

LUSAKA, MARCH 1988:  
CONFERENCE REPORT



AWEPA Series-4

# SOUTHERN AFRICA'S FUTURE EUROPE'S ROLE

CONFERENCE REPORT  
on South Africa and Namibia

Lusaka, 23-25 March 1988





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**AWEPA**

The Association of West European Parliamentarians  
for Action against Apartheid

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## **AWEPA**

The Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPA) was founded in Copenhagen in 1984. Members and associates are drawn from all national parliaments in Western Europe, the European Parliament, and the parliaments of the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Japan.

The Association works in cooperation with the UN Council for Namibia, the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, the World Council of Churches, EC agencies and other organisations, to promote freedom and justice in South Africa and Namibia, and development and peace in Southern Africa. AWEPA provides practical assistance to parliamentarians throughout Western Europe, including information and analysis of developments in Southern Africa and government policies in the West, as well as coordinating and initiating parliamentary action in Western Europe.



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### **Face to face with anger**

We have had a mutual learning process. Many of our friends from the frontline have been brought face to face with some of the constraints from our Western European parliamentarians.

More important, many of our Western European parliamentarians have perhaps for the first time come face to face with the real anger there is among the activists who have carried out their own sanctions in terms of stay-aways, rent boycotts, and so on and look now to Western Europe to respond in terms of meaningful sanctions.



## Introduction



His Exc. President Kaunda of Zambia hosted and addressed AWEPA's Twin Conference "Southern Africa's Future, Europe's role", which in Lusaka dealt with South Africa and Namibia on March 23-25, 1988. His support and personal contribution to the conference created the best conditions for a successful meeting. His great hospitality assured a cordial atmosphere which contributed to a positive outcome of the conference. AWEPA thanks President Kaunda for his stimulating approach which obliges us to do our utmost in the international struggle for justice in Southern Africa.

"Justice is indivisible" said President Kaunda. Western Europe bears a heavy responsibility to contribute to the balance of power in favour of the powerless against the powerful, especially in South Africa and Namibia, mainly through the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

AWEPA appreciates it, that so many Western politicians, representing the mainstreams of European politics, were present in Lusaka to listen to the voices from within South Africa and Namibia. We thank the U.N. Special Committee against Apartheid, the U.N. Council for Namibia as well as Western governments and Non-Governmental Organisations for their financial and political support. Without this, we could not have organised this important event. The Program to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches has greatly stimulated us to organise this conference and we thank the Christian Council of Zambia for co-organising it on the Zambian side.

Broad delegations from the liberation movements, churches and other organisations within South Africa and Namibia informed the Western participants about the increasing crisis in their countries. AWEPA is grateful for this excellent opportunity to receive first hand information about the most recent developments concerning the oppression and the internal resistance.

The Western participants also got an unambiguous call from these representatives of the oppressed: *a call for sanctions*. The message from the African participants was clear: the "reform" measures taken by the South African regime remain within the framework of the apartheid structure and are intended to strengthen this structure. Therefore they can never meet the legitimate demands of the vast majority of the people.

Maintenance of white minority rule in South Africa and keeping SWAPO out of power in Namibia are the heart of the policy of the South African government. These decisions are taken not even by the white minority parliament but by a small group of very determined and ruthless people around the State President, together with the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defense. South African life is more and more controlled by the military and the police. Last year there was a 20 % increase of the defense and police budget.

The sufferings of the oppressed are going on and the situation is getting worse and worse. Nevertheless, the South Africans and Namibians are fully prepared to go on with their internal struggle for freedom and justice, taking many personal risks.

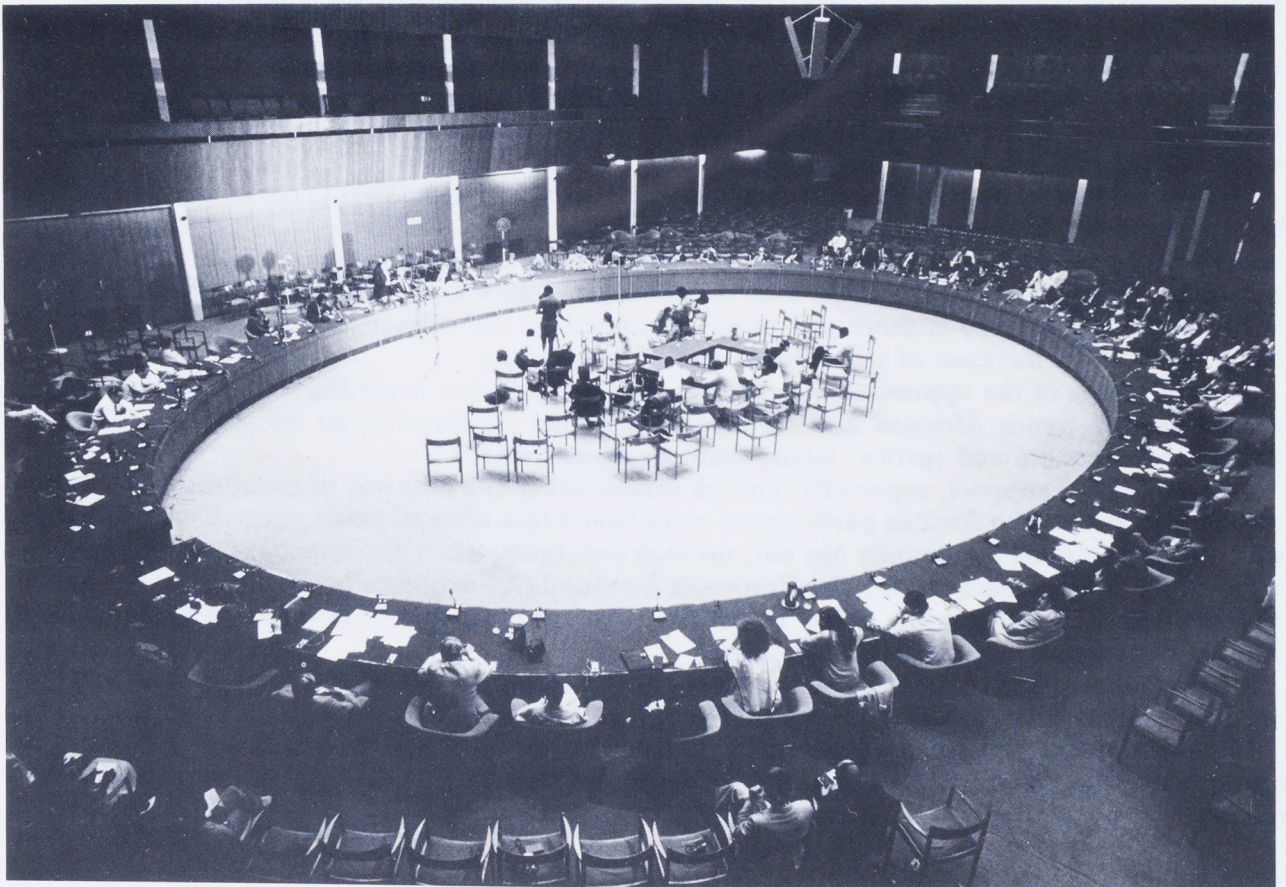
They asked our support, especially through sanctions, as the best way to assist them in the process of liberation. The African participants complained that after so many years of brutal oppression the international community has not, through sanctions, taken decisive measures against Pretoria. Most conspicuously so far the European Economic Community has failed to do so and is de facto even undermining the policy of others. Thus, Pretoria feels stimulated to go on with its internal oppression and external aggression.

It is my sincere wish that the call for justice will be heard and that the Lusaka conference is not just another conference. We need real action against Pretoria.

*May the Western participants urge their governments to choose the side of the struggle for liberation in South Africa and Namibia by imposing effective sanctions against the callous Pretoria regime.*

Jan Nico Scholten  
President AWEPA







Opening speech by the President of Zambia:  
**Dr. Kenneth KAUNDA: The most horrific tragedy**

**Africans suffer for a sin they did not commit: apartheid.**

I have noted with great satisfaction and respect the important role being performed by your Association through its commitment to promotion of peace and justice. Your Association is not only engaged in the dissemination of information to the international community, but is also committed to giving moral and material support to Liberation Movements in this region. It is, therefore, through organisations like yours that the whole international community will be awakened to one of the most horrific tragedies of our times, and hopefully put together greater efforts to fight against the evil system of apartheid.

This meeting has set itself the task of addressing the issue of "Southern Africa's future: Europe's role". This is a timely and important theme.

It is timely and important because relations between our two continents need a broader redefinition. **However, a happy phase in these relations cannot be achieved unless and until the archaic system of apartheid is fully eliminated. For, as we all know, apartheid remains not only the fundamental problem in this region but also constitutes a major stumbling block in Euro-African relations.**

The state of affairs in Southern Africa is of great concern to the world at large since it constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

***The key problem in this region remains apartheid in South Africa.***

Apartheid has brought untold suffering both inside and outside South Africa. Thousands of people have been killed, in South Africa, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique and to a lesser extent in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Yes, millions more of innocent men, women and children are being maimed every day. They are being displaced and are wandering, as I am speaking to you, in the wilderness of Angola and Mozambique. Yes, they are here in Zambia, they are there in Zimbabwe. Yes, they are there in Botswana, suffering from for a sin they did not commit: apartheid.

The racist regime in Pretoria has thrown thousands of innocent men, women and indeed even children under fifteen years into prisons and torture chambers. The only crime they have committed is to oppose that abominable system of apartheid.

#### **Outmoded colonial methods**

What I have described is not all that the Pretoria regime is doing to delay the day of change for the better – the day when apartheid is no more, the day when people of all races will be able to look at each other not through the spectacles of colour but through the acceptance of the holy teaching that man was made in the image of God. In this holy creation God has not defined man in terms of colour. The common denominator is that each one of us was made in God's image.

To perpetuate that evil system, the regime has employed detestable methods. These include making black rise against black, an out-moded colonial system of divide and rule. Through this method hundreds upon hundreds have been killed. What



the regime does not realise is that once you teach a people to kill, sooner rather than later they will apply that method on you.

Then, of course, the explosion that we in Zambia have been warning the international community about will have arrived. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the international community to assist in preventing this explosion from taking place.

In order to find a lasting solution to these problems, it is imperative that meaningful negotiations between the South African regime and the authentic representatives of the oppressed majority of South Africa should start forthwith. In this regard, the necessary negotiations are only possible if an atmosphere of freedom exists. Therefore bans on all anti-apartheid organisations should be lifted, political prisoners freed, the state of emergency terminated and apartheid declared dead.

#### **Linkage to be dropped**

The issue of Namibia has remained on the agenda much longer than anticipated. This has been so because of the extraneous linkage of the presence of Cuban internationalist troupes in Angola and the granting of independence to Namibia. We, therefore, call upon the Government of the United States of America to drop this linkage so that the Pretoria regime can be made to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and pave the way for that country's independence within the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

#### **Destabilisation**

The policy of destabilisation, which is conceived, planned, executed and extended to all neighbouring



Frontline and other independent states by South Africa, must continue to be condemned. Indeed, it must be put to an end.

The refugee problem has reached serious levels as a result of the destabilisation. Currently, Zambia is host to some 145,000 refugees, most of whom are on its Eastern and North-Western borders. The influx of refugees continues to increase. To this end, modalities of solving this problem are being worked out in conjunction with UNHCR.

The social-political situation in Southern Africa is very serious. **It is our considered view in this region that some European Governments, especially the British and the West German, are taking a very short-term view of events in this part of the world.**

### **The double standard of the West**

We are told that sanctions should not be imposed on the regime because sanctions do not work. We are told further that sanctions will bite the black people more than the regime. The truth lies elsewhere: We say to the British government, to the Federal Republic of Germany: what are you protecting now? The interests of investments from these countries will certainly go up in flames if you don't act now.

Let us act out of fear that those vested interests will go up in flames when the explosion takes place. I am not an alarmist, but I have lived in this region for the last 63 years. I know what I am talking about. I have met Boer leaders, such as Vorster and Botha, to talk sense into them. I have met their ministers, here in Zambia. I know what I am talking about.

Those people are not to move and time is running out. I emphasize the point: If the British government – not the British people –, if the West German government – not the West German people –, if these governments and others cannot move out of conviction, let them move because those interests will go up in flames.

How can any civilised government, really, do what these governments are doing to us! I am not a racist and will never be. I have fought racism ever since I was a kid. But I am saying, how is it that when something happens in Poland, economic sanctions are applied? But over here, they say, sanctions don't work. Cuba, even when I speak of the Reagan administration has permanent economic sanctions against it. Nicaragua has permanent economic sanctions against it. Yet, the Reagan administration says: sanctions don't work.

### ***Thatcher, Kohl, Reagan oppose sanctions because victims of apartheid are black.***

We are being tempted to conclude that the reason why the Thatcher government, the Kohl government, the Reagan administration would not enforce sanctions on the regime in South Africa is because the victims of apartheid are black. When it happens elsewhere sanctions are applied. A double standard. How else am I expected to translate, to interpret this action, except that it is racial.

We are grateful to those people in the USA, in Congress, the church leaders, students who defy the Reagan administration on this issue. We are grateful to the anti-apartheid movements in Europe who defy their governments and stand full square behind us. That is why we welcome you of AWEPAA here in Zambia, because we are not racists, but some of

the things that are being done by Western governments leave us no room except to translate them in racial terms.

We do know that it is not as simple as that. It is a question of vested interests, but as I have warned several times: those vested interests will go up in flames. Those Soweto young militants, who yesterday were walking, today are running all the time. Tomorrow an explosion follows. That is not what we want. We want peace, but not peace in chains. There can be no genuine peace in chains of any people. We know God rules, but it is a God of love. I can't understand the Bothas of this world trooping into church every Sunday and keeping Mr. Mandela locked up, keeping Oliver Tambo outside South Africa, keeping SWAPO's President Nujoma out of Namibia and they call themselves Christians and they are supported by the West. How is that possible?

### **Europe's role**

There is no denying the fact that the destinies of Africa and Europe are now tightly linked together. It is with this in view that Europe should play a major role in the problems of Africa. For now, the focus is on Southern Africa.

This region and the Third World in general cannot develop if, among other problems, our investment returns are only utilised in servicing debts coupled with sharp declining commodity prices and drastic fluctuations in currency exchange rates. Our efforts, therefore, require to be supplemented by the international community. In this respect, your Association has an important role to play in sensitising governments and other possible sources of assistance.

### ***Appeasement has failed before and will certainly fail again.***

Back to the issue of apartheid, we strongly believe that if there is to be any meaningful pressure on the South African regime towards meaningful negotiations, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions are imperative. The policy of appeasement has failed before and will certainly fail again. The history of 1938 and immediately after seems to be repeating itself so clearly that something tangible needs to be done effectively and urgently to stop the explosion.

The intransigence of the Pretoria regime was shown only a few days ago when its spokesman told the world to the effect that the problem of apartheid and what flows from it in our region can only be settled on its own terms.

Let me take this opportunity to assure you all that we look forward to a productive outcome of your deliberations. Let this meeting go down in history as one of those which laid a further foundation stone for a mutually beneficial relationship between Europe and Africa.



AWEPAA's President  
**Jan Nico SCHOLTEN: Justice is indivisible**



Your Excellency, President Kaunda, it is a great honour for AWEPAA to be in Zambia at a conference on South Africa and Namibia, hosted by you, Mr. President. With your stimulating opening-address you have set the tone for our discussions.

AWEPAA is now the guest of the President of Zambia, who is also the President of the Frontline States and the President of the Organisation of African Unity. We could not wish for more.

Why a conference in Lusaka, far from our constituency? The answer is that AWEPAA wants to show its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and with the victims of the brutal destabilisation policy of South Africa.

Justice is indivisible. Human rights are indivisible. As far as justice and human rights are concerned, there should be only one world. For AWEPAA it is a privilege to join the Africans in their struggle for freedom and justice in Southern Africa. Meeting in Zambia as a Frontline State we are gathered for life and against destruction, dehumanisation and death. Gathered for life, for human dignity, for human happiness.

These very basic human values are under an increasing threat in South Africa and Namibia, and in the Frontline States, especially in Mozambique and Angola.

#### **For life against racism**

The well-known Unicef report "Children on the Frontline" clearly shows the impact of apartheid, destabilisation and war on children in Southern Africa and South Africa.

Nearly 45 per cent of young child mortality in Angola and Mozambique is related to war and destabilisation. Every 4 minutes a child in Angola and Mozambique dies who would otherwise have lived.

We are gathered for life! And against the brutal and racist Pretoria regime. That regime is at war with the basic principles of life. Just because it wants to protect the privileges of a few by a cruel oppression of many.

It is unbelievable that so far decisive forces in the West have not taken concrete and effective action against that system.

The Pretoria regime is not interested in funda-

mental change, only in survival of its ugly system.

The recent measures that banned 17 organisations clearly demonstrate that policy. The government marks a non-violent protest as a choice for violence. The SACC called on the international community in the light of the government's sanctions against the internal organisations to apply direct mandatory sanctions against this apartheid regime.

The answer of the international community was "No" because the USA and the UK vetoed a Security Council resolution asking for sanctions. As far as the USA is concerned this is in contradiction with their own Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

The South African regime is getting worse in its behaviour protected de facto by the mild policy of the relevant Western powers.

***It is unbelievable that so far decisive forces in the West have not taken concrete and effective action against that system.***

During a recent debate on South Africa in the British House of Commons the Conservative M.P. Mr. Ivor Stanbrook said, that the Republic of South Africa is an affront to civilisation and he came to the conclusion: "The South Africans do not want to change. They have no intention of changing. They can be induced to change only by pressure." He suggested a ban on flights between South Africa and the UK.

A small flame of hope... and there is another one. The Federal Republic of Germany did not vote against the recent Security Council resolution, I just mentioned, and after his very recent state visit to Zimbabwe, the President of the FRG said his country should reconsider its current policy towards South Africa.

#### **Small signals of hope for life and justice**

The report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Groups, referring to sanctions said: "If South Africa comes to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from such measures the process of change is unlikely to increase and the descent into violence would be accelerated."

This prophecy is going to be fulfilled.



Four days after the USA and the UK vetoed the Security Council resolution the Pretoria regime banned the newly formed "Committee for the Defense of Democracy" led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who is under increasing threat from the South African government together with the Reverend Dr. Allan Boesak. That is the reason they can not attend our conference.

*We come to Lusaka to listen to you, to learn from you, to bring with us to Europe your call for freedom.*

AWEPAA gives its full support to them and our answer to the call for sanctions of the South African Council of Churches is that we shall work even harder to convince the relevant authorities in Europe to say "yes" to this cry for freedom and democracy.

I am grateful that so many friends from inside and from outside South Africa and Namibia are here as our guests. We come to Lusaka to listen to you, to learn from you, to bring with us to Europe your call for freedom.

I am grateful that the ANC and SWAPO sent strong delegations headed by ANC President Oliver Tambo and SWAPO Foreign Secretary Theo-Ben Gurirab.

I am grateful for the support we got from the Special Committee against Apartheid, represented by its Chairman General Garba and from the Council for Namibia, represented today by Ambassador Clark, the former Chairman of the Special Committee.

Returning to sanctions I ask your attention for a report of the German-based Starnberger Institute. The report states that the South African economy is highly vulnerable to effective international sanctions and that **it depends on a small group of only six countries —USA, UK, FRG, France, Japan and Switzerland— to suspend South African integration into the world economy and thus to weaken decisively the apartheid regime and that effective sanctions would entail a fairly small package of measures of these countries.**

A refusal to roll-over South African loans together with a ban on new money would push South Africa into international insolvency and provoke massive capital flight, leading to a fiscal crisis of the state, a cessation of investment and to other consequences, in all to a decisive weakening of the apartheid regime.

This analysis is a very important one, because 1990 is the year of the roll-over of most loans to South Africa.

Speaking on the effects of sanctions on the South African population the report says, that the sanctions would harm much more the white than the black population. The political message for the minority would be, that the two pillars of their affluence and privileges: apartheid and integration into the world economy, can no longer exist.

*The sanctions would harm much more the white than the black population.*

The report does not ignore the fact that sanctions could result in job losses and unemployment for blacks who have a job.

But the report states very clearly that the very ba-

sic economic and political structures of the apartheid economy have been responsible for enormous unemployment all over the years and would create more unemployment in the future than would be caused by any of the possible short-term effects of sanctions.

Apartheid itself produces structural unemployment. A Carnegie report found that the wide-spread poverty in South Africa was attributable not to world recession but to apartheid.

By impugning the apartheid system and ultimately overcoming it, sanctions would open the door to better economic prospects for the black population.

### **Betrayal of trust**

Coming to the question of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, we are confronted with a tragedy: the tragedy that in spite of the ending of South Africa's mandate to govern Namibia by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966, and in spite of the Opinion of the International Court of Justice in The Hague confirming the illegality of South Africa's presence in 1971, the international community has continued to tolerate South Africa's open defiance of international law. This means that respect for international law world-wide has been undermined. What value do international law and international institutions have, if South Africa can go on unpunished and occupy Namibia illegally for almost twenty-two years.

It is also now ten years since the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 435 in 1978. The intention was to gain Namibia's independence by 1978 or 1979. This was the message which the Western countries gave to the Namibians, who trusted the Western powers.

**But the Western countries have betrayed this trust. Western vetoes in the Security Council have repeatedly protected South Africa from being punished for not agreeing on the implementation of resolution 435.**

West European politicians cannot accept this and must contribute to the end of this terrible situation. There is no reason whatsoever why major sanctions should not be applied against South Africa immediately for its continued occupation of Namibia. We want Namibia to be free now!

The oppression in South Africa, the illegal and inhuman occupation of Namibia, the sufferings of victims in the Frontline States, it is all interrelated and the common cause is the brutal system of apartheid.

The rule of injustice and terror brings more and more sufferings to children, women and men.

This conference must lead to effective Western action against Pretoria. We accept a common responsibility for the future of Southern Africa.

The bible says that the essence of the Christian Faith is to love God and your neighbour and also that love without action does not exist.

May this conference stimulate us to be more active in our struggle against apartheid and for justice and human dignity in Southern Africa. May God bless Zambia and Southern Africa.



## Dr. C.F. BEYERS NAUDÉ: You must listen to them

We find ourselves in a serious crisis in South Africa and in Southern Africa at the present moment. I know that the government of South Africa has constantly tried to deny the existence of such a crisis and to play it down. If there is still anybody who believes that the crisis in South Africa does not exist, and in fact has not deepened, and become more serious, then either such a person displays total ignorance of what is happening or he is blind to the calls and the cries coming from within the hearts of millions of oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia.

First of all, I emphasize that **the government reforms, and its whole reform programme has dismally failed** for a number of reasons. I think the major reason is the fact that it has never had and will never have the support of the majority of the black community of South Africa. The opposition forces of the white community in South Africa have clearly proven their unwillingness to allow the Botha regime to move forward with any meaningful reform because of their fear of what they may have to sacrifice or believe that they may have to sacrifice, and because they claim to represent the authentic stand of the Nationalist Party.

Even if some reform and some measures are being taken, I wish to emphasize that they remain within the framework of the whole apartheid structure and the apartheid convictions. They therefore can never meet the legitimate demands and aspirations of the vast majority of the people of our country, because they refuse to deal with a central issue, crucial challenge, namely the question of the political rights and the participation in the political decision-making process of 22 million people out of 32 who at present are denied a meaningful access and participation in the process of political decision-making.

Therefore, as long as that question remains unaddressed and unanswered, I am convinced there will never, never be peace in South Africa.

### State of emergency failed

The second proof that I would like to bring forward is the fact that the state of emergency has failed to achieve its purpose. New and frightening repressive measures have been announced and are being implemented. Not only have the media curbs been extended, so that South Africa for all practical purposes has temporarily, and I wish to emphasize temporarily, disappeared from the screens of the world. Just yesterday the government has closed down New Nation, the newest paper of the Catholic Bishops' Conference for a period of three months. I don't need to tell you what that implies for such a newspaper. It has also threatened other newspapers that it may take action against them. **Anybody who believes that there is still press freedom in the real significant sense of the word in South Africa must please hear the voices of those who are telling us clearly that this is not the case.**

The detentions are continuing. But much less of that is known because of the emergency regulations, and because of the fact that one of the organisations (which has particularly concentrated on informing South Africa and the world about the whole position of detainees) the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, has in fact been prohibited through the actions taken.



I am also referring to the effect of the banning of the 18 organisations and individuals, including the banning of the newly formed Committee for the Defence of Democracy, initiated by Archbishop Tutu, Dr. Allan Boesak and others. Just a few days after it was brought into life, it was effectively banned, silenced and closed down. This is what happens again and again, when any voice for justice and democracy wishes to be raised in our country.

I am thinking of the threatened clamp down of overseas funding. I have no time to deal with the extensive implementation and effect that this may have. I am referring to a body like the South African Council of Churches which receives 95 per cent of its funds from churches and other bodies overseas.

### Deepening of crisis

There is a threat to the Kagiso Trust, which deals with the European Economic Community money. It may interest you to know that 13 of the projects of the Kagiso Trust have already been affected by the ban against the 18 organisations and individuals. I am referring to the threatened action against such bodies as IDASA and others. The sword hangs over all of us. Those organisations have indicated clearly their commitment to meaningful peaceful change in South Africa in order to avert the escalation of violence and bloodshed and warfare.

Could I supply another indication of the deepening of the crisis? Mainly the substantial increase in the budget, which has just been announced last week, of the cost of defence, of police and of security services. It is a 20 per cent increase in one year.

We must make it quite clear that **no matter what the consequences, we will continue as a matter of**



truth to campaign for the release of prisoners, to call for clemency for those under sentence of death, to call for the unbanning of our political organisations, to call for negotiations involving the true leaders of our country, to bring about a transfer of power from the minority to all the people of our country, to commemorate significant events in the life of our nation, to commemorate those who have died in what the state calls a riot and to call upon the international community to apply pressure to force the government to the negotiation table and then listen. Our mandate to carry out these activities comes from God and no man and no government will stop us. If the state wants to act against the church of God in this country proclaiming the gospel, then so be it.

*Our mandate to carry out these activities comes from God and no man and no government will stop us.*

It is important that you use this opportunity to hear what our people are saying about sanctions. Those are the first and the most to be affected. It is important that you use this opportunity to hear what our people are saying about the liberation movements, and especially about the banned liberation movement, the ANC. How they judge and see the role and the responsibility of the movement. It is important that you listen to those of us who are able to present this attitude and the motivation of the government and the whole community in South Africa.

I think it is important to listen to those of us in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa who are not directly in contact with the white community, to let them tell you what they experience day by day.

I am pleading that you use this opportunity not only to be provided with more insights, but also to be provided with their feelings and their experiences, or their responses, their hopes, their aspirations and also with respect to the suffering and the anguish of our people in South Africa.

Therefore I wish to use this opportunity to appeal to the conference to listen to the delegates from South Africa and Namibia. **Let them tell you what has been happening and is happening in conflict areas like Pietermaritzburg, to compare the image and the message that you have received from the government propaganda in South Africa with the actual reality of what they experience and have experienced day after day. The true nature of the conflict is not a black-upon-black conflict of violence. The true nature of the conflict is not that someone of the UDF tried to attack Inkatha, but the true nature of the conflict is that the forces of the status-quo, including that of Inkatha, are set up against the forces of liberation, and the cries of the people.** Let them tell you what is the truth. Let them tell you what is happening in the struggle of the trade unions for human rights, for worker rights, for equal wages and for opportunities as workers to be recognised in a truly democratic fashion. Let them tell you what is happening in our educational institutions.

I believe that we are going to have increasing conflicts between the authorities on the one hand, and the students and the scholars of our country on the other.

You may say: "Oh yes, this is just again one of these radical announcements of a guy like Beyers

Naudé." Therefore I am asking you, please let those who are actively involved in and daily experiencing what is happening, what is in the hearts and minds of the thousands and thousands of students tell what is happening. Let them talk. You should let the delegates from South Africa tell you what is happening in the political organisations, struggling for justice and for peace, and what is happening in the churches. The representative of the South African Council of Churches, Dr. Kistner, can tell you something of the tremendous and deep struggle for peaceful change of a body like the South African Council of Churches. Let them tell you what is happening in the hearts of our people with regard to the oppression, violence and counterviolence.

*Eventually perhaps nothing else remains than armed resistance.*

The government of South Africa has succeeded in presenting to the outside world the wrong and totally distorted image that there is a longing and a support for violence in the hearts of our people of South Africa. This is not true. Nobody in South Africa has ever said: "We want violence." What they are saying is, that this is the closing down of more and more legitimate actions for peaceful organisations and peaceful protest. We have come to a situation, where eventually perhaps nothing else remains than armed resistance.

#### **Sanctions in the interest of the West**

Let them tell you what they feel about the question of sanctions. Let them tell you what they are telling the governments, the financial interests and the companies from the Federal Republic of Germany, from Britain, from Japan: gentlemen, it is in your own interest and it will become more and more in your own interest. If you are not concerned about the morality, it is in your own best economic interest to support sanctions, if you wish to maintain any meaningful future relationship, especially an economic one, with the new South Africa which is coming.

I conclude: It is necessary to emphasize that the time for talking has passed. Certainly, we have to continue to talk, without any doubt. We are not saying: there should not be any talk, but **we are saying: we have talked enough and the time for meaningful action to assist us in the process of liberation has now arrived.**

**Mr. President, no neutral stand is any longer possible for any government or any individual or any organisation in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. You are either on the side of the forces of liberation, or you have chosen to be on the side of the forces of oppression. Now please, choose right! Choose wisely! Choose the side of liberation, which is the winning side!**



## Bishop B. HAUSHIKU: West prolongs Namibian suffering

Mr. Chairman, this is the second AWEPA meeting in which I am ever to participate. The first was the one held at Rome in 1986. The meeting at Rome was very significant, because it stressed the question of sanctions to be applied to South Africa in order to speed up the independence of Namibia.

The topic of this present meeting is the promotion of the independence of Namibia. For us, Namibians, this topic is of paramount importance, because it touches the very core of our expectations. Till this very day Namibia is not independent. Namibia, the last colony of the African continent, is still being subjected to the brutal colonial rule of the South African regime. That regime is notorious for its rule of repression, apartheid, oppression, discrimination, arrogance and cruelty. Cruelty and repression, the mark of colonial history on the African continent, are still being perpetrated by South Africa in Namibia on the Namibian people. The apartheid war is going on there. This war has been imposed on the Namibians by South Africa.

When the wave of independence in Africa was moving everywhere during the early sixties, the Namibians also demanded their independence. They wanted to reject the colonial yoke of South Africa and regain their dignity and human rights stolen by the colonial racists. But South Africa answered by instituting more repression and introducing its inhuman apartheid laws everywhere and in every sphere of human life. Apartheid penetrated everywhere in life: in education, with that hated Bantu Education against which has been striven in South Africa itself, in health, in economy, in social life, in cultural life. Apartheid penetrated everywhere in life and even in bed and burials there is apartheid. Terrible indeed.

Through this repression the apartheid war was imposed by South Africa. Many of our people became exiles or went in exile in other countries in order to wait for the independence of their fatherland. That is to liberate Namibia from the hands of the cruel South African regime. The more people in Namibia itself rejected the apartheid government, the more South Africa stiffed up her cruel repression.

### No independence in sight

Namibia was invaded by a huge army and various police units like the notorious Koevoet home guards, South African police, killer squads, vigilantes and the like. Harassment, beatings, detention without trial, torture, killings became the order of the day and especially in Northern Namibia. When the so-called Contact Group was called into life to negotiate the speedy independence of Namibia, as a result the well known resolution 435 was produced and accepted by all of the participants. Even South Africa agreed to it but **it is very sad to say that this year is the tenth anniversary of that resolution and no independence for Namibia came. And it is not even in sight at present for Namibia, the way we see it.**

South Africa is digging herself deeper and deeper in Namibia. No sign of moving away. They are enlarging their military camps, bringing in more armaments and more shell bombs, and trying so-called development to win hearts and minds of the people.



Since that resolution was introduced, many meetings, conferences and seminars concerning the independence of Namibia have been held by well-wishers and friends, but these meetings and conferences came and went and nothing was achieved which could bring Namibia its true independence. South Africa kept on defying the international community plan and tried to implement its own version of independence for Namibia. And this I repeat, South Africa continued to defy the international community plan and continued or tried to put its own version for independence on that country. The majority of the Namibian people have strongly rejected this South African manoeuvre of installing its own internal version of independence. They insist on the implementation of the international community plan for Namibian independence.

I tell you that the so-called interim government has got no support at all from the Namibian people and they know themselves that they don't have any support, but they still continue.

### Increased repression

South Africa, knowing that the international community does nothing, can continue to do what she wants. Because of the rejection by the Namibian people of this interim government, of the internal solution, South Africa has increased its repression of the Namibian population. It has brought in many thousands of soldiers and quasi-soldiers to maintain the rule of terror in Namibia. Repression, beatings, tortures, killings and detentions have increased. Sometimes detention is denied. They say that there are no detentions at all in Namibia. It is not true.

As Dr. Beyers Naudé said: Listen to the Nami-



ians, and especially to those people coming from the north, to tell the truth about barbaric acts there. Bombings of buildings have increased. Killings have increased. The sufferings of the Namibians have become uncalled and unlimited. The sufferings, killings, and destruction of property have been carried out deep into Angola.

South Africa is going on with its repression and killings in Namibia unabated. Innocent people, women and children suffer and die in this brutal repression. **The Namibian people have been resisting these wrong-doings of the regime and have been trying to publicise these events and happenings in the whole world but it seems help from outside is not forthcoming. It seems, people are telling us to mind our own business.**

Then comes the question of linkage. Why should the Namibian people suffer because of the people in Angola? What did the Angolans do to us? We Namibians never sought Cubans and Angolans coming to Namibia to destroy our culture, but South Africa is daily destroying and killing people in Angola. The question of linkage is not understandable to us. Therefore we would ask this august meeting why this is happening. Parliamentarians from Europe who have got influence on their parliaments should ask this linkage to be dropped.

#### **Pretentious friends**

Another thing we cannot understand is this. The same Western countries who pretend to be our friends—sometimes when we meet certain people in the West they pretend to be our friends and want the independence of Namibia—are the same ones who are supporting South Africa that is going on, which is illegal, with oppression of our country and blocking the implementation of 435 by its advocacy of linkage. These countries have refused to apply sanctions against South Africa, because of their own selfish gain from South Africa's exploitation of Namibian resources.

Mr. Chairman, we from Namibia, in our humble opinion, consider AWEPA to be very powerful indeed. This is an association of Western parliamentarians, distinguished people who have great influence on Western European parliaments. Therefore we have great trust that something good, and helpful will come out of this gathering.

***Back at home our people are very strong. They do not loose hope. They have the strong will to obtain their rightful independence.***

We hope that activities, emanating from this meeting will bring Namibia nearer to our long overdue independence. Back at home our people are very strong. They do not loose hope. They have the strong will to obtain their rightful independence. They will not be diminished by the brutal oppression of the South African regime. The churches and the progressive groups are working together to plan against the vicious tactics of South Africa. We have our people, we have lawyers, advocates, and the leaders of the Namibian Peace Plan. They speak out against all injustices perpetrated by South Africa in Namibia. They have now come to realise that nobody will liberate them but themselves.

So the morale of our people at home is very high despite the sufferings and death we are experiencing. During the last attack, which killed so many people, the enemy wanted to divide the people, and smeared the SWAPO organisation. But the people understood that we were fooled. They know who did it, and that angered the people, and made them bitter. The people are united against this repression. The more satanic acts, the more deaths, the more mayhem is going on, the more people become together. So don't believe propaganda of the enemy.

May the spirit of God guide us all in our deliberations during this meeting, so that the struggle for justice and independence for Namibia may be brought near, I wish this conference all the good.

### **Anglican Bishop of Namibia, President Council of Churches Namibia Bishop James H. KAULUMA: Who bombed the bank?**

The situation inside Namibia is deteriorating. The people are suffering under daily oppression and waves of arrests.

One of the greatest sources of suffering remains the curfew in force every night in the North of the country. People leaving their homes after dark are shot on sight. Sick family members cannot be taken to hospital etc. During curfew hours they raid houses, making arbitrary arrests and destroying property.

The latest outrage was a bomb explosion in a bank in the North of the country, killing over twenty people. South Africa blamed SWAPO immediately, but the Namibian people are asking for a judicial enquiry to give the answers to a series of damning questions:

Why did the South African police and army prevent people trying to rescue bomb victims with broken legs, leaving them to be burnt to death?

Why was the bank manager not present, as usual?

It was practise for guards to search people entering the bank. Why were no guards present that day?

Why was a series of unexploded bombs found in school classrooms following the bank blast?

The Namibians do not accept South Africa's accusation that SWAPO planted the bomb, and SWAPO itself had denied it.

The Namibians, despite the passing of ten years, still see Resolution 435 of 1978 as the best way to attain independence. But they are convinced that far more pressure must be put on South Africa to force it to agree to implementation of Resolution 435.

Sanctions must be applied more fully against South Africa, to prevent it pouring more resources into its war efforts, which is becoming more and more costly each year. England and West Germany must agree to the application of meaningful sanctions. The Namibians see the lack of sanctions as a major factor in delaying their independence. And they blame the relevant Western countries for this.



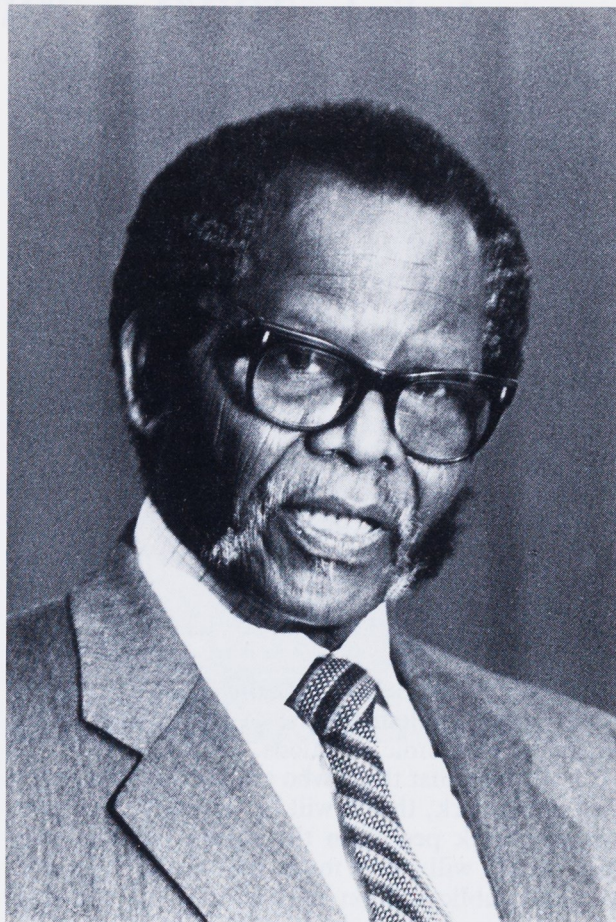
## ANC President TAMBO: Which alternative?

Extreme and systematic repression is the enemy's response to the demand advanced by the overwhelming majority of our people that South Africa must be transformed into a democratic, non-racial and united society. They are fighting back not from a position of strength but from a sense of desperation. Their purpose is the survival of the white minority regime itself. They are fighting with the only weapons available to it, namely force and terror.

Facing each other from the barricades are the two irreconcilable perspectives of South African politics. On this side a democratic and non-racial movement, representative of all the people of our country, and on the other side a racist tyranny maintained at the expense and against the interest of the majority of our people, both black and white. Out of this equation nothing can result but confrontation and struggle. Whatever the difficulties, the struggle must and will continue and will rise to higher levels.

We have no choice but to intensify the armed struggle.

If it is illegal for leading churchmen to march peacefully to parliament, resulting in their arrest, what is the religious community expected to do next? If they cannot speak or demonstrate, if they cannot defend democracy and stand for justice in a peaceful way, what is the regime asking of them? We put these questions before ourselves in the early sixties, when we were banned, shot at and massacred at Sharpeville.



*What would you have done if you were in our position?*

At a meeting with churchmen in the Netherlands I have asked them: 'I seek your advise.' I explained the process when we had reached the stage when we thought it was not possible not to resort to armed struggle any more. 'What would you have done if you were in our position?'

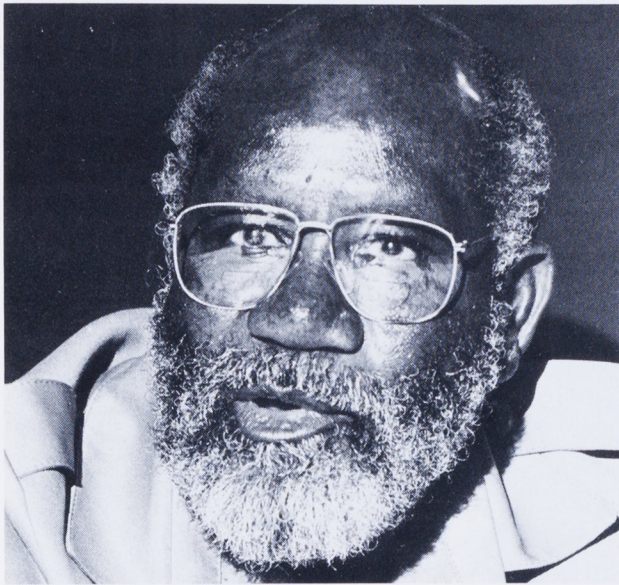
That question arises today for the churches: can they continue to protest at violence? What is the alternative to what they have been trying to do and have been prevented from doing?

We renew our call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the predatory regime of Pretoria. Each day that these are denied adds to the momentum that is driving our region to a conflagration of unimaginable proportions. We all know who it is that is blocking the imposition of these sanctions. Only recently Pretoria's allies stopped the Security Council from adopting selective, mandatory sanctions: the US, UK, FRG, France, Japan. We call for people's sanctions in these countries and for pressure on these governments to abandon these policies. We are sure that you will join forces to ensure that all of Western Europe joins the Nordic countries to impose effective and meaningful sanctions.

The peoples of our region can look forward to a shorter period of suffering and a reduced level of destruction in the course of the struggle to transform Southern Africa into a zone of freedom and peace.



Secretary General of SWAPO  
**Andimba TOIVO ya TOIVO: We accept ceasefire**



We in SWAPO do believe that the moral equivalent of war is the implementation of the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions.

It is obvious that those who are arguing that sanctions don't work, that it will be counterproductive, hurt the black people in the region and that the black people will suffer more, are trying to deceive the world public opinion into believing that they are more concerned about the plight of our people and their sufferings.

Our people are accustomed to sufferings and hardships which they have experienced over decades and centuries. A simple question arises then: Why are these people who pretend to be concerned about the sufferings of the black people in Southern Africa not concerned about the considerable loss of human lives? In Namibia people are dying everyday, in South Africa, in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia etc. people are butchered to

death everyday by the racist South Africa troops and police.

Sanctions will work, that is why they are making much noise about it everyday in their news media. The very countries who are opposed to the imposition of economic sanctions against racist South Africa, are those who are reluctant to assist the Frontline states and SADCC countries economically in order for these countries to reduce their dependence on Pretoria.

***Sanctions accelerate Namibia's independence.***

It is our considered conviction that sanctions, if imposed effectively, will hurt the regime's financial and economic position and the effects of the liberation struggle and economic pressure will make appreciable impact upon the racist regime in Pretoria, thereby accelerating and solidifying the process for Namibia's independence, an end to military aggression against the Frontline countries and the eventual dismantling of apartheid in South Africa itself.

**SWAPO would like to reiterate once again that we are prepared to sign a ceasefire with South Africa in order to trigger off the general and immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). SWAPO has also accepted UN Security Council Resolution 601 (1987) which calls for the signing of the ceasefire by South Africa and SWAPO.**

There is an urgent need for concerted efforts to campaign vigorously and bring pressure to bear on the EEC countries and other Western countries for the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

**We strongly demand that both the USA and the EEC countries should include Namibia in all sanctions measures and ensure that these measures are tightened and loopholes are effectively closed.**

SWAPO Secretary for Foreign Affairs  
**Theo-Ben GURIRAB: US Constructive engagement brings disaster**

Mr. Gurirab recalled that the Namibian liberation struggle already lasted 28 years and that the UN Resolution 435, the plan for independence nominally accepted by all parties concerned, is already waiting for implementation for 10 years. He called for cross-Atlantic contacts of AWEPA with its friends in the United States, to get the message across that 'constructive engagement' has become destructive and brought unmitigated disaster to the black population of South Africa and Namibia.

He warned against efforts, apparently being considered in the F.R. of Germany, to revive the 'Contact Group' to start negotiations all over again. Their only proper role is to press for implementation of res. 435 and for strengthening the role of the U.N. Security Council in this process.

In SWAPO's view comprehensive, mandatory sanctions are vital, not only regarding South Africa's internal policies of apartheid, but also as an additional form of pressure on the regime to cooperate in granting genuine independence to Namibia.





## Elise AUINO: Women of the North beg for help

The warzone is tense. We are suffering of the presence of the South African army, of the curfew. We cannot move out from sunset till dawn. We cannot go to hospital at night. Therefore we have set up first aid courses of which I am the secretary. Due to the presence of the South African army we are subject to raids and we as mothers suffer from seeing our children being run over by Casspirs and we are being shot at every day, every minute.

Most of our pregnant women are being operated upon just with knives so that they can see how the baby looks like in the stomach.

We are also suffering from unemployment. Approximately 90% of the women are unemployed and therefore, for the first time some of our people are forced to join the South African army.

We want the removal of the South African army and the implementation of the UN resolution 435 without any condition.

We appeal to you, humbly, to help us to speed up our independence. We want you please to take our message to your country and government to speed up and help us to get out independence as soon as possible because we are suffering.



## Chairman Namibian Peace Plan Study and Contact Group Brian O'LINN: Whites to carry out Peace Plan

The majority of the people of Namibia want the implementation of the Peace Plan. The failure to implement that plan and the failure to put sufficient pressure for its implementation is to my mind and in the eye of most of the Namibians the greatest example of the hypocrisy of the Western democracies.



Now the Peace Plan is the most balanced and fair plan that you can imagine. Resolution 435 is only the Security Council resolution that confirms the plan, but subsequently constitutional principles were agreed upon. Proportional representation was agreed upon internationally and by SWAPO and by the Frontline States.

There is a big difference between the Namibian situation and the South African situation. In Namibia we have a peace plan that has the maximum international consensus.

It should be seen as the first faltering steps back for South Africa to international credibility. Because for all those who believe that the solution of the problems in Namibia and South Africa is through peaceful negotiation, you must remember that the peace plan in Namibia is the consequence of decades of peaceful negotiation in addition to other pressures. And South Africa can show its credibility by implementing that which it has agreed to, that which they say they are committed to.

That is why we also as white Namibians believe that instead of forgetting about Namibia, the emphasis should be reversed and the doors should be open for the settlement.



## AWEPAA Action on Namibia: Lusaka, March 1988

South Africa's refusal to withdraw from Namibia is based on a variety of reasons.

**Actions of parliamentarians** must therefore be aimed at increasing the price of occupying Namibia, until that price reaches unacceptable proportions.

Parliamentary action on Namibia can be divided into three categories:

- a) forcing the implementation of Res. 435 by punishing South Africa for ignoring United Nations resolutions;
- b) assistance to Namibians prior to independence;
- c) preparations for post-independence aid.

### Action on the implementation of Res. 435

1) **Linkage:** Continued United States' insistence on linking the presence of Cuban troops in Angola to Res. 435 has meant that South Africa has been protected by the United States. Western governments are **not** prepared to confront the United States on this issue. Namibians therefore assume that Western Europe is not really interested about their plight. West European parliamentarians must therefore ensure that their governments criticize 'linkage'.

2) **Decree No. 1:** South Africa knows that Western countries are continuing to trade in Namibia's natural resources even though it is forbidden by Decree No. 1 of the U.N. Council for Namibia. It is essential that governments of countries involved in this illicit trade are put under parliamentary pressure to have Decree No.1 implemented in their countries. Legal action to have Decree No.1 implemented in the Netherlands commenced in July

1987. This concrete action should be used to stimulate such parliamentary action.

3) **Sanctions:** Sanctions against South Africa should be seen as a **punishment** for its continued occupation of Namibia. The South African government interpreted the exclusion of Namibia from the existing E.E.C. sanctions as an **encouragement** for its present Namibian policies!

The ending of the Cuban/Angolan 'linkage' factor, the implementation of Decree No.1 and the imposition of sanctions are probably **all** necessary to force South Africa to withdraw from Namibia through the implementation of Res. 435.

### Humanitarian Aid to Namibians

All aid for distribution inside Namibia itself must be channelled through organisations which are opposed to the present South African-imposed administrative structures in Namibia. On no account should any projects be supported which are connected to the 'interim government'. 'Marshall Aid' help to Europe while it was still occupied by the nazi's would have been unthinkable...

### Conclusions

**Parliamentarians in Western Europe will have to undertake concrete actions if they wish to have any positive influence on the progress of the Namibian liberation struggle. In order to force South Africa out of Namibia, the price it pays to occupy the territory will have to be drastically increased: economic and political sanctions are an essential part of this process.**



**U.N. Council for Namibia**  
**Ambassador G. NIYUNGEKO: Mobilise public opinion**

Firstly, Mr. President, we would like you to mobilise many more parliamentarians in your respective areas and countries.

Secondly, we would like you to organise in your respective countries associations of journalists and of students to help popularise SWAPO, Namibia and South Africa.

Thirdly, we would like to ask you to press on your request of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Fourthly, we would like to ask you to continue mobilising the public opinion in your own countries.

Lastly, we want to assure you that the day Namibia is independent, the day apartheid is dismantled, you will be invited by the Council for Namibia and by SWAPO to join the celebrations.



**U.N. Commissioner for Namibia**  
**Bernt CARLSSON: SA only withdraws if forced to**

The numerous efforts made by the United Nations through negotiations, even including concessions, have ended with South Africa making one excuse after another to delay the independence process in Namibia.

South Africa's violation of international law raises serious questions about the reliability of the Pretoria regime in any negotiations.

The Namibian dispute is a long outstanding problem of international law with a background in the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919. It is also a question of decolonization. Sometimes it is obscured under the broader question of apartheid. Consequently it is essential to devise ways to highlight the Namibian question in its own perspective and make public opinion more aware of the issues involved.

South Africa has until now managed to frustrate every possibility of achieving a political settlement of the Namibian question.

The tenth anniversary of the lack of success of resolution 435 is very close at hand with no indication from South Africa to fulfill its solemn obligations on Namibia. Such are the tactics of the South African government. The conclusion to be drawn here is that it is not prepared to withdraw from Namibia unless forced to do so.

South Africa has defied almost all options available for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The only alternative left open is imposition of mandatory sanctions which should be followed by the isolation of the apartheid regime economically, politically and culturally.

After a century of colonization of the Namibian people, during which they have endured untold hardship, in addition to being transferred from one colonial master to the other, the Namibian people are crying out for independence. It is now high time for the United Nations to take full control of its mandate, Namibia, in order to grant it independence.





**Chairman U.N. Special Committee against Apartheid**  
**Maj.-Gen. GARBA: Opposition to sanctions enraging**

It is urgent to initiate certain priority measures against South Africa:

- Legislation to impose national comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa pending the adoption of such sanctions by the Security Council;
- legislation for the enforcement and monitoring of existing sanctions or measures such as the mandatory arms embargo;
- encouragement of the severance of trade, sports and cultural links with South Africa;
- abiding by the time-honoured rule of democracy based on 'one man-one vote' principle, thus upholding the right of all South Africans to free and fair elections;
- setting-up an emergency programme for concerted bilateral and multilateral assistance to the Front-line States under the aegis of SADCC.

### **Oil embargo**

We must also exert efforts for the adoption by the Security Council of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa, pending the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

The establishment of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa (11 states for all regional groups, chaired by Norway) was an important step towards improving the effectiveness of the present voluntary oil embargo. Yet because of its voluntary nature, it has not reached its potential effectiveness.

Furthermore, South Africa's strategic oil stockpiling facilities lessen the effects of an embargo that would be internationally and strictly implemented.

States which have not yet done so should adopt legislative measures to impose an oil embargo, to enforce the embargo, exchange information and to ensure that effective penalties are imposed on the violators. The Intergovernmental Group needs your assistance in the implementation of these steps.

It is absolutely necessary that all member states should enact legislation to extend the oil ban to oil products and oil in transit and to provide for effective implementation and monitoring.

### **Monitoring**

The EC reportedly does not have an effective monitoring system and does not check out against any third country routing that South Africa may be using. Obviously, there is a need to allocate greater resources and achieve greater cooperation in supervising and monitoring the implementation of the European measures and in prosecuting violators.

These steps must be well coordinated with the OECD countries, particularly with the United States and Japan. The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, adopted by the United States Congress in 1986 was a step in the right direction. Yet it requires a firm commitment from the United States Administration to make implementation effective.



### **Coal**

Japan, on the other hand, has now become South Africa's most important trading partner. Pressure must be brought upon the Japanese companies to terminate their licensing arrangements with South Africa as well as to divert their exports to countries in the region other than South Africa.

Another effective measure that should be seriously considered is the prohibition of imports of South African coal. Unfortunately, Europe and Japan are big importers of South African coal, with Italy being the first coal importing country from South Africa.

As the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions has so far failed, because of the veto of certain Western permanent members of the Security Council, we are of necessity considering selective measures. Most recently, on 8 March, the Security Council was again prevented by the United Kingdom and the United States from adopting a resolution that would have imposed selective mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

We view the responsibility of Western countries as being particularly heavy and the opposition to sanctions by some countries enraging.



## Dr. Wolfram KISTNER: We demand comprehensive sanctions

Rev. Frank Chikane, the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, cannot be with us. I have been asked to make some remarks about the stand of the SACC on the sanctions issue and I would like to highlight three dimensions, first of all the context of the sanctions issue and the discussion, then the stand of the SACC on the sanctions issue and thirdly, the theological dimension of the sanctions issue.

This conference has as its topic the future of South Africa and the role of Western countries. I think it is appropriate not only to think of the future of South Africa but also of the past role of Western countries. At present there are celebrations of the commemoration of the arrival of Europeans in Southern Africa. The Portuguese came to South Africa five hundred years ago. There are festivals. We know what happened. They planted the cross at the coast of Southern Africa at various places and there are celebrations in Mossel Bay.

But what did that planting of the cross, the coming of Western civilization as they say, of Christianity to South Africa mean to the continent of Africa? It meant the start of slave trade, the transport of ten million slaves to the Americas, the death of millions of people. They estimate about ten million people were deported from Africa. The whole African continent was disrupted. We cannot speak about the role of Western countries if we do not have in mind that past. That past is now being presented to South Africans as the coming of civilization and of Christianity to South Africa.

### South Africa's internal destabilization

The second dimension is the Southern African dimension of this issue. We speak today of the destabilization policy of the South African government. It has been described as a deliberate and systematic policy on the part of the South African apartheid regime to engage in insurgency actions against neighbouring states with the aim of undermining the lawful government by rendering development efforts and national reconstruction virtually impossible.

**I would like to point out that this destabilization policy is not only a destabilization policy in regard to the neighbouring countries. It is a destabilization policy with regard to South Africa itself.**

Within the country you have the use of vigilantes. You have emergency legislation, simply to make invalid all concepts of justice and law, and allow the authorities to do what they think is appropriate for cementing the maintenance of the privileges of a minority. All that happens with the claim that law and order and the rule of law has to be protected.

This is a destabilization policy in principle. We know that the cost of human lives is far higher in the neighbouring countries than in South Africa itself, but we know that the roots of the evil are in South Africa. This is happening on behalf of Western Christianity. You need an enemy image to build that up. They have to protect the country against communism and that cannot create peace. You have to divide people and intimidate them for maintaining destabilization.

Then intervention is coming on the part of the security forces and South Africa would like to be seen as the peace force in the region of Southern Africa.



### SA government illegitimate

The third aspect is the legitimacy issue. If it is true that this policy is a destabilization policy in principle, not a matter of government, and that the problem is not to maintain law and order but to establish law and order, then the question is: is that a legitimate government? The South African Council of Churches has taken resolutions on that, questioning the *de jure* authority of the South African government.

On the other hand it has recognized as God given the authority of new structures, which are developing and which have the confidence of the people. Thus we are in a position of a country without a legitimate government. The issue is: how do we establish a legitimate government in South Africa? I suppose that is the issue of Western countries. How do you relate to a government which is not a legitimate government, which destabilizes the whole Southern African region, which changes itself into a conflict of refugees, because people who are concerned with justice and liberation are not safe within the Republic of South Africa, nor in the neighbouring countries? That is the context in which the sanctions issue has to be considered according to our view.

About the sanctions issue itself. **We have said that we support the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions in line with what the President of the ANC has just said. Many organizations within South Africa are demanding comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. We have been very interested in the outcome of the Starnberg Institute research which says that only a few**



**Western trading countries can bring about and contribute essentially in a relatively short time to fundamental change in South Africa, if the political will exists.**

We also are aware that the political will does not at present exist and that it looks to be very difficult to get a coordinated action by Western countries. Therefore the consideration has arisen what we can do then. Therefore quite a lot of consultations have taken place on what we can do if there is not a response to that report that by mandatory compulsory sanctions you get change within a relatively short time.

### **Sanctions against apartheid**

We have come to the conclusion that we should aim at sanctions not against South Africa in general, but against the apartheid system, as has been pointed out by the President of the ANC just now. He spoke about sanctions against the apartheid system, not against the people of South Africa. That means: where are the vulnerable aspects of the South African apartheid system? How do we identify them? Efforts are being undertaken to identify those most vulnerable aspects. This does not mean that we do not continue to demand comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. We have to appeal to the conscience of people in Western countries. You are in a position to contribute towards change. If you don't do it, you cannot say: sanctions are not effective. They are not effective because people in key positions do not want them to be effective and do not want to implement them.

***Sanctions are not effective because people in key positions do not want them to be effective.***

We have to maintain that stance. At the same time we have to develop a strategy of pressure about sanctions to identify the various areas. This will probably be a long term strategy and it will mean that the internal organization will have to be maintained, that we have a cooperation between external pressure and internal pressure.

We cannot simply say that this is an alternative to violence, but this is a way to reduce suffering and to obtain in the long term the objective we are striving for. People are working on this issue. It will be possibly very soon to make material available on a strategy of sanctions which aims to exert increasing pressure in the direction of comprehensive sanctions in the course of time. We must use this time not only to negotiate with governments in Western countries, but also to mobilize their constituencies to exert pressure on those governments.

### **The liberation of the West**

The third dimension is the theological one. We know that Christian faith has come to Southern Africa in the context of colonization with all the injustice of colonization. The mission work has somehow relied on the protection of the colonizing powers. That has led to the distortion of the Christian message and the Christian faith.

Today we get the gospel reinterpreted to us by the victims of oppression. That has a liberating effect on the faith and on the people in Europe who have brought the Christian faith to Southern Africa. We know that the encounter with Christians in the liberation movements is very important for the articulation of our faith, because we learn from them to

respect a dimension in the bible which very often has been neglected, because the people who interpreted the bible came from the Western context and brought the gospel to other people in the context of colonization.

Therefore I would like to emphasize what has been said yesterday by the President. He said that justice is indivisible. In the bible we hear about the God of justice. This God of justice is not a God who is neutral, but justice in this sense in the Old Testament and in the New Testament means the God who sees the suffering of the oppressed and who takes action to liberate them, to restore the imbalance between the powerless and the powerful. That is the God of justice.

If we speak about justice in the West we have to take sides. You cannot remain in a neutral position. Therefore I would also like to take up what has been said to us by politicians in this meeting. Love without action does not exist. I would like to point out that the term liberation movement which we use, should be **a liberation movement which goes back from Southern Africa, from the conflict, from the suffering victims of oppression, to Europe in order to liberate people in Europe, so as to respect freedom and justice of people who have been victims of colonization.**



## Alex BORAINÉ: Whites need not fear

In his address President Oliver Tambo mentioned amongst other things that he was glad that there were people from inside South Africa visiting Lusaka, because as he indicated he was glad of the opportunity to see them.

I think it must be stressed that those of us who are able still to come out of South Africa are enormously grateful for the opportunity in particular to come to Lusaka and talk with our friends and colleagues from the ANC. Therefore I want to say a very special word of thanks to you, Mr. Chairman and to your organisation which has made this possible. This is a major bonus as well as meeting with the parliamentarians.

It is true that I was in parliament. I am no longer a member of the Progressive Federal Party, because I think that one can possibly achieve a little more in doing something very different outside parliament. Under normal circumstances I have a strong commitment to constitutional change and believe, as many of you do obviously, in a parliamentary democracy, but we do not have that in South Africa.

When I went to parliament – I was there for twelve years – I went believing that it was possible to try and shift the South African government in debate, in discussion, head on, to move away from a racist, sectional parliament to an all embracing parliament, where all South Africans would participate. It became increasingly clear to me, as well as my colleague Van Zijl Slabbert, that that was no longer possible. This was especially true since the new constitution came into being and with it the Tricameral parliament.

South Africa is essentially governed not by parliament but by a small cabal of the State President, together with the Minister of Law and Order, and in particular more and more the Minister of Defense. **It is true that we are now in the grip of a militarised situation which is not only evident in the presence of troops in the townships, but is all pervasive, so that there is hardly a section of the South African life which is not determined and governed and controlled by the military and the police.**

It is true then in a word that the South African government has itself become unparliamentary, and extra-parliamentary if you like, so that you don't even have decisions taken there, but they are taken outside by a very small clique of very determined ruthless men.

### The white problem

The reason why Van Zijl Slabbert and I started an organisation called the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa was because it seemed to us of strategic importance to focus on white South Africans who we believe are the cause of the problems in South Africa. **Many whites talk about a black problem, where in fact what we are dealing with is essentially a white problem and a white attitude in South Africa.**

I want to focus on white attitudes in South Africa, not because whites are more important than anyone else, but simply because they hold economic, social and political power, and therefore they have to be addressed if one wants to shorten the struggle and indeed to save lives in the long term.

The government, as I have already indicated, are determined and ruthless, but they are also quite



clever despite all the stupid things they do. They have tried to set themselves up as a party in the centre – now I am talking about white politics – emphasizing by the one hand reform (National Party style) and security. This is of enormous appeal to white South Africans who watch with apprehension what is beginning to take place inside South Africa and the isolation which is coming from outside as well.

They will say to white South Africa: we have every intention of changing, but at our pace, with our time table, and always hand in hand with security. I think this is why there has been a shift amongst English speaking white South Africans towards the government and away from other parties.

**I must emphasize that their major concern is to focus and concentrate and maintain white minority rule. That is what is at the heart of any reform measure. They will do anything and shift away in order to retain that control. There is no chance, whatsoever, that of their own volition they are going to move to a truly non-racial democracy in South Africa. That is simply not on their agenda.**

Unfortunately the government has many allies both inside and outside South Africa. This is particularly true in the field of business and investment. The business community in South Africa, with some rare exceptions, are conservative, are frightened and are cautious, and therefore almost welcome the security measures taken by the South African government, because it creates for them a degree of stability which is always good for business. They don't seem to understand that unless they too demonstrate their commitment to a South Africa which is truly representative of all its people, their



business itself is in jeopardy.

That is the kind of message one tries to get across to them, but it is not easy, because they in turn will have many allies from Europe who buttress and support their determination to maintain business and profits often at the expense of the majority of South Africans.

There are certain rays of light in the white community. I would point particularly to a growing concern among young white South Africans, that is demonstrated. It is not simply a concern which is felt, but a new determination to join with their majority of black comrades and friends in the struggle. That needs to be fostered and developed.

### **Afraid to take the step**

I want to emphasize very specially the importance of winning over the white Afrikaner in South Africa.

I want to say that in the Institute that I represent we have noticed amongst Afrikaner academics, Afrikaner students and even amongst Afrikaner church people a very deep, desperate concern and a response to the kind of work we are doing. It is small.

A great deal more needs to be done, but you cannot simply write them off. They are people after all, however misguided they have been, and like most of us, have been for so long.

It is my view that a growing number of white South Africans have already abandoned apartheid in their minds, and even to some extent in their hearts, but **are afraid to take the step out of the apartheid camp, a brave, open stand which turns their back once and for all on white racism and moves towards a non-racial democracy.** The reason why they are timid and afraid is because of ignorance about their own country and about their fellow-countrymen, who happen to be black, because of their long years of isolation, and secondly because of their own fears which are fed by the propaganda, which comes to us daily from television and radio and most of our newspapers.

### ***Whites can move to a genuine alternative which gives security for them and their children.***

So, whites say: yes, I believe that apartheid is over, that there is no future; it is unworkable, but tell me what is the alternative. I think that some of us here at least have spent a great deal of time and patience in trying to help them to understand, that there is a genuine, meaningful alternative towards which they can move. It will give them security for themselves and for their children. It is not an easy task, but it is one that has to be attempted.

I want to make two brief comments in conclusion. One is the view of a number of people in South Africa, both white and black, that we are experiencing a deeper level of oppression and repression, that the government has seemingly inexhaustable powers to impose its will. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that we look again at the strategies, that have been tried up till now, honestly and fearlessly.

Secondly, we have to use all creative imagination and all the determination and all the resources, which are at our disposal, to find new ways and new strategies, which can work more effectively and more swiftly than perhaps tried strategies have in the past.

I believe that one of the things that has to happen,

is that groups of people inside South Africa have got to move away from much of the rhetoric and begin a hard-nosed search, and I believe that they can't do it on their own. They need the assistance and the help from people outside South Africa.

**Therefore I would plead with you, who have come to Africa, to listen to what people inside Namibia and South Africa say, but don't use that as an excuse to go on and on producing paper after paper and listening over and over again. The time is not only to listen, but the time for action is right now.**



## At Press Conference: O.R. TAMBO: Break the information black-out

*Chairman: Welcome to this press conference. I welcome President Tambo of the ANC. I want to make one introductory remark. When we first met in 1959 in Johannesburg President Tambo talked about the Bantu Education Act. He said he was very worried because it would create generations of slaves in his country. I am happy to say that on this particular point, Mr. President, you have been proved wrong by history.*

President TAMBO: Let me comment on that. 1959 is almost thirty years ago. We were confronted then with what we thought was the most fiendish aspect of the policy of apartheid, the imposition of Bantu Education on our children. I thought then as I still think today that it was and is the cruellest thing a human being can do to another, to seek to dwarf his mentality and make him a perpetual inferior. But you are right: the struggle against the Bantu Education is one of the principle sources of mobilising the people of South Africa against the apartheid system. More than anything else it pulled the youth into the struggle in a way that is unprecedented. The children are being tortured side by side with their grandparents – they have been detained, arrested, killed – you have a situation of a people that is totally united in struggle and resolved to win through. It is a great achievement on the part of our people to plant this struggle among the young who have carried it right through.

The AWEPA conference takes place at a time when there can be no doubt that this regime is not going to listen to resolutions and condemnations. It is confronting the international community with a plain choice between giving up – accepting the apartheid system, surrendering – or in the alternative, acting to remove it from the face of the earth. It is a simple choice now.

What can the international community do? Since as early as 1959 we called for sanctions. We could think of no more effective way the international community could help end a crime against us. We still can think of no better way in which the international community can intervene.

*What is the ANC's position in the discussion on comprehensive versus selective or strategic sanctions?*

We have never understood comprehensive mandatory sanction to be exclusive of specific sanctions. But we have refused to say that mandatory sanctions should be put aside even for the time being while we concentrate on selective sanctions. **We think that selective sanctions fall within the broad range of comprehensive sanctions.** For instance: the United States have a package. It does not include all we would want to put into a package for sanctions, but they have adopted a package of sanctions and we say that this is a step in the right direction. They must be persuaded to go beyond that and impose comprehensive sanctions.

The EEC have a very small selection of sanctions, but they are sanctions all the same. All these sanctions put together are having an effect. But we are saying to the EEC that this is not effective enough. Why not impose comprehensive sanctions? If they can impose comprehensive sanctions that will have an effect; the South African regime would come



down sooner with comprehensive sanctions than with sanctions, less than comprehensive.

The position of the ANC has from the very beginning been one comprehensive, total isolation of South Africa. Sanctions were seen as part of the economic, military and diplomatic isolation of South Africa.

I would not see selective sanctions as falling outside our concept of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions. Selective sanctions are sanctions.

Selective sanctions will be effective in a certain area, to a certain extent. But they will not have the consequence we seek of cutting off the regime. Therefore I would hope that although we are pursuing selective sanctions, at the same time they will be supporting the effort to bring on comprehensive, mandatory sanctions.

*The ANC has on a number of occasions said that it is to intensify the armed struggle against the apartheid regime. Could you explain in what way the armed struggle is going to be stiffed up?*

We must stiff up all attacks on the police, on the army, and personnel associated with these institutions. We must strike against the infrastructure of the apartheid system. This has been the line of our attack. We are going to do this on a much bigger scale. As of now it has been higher than at any time in the past. The enemy himself has admitted that: last year they said that in comparison with the previous year our actions had increased by 300%. We have maintained that rate of increase and we will go on increasing it.



*What is your comment on the South African attacks on your offices abroad?*

The Botha regime believes it can perpetuate itself eternally by liquidating the opposition. We have had a number of ANC personnel that are kidnapped or assassinated in this region; we have had assassinations of key opponents of the regime all about. There has been an attempt to poison our people, organised by South Africa. In Maputo, for example, they put poison in sugar that was distributed among ANC people. Analysis of that sugar was found to show that it was poisoned. It was brought in from outside Mozambique, from a country where the South African regime is operating very freely. Among us are people in Tanzania and in Zambia, who are undercover South African agents who confessed that their mission was to poison our people, not one but quite a few.

There is a plan to try and liquidate the ANC by actually killing its members and wiping out its leaders.

*Some Western countries are talking of giving non-lethal aid to the military in Mozambique. Are Western countries willing to give similar aid to ANC's military?*

Not yet. In our case it is described as humanitarian, rather than non-lethal. But we have a number of countries which are giving us very generous assistance for humanitarian purposes. We did at the beginning of our armed struggle try to get support from Western countries in terms of weaponry and uniforms and so on. Experience proved that we were not going to be successful as it was in general not the policy of Western countries to give us weapons. So we had to try other countries in the Socialist world and elsewhere, in Africa.

That remains our source of lethal weapons: the Socialist countries and African countries.

*What, in your opinion, should the organisations do which have been restricted in February?*

When the ANC in 1960 was in the midst of a non-violent political action, we found ourselves declared illegal. So when we were offered the choice between surrender and continued struggle, of course we opted for armed struggle. When the regime imposed its ban of organisations, I think the question that arises in the minds of most people surely is: what does the regime expect them to do? Does it now want them to take up arms?

**We would not say to our people, the UDF, take up arms. We would not say that, but we would say, its struggle must be intensified in every possible way. This is a regime which must be destroyed. We should not fall back, we should not submit, but go forward in every possible way.** Many people, I am sure, will feel that if they cannot talk, they must fight. If you can't fight with one method, let us look for another method to fight, but let us fight.

I am expecting that the consequence of the Botha regime's conduct will be to strengthen the people's struggle in South Africa, including especially armed struggle.

One of the surprises to me is the degree of cooperation the South African propaganda receives from leading newsmedia internationally. It is known that the South African police are the only ones who can say what has happened in South Africa. No one else is entitled to tell the truth and it is used to tell lies.

They have just told a lie. In Botswana they killed four people. They said those four people were mem-

bers of the ANC. The Botswana government having seen the people, said at least two of them are Botswana. And it was a matter of tremendous surprise to me to hear the BBC say that the South African government says all four people were members of the ANC. Stop. No reference at all to what the Botswana government is saying.

So South Africa has at its disposal this powerful cooperation. It throws its lies at the people and the people throw it out to the international community, unchecked, unverified. I think we are entitled to feel aggrieved by the assistance being extended to South Africa to perpetrate its crimes and cover them up by telling lies.

Other sides of stories do not get told. This is true also for Angola and Zimbabwe. It is the South African side that gets told. This is what this conference is really all about, ultimately: how to get rid of the apartheid system.

**There is a clamp down on the press as you know. So the information that gets out is selective. That black-out on what is happening in the country can be defeated, if representatives of the world media apply themselves seriously to the task of getting the information and getting it out.** In South Africa we have just had that the New Nation received a kind of warning that they could be put out of action forever. On the other hand you could ask why the rest of the media in South Africa are lagging behind. Why are they accepting this gag and their freedom to publish news? They are partially accepting it. I think that **the international media can operate in such a way as to break through this artificially imposed screen of news. We would think that if news, which comes from South Africa from the police, is treated with suspicion, at least the damage could be minimised.**

Are there journalists in this region, working in close cooperation with journalists in South Africa, who can break through the screen? As the information services of these countries work in cooperation with the world media and with journalists in South Africa, the news can come out, against the will of the South African regime. Their blockage can be by-passed.

*Chairman: I hope that the press from now on will report extensively on the views of the ANC until President Tambo's first press conference in Johannesburg, because from then on surely the whole world press will be on your doorstep. Thank you very much, mr. President.*



## Reports from the work groups

Mr. GRANSTEDT:

The conference has split into three working groups. Each of these three working groups has been discussing two major themes of the conference, one is Namibia and the other one is South Africa. We started by thoroughly examining the interior situation in these two countries. We got a lot of very valuable information from representatives from the South African and the Namibian people.

We were informed about how the apartheid oppression is working in Namibia and in South Africa and how various organizations work in order to mobilize people and to bring about change. After that examination of the interior situation we also had joint discussions in the working groups about possible actions and what kind of contribution notably the West European countries can give in the work to bring about change.

We do not intend to have a complete report from each of the working groups at the conference, in order to avoid repetition, because we were discussing the same themes.

We decided to divide the oral report today into two areas: 1. Namibia, which will be reported by Nora Owen, 2. South Africa, which will be reported by Donald Anderson.



### NAMIBIA

Nora OWEN:

Each of the discussion groups in their own way discussed the question of "why is South Africa still in Namibia". It is because South Africa refuses to implement resolution 435, as this would almost certainly lead to a SWAPO-led government in Namibia. This would anger the white conservatives in South Africa, as well as encourage black resistance thereby weakening the position of the National Party.

#### Attacks on FLS from Namibia

Further South Africa sees itself as a regional, military power and the South African generals find Namibia a useful base from which to attack the Front-line States.



It was said at the sessions that almost all the whites would want an independent Namibia, if it were a non-SWAPO-led Namibia. Whites seem to have with some hesitation accepted the so-called 'multi-racial' rule, a multi-party interim government, but only because white privilege has not been threatened. Therefore whites do not want resolution 435 as they would see this as leading to the end of their privileges.

#### Militarisation of education

The second area of discussion in all groups was the area of education. Like health in Namibia, this is run on ethnic lines. Each of the ten tribal authorities has its own educational authority, but for whites it is much better than for blacks. For example, for each white pupil there is one teacher for 16 children, for the blacks there is one teacher for 48 children. Education has become very militarized. Armed white South African soldiers in uniform are often teachers in black schools. **Black schools had only 22 per cent pass rates in the final year and very few black students reach the final year of school. The reality is that teachers who become active in any way are summarily dismissed or transferred long distances away and their places are taken by white South African soldiers.** At the moment action is now being taken by students and parents together to try and have the military camps removed from their proximity of school campuses, where intimidation is going on, raping, and generally people being intimidated and detained. There has been a call by Namibians in some of the groups for more assistance in improving the level and standard of education in Namibia.

#### Young unions under pressure

The other area of discussion was the trade union movement, which for a number of years was dormant, but since about 1986 has started again. Although it is legal to have trade unions in Namibia, the reality is that they have very little power and almost in any negotiations they participate in, or any cases they take against employers, the trade unions always fail in their case.

#### *South Africa refuses to implement resolution 435.*

In the present political and security situation, the trade unions can only operate in a very limited way, so they have themselves taken up to the call and the demand for the implementation of resolution 435, as they feel it is only through implementation of that resolution they can freely function and represent their workers.

Now many workers are contract labourers, who come from the war zone which suffers under the South African army. Therefore the war is one of the



rallying points of the trade unions. They also requested assistance to help them to help the thousands of unemployed people in Namibia as they cannot stretch the very minimal resources to do this.

### **Don't ignore killing in the North**

The final area that was fully examined by all the working groups was the area of human rights. It was reported that the situation is deteriorating particularly in the North. In rare cases where soldiers have been prosecuted for murder, president Botha has intervened and said that as a matter of national security the cases cannot continue and those soldiers have been left free.

**A campaign of killing goes on all the time and the soldiers automatically label people whom they kill as terrorists. This avoids any examination of investigation as to why these people were killed.**

Military conscription is being forced on students who are still in school and when they come out of their conscription time, they are too old to return into the education system. There are no special exemptions for the clergy. They are called up as well, and the church in general is intimidated, because they are seen to be active on behalf of the people.

The existence of curfew denies the opportunity to priests to administer to their congregations. For example, no ceremonies, even at Christmas time, are allowed in the evenings.

Generally, the human rights situation was stressed as being one that parliamentarians can raise. So I come from that to the actions that have been stressed and recommended from the various working groups.

**There are the actions by parliamentarians who are committed to assist in the Namibian liberation struggle. These actions can be divided into three areas:**

**a) forcing the implementation of resolution 435 by punishing South Africa for ignoring the United Nations resolution. In other words, bringing Namibia back into the centre of stage, and advising Europe and the world that there is a peace plan available and ready to be implemented.**

**b) assistance to Namibians prior to independence.**

**c) preparations for post-independence aid.**

The implementation of resolution 435. The linkage is holding up the implementation. West European parliamentarians must therefore try to ensure that their governments criticize this linkage and openly lobby the United States' administration on this point. The Western European governments generally conceived that linkage is an extraneous factor and therefore they should now be called on to lobby their governments and to openly lobby the US.

Secondly, **it is essential that governments of countries in Europe ask for the implementation of Decree No. 1**, as passed by the UN Council for Namibia. Many Western countries are now robbing Namibia of natural resources, and there is an action there by parliamentarians and others to lobby their own governments and their own companies, who are involved in this rape and robbing of natural resources.

With regard to sanctions: **the imposition of sanctions against South Africa for refusing to implement resolution 435 should be seen as a punish-**

**ment of South Africa for its continued occupation of Namibia.** It was stressed very much at the working sessions that it should be possible to implement sanctions and have them effective in Namibia, because there is a peace plan available. South Africa is part of that and has accepted that, but they will not implement it. So, effective sanctions, according to the Namibians, will lead to the implementation of 435.

***The media of the Western world must highlight the intense militarization and the victimization of people of Namibia.***

With regard to aid to pre-independent Namibia, a basket of humanitarian aid was requested at various sessions, including such things as assistance for education, both bursaries for third level education and assistance in raising the general standard of education. It was pointed out that 80 per cent of the teachers of Namibia were below standard for their teaching profession.

There was a request for specific aid for projects aimed at women, so that they will be ready to take their place in the society of independent Namibia.

There was a request for help to the unemployed.

**It is absolutely essential that such aid be channeled through those organizations that do not support the regime there. In other words, it will mainly be through SWAPO or the Council of Churches.**

Fourthly, a request to the media of the Western world to highlight the intense militarization and the victimization of people of Namibia.

With regard to the preparation for post-independence aid, the United Nations, in cooperation with SWAPO, has two specific projects relating to preparations for post-independence development, namely the UN Institute for Namibia and the UN Namibia Nationhood Programme. All these actions can be taken both by parliamentarians and others attending this conference, whether they be from NGO's or media.

We would ask that, when the report has been circulated and made available to you all who have participated, you will **do your utmost to ensure that the implementation of 435, which was accepted and acknowledged as being the kernel to the question in Namibia, all the other problems would solve themselves once that implementation took place. That is the call from the working groups.**



## SOUTH AFRICA

Donald ANDERSON:

What we shall aim to do in respect of the discussion on South Africa is to take the raw material, the many contributions made in our working groups, to refine them in the spirit of the AWEPA recommendations and bring them forward in our final report.

### Faced with anger

Our view is that the benefit of the conference will be not seen today, but will be seen when each of us returns to our respective countries and carries on the message there fortified and strengthened by what we have learned. We have had a mutual learning process in respect of South Africa. Many of our South African friends from the frontline have been brought face to face with some of the constraints from our Western European parliamentarians and, more important, **many of our Western European parliamentarians have perhaps for the first time come face to face with the real anger there is among the black activists within South Africa, people who say that they have carried out their own sanctions in terms of stay-aways, rent boycotts, and so on and look now to Western Europe to respond in terms of meaningful sanctions.**

We listened to those from South Africa who daily experience the repression. We heard their experiences at first hand. There was a period during which we, from Western Europe, were able to indicate some of the political realities as we saw them within our own parliaments, particularly within those countries which have been the main obstacle to real advance in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Finally, we looked at ways of implementing sanctions and the type of sanctions which are appropriate to carry further the anti-apartheid struggle.

Turning first to the report from the South African delegates, many of whom came at some risk, many of their colleagues, comrades, being in detention or being on the run. We were delighted to have such a range of groups represented from South Africa.

### Campaigns continue

The various participants from South Africa set out their own perspectives. Most of their testimony was about the effects of the state of emergency and the clamp down on the 17 organizations in February. Student activity has been affected by the banning of the South African National Students Congress and therefore, they have been prevented from raising educational issues. UDF-representatives stated that despite the banning on the United Democratic Front the amount of resistance had increased and there was a great need to unite all anti-apartheid forces. Support from abroad could help this.

Despite the bannings there would be campaigns for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organizations. The UDF-related organizations still needed political and economic support. The banning of the United Democratic Front was a clear admission on behalf of the apartheid regime that their so-called reform programme had indeed failed. There was a message here for Western governments who still believe that constructive engagement would lead to real progress within South Africa. Thousands of black moderate leaders at national and community level are in detention and are now effectively neutralized as a result of the banning.



Representatives of the labour organizations, COSATU of course particularly, gave their own evidence. Current labour legislation makes the position of women workers more endangered as they have more limited opportunities to protest. The offices of COSATU were regularly raided. Proposed legislation will further undermine the work of the trade union movement.

Although not banned COSATU-unions are not allowed to participate in what is deemed, in a very wide political definition, to be political acts. The state would like to see trade unions which do not really represent the views and interests of their members.

What is often described in the press as black-on-black violence was portrayed as violence perpetrated by blacks within the system against those who would not join that same system, and not only against those who actively oppose them such as the members of the United Democratic Front. However, this has led in areas like Pietermaritzburg that those who had previously been neutral in the Inkatha-UDF conflicts, are joining the side of the UDF.

Various questions were asked on disinvestment. There were questions raised on the effectiveness of disinvestment, particularly by US companies. The COSATU representative stressed that the trade unions associated with each particular company should be consulted in each specific case as to how the withdrawal should be considered and conducted.

### *Blacks are willing to make sacrifices.*

We heard discussions on the rent boycott in Soweto. In getting involved in this boycott people were fully aware that they were in danger of losing their own homes. The description was made of the activities of the vigilantes to try and break the boycott.

There was much discussion on the education system for blacks, white children having approximately ten times as much spent on their education as those on a black child, the eleven tribal authorities controlling their own education system.

Despite the emergency the almost 100 per cent response to the recent stay-aways, certainly in areas like Soweto, indicated not only black anger, but also



the willingness of the blacks to make sacrifices and to respond to the calls for such stay-aways.

The planned municipal elections in South Africa in October could be a focus for action, but the precise nature of that response will be decided by the UDF and other relevant organizations.

The recent stay-aways showed what was possible in terms of organization.

Again the question of the homelands and Bophutatswana was mentioned, some of course claiming that Bophutatswana in particular was essentially independent. But the coup and the intervention by South African troops exploded that propaganda effort and exposed Bophutatswana for what it is as part of the apartheid system.

### **More US sanctions?**

The second area which was covered, was devoted to the other side of the divide, the constraints within the United States and Western Europe for taking action against apartheid. Frank Ferrari for example gave a short description of the developments within the United States. The US Congress passed the most comprehensive sanctions law in the West outside that of the Nordic countries in 1986. It was stressed that that was passed by a Republican Senate. We looked forward to more moves after the elections this year. The news blackout by President Botha has had from their point of view the desired effect of removing the atrocities from the television screens within the Western countries and certainly it had some success in removing South Africa from the agenda.

Congress now has more plans for sanction laws. Chances of even stronger US sanction laws, despite the opposition and possible attempted veto of the President, have been increased as a result of the February measures. The suspension even last week of the New Nation, a Roman Catholic newspaper has had an effect on US pressure. All Democratic presidential candidates support further sanctions. Mr. Bush is closer to the line of president Reagan. However, it is pointed out, there is little or no liaison between the United States' package of sanctions, or 'measures' as Mrs. Thatcher would call them, and that in Western Europe and the Commonwealth.

The question of coordination of the various packages of sanctions was raised. How strict the new sanctions in the USA finally turn out to be depends in part on the development of repression within South Africa itself.

Within the USA South Africa is in a very different position from Southern Africa. Congress, for example, tends to see Southern Africa in an East-West conflict. Therefore it supports UNITA, has been very cool on aid to Zimbabwe, and for the first time has just approved aid to Mozambique.

There is also within the USA a very strong lobby on behalf of RENAMO or the MNR in Mozambique.

### **UK, FRG: Some movement**

In the United Kingdom, Mrs. Thatcher dominates and decides policy. There is now a new development in the United Kingdom parliament: an All Party Southern Africa Committee, which has a far more progressive viewpoint. The British government is far more concerned with aid to the Frontline States. One side of the coin was neglecting the question of sanctions and indeed has a special regard for a number of reasons to Mozambique.

Both the clamp down in February, the obstacles to

funding by the European Communities of organisations in South Africa, the continued South African assistance to the bandits in Mozambique, all are areas which are of concern to Mrs. Thatcher.

There is clearly a group within the Conservative Party which is in favour of sanctions.

Finally, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the three coalition partners work in different directions. Mr. Genscher of the Liberals is more progressive but is balanced by Strauss of the Christian Social Union pursuing his own policy. Mr. Kohl as Chancellor of the Christian Democratic Union criticizes South Africa but avoids sanctions and is the major obstacle to progress on the coal boycott of South Africa.

By contrast, the highly respected President of the Federal Republic, Von Weizsäcker, has recently in Zimbabwe made a symbolic and important statement in favour of a reconsideration of policy in respect to South Africa.

Finally, having touched on the testimony of those from the frontline in South Africa, the realities within Western Europe, the groups turned to the question of sanctions, the discussion on the relative merits of the call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and what was sometimes termed either as selective or as strategic sanctions.

For example, the American representative, Mr. Ferrari, pointed out that the sanctions legislation in the USA in 1986 would not have taken place had there been an attempt to go in one step for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

### **Selective/comprehensive sanctions**

There was some attempt to explore what was meant by selective, what was meant by strategic sanctions, whether these could be construed as the best attainable steps on the way to that end.

Also some attempt was made in the groups to clarify where were the major pressure points within South Africa. It was pointed out, for example, that in recent years the United Nations Security Council had twice vetoed selective sanctions including an attempt to put within the UN framework the legislation on sanctions of the United States and the European Community package of sanctions.

Some of our South African participants asked, if one is going to have selective sanctions, who selects which sanctions there will be. Would it be those sanctions which are most convenient and therefore least costly to the Western countries?

### ***South Africa admits even selective sanctions are hurting.***

There was a UN study under way on the most vulnerable parts of the South African economy, which will draw on work which has been done for example within the Commonwealth secretariat.

The South African government had acknowledged that even the limited selective sanctions now available were in fact hurting. There is over a wide sector what may be called a premium which South African government has to pay for its own apartheid policies.

There was also some attempt to consider, in terms of the effectiveness of sanctions, whom we are trying to convince. Essentially that would be the white minority in South Africa, now about 17 to 18 per cent of the population, which will by the end of the century be reduced to about 12 per cent of the po-



pulation. There was some exploration of this idea of shock therapy in the white minority of finding ways which were targeted specifically psychologically by telling the whites that they were on their own outside the mainstream.

The sort of issues which were discussed under this heading, targeting the whites included the ending for example of the no-visa-agreement between South Africa and the United Kingdom. Cutting off air links, perhaps symbolic, also would ensure that whites when they travelled outside South Africa would have to land within the Frontline States and would itself have a message to them.

It was suggested that South African whites and others arriving in Western European countries should have to sign a declaration against apartheid for visa applications. There was a discussion of what was called 'people's sanctions', basically distinguishing between those sanctions, as it were from the top down, governmental sanctions, and those which come from the bottom up, people's sanctions, from various groups like the trade unions, like consumers in Western European countries, all of which were designed to have an effect on public opinion.

We recognized that most of us are parliamentarians. We are here indeed as parliamentarians and parliamentarians have a special role in the sense that we have a platform within our respective countries, both at national and local levels. We can influence and be influenced by public opinion. There was some discussion of how we as parliamentarians might properly carry the message.

Finally, there was some consideration of other programmes aimed at structural change. The representative of IDASA, for example, although fearful of the effect of the recent clamp down on the source of external funding for IDASA and their own work, stressed the extent to which they were trying to break down the psychological barriers, the fear of the white minority, by taking whites into black areas and vice versa, and encouraging people to understand themselves as South Africans in the hope that this might, if not remove, at least reduce some of those barriers.

Hence, a lot of raw material was put forward by the South African representatives in the frontline. We, the West Europeans, will take this information with us for further action when we return home.

#### **Final remarks by Jan Nico SCHOLTEN:**

That was the reporting to the plenary. As Donald Anderson already underlined we will take all these suggestions with us for homework and we will, as AWEPA, take our decisions, especially on sanctions and support to the internal and external forces of resistance.

In the conference papers you will find an excellent book on Namibia made by our advisor, David de Beer. We are preparing a similar book on South Africa, and especially on sanctions and support to the resistance forces inside and outside South Africa.

I am convinced that what we heard from the people from inside South Africa and Namibia and what we heard from the ANC and the SWAPO will stimulate us to do our work and to accept our responsibilities in the national parliaments and wherever in Europe.

I have got the impression that SWAPO and the Namibian delegation, are asking us to see Namibia as a case in itself and to try to prevent Namibia to disappear in the enormous problems of South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole. Namibia is a case in itself. I think we have to work for that case and for the immediate independence of Namibia.

As I said before, we will ask Namibians to go with us to Europe and the United States, trying to convince the key countries that they should change their policy. That regards especially the members of the former Contact Group. Bishop Haushiku already accepted that invitation and others will follow, I am sure.

A second remark concerns sanctions. AWEPA is very much underlining that the European Community should follow the Nordics. Then we have to concentrate on the United Kingdom and on the Federal Republic of Germany. We will do so. We will use our time and our money for a concerted action with others on these both targets, Bonn and London.

I deeply hope that we can contribute a little to the solving of the injustice in South Africa, that cruel system of apartheid, that system of oppression of their own people, of the occupation of others in Namibia, Angola, with the policy of aggression against the frontline states.



## Selections from work group sessions on South Africa

*From South Africa:*

We are totally opposed to the kind of debate which raises the question whether to go on selective sanctions or mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, because that constitutes a delaying tactic from the West. That is our view.

### ***We are sick and tired of these delaying tactics.***

The demand is on the maximum. Full stop. Let the whole world choose the maximum and use their democratic right to support this demand. Then, let the British, German and American governments be isolated in their so-called selective sanctions. They are going to be the laughing-stock of the whole world. Only then they'll realise that they have not yet achieved much and that the whole world has achieved more.

We are saying that in South Africa we have got about 6 million unemployed workers. These people are already suffering. 6 Million is not a small number. It is not diminishing, it is increasing. How long will they keep on selecting while those people are still unemployed? You are sentencing those 6 million people and more to death, by the so-called selective sanctions. To save those lives and many millions, then it is your choice to ally yourselves with others. Let's just come to the majority.

I fully understand the concern of some of us. Let us try to be as realistic as possible. At the same time I think that when you are calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, we as South Africans are the victims of that system. It is true we must take into consideration what Mrs. Thatcher, Kohl and Reagan are saying, but we are much more concerned about the people in these countries.



It is not Kohl, it is not Reagan, it is not Thatcher who off-load and load the goods that are shipped from and to South Africa. It is the ordinary worker organised in trade unions and in mass organisations in the Western countries, who does the work.

When you go back to your parliaments, when you raise the question of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions some people and perhaps even the majority of parliamentarians might not understand or might refuse to embark on such a project. We ask you and advise you to concentrate and go back to those ordinary workers that voted you into your different parliaments to tell them and guide them not to off-load and load goods to South Africa.

The Congress in the USA all alone has not been so open or so enthusiastic about sanctions, but when the Free South Africa Movement in the USA began to stand up, that means the ordinary people, they were forced by the pressure from the people to take certain decisions even if deep in their hearts they don't agree with them. We are calling now on the people of Europe, not the elites, but ordinary workers. They are the ones who buy commodities from South Africa. They are the consumers, I think this is how we should move.

*From South Africa:*

The question some people like to raise is that if we embark on sanctions on South Africa the people will suffer. What do they mean? We don't know. Our people are already engaged in sanctions against the regime. They are engaged in consumer boycotts. They boycott white business centres. They don't buy from those businesses and shops. That alone is a sanction carried out by our own people.

So we don't know which blacks you are talking about who suffer. What type of sufferings are we talking about? **We are suffering. That is why we are engaged in these struggles. We want to eliminate suffering. In that process we have to suffer to bring about changes in that country. Hence we suffer assassinations and detentions. We are being maimed and massacred. What is this question all about? We don't understand. So we are saying that you have to support the people who are calling upon you to embark on comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against a racist regime, which is not a government and which has bans and killings, and is causing unnecessary deaths, like children dying because of malnutrition. The same applies to elderly people who have no access to proper food to nourish their bodies. We are faced with this daily in South Africa.**



*MP from Britain:*

We had a debate in the British parliament on a motion from one of these conservatives who has begun to realise the importance of selective sanctions, precisely around this issue of stopping flights. Mrs. Thatcher was quite clear, and Mrs. Chalker, the Minister of State, was quite clear that they were not going to accept even that. You remember that after the Commonwealth conference, she talked about these teeny-weeny bits and pieces of sanctions, and the contempt and the determination in her mind to resist sanctions is as strong as ever. There is no sign that the Sharpeville six, or anything else, has made any difference.

So whilst we have to recognise the reality of the situation in Western Europe, we shouldn't believe for one moment that we are knocking on an open door, and that all AWEPA has to do, is to modify its demand and then suddenly Mrs. Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl and others are going to come into the camp. They are not. It seems to me that the bottom line for us, in terms of support for you, is to reflect

your demands. I think we have to do that as Western parliamentarians.

The reason for coming here is to listen to what you have to say and to reflect the demands that you, the people on the ground, make. But likewise, I think you have to understand that, whilst we are reflecting the demand, we are going back and saying that the message we get from the South African people, churches, trade unions, students, women, ANC and so on, is fully comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

***Selective sanctions not inconsistent with comprehensive sanctions.***

Whilst it seems to me that we have a duty to go back to our parliaments and reflect that, we also have a duty within our parliaments to form alliances with whomsoever we can in order to push our governments at least some way down the path of taking some effective sanctions against the apartheid regime. I don't think the two things are inconsistent.





## VISITS TO ANC HEADQUARTERS AND FARMS

The members of the various parliamentary delegations also gained first-hand information about the liberation movement ANC outside the conference hall. At the ANC headquarters, President Tambo said:

We are really honoured because what has brought you here is in itself singular. An event which for that reason alone is historic.

The European continent is in a way a key to our problems. Africa has been linked to Europe more than to any other continent. We have this problem – you have the capacity to resolve it for us. Our problem is a nation which not so long ago called itself 'Europeans'. I think it is sometimes forgotten that it is only during the reign of the apartheid regime that what we call 'whites' were referred to in laws and in conversations and in ordinary language as 'Europeans'. And what they did as Europeans. In what they claimed was the interest of European civilisation.

So all of us therefore, those of the apartheid regime and the victims of their policies, have very close ties with Europe. I should like to emphasize it is for that reason that we have sought to build as much support among the people of Europe, among parliamentarians, among the churches, the workers, the youth, the intellectuals and generally the mass of the people. If governments have diplomatic and other problems at least we place our biggest hopes in the ordinary people in Europe, many of whom have to a greater or lesser degree experienced the kind of things that we are experiencing under the harsh military rule and virtual military occupation of our country by the forces of apartheid.

In particular we have hopes in the parliamentarians who are part of the policy making machinery in these countries. So we think we are fortunate in having been given the opportunity to meet you as a collective, comprising representatives of many countries in Europe.

By far our biggest problem at the moment is the British Prime Minister. But I also recall a meeting with Conservative parliamentarians which went off

very well indeed. We have been inspired to feel the support that we enjoy among the Conservative parliamentarians.

Our next problem is in Western Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany. Rather badly represented by Mr. Strauss when he came here but we have been very encouraged by the President who visited some of the countries in Africa, including Zimbabwe. We even thought it very significant that at the Security Council the FRG for the first time abstained. We hope it indicates a reassessment of FRG's policies towards this region and in particular South Africa.

We have not been particularly happy with France, but let me say that for the rest of the countries that you represent we are reasonably happy with our relations and we just feel that not enough is being done by the governments of these countries. They are not sufficiently forthcoming. Especially on the one item which we think is of primary importance and could precipitate a process of rapid change in South Africa. That is the question of sanctions.

The key to sanctions is Western Europe. I think if the European Community ignored the positions of the British Prime Minister and started moving, Japan would come in. The fact is that the sanctions on the admission of even the South African minister of Finance are having an effect. One of the top economists on South Africa, Professor Terblanche of Stellenbosch (with as chancellor P.W. Botha), a very highly respected economist says sanctions are having an effect and are creating problems.

For us who are the victims of this system that would be a tremendous and perhaps even decisive contribution towards the efforts to end the apartheid system.

Need I say it is indeed really the apartheid system which brings you here. To this part of Africa, to this spot in Lusaka which is permanently oriented towards South Africa; this spot which links our thoughts, our hopes, our expectations, our efforts, with the hopes and expectations and efforts of our people in South Africa.







The delegates visited the ANC farms Tshongela and Alpha, about one hour's drive from Lusaka. They were impressed by the size of the farms which is growing food for the large ANC community in exile. Maize, vegetables and eggs are produced not only for the ANC community in Zambia, but also for the ones in other countries like Tanzania and Angola. Apart from poultry and piggery, meat is produced by a substantial herd of cattle for which a new slaughterhouse has been constructed. These two large farms are being worked by ANC men and women, some of whom have spent time in South African prisons. They are assisted by Zambian farmworkers. Young South African men and women are here receiving training with a view to their future task in a liberated South Africa. The visit impressed upon the delegates that the ANC is more than a guerrilla and a political movement.





# PARTICIPATION LIST AWEPA CONFERENCE: SOUTHERN AFRICA'S FUTURE – EUROPE'S ROLE

## A. Host and organisers

### HOST IN LUSAKA:

His Exc. Dr. Kenneth KAUNDA

President of Zambia

### CO-ORGANISERS IN LUSAKA:

Mr. P.G.H. SIMUCHOBA

President, Christian Council of Zambia

Mr. E.E. LUMBAMA

Secretary – General

Mr. Safeli CHILESHE

### AWEPA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Mr. Jan Nico SCHOLTEN (Netherlands)

President

Mr. Donald ANDERSON (United Kingdom)

Vice – President

Mr. Luc DHOORE (Belgium)

Vice – President

Mr. Giuliano SILVESTRI (Italy)

Vice – President

Mr. Pär GRANSTEDT (Sweden)

Treasurer

Mrs. Nora OWEN (Ireland)

Mr. Thor – Eirik GULBRANDSEN (Norway)

Mr. Ernest GLINNE (Belgium)

President, section European Parliament

Mr. Peter PRICE (United Kingdom)

Vice – President, section Eur. Parliament

## B. Politicians from Western countries and India:

(this section lists participants per country, mostly with the internationally usual affiliation of their party)

### EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

#### members:

Mr. Ernest GLINNE	soc	Belgium
Mr. Peter PRICE	cons	United Kingdom
Mrs. Margaret DALY	cons	United Kingdom
Mrs. M. PINTASILGO	soc	Portugal
Mr. Giorgio ROSSETTI	com	Italy
Mr. Henri SABY	soc	France
Mrs. Barbara SIMONS	soc	F.R. Germany
Mr. Amedee TURNER	cons	United Kingdom

#### staff:

Mr. David BLACKMAN

Mrs. Nadia VANHAMME

### BELGIUM

Mr. Jan CAUDRON	flemish
Mr. Luc DHOORE	chr
Mr. Jef SLEECKX	soc

### CANADA

Mr. Walter McLEAN	cons
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### DENMARK

Mr. Viggo FISCHER	cons
Mr. Chr. KELM – HANSEN	soc
Mr. J. SKRYMSAGER – SKAU	lib

### FINLAND

Mrs. Arja ALHO	soc
Mrs. Eeva TURUNEN	cons

### F.R. GERMANY

Mr. Gerhart BAUM	lib
Mrs. Ursula EID	green
Mr. Gunther HILLIGES	soc
Mr. Burkhard HIRSCH	lib
Mrs. Chr. RANDZIO – PLATH	soc

### GREECE

Mr. Basil BEKIRIS	cons
Mr. Theo GEORGIOU	lib
Mr. Ilias MALEVITIS	lib
Mr. John ZIAGAS	soc

### INDIA

Mr. Mahendra PRASAD	congr
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### IRELAND

Mr. George BIRMINGHAM	chr
Mr. John CONNOR	chr
Mr. Martin CULLEN	lib
Mr. Brendan GRIFFIN	chr
Mr. Brendan HOWLIN	soc
Mr. Tom KITT	ff
Mrs. Nora OWEN	chr

### ITALY

Mr. Guido CRIPPA	com
Mr. Renzo LUSSETTI	chr
Mr. FERRARI MARTE	soc
Mr. Giuliano SILVESTRI	chr

### NETHERLANDS

Mr. Jaap HUURMAN	soc
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### NORWAY

Mr. Kjell – M. BONDEVIK	chr
Mr. Thor – E. GULBRANDSEN	soc
Mrs. Hanna KVANMO	left soc
Mr. Jan PETERSEN	cons

### PORTUGAL

Mr. E. PEREIRA da SILVA	lib
-------------------------	-----

### SPAIN

Mr. J. M. BANDRES MOLET	basque
Mr. R. PENEGARIKANO	basque
Mr. Ciriaco de VICENTE	soc

### SWEDEN

Amb. Anne – Marie SUNDBOM  
Representing the Government of Sweden

Mrs. Karin FALKNER	cons
Mr. Hans – Göran FRANCK	soc
Mr. Pär GRANSTEDT	centre
Mrs. Maria LEISSNER	lib

### SWITZERLAND

Mr. Paul RECHSTEINER	soc
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### UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. Donald ANDERSON	soc
Mr. Paul BOATENG	soc
Mr. Hugh DYKES	cons
Mr. Robert KEY	cons
Mr. Robert RHODES – JAMES	cons



### C. African participants

This section lists African participants alphabetically/per country, most of whom attended the Lusaka conference only.

#### NAMIBIA

Bishop Bonifatius HAUSHIKU	Vice-Pres., Council Churches of Nam., delegation leader
Bishop James H. KAULUMA	President CCN, briefly visited the conference
Mrs. Elise Ndelikalela AUINO	ELCIN – Oshigambo High School
Mr. Zacharias BASSON	Mineworkers Union of Namibia
Mr. Stephanus GOLIAT	Ecum. priv. comm'ty school Berseba
Mrs. Liselotte KAVARI	Council Churches Namibia
Mr. Brian O'LINN	NPP435: Namibian Peace Plan Study and Working Group
Mr. Usko SHIVUTE	ELCIN – Oshigambo High School
Mr. David SMUTS	Lawyer
Mr. Bernard TJIZU	Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union
Mr. Ben ULENGA	Mineworkers Union of Namibia
Mr. Gerson Hitjevi VEII	/Ai – //Gams conference

#### SWAPO delegation

Mr. Andimba TOIVO ya TOIVO	Mr. Axel JOHANNES
Mr. Theo – Ben GURIRAB	Mr. Philemon NAHOLO
Mr. Andrias ANGULA	Rev. Erwin TJIRIMUJE

#### SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Christiaan BEYERS NAUDE	Leader of the delegation of a 25 representatives of various organisations inside the country
Dr. Alex BORAINÉ	IDASA Inst. for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa
Dr. Wolfram KISTNER	South African Council of Churches
The other members of the delegation remain unnamed for obvious reasons.	

ANC: Delegation of members of the National Executive Committee and others, including

Mr. Oliver R. TAMBO	President
Mr. Thabo MBEKI	
Mr. James STEWART	

#### PAC:

Mr. J. MLAMBO  
Mr. Ilis MASOKA  
Mr. Joe MOABA

#### SACTU:

Mr. John NKADIMENG

#### BOTSWANA

Mr. L.C. LEKOA	Mrs. Mpho MAKHEMA
Mr. G.M. KWEREPE	Mr. G. MASUSU
Mr. D.M. MAGANG	Mr. A.M. MOGWE

#### ZAMBIA

A broad delegation of authorities and MP's including, at the opening session:

Mr. A.G. ZULU	Secretary – General of the Party
Mr. K.S.K. MUSOKOTWANE	Prime Minister
Mr. A.K. SHAPI	Secretary of State for Defense and Security
Amb. K. NSINGO	Ambassador to the European Communities
Mrs. Chipili NKONGA	Embassy to the European Communities

#### ZIMBABWE

Mr. T. A. G. MAKOMBE	Mrs. C. O. MUCHINGURI
Mr. T. R. MASAYA	Mr. J. F. MUDENDA

### D. International organisations

#### United Nations:

Amb. Joseph N. GARBA	Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid
Mr. Sotirios MOUSOURIS	Director, Centre against Apartheid

#### Amb. G NIYUNGEKO

Mr. Bernt CARLSSON	Representative, Council for Namibia
Mr. B. Akporode CLARK	Commissioner for Namibia
	Representative Commissioner for Namibia in Zambia

#### Organisation of African Unity:

Mr. Mahmoud DAAR	OAU Representative, European Communities, Brussels
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#### ACP Group of Countries:

Mr. Edwin A. CARRINGTON	Secretary general, ACP Office, Brussels
Amb. K. NSINGO of Zambia	Representative Committee of Ambassadors, Brussels

#### Program to Combat Racism, World Council of Churches

Mr. James MUTAMBIRWA	Acting Director
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#### Parliamentarians for Global Order:

Mr. Walter McLEAN  
Mrs. Regina MONTICONE  
Mr. Bert KOENDERS



## E. Non – Governmental Organisations

Mrs. Caroline ALLISON	Zambia	OXFAM
Mr. Christian BALSLEV – OLESEN	Denmark	DANCHURCHAID
Mr. Max van den BERG	Netherlands	NOVIB
Mr. Michael EDWARDS	Zambia	OXFAM
Mr. Frank FERRARI	United States	African – American Institute
Mr. Cor GROENENDIJK	Netherlands	Shipping Research Bureau
Mr. Russel HAY	United Kingdom	Christian Aid
Mr. Bernard HOLZER	France	CCFD
Mr. Peter KROGH	Denmark	DANCHURCHAID
Mr. Brian McKEOWN	Rep. Ireland	Trocaire
Mrs. Lucy MUYOYETA	Zambia	OXFAM
Mr. Hans PELGRÖM	Netherlands	NOVIB
Mr. Gerd SCHIRRA	Zambia	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Mr. David SOGGE	Netherlands	SA/NAM
Mr. Paul STAAL	Netherlands	Holland Committee on Southern Africa
Mr. Simon STOCKER	United Kingdom	War on Want
Mrs. Nicola SWAINSON	United Kingdom	Cath. Inst. for International Relations

## F. AWEPA consultants and staff

Mr. David de BEER  
Mr. Pieter BOERSMA  
Mr. Tamme HANSMA  
Mrs. Barty LUHRMAN – FUCHS  
Mrs. Ike ROSIER  
Dr. Karel ROSKAM  
Mrs. Annelies ROSKAM  
Mr. Peter SLUITER







Broad delegations from the liberation movements, churches and other organisations within South Africa and Namibia informed the Western participants about the increasing crisis in their countries. AWEPA is grateful for this excellent opportunity to receive first hand information about the most recent developments concerning the oppression and the internal resistance.

The Western participants also got an unambiguous call from these representatives of the oppressed: *a call for sanctions.*

The message from the African participants was clear: the "reform" measures taken by the South African regime remain within the framework of the apartheid structure and are intended to strengthen this structure. Therefore they can never meet the legitimate demands of the vast majority of the people.

Maintenance of white minority rule in South Africa and keeping SWAPO out of power in Namibia are the heart of the policy of the South African government.

The sufferings of the oppressed are going on and the situation is getting worse and worse.

Nevertheless, the South Africans and Namibians are fully prepared to go on with their internal struggle for freedom and justice, taking many personal risks.

## **AWEPA**

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