namibia is a weak link in the South African line of defence. There had been a recent intensification of activity by the liberation forces and a consolidation of political power benefiting SWAPO.
 - In Zimbabwe there was also an intensification of military activity.
 - After Soweto South Africa was strengthening its links with friendly powers. This included an increase in US private loans to South African private and parastatal industries, and increased collaboration in the South Atlantic arena.
 - Through the development of nuclear energy with the assistance of FRG South Africa was making itself increasingly self-sufficient in this area.

WORKING GROUP B : TUESDAY 12th APRIL 1977

1. Due to the low wages paid to African workers and consequently their low purchasing power, South Africa's economy produces more goods than its market can consume. Hence in order to avoid unemployment it must rely on exports to western markets.
2. The black middle class in South Africa remains tied to apartheid and as such cannot be an agent for real change. Despite this

currently ambiguous position they are currently identifying themselves more with African workers.

3. Zimbabwe remains both economically and politically tied to South Africa. It is for this reason that considerable stress is laid within certain circles on the armed liberation struggle. ZIPA's role in the current situation is crucial, though it was not clear how much support they had within Zimbabwe.
4. Despite the high number of Mozambique workers in South Africa, their social and economic isolation in the mine compounds prevented them from participating in the recent strikes and demonstrations.
5. The Black Consciousness Movement has grown rapidly but it seems not to have yet developed the necessary organisation to lead to revolutionary change.

WORKING GROUP A : WEDNESDAY 13th APRIL, 1977

1. The role of the non-aligned countries in putting pressure on the Vorster regime has so far been insufficient. This is because the non-aligned countries have not such vital interests in the region as the western countries and do not act as concertedly as the socialist countries.
2. There was a specific discussion of the situation in Malta where at present there is no Anti-Apartheid group. However although both Cyprus and Malta have no direct economic link with South Africa, such a group could raise the level of awareness and information amongst students and young people.
3. The value of a boycott was discussed. It was agreed that it was a means of political education. For example the Outspan Orange boycott in the Netherlands was considered an excellent way to reach consumers and thus influence public opinion. But it has to be borne in mind that it is a sensitive weapon as failure will push public opinion in a negative direction.
4. The discussion of the boycott of banks also raised the issue of acceptance of such an action by the general public. In the Netherlands certain banks were selected, but public opinion may react negatively against this and call it discriminatory. This was particularly the case with a one day boycott.
5. A further practical difficulty lay in talking to bank customers as they often felt embarrassed about talking to someone on a picket line. They are in a hurry and thus it is difficult to discuss.
6. The non-aligned countries have a positive advantage in their favour on action on Southern Africa as they are outside the East West conflict and can therefore act freely from bloc interests.
7. There are strong ties between Israel and South Africa and bilateral trade between these two countries increased 13% in 1976.

WORKING GROUP B: WEDNESDAY 13th APRIL 1977

1. The group agreed to concentrate discussion on areas of activity open to students.
2. Each member of the group stated areas where they had been involved in action against South Africa
 - a) Exposure of research links between Western European universities and South Africa in the military field.
 - b) Support for African students from South Africa in taking courses at Western European universities and technical colleges.
 - c) Exposure of university investments in companies with investments in South Africa and action to get these investments withdrawn.
 - d) Action against the appointment of certain academics and administrative staff from white universities in southern Africa.
3. There followed discussion of a number of other possible fruitful areas of information giving and action.

a) AIESEC (Association Internationale des Etudiants en Science Economiques et Commerciales) and IAESTE (International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience) - the need to research which companies in South Africa employ such students and which countries send them

b) Student tourism: South Africa is not a member of ISTC (International Student Conference) but NUSAS students can use their flights out of South Africa and other ISTC card holders can use their flights into South Africa.

However there was no clear consensus on whether it would be better to propose a total boycott of tourism or supply intending tourists with information on the situation in southern Africa.

c) Student sports: It was felt that we should aim for a boycott of all sports teams based on apartheid principles. It was clear however that there were moves inside South Africa to establish teams drawn up on non-racial principles. Nevertheless it seemed probable that the South African Government and/or the team itself might assert this to hide its true nature. Therefore although we should try to support teams based not based on apartheid, it would always be necessary to check the truth of such assertions prior to any student tournament or match

PROPOSED ACTION PROGRAMME *

1. Southern Africa

- a) To disseminate information on the links between Southern Africa, and Europe and North America including the activities of transnational corporations, and military trade
- b) To publicise educational methods (eg street theatre, talks from members of liberation movements etc) and disseminate educational materials (eg simulation games, films, textbooks, posters etc) for use in formal and informal educational activities including those of trade unions, schools, and universities.
- c) To encourage universities, polytechnics and technical and vocational colleges to provide scholarships and study places for qualified political refugees, particularly in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising.

2. South Africa

- a) To implement consumer boycotts as a means of raising awareness and using products such as fruits and tobacco
- b) To research into the links between tertiary educational institutions and South Africa, such as staff and student exchanges (eg AIESEC and IAESTE (1)), tourism, sports, and research (especially military research) aimed at benefiting South Africa
- c) To publish information on current developments in South Africa, including its nuclear imports and production
- d) To support, where possible, requests for aid from the liberation movement in South Africa
- e) To work with other organisations to give political support to the efforts of the liberation movement to achieve total independence
- f) To support sports and cultural boycotts aimed at isolating the minority regime.

3. Namibia

- a) To act in all possible ways for the full recognition of SWAPO by all governments and for an independent Namibia and against all attempts to reach solutions to the problem that differ from the UN declarations
- b) To support, where possible, requests for aid from SWAPO
- c) To implement consumer boycotts as a means of raising awareness using products exported illegally from Namibia, and against companies carrying out such trade (eg Del Monte Corporation (2)).

4. Zimbabwe

- a) To support politically the liberation organisations working for an immediate independence for Zimbabwe and against all attempts of the white settler regime or outside powers to impose solutions to the problem without the full agreement of the people of Zimbabwe

**This Action Programme will be further discussed by the ISMUN Executive Committee (EC 22/5). It is reproduced here to stimulate discussion and debate.*

- b) To publicise all attempts by governments, companies and other trading organisations to breach, in any way the UN declared sanctions
- c) To support, where possible, requests for aid from the liberation movement in Zimbabwe.

5. Malawi

- a) To publicise South African domination and its effects in Malawi
- b) To publicise violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the country.

6. Mozambique and Angola

- a) To expose all attempts by the South African government to invade the territorial integrity of either Mozambique or Angola either by military or economic means
- b) To publicise the efforts made by the governments of Mozambique and Angola to reconstruct their economies and break contacts with the minority Southern African regimes
- c) To publicise and assist attempts made by the governments of Mozambique and Angola to recruit skilled and technical workers in agreement with the political and economic process of bringing full development to their countries.

NOTES

- (1) AIESEC: Association Internationale des Etudiants en Sciences Economiques et Commerciales
IAESTE: International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience
- (2) Del Monte Corporation has two important operations in southern Africa: 100% ownership of the South African Preserving Co. and a contract with a South African fishing firm to export sardines caught off the coast of Namibia. These latter operations violate the UN Decree banning exploitation of Namibia's resources as long as South Africa illegally occupies Namibia.

GENERAL EVALUATION OF WORKSHOP

Saturday April 16, 1977

(This is a summary of some of the points raised during the final evaluatory session by different participants)

1. Programme

- a) Insufficient attention given to the examination of objectives and to the continual evaluation of these as an ongoing process throughout the workshop
- b) The objectives of the workshop should have been more closely defined from the beginning
- c) The direction of the workshop was insufficiently action orientated
- d) There should not be a too-rigid division between theory and practice

2. Structure

- a) Too much concentration on lectures and insufficient time for group work
- b) Too few lectures - more emphasis should have been given to outside specialists who could stay with the group for $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 day
- c) The importance of discussion of alternative forms of action including films, posters, pamphlets etc
- d) Working groups of 7 or 8 persons were too large
- e) Wide range of background of participants (social systems, level of knowledge, type of ISMUN group) made vigorous discussion difficult

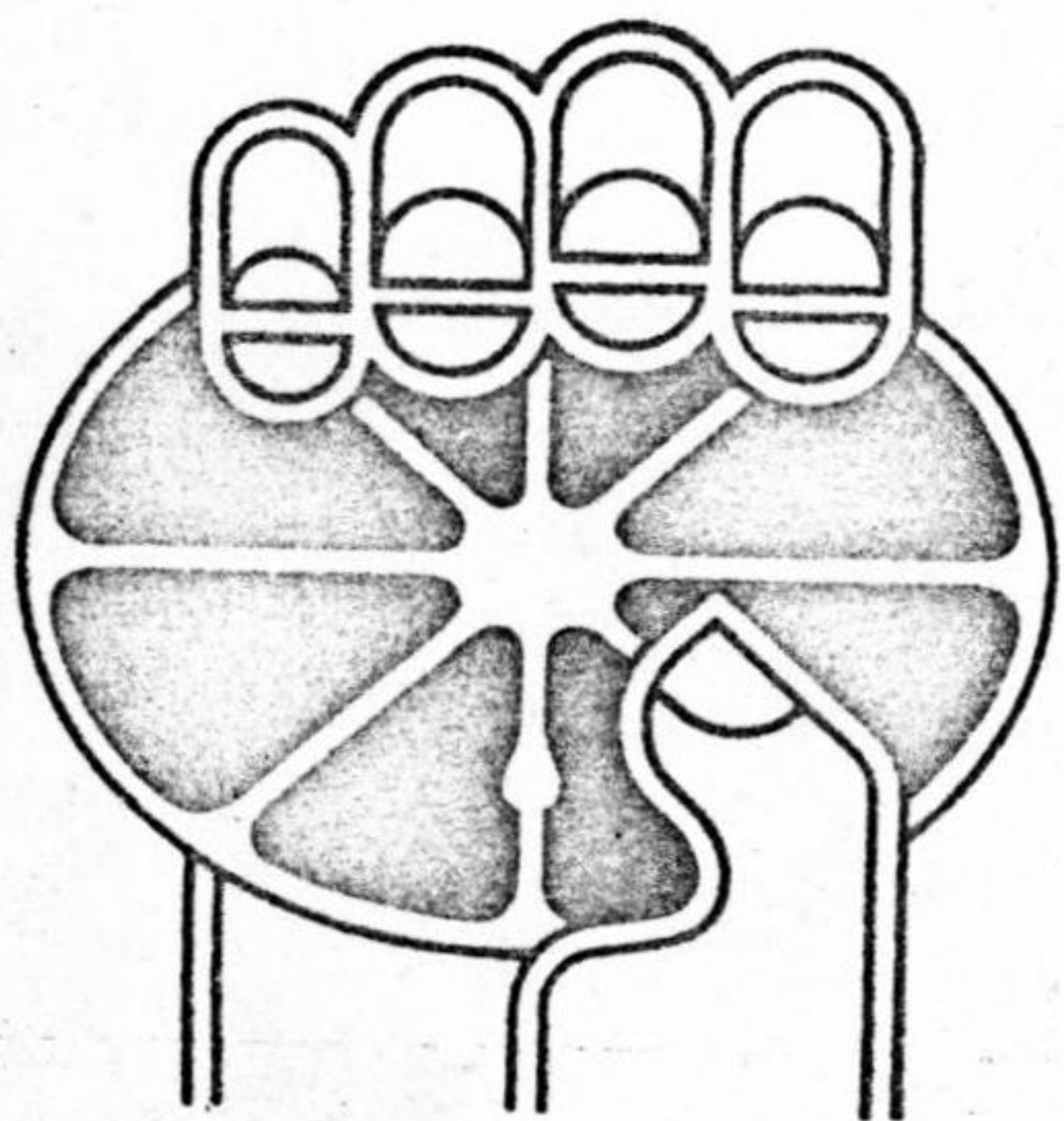
3. Technical

- a) Need for a break in the middle of a meeting lasting one week
- b) Benefits of an informal setting and co-operative household arrangements

4. Conclusion

- a) A stimulus to the establishment of new Anti Apartheid groups was given - namely in Cyprus and Malta where up to now they do not exist
- b) A true evaluation cannot be done within a week and should be considered over six months.
- c) The range of experience, information, and social backgrounds might have been too wide for one such meeting to meet all the expectations of all the participants.

EVALUATION BY DUTCH PARTICIPANTS*



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a) Program.

In the advance notice the program looked well. On the workshop itself the documentation only turned out to be very good. Only one of the invited experts on Southern Africa showed up; he made a very useful contribution.
(details: see the advance notice)

b) Problems.

- 1) The group was heterogeneous in various respects: nationality, knowledge of facts about Southern Africa, knowledge of background information, experience with actions in connection with Southern Africa, situations at home, where in possible actions must be carried on.
Except concerning nationality all these points made it difficult to make a fruitful week out of it; a ~~lecture~~ lecture was always only interesting to a part of the group; it was hardly possible to exchange action-experiences and to give each other new impulses.
- 2) The not turning up of experts was already mentioned under a).

c) Results.

1) To the Southern Africa group - Groningen.

It was our expectation to reach a higher ~~level~~ theoretical level (particularly by lectures and documentation), but especially to get stimulants to set up new actions by discussing critically various actions and strategies practised in the different countries. It will be clear from b) that we did not succeed in this.

2) To SIB.

The "Dutch delegation" displayed decent involvement and knowledge in connection with Southern Africa. Sometimes the other participants who in their "SIB" "specialize" themselves in various topics, considered this as one-sided.

3) To ISMUN.

Some new contacts were made and some old contacts were renewed.

4) Concrete agreements.

The discussion about a possible and practible joint action resulted as follows: all ISMUN-organisations are asked to held an investigation into contacts between their country and South Africa in educational field, particularly student-exchanges, ~~the~~ teacher-exchanges, traineeships, joint projects etc. (exact enumeration will be in the workshop report of ISMUN secretary). The collected data can be spread bundled via the ISMUN secretariat or ~~via~~ by a member-organisation.

d) Suggestions for improvement.

A necessary condition in order to succeed is a certain homogeneity irrespective whether it is concerning actions or academic subjects. It may be better to give ~~xxx~~ indications beforehand:

- a) from which level of knowledge the workshop will start.
(evt. set a list of baseliterature)
- b) concerning actions: what experiences will be expected (for example: mention types of actions).

PROGRAMME

April 10: Arrival and Registration

April 11: Opening Session

- Introduction by each person of him/herself and the activities of their organisation

- Examination of objectives of workshop

- : A historical review of the economic roots of political repression in South Africa - Selim Gool

April 12: The South African Gold Mines: Recent Developments and the changing relationship between South Africa and its black African neighbours - Hans Georg Hrach

- : Plenary discussion

- : Working Groups

- : Plenary discussion

April 13: The liberation movements in South Africa - Selim Gool

- : Plenary discussion

- : Working Groups

- : Plenary discussion

April 14: The liberation movements in Zimbabwe and Namibia - Tamme Hansma and Sonja Boersma

- : The liberation movement in Angola and recent political developments - Gert Klaiber

- : Plenary discussion

- : Free afternoon

April 15: Foreign investment and state repression in South Africa - Selim Gool

- : Plenary discussion

- : Round Table on action case studies

April 16: Teaching Methods for Use on southern Africa questions - a round table discussion led by Veslemøy Wiese

- : Final Session

- Discussion of Proposed action programme

- Evaluation of workshop

April 17: Departure

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