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# AWEPAA

Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid

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## Tutu calls for sanctions

Nobel Prize winner Bishop Tutu, who had threatened last October, that he would publicly campaign for economic sanctions if no genuine changes would be brought about by the government, has on April 2 announced that he unequivocally supports the call for economic sanctions. Tutu stated that he had no hope that the white minority regime would dismantle apartheid, if it were not forced to do do. "Nothing that President Botha had said has convinced me, that he and his government seriously want to abolish apartheid", he said. "We are heading for a catastrophy in this country and only action by the international community, the exertion of pressure, can save us." He called punitive measures by the international community a non-violent method to reach the aim of building a new South Africa, a non-racial, democratic and just society.

The British and US governments have reacted negatively on Bishop Tutu's appeal. So has the majority of white public opinion in South Africa, expressing concern for the consequences of such a boycott for black South Africans. Organisations representing those black South Africans, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the trade union with the largest black South African membership COSATU, as well as the ANC supported the appeal. So do 70% of the black population of South Africa, according to a recent survey by the London paper, the Sunday Times.

### South African public opinion

A survey of blacks (Africans, Indians and Coloureds) in Transvaal, Natal and Eastern Cape provinces on their favorite candidate for the presidency of a non-racial South Africa showed the greatest support for such leaders as Nelson Mandela (ANC), Bishop Desmond Tutu, Rev. Allan Boesak (UDF), Oliver Tambo (ANC) and Walter Sisulu (ANC), with percentages ranging from 17.7 to 7.7 respectively. According to the researchers, Mandela would probably have scored higher, had he not been portrayed as a dying man at the time of the survey. White opposition leader Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert (PFP) was favoured by 12.5 %, against only 4.6 for present President P.W. Botha. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Prime Minister of KwaZulu homeland and leader of the (predominantly Zulu) Inkatha movement, scored 4.1 %. The coloured and Indian leaders Hendrickse and Rajbansi, who were elected in the widely boycotted tri-cameral parliament, received 1.4 and 0.7% only.

In another survey, a majority of black respondents rejected their tribal affiliations in favour of identifying themselves as being black. This percentage increased with level of education and income.

#### South Africa most isolated country

Professor Deon Geldenhuys, head of the political science department of the Rand Afrikaans University, has analysed that South Africa is more isolated than other "pariah states" like Israel, Chile and Taiwan: diplomatically, economically, militarily and socio-culturally. For South Africa to be accepted back into the international community, a change of government policies would not be enough, he said; a change of government itself would be needed.

PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert: Botha wants to reform, not abolish apartheid

At a meeting early April, called by the United Democratic Front in Johannesburg and attended by a predominantly white audience, former PFP opposition leader Van Zyl Slabbert accused the ruling National Party that it had no intention to scrap apartheid. He declared that pressure for change would not come from inside the present parliamentary structure with its racially segregated chambers, which are based on apartheid and make the inclusion of blacks constitutionally impossible. He said that the pressure for change was being generated outside parliament: black students and workers and anxious businessmen. He urged whites to abolish apartheid, including current legislation, which divides South Africans into distinct racial groups.

On the question of black violence he said: "Historically there was apartheid before there was this violence. The violence of apartheid generated the violence of the resistance against this system. The only way of breaking through this cycle of violence is the destruction of apartheid."

In February, Dr Slabbert had resigned as the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, the opposition in the white chamber of parliament, because "the government has no serious plans to implement fundamental changes and because a peaceful future is impossible without immediate and direct negotiations with the -still banned- ANC. By staying in parliament," he said "I would only cooperate in the farce of the present parliament and again get involved in the meaningless play of white intrigues." He had come to the conclusion that the government still maintained compulsory racial and ethnic group membership as a basis for further constitutional development. "Botha has said that South Africa has outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid, but not a new, modernized concept of apartheid. ... The leaders of the extra-parliamentary opposition groups are absolutely correct. There can be no negotiations, no stability, no cooperation, as long as the South African government continues with apartheid. Apartheid must go, in every legal sense of the word."

### APARTHEID BAROMETER

#### Detentions

No. of people detained:
January 44
February 43
March 68

No. released in the last two months: 39 (This includes detainees who have been held since 1984)

No. still held: 170

These figures are estimates only, as they are the ones notified of. When Police figures are released they are much higher. Estimate of the total number of people believed to be still in detention: 300.

During the State of Emergency at least 11.500 people were detained during the eight month period, under Emergency and other legislation. Of those detained,

more than 2000 were under the age of 16.

According to figures released in Parliament by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, there were altogether 1924 unrest-related detentions made in terms of Section 50 (1) of the Internal Security Act last year, compared with 166 in 1984. Of those detained last year, 114 were charged and eight convicted. In 1984, 60 were charged and none convicted.

According to figures for 1985 provided by the Minister:

Number detained for 14 days: 505
Number detained for 13 days: 462
Number detained for 12 days: 146
Number detained for 11 days: 54
Number detained for 2 days: 405
Number detained for 1 day: 193

#### Unrest death toll

In a recent report by Race Relations it was stated that the number of deaths over the past 18 months had risen to 1237, and that 107 people died in February, making it the worst month of the emergency since August 1985, when 163 died.

#### Race reclassifications

The Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, disclosed in Parliament that last year more than 1000 people were reclassified from one race group to another. The figures were: 702 coloured people turned white; 19 white became coloured; one Indian became white; three Chinese became white; 50 Indians became coloured; 43 coloured became Indians; 21 Indians became Malay; 30 Malays turned Indian; 249 blacks became coloured; 20 coloureds became black; two blacks became "other Asians"; one black was classified Griqua; 11 coloureds became Chinese; three coloureds went Malay; one Chinese became coloured; eight Malays became coloured; three blacks were classified als Malay; no blacks became white and no whites became black.

### Health and medicine statistics

There were 44.106 reported cases of tuberculosis in South Africa last year (figures exclude "Homelands"). Of these 698 were whites; 11.421 coloureds; 595 Asians; and 31.392 blacks. Altogether 34.716 victims were hospitalised and 1455 died. (Willie van Niekerk, Minister of National Health and Population Development).

Of the 4954 applications for admission to medical schools at universities of the Free State, Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Natal, only 959 were accepted. Of these, 773 (80,6 percent) where whites; 44 (4,5 percent) coloureds; 74 (7,7 percent) Indians; and 66 (6,8 percent) blacks (Piet Claase, White "Own Affairs" Minister of Education and Culture).

#### SADF deaths

Altogether 104 members of the South African Defence Force were killed in military operations and training exercises last year, the Minister of Defence, Gen. Magnus Malan said in reply to a question by Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg). He declined to give numbers of wounded.

### Rising expenses for army, police

Key figures for the coming fiscal year 1986-87 reflect South Africa's social and security situation in a nutshell:

Police: An increase of the police force from 45,000 to 56,000 men by 1987 is planned.

Defence: Total expenditure will amount to 5,446 million Rand (£ 1,870 m), including the transfer of the surplus from the current year (R 323 m) to next year. Thus the rise is 30%. It has to be pointed out that many expenditures, such as barracks construction, are included under other headings of the budget.

Education expenditure for blacks rises by the same percentage of 30, against 20% for white education. Because of the low absolute level of expenditure, the per capita expenditure for black pupils is still seven times lower than that for whites.

Housing expenditures will rise by 25% to R 650m (£ 223m), less than half of which will be allocated to black housing, where the shortage is the most acute. Subsidies on bread will be reduced from R 200m tot 150m, which will almost certainly precipitate an increase in the price of bread at a time when inflation is already running at 20%, the highest in decades.

### Meetings with ANC

Whereas in February a majority of whites spoke out against negotiations with the liberation movement ANC, an increasing number of organisations are meeting with the ANC to discuss the future of South Africa: businessmen, students, churches, the opposition PFP, churchmen, teachers and trade unionists. The government opposes such contacts but has given up its practice of refusing or withdrawing passports of delegations to the ANC.

On March 7, the ANC, the de facto banned trade union SACTU and the recently merged trade union CO-SATU issued a joint statement in Lusaka. They favour majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, a system which cannot be separated from economic emancipation. The fundamental question of political power cannot be resolved without the full participation of the ANC, which the majority of the people of South Africa regards as their overall leader and genuine representative, the joint communique stated.

One of the most remarkable visitors was Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of the KaNgwane "bantustan", who made clear that his "Inyandza National Movement" had warm fraternal feelings towards the ANC. He supported the lifting of the ban on the ANC and both organisations opposed the "bantustans", black town councils and the tri-cameral parliament. To Mabusa this opposition meant that "we will resign if we have to, we will cross that bridge when we come to it." While reiterating its own commitment to non-violent struggle within South Africa, "Inyandza expressed its understanding of the reasons which forced the ANC to resort to armed struggle."

## US support to UNITA: AWEPAA calls on members to protest

AWEPAA has called upon its members, to protest against the supply of the highly sophisticated Stinger missile and other forms of support by the United States to the Angolan rebel movement UNITA.

Since early this year, the US administration has consistently been boosting UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and has started, against considerable protests from Congress, a military aid program for UNITA. Apart from interfering in Angolan affairs, this policy directly strenghtens the position of South Africa, the main foreign force behind UNITA. It is also impairs the chances to reach an agreement on the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia, which South Africa and the US have linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

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In spite of increased US and South African support to UNITA, Angola has indicated its willingness for parti-

of the country. Contrary to this development, the US administration has in April further complicated the situation by announcing that it wants to supply the highly sophisticated Stinger anti-aircraft missile to UNITA. The military and political situation on the Namibian and Angolan issues will further deteriorate, and the direct military support to UNITA might result in breaking the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa: the missiles will either be shipped through South African-controlled routes or -if other routes are usedthey may well end up in South African hands, because of the close military cooperation between South Africa and UNITA. Thus South Africa would come into the possession of the latest generation of surface-to-airmissiles, which the US has thus far only supplied to one of its NATO allies, the Netherlands. Finally, the Stinger delivery draws Southern African conflicts into the East-West sphere, as US under secretary of state Armacost has stated, in this context, the willingness of the US "to give support to indigenous sources of resistance against outposts of Russian influence".

Leading Democrats in the US Congress have already expressed their uneasiness over the supply of the Stinger. Members of Parliament in West Germany and the Netherlands have also asked critical questions to their

governments.

## US ambassador to SA: more sanctions unless...

US Ambassador to South Africa Herman Nickel has declared that the political pressure in the United States to implement stronger sanctions than at present is very strong and will continue, unless progress is seen to be happening in South Africa. He expected that South Africa would be in issue in the elections for the US Congress this year.

Meanwhile, on a sub-national level in the United States, the disinvestment campaign continues unabatedly. San Francisco is among the latest examples of those cities, which withdraw their South African investments and barr companies to purchase South African goods. Thousands of students have demonstrated at campuses and in front of companies with South African connections, calling for disinvestment.

The AFL-CIO affiliated American Mineworkers Union has joined the international campaign against Shell and launched a consumer boycott.

## United Kingdom: 50 + Conservative MP's form critical group

Over 50 Conservative members of the House of Commons have replied positively to an appeal by three of their colleagues to join the "Conservatives for Fundamental Change in South Africa". The initiators of the group stated, after returning from South Africa, that "it is imperative we make transparently clear to people in South Africa, of every colour and political persuasion, that there are many people in the Conservative Party in Britain who share a strong belief in the need for fundamental change there. At the moment, sadly, our party tends to be regarded as being represented by those Conservative members who ... by their words and deeds give succour to the South African government and its apartheid policies." The first activity of the group will be, now that formal links between the government and the ANC have been established (during the EC-Front Line State meeting early February, ed.) to invite representatives of the ANC as well as from other bodies, to parliament to address Conservative MP's.

## OAU call: boycott British, German goods

Secretary-General Ide Oumarou of the Organisation of African Unity has called on African states and trade unions to boycott goods from great Britain and West Germany, because of the protection by these countries of South Africa's apartheid system "even at the time of universal condemnation of the state of emergency in South Africa."

## United States: stronger sanctions to come?

In both houses of the US Congress, proposals have been forwarded to implement new sanctions against South Africa. Democratic Senator Simon from Illinois has tabled a bill to stop South Africa's coal and steel exports to the US, "as a signal to the government of South Africa that it should modify its racial policies or face further economic isolation."

In the House of Representatives, the sanctions debate is resumed on the basis of proposals by Democratic Congressman Dellums from California, containing a total embargo on trade with South Africa, denying landing rights to South African aircraft, outlawing tax benefits for firms doing business with South Africa as well as prohitibing any investment - current or future, public or private - in South Africa.

## US sanctions hit SA army, police

After a slow start because of the complexity of the matter, US sanctions on deliveries to South African "apartheid-enforcing entities, including the Police and the Military" are now being implemented. The measures apply to any goods or technological know-how "with a significant military or police function". Because of this limitation of their sales, computer and tyre companies (Goodyear) are considering to pull out of supplying South African forces. The difference with measures under the mandatory, UN imposed arms embargo is, that goods which are not strictly military-only are involved and that the main criterium for a ban is the end user i.e. the South African army, policy or other authorities in South Africa and Namibia.

## Commonwealth Group meets Mandela, UDF, Botha

The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, formed after the Commonwealth meeting on South Africa of October last year, has visited South Africa in March. Before June of this year, the group will report on the situation in South Africa and the prospects for outside mediation. This report will then be discussed by the governments of Australia, the United Kingdom, Bahama's, Canada, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe. If they are dissatisfied with the chances for progress, they are to consider "the adoption of further measures" i.e. more sanctions.

According to newspaper reports, the group saw government and opposition representatives, including both President Botha and the still-jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The group was reported to be discouraged by President Botha's attitude, that he would not take part in any dialogue with those he opposed politically, particularly leaders of the African National Congress.

The UDF had hesitated to meet the group, because of the experience with the Western Contact Group on Namibia, the possibility of giving recognition to the South African regime and setting back the struggle for liberation by the imposition of half-hearted measures for the convenience of some members of the Commonwealth. It had finally decided to meet the group, hoping that this would contribute to the isolation of the apartheid regime and assist in the eradication of apartheid. The UDF pointed out that independent surveys disclose that the oppressed people support comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. It demands the following as the beginning of a process of transition.

- o the immidiate scrapping of all racist and oppressive laws;
- o the dissolution of the bantustans and the ending of the migratory labour system;
- o the scrapping of the tricameral parliament, all local puppet bodies and other instruments of racist rule;
- o a unified and democratic education system;
- o the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of banned organisations and individuals, the return of exiles and lifting of all restrictions on speech and assembly;
- o the disbanding of the South African Defence Forces, South African Police and all other instruments of repression.

"While the UDF is not opposed to a negotiated transfer of power, bitter experience makes it sceptical of any attempts to persuade the Botha regime to negotiate at this stage.

In these circumstances we recommend the total isolation of the regime. This would include the breaking of all diplomatic ties with South Africa, expelling South African personnel from all international forums (sporting, cultural, scientific, etc.) and necessary economic action."

### New Krugerrands?

In an effort to offset falling Krugerrand sales, due to legal prohibition and boycott campaigns abroad, a new gold coin, the "Protea" will be launched. Like the old Krugerrand, there will be coins of 1 and 1/10 ounce, mainly to be used to commemorate important events and "improve South Africa's image externally". It is uncertain how a new coin with this name could serve the latter aim, as a recent South African invasion of Angola also had the code name "Protea".

### Bermuda accuses Thatcher

British Prime Minister Thatcher has personally blocked the imposition of limited economic sanctions by Bermuda, a self-governing British colony, which intended to ban the import of South African goods and the sale of Krugerrands. She opposed the import ban because this goes further than agreed upon in the Commonwealth accord, which did include, though, a ban on the Krugerrand. This measure has not yet been implemented by the UK itself, because it is supposed to be incompatible with GATT trade rules.

Several countries, among them the United States of America and the Nordic countries, have banned the Krugerrand and/or banned other imports, without running into any problems with GATT.

#### Irish fruit ban

As the first member state of the European Community, Ireland will ban imports of fruit and vegetables from the beginning of next year, as a response to a year-long strike of supermarket workers in Dublin, who refused to handle South African goods. Companies will only be granted licenses to import fruit, if they can prove that no prison labour has been used in the production. Ireland herewith follows the examples of Sweden and Norway, who introduced more absolutely formulated import bans on fruit, but used the same prison labour argument, in order to comply with GATT rules.

### European Parliament: stop coal imports

The European Parliament has in its March session called for an embargo on all coal imports from South Africa. In 1985 South Africa exported 19,6m tons of coal to the EC countries, 52% of its total coal exports, mostly to Italy and France. Denmark and the former Socialist government of France have already taken measures to put an end to imports from South Africa. As yet it is unclear, whether French policy will change under the present rightist government and Socialist President, who seems committed to maintain a strong influence on foreign policy.

## Conferences of governments, parliamentarians, NGO's

May 5-7, Second Brussels International Conference on Namibia. Solidarity conference for NGO's, political personalities etc, to mobilise world public opinion, leading towards Namibian independence. Org.: Belgian Committee against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid; SWAPO.

May 28-30, London, Seminar on the arms embargo against South Africa for UN member states and agencies, NGO's, Liberation and Anti-Apartheid Movements, experts. Org.: UN Special Committee against Apartheid and World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

June 4-6, Oslo, Conference on the oil embargo against South Africa for governments, experts. Org.: UN Special Committee against Apartheid and Government of Norway.

June 13-14, Rome, Parliamentary seminar 'Namibia' breaking the stalemate, a West European responsability'. Org.: AWEPAA.

June 16-20, Paris, World conference on sanctions against South Africa, for governments and observers. Org.: UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

July 7-12, Vienna, International Conference for the immediate independence of Namibia. Org.: UN Council for Namibia.