LuM/001/0003/28

# REPORT OF CONFERENCE PRICE DINAS.

## SESSION 1A REPORT ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

\* General crisis of apartheid and the balance of forces between the regime and the Liberation

movement; their allies internally and internationally.

\* Strategies of the Liberation movement and the Mass Democratic Movement to advance the struggle for a non-racial democracy; Post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAIR: REV RICHARD WOOTON

Eddie Funde, Chief Representative of the African National Congress in Australia and the Pacific; opened the proceedings by outlining the objectives and procedures of the conference. He said that the current situation in South Africa demands a forum for concerted action to work for the establishment of a democratic non-racial South Africa.

Comrade Thabo Mbeki, Secretary for International Affairs, Member of the National Executive Committee, African National Congress.

Comrade Mbeki opened by refering to the lessons the Namibian agreement has for the South African situation. He said there were three main factors that brought about the Namibian settlement:-

- Changed military balance. This had led the South African forces in Angola and Namibia to face the prospect of a rout. The international embargo on arms had prevented the regime maintaining its armed forces.
- Economic pressures. South Africa faced a balance of payments crisis. The 1987 surplus of \$US 3 billion had dropped to \$US 1 billion in 1988. The economy could not sustain a military campaign. The major factor here was the effect of economic sanctions.
- 3. White soldiers dying in Angola | Namibia. White parents started to question what the troops were doing there (in Angola's case to support a black rebel!) and to question the intervention in those countries.

The result of these factors has been that the apartheid regime has been forced to agree to Namibia becoming a united, democratic and non-racial country. They have agreed to Namibia having a Constituent Assembly with one person, one vote.

The Namibian settlement shows that it is possible to win a victory over the apartheid regime as a result of struggle. This also applies to the South African situation.

The apartheid regime is in serious crisis. In recent years, the regime has, through its four year old State of Emergency, set out to destroy the capacity of the Mass Democratic Movement to mobilise the anti-apartheid struggle. They sought to demoralise and destroy the movement through jailings, detentions, bannings of organisations, death squads, killings and executions. Despite all this repression, the regime has still failed in its objectives. They have little left in their arsenal having exhausted all these options.

The role of the ANC is crucial. The regime's attempts to destroy and marginalise the ANC has failed. This was demonstrated by the Botha-Mandela meeting which was an admission of failure by the regime.

The ANC has a very heavy program of meetings with white South Africans. The weakening grip of the regime is illustrated by the recent meeting between the Youth Section of ANC and students were first threatened by the security forces. When the students indicated they were going to defy the authorities, the police backed off. The meeting went ahead.

On their return, the students demonstrated against the racial segregation of the university. The point of all this is that regime's own constituency is increasingly aware that the system cannot survive.

The South African economy is in crisis. A story was recently told of the major sporting stadium in South Africa. For years black children would come along to collect food scraps left behind after big sporting fixtures. Recently, they have been joined by white children - an illustration of the desperate plight of South Africa's economy.

The regime is now obliged to do things it does not want to do but is compelled to do. The regime may be obliged to release the anti-apartheid leadership. If they do so, they would invite that leadership to enter into negotiations.

The regime has tried to suggest that "elected" leaders should be the ones to negotiate. They would try to get the anti-apartheid leadership (Mandela, Sisulu, etc) to sit with those "elected" leaders in negotiations. Yet we know that the coloured and Indian elections were regarded as nonsensical and farcical and hardly rated a mention. De Klerk may seek to do this but the ANC will not accept it.

The aim of the struggle has never been for negotiations but to end the apartheid system. We must make a distinction between a process and an objectives.

The Organisation of African Unity Committee on Southern Africa recently presented a document regarding the current situation to the Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement. This should be made available to the anti-apartheid movement.

The armed struggle must go on together with the international isolation of the regime. An alternative power has emerged in south Africa. It is also determining what is happening. They are going to have the ban on the ANC lifted.

The perspective is that De Klerk will be the last apartheid President of South Africa - that apartheid will be brought down in five years.

Zebedia Narabel, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

Zebedia Narabel began by outlining the reasons for the founding of COSATU - the need for a single powerful trade union federation. They decided at the start to fight for political as well as economic objectives.

The regime has sought to intimidate and destroy COSATU. The state and capital have done this through the Labour Relations Act which allows employers to sue unions and denies union rights.

COSATU has organised two summit meetings to discuss trade union unity and the Labour Relations Act. The second summit was invaded by police. They attempt to divide the workers into industrial sectors.

The unity strategy has been hampered by some unions holding back. The presence of police made this move very difficult. International support is required to assist the unity strategy.

Struggles have taken place around job security, the right to strike and recognition of unions.

The 2nd National Congress of COSATU decided to support the imposition of economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. The regime has attempted to isolate COSATU from workers by suggesting that such a course would harm workers.

International solidarity to maintain pressure on the regime is considered vital by COSATU. The 3rd Congress of COSATU decided to collect 1 Rand per worker to assist the liberation forces in Namibia in preparations for the elections because they regard the liberation of Namibia as part of the campaign to liberate the people of South Africa.

Zebedia concluded by making the point that if the international community believes in freedom, it must do all it can to ensure that everyone is free.

Rev. Bongani Finca, Black Reform (Presbytarian) Church of South Africa.

Rev. Finca brought greetings from the South African Council of churches.

For many years the churches denounced apartheid in statements and resolutions. We did this to:

- (i) locate the church theologically on the side of oppressed people;
- (ii) isolate South Africa from the rest of the world through the church's international links;
- (iii) point the way forward for the Government.

We consistently called for negotiations over South Africa's future.

At the end of the 80's the churches started reviewing our positions. Were the resolutions enough? Were the churches really serious? We concluded we were not going to bring down apartheid that way.

The churches adopted a program of action against apartheid rather than just preaching. This was aimed to do things practically. The churches now feel the struggle in their own flesh and blood.

August was set down as a month of defiance. This action will be sustained.

Negotiations are important but we have to prepare our people on the ground not to be lured into traps. We have a battle to win the hearts and minds of the people, to carry them with us so they know where we are going. We have to "de-code" the words used by the Nationalist Party.

This is our assignment as we enter the 90's. The churches will be developing leaders on the ground leading the struggle in the streets and on the ground.

## REPORT BY DON MCARTHUR AND LYNETTE SIMONS IN SESSION 1B - 16.9.89

#### SESSION 1B

- 1. United Nations' Special Committee Against Apartheid Representative H. E. Ferenc Esztergalyos
- 2. Ross Burins Department of Foreign Affairs # Trww
- 3. Dick Wootton
- 4. Mrs. Makho Njobe Deputy Head ANC Women's Section

## FERENC ESZTERGALYOS

Apartheid has prevailed for too long against the tide of world OPINION

- statements against apartheid have been loud and clear
- the UN continues the anti-apartheid stance it has taken for 40 years
- apartheid is a danger to world peace

Importance of Arusha

Need to intensify support and assistance to ANC

Objective of solidarity should go beyond NEGOTIATIONS

- should be towards a change in the political circumstances so that negotiations are successful
- SA Govt must create a climate for negotiations

How do we interpret de Klerk

Necessary to disentangle rhetoric

action to change the situation

The state of the s

Necessary to recognise and remember that the nationwide campaign of defiance commencing

was met with brutality

How can you whip people all the way to the negotiating table.

#### **ROSS BURNS**

See "Action Taken by the Australian Government"

## DICK WOOTTON

Role of churches in international solidarity

Churches need to be vitally involved - one reason for this is that we are partly responsible. Apartheid has been supported theologically.

It is imperative that churches work together to bring an end to apartheid.

#### Support -

Funding of ANC and SWAPO

Recognition that the liberation movement may have to resort to use of force

Endorsement of Shell campaign

Endorsement of campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions

Working closely with churches in South Africa

Funding South African Council of Churches (will defy govt. attempts to stop this support)

Currently heading off attempts by right wing churches to intimidate and fragment church solidarity

Commitment by SACC to spread its message throughout South Africa

The world sees the primary source of apartheid as the Boers but the PRIMARY SINS are that

people like us do not act quickly enough with sanctions which could bring apartheid down in a

couple of weeks.

Because too many people benefit from the system outside the country.

#### MAKHO NJOBE

It is imperative that this conference should translate into concrete action the recommendations made at the Arusha Conference in 1987.

The people's sanctions are effective and should not be undermined. They are difficult to organise. But the people of South Africa have shown that they do not need sympathy. They need solidarity and support from government. Grassroots sanctions are a major force in bringing about the constant visits of whites to Lusaka.

The ANC Women's Section was holding an International Conference in Holland in January, 1990.

Sanctions of fuel stressed

Also financial sanctions - banks supplying new loans to South Africa must be exposed and identified for what they are - they are anti the South African people.

Need to focus on situation of children and political prisoners.

Need to support Namibia independence. International observer teams extremely important - people need to be physically present there to ensure elections are free and fair.

#### QUESTIONS

Ross Burns was questioned about the Australian Government's commitment to the Gleneagles agreement. He was told that Canada, India, Malaysia and all Scandanavian and Nordic countries had much stronger restrictions on sporting ties with South Africa. He was asked, "When will the Government FULLY implement the Gleneagles agreement?"

Burns replied that he was not aware that Australia's interpretation of Gleneagles was challenged by other countries. He asked if it is possible to stop people who represent THEMSELVES rather than their countries from playing sport in South Africa WITHOUT infringing on civil liberties. In the same way, the Government could not control the activities of sporting bodies in flying the South African flag at tennis matches.

The second question dealt with the presence of the South African embassy in Australia. It was put to Mr. Burns that the South African government, which is an outrage to humanity, should not have any diplomatic status. The suspension of diplomatic relations would be the beginning of the de-recognition of the regime.

Mr. Burns defended the granting of diplomatic status to South Africa, stating that it in no way amounted to commendation of the system of government in South Africa. Instead, diplomatic status is a recognition that a government has effective control over a territory and is a body that must be dealt with.

He continued, saying that should Australia close Pretoria's embassy, Pretoria would reciprocate, and this would deprive Australia of the opportunity provided by the mission in Pretoria to father accurate information about what is happening in South Africa. He cited Tutu's invitation to the Australian ambassador to meet with him at the start of the defiance campaign and the participation of embassy staff in rallies further justification for the need for the Australian embassy to remain in South Africa. He referred to the extraordinary dedication of Australian embassy staff in attending funerals, meetings, visiting townships and finding out the mood of the people.

Thirdly, he was asked why the Australian Government did not contribute towards the costs of maintaining the ANC's office in Australia. In reply, Burns said that it is not the business of the Australian Government to fund one particular group. If the Australian Government funded the ANC in Australia it would in effect be saying it, among all of the lobby groups was the alternative government in South Africa, and that this would set a precedent in Australia's

relations with other countries.

#### SESSION IB

1. UNITED NATIONS' SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID REPRESENTATIVE H.E. FERENC ESZTERGALYOS

2. ROSS BURNS - DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS & Trade:

AMERICAN SERVICE SERVI

- 3. MRS MAKHO NJOBE DEPUTY HEAD ANC WOMENS SECTION

#### SESSION IC

**GEORGE VENTURINI** 

DICK WOOTON

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#### INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION WITH APARTHEID

CHAIRMAN: Maurice Keane, Chairman, Mandela Foundation of Australia
First Speaker George Venturini referred to unjust wages paid to South African mine
workers. The low wages were the essence of apartheid. In 1989 it appeared that there were
still 19 Australian companies trading in South Africa. There is also evidence that Swiss
banks have assisted with a rollover deal of \$13 billion to help the ailing South African
economy.

It appeared that there was a network of South African companies, spearheaded by the huge Anglo-American Group, controlling a number of Australian companies. So between June 1988 and June 1989 there has been a massive out flow of capital from South Africa into Australia. Yet this has not elicited any public comment by the Federal Treasurer or the Foreign Investment Board. Is the extent of capitalization of South African companies so huge that their financial influence is Australia goes unquestioned?

Dick Wooton outlined the "Shell Campaign" indicative that the Shell Oil Company has a record of deceit, having sanction - busted by supplying Rhodesia with fuel. Shell has large oil and coal interests in South Africa.

The aim of the campaign should be to achieve Shell's disinvestment in South Africa.

This is important because Shell currently fuels the army and police vehicles in South Africa, and SACC and Cosatu have encouraged the boycott of Shell products. We must plan and encourage

this boycott via interest groups, councils unions and in the work place. People and groups should write to Shell with a view to urging disinvestment in South Africa.

Cde Terry February outlined in much detail how sport is used as an aggrandoisement of apartheid. There had been total sports segregation up to the 1970's. The campaign of sports isolation forced change in South African sport to allow limited black participation. This necessitated modification to the Liquor Act, the Group Areas Act and the Urban Black Consolidation Act. A system of permits was introduced and their implementation devolved to local councils.

There has been immense company sponsorship to lure blacks into white-controlled sport. Such black participation has propaganda value for the Pretoria regime, which supports such actions by refunding 90% of company sponsorship.

Sport is enormously fragmented in its organisation and practise. For example rugby has 4 national bodies, of which only SARU is non-racial.

All our actions need to foster non-racial sport s bodies, and to contine to reinforce the international boycott of apartheid sport.. Also the National Sports Congress is the organ that is working towards a unified system of non-racial sport in South Africa.

Finally the U.N. List of sports people and entertainers who break the South African boycott is available to groups who require it in their work.

Jinno Akira from Japan outlined the economic collaboration that South Africa has with countries in East Asia. This was a trend contrary to the world tendency and involved Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Thailand in particular.

Japan imports large quantities of gold and platinum from South Africa. Gold still constitutes 25% of all of South African's revenue and a decline in the gold price is in itself a sanction. Japan imports 300 tons of gold, 50% from South Africa.

In 1987 the World Gold Counci I was founded to control gold production especially in South Africa, Australia, USA and Canada. Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan are major consumers of gold.

Further Japan imports 70 tons of platinum, mainly from South Africa. There are circuituous routes of trading in South African platinum which reaches Japan via UK and West Germany for example.

In overall figures Tiawan increased the value of its trade with South Africa from \$356 million to \$1625 million in 1988. Similarly Hong Kong increased its trade from \$356 million in 1985 to \$588 million in 1988.

Taiwan has promised Pretoria closer links, and holds diplomatic representation with South Africa. Taiwan is South Africa's 6th largest trading partner and on present trends could soon move to third place. Importantly South Africa and Taiwan exchange nuclear technology.

Hong Kong imports South African coal and steel, which is re-exported to other Asian contries, thus Hong Kong becomes a trading outpost for South Africa - like Taiwan.

Finally, Taiwan, Israel and South Korea are the main investing nations in the Bantustans, and the South Korean Government does not publish trade statistics for its South African connection - it sees the damaging effect in independent Africa.

## SESSION 2 PLENARY: 3..40 5.00 Report on Regional Solidarity Activities 89.09.16

	1.	Australia AAAM	John Moody	
	ANC Solidarity Groups South Africa ANC	George Tieman		
		Support Groups	Dr. Giem Gassiep	Graeme Samuels
-	2.	NZ		
		South Pacific		
~	3.	Papua New Guinea	Rev Leva Pat	Melanesian Council of Churches
J	4.	Western Samoa	Rev. Francis Asiata	Church and National Youth Council
1	5.	Vanuata	Hon. Hilda Lini	M.P.
	6.	Kanaky	Jacques Boenghil	F.L.N.K.S.
		North Pacific (East Asia)		
J	7.	Hawaii	Renee Furuyama	Coordinator; Hawaii Committee for Africa
J	8.	Japan	Toshio Akiniwa	Director: Japan Asia Africa Latin America Solidarity Committee J.A.A.L.A
J	9.	Hong Kong	Mark Alix	Hong Kong Anti-Apartheid Coalition H.K.A.A.C.
,	10.	Japan	Jino Akira	Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee J.A.A.C.
)	11.	Philippines	Noel Samonte	Convenor: Philippine-Africa People's Unity

## REPORT ON REGIONAL SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES

#### Introduction

Time seemed not to matter for this session. Delegates from around the region brought greetings and contributed fully to our mutual understanding of their success, strategies, campaigns and difficulties. The absolute commitment of each group to assist the liberation struggle to overthrow apartheid was most moving and an inspiration to all to intensify the struggle.

In the sharing of how each area confronts the apartheid monster, we learned of new methods and possibilities for action. A recurring theme was the linkage between the local struggle for indigenous rights and the liberation struggle in South Africa.

#### 1. AUSTRALIA

### \* AAM Victoria - John Moody

The AAM Victoria has as its strategic goal, the isolation of the racist apartheid regime.

Through the continued targeting of sports people, major input to the Shell campaign and a determined attack on BHP's involvement in South Africa gold prospecting AAM Victoria is meeting this challenge. Future action includes lobbying prior to the CHOGM meeting in October.

\* South Africa ANC Support Groups, Dr G. Gassiep gave a brief outline of work in hand.

## \* ANC Support Committee - Dr. Chris Budden

The committee's main job is the support of Eddie Funde through office and logistic support. An active network of churches, trade unions and community groups is well established. A current priority is to obtain diplomatic status and, therefore, security protection for Eddie.

\* South Africa - ANC Support Groups - Graeme Samuels

This group exists in SW Sydney to encourage greater involvement of expatriate South Africans. A major role for this group is moral and material support for the ANC Sydney office.

#### 2. PAPUA NEW GUINEA

\* Melanasian Council of Churches - Reverend Leva Pat, spoke of the awareness and concern within the MCC and PG over the apartheid issue. The MCC and PNG over the apartheid issue. The MCC officially opposes the regime, offers prayerful support for the victims of apartheid and seeks a change of heart in those in government in South Africa.

#### 3. WESTERN SAMOA

\* Church and National Youth Council. Rev Francis Asiata conveyed the concern of his church and his peole for the people of South Africa, through the Biblical analogy of the body - when one part of the body hurts, the whole body cannot function.

#### 4. VANUATU

\* Honarary Hilda Lini. In a costly and radical stand the Vanuatu government supports the South African liberation struggle unconditionally. Apartheid is the extreme form of a racism experienced daily by Pacific people. Since independence in 1980 the people of Vanuatu have realised that they are not free until all colonised people are free.

### 5. AOTEAROA / NEW ZEALAND

- \* ANC Aotearoa Paddy O'Dea spoke of the beginnings of ANC Aotearoa, its role as a support for Australian and Pacific ANC work and its involvement in the broad anti- apartheid movement. The churches' role as firm opponents of apartheid and their involvement and commitment to the sanctions campaign was highlighted.
- \* HART Aotearoa Glen McLennan covered HART's determined approach to the sports boycott and outlined the company by company and the total sanctions approaches to the economic campaign.

#### 6. HAWAII

\* Hawaii Committee for Africa. The group's coordinator Renee Furuyama told of the development of strategies which led to the University of Hawaii withdrawing its investment in South Africa and a subsequent campaign pressing its investment and a subsequent campaign pressing the Government Pension Fund to take out its US \$600 million investment in South Africa.

#### 7. JAPAN

\* Japan Asia Africa Latin America Solidarity Committee (JAALA). JAALA director Toshio Akinawa told of its three major activities: organising to assist in the establishment of the ANC Tokyo office, the mobilising of trade union support to press for sanctions, and the preparation for a tour by the Amandla Cultural Ensemble - a move that will help to mobilise the Japanese people in support of the liberation struggle.

#### 8. HONG KONG

\* Hong Kong Anti-Apartheid Coalition (HKAAC)

Mark Alix spoke of the real difficulties of organising anti-apartheid work in a city where the maximisation of profit is the predominant ethic and a transient, poorly organised work forces make trade union support unlikely. At present the best role for HKAAC is to act as a monitoring group researching the degreee of South African trade through Hong Kong.

## 9. JAPAN

\* Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee - Jino Akira referred the conference to the JAAC written report.

#### 10. PHILIPPINES

\* The Convenor of the Philippine-Africa People's Unity (PAPU), Noel Samonte, outlined the recent development of PAPU, its strong links with many sectoral organisations and the hopes for the development of a broader based, stronger PAPU. The presentation of a wall hanging from PAPU to the ANC was warmly acclaimed.

#### 11. SOUTH KOREA

\* Kim Kyung Sook drew links between the economic imperialism which exploits the people of South Africa and South Korea and also the oppressive military dictatorships which keep the lid on legitimate protest in both countries.

The state of the s