AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

of South-Africa

Afrikkalainen kansalliskongressi

9th November 1990

To: ANC Nordic Missions: Denmark, Sweden, Norway Dept. of international Affairs, Lusaka

Comrades,

Further to my letter d.d. 12th October enclosing the resolutions adopted by the Nordic Anti-apartheid Movements in Helsinki, I send herewith the full report of the meeting as prepared by the host organization, EELAK(Isolate South Africa Campaign of Finland).

Regards,

Mohamed Hussein Chief Representative.

### MEETING OF THE NORDIC ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANISATIONS Helsinki 6-7 October 1990

The Nordic anti-apartheid organisations held their annual meeting in Helsinki on 6.-7. October 1990. The meeting was hosted by Isolate South Africa Campaign in Finland (EELAK) and Africa Committee. It was attended by ISAK (Isolera Sydafrika Kommitten) and Afrikkagrupperna from Sweden, Fellesrådet for det Sorlige Afrika from Norway and Landskomiteen Sydafrika-Aktion from Denmark. List of participants is enclosed. The meeting was addressed by the ANC representative in Finland Mohamed Hussein.

## The Current Situation in South Africa

Mohamed Hussein said that the agreements reached in South Africa have been fairly successful. There has been progress, but obstacles for negotiations still exist. The implementation of the decisions has appeared to be a problem, for example the return of exiles. De Klerk's government is playing a double role by which he wants to weaken ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement. The violence seems to be highly orchestrated. It is the present governments responsibility to protect people and stop the violence. However the ANC, which does not benefit from the violence, is put under pressure. The difficult thing now is to fight the public opinion, which is likely to describe the violence purely tribal and de Klerk as a peacemaker. In that respect ANC needs the help of anti-apartheid organisations.

In the coming future there are two things which need to be overcome:

1) the question of the interim government and 2) what mechanism is needed to draw up the constitution. De Klerk's governments wants to remain in power until the new constitution is drawn up. De Klerk is busy trying to gain legitimacy to that idea. ANC's view is that some kind of transitional interim arrangement is needed in order to neutralise the control of police and other state organs. De Klerk's government opposes the idea of Constitutional Assembly, which is one of the ANC's main demands.

In the case of international pressure Mohamed Hussein saw the problem of the interpretation of "irreversible". The ANC view is that sanctions should still remain. There is a discussion going on which would be the proper stage to lift the sanctions. Nowadays ANC has also become worried about the economical situation in the country and that must be taken into account. When asked about the Eastern European situation Mohamed Hussein admitted that the South African government is making a maximum opportunity on that and it is problematic to approach those societies, because there is a lack of grassroot structures at the moment. Patrick Mac Manus from Denmark pointed out, that we have had too simplistic concept of the negotiation process and that ANC should not hand out its strongest card, the masses. Mohamed Hussein said that althought the opposition has been formally legalised there are big difficulties to operate in practice in certain parts of the country, which is causing organisational problems. He stood strongly against the plans to "reward de Klerk", which seems to be in favour of some countries.

## The development in the international arena and UN

Lotta Johnsson from ISAK told about the UN meeting in September where Nordic NGO:s also sent there a representative Magnus Valan. The meet-

ing discussed about the report of the Secretary General on the implementation of the UN Resolution on South Africa in December 1989. It is important to follow up the development in Western European countries concerning the sanctions policy. The Nordic meeting decided that the issue will be discussed after the Geneve Consultations if there is an increasing pressure to lift the sanctions.

### Report from the Nordic Foreign Ministers Meeting 11-12 September

The Nordig anti-apartheid organisations sent a letter to the meeting asking about the new visa regulations. The response by the Finnish Foreign Ministry was that answer might be given later on. The Foreign Minister's Meeting did not make any new decisions on the South African policy but referred to the Nordic Action Programme from 1988 and the decision taken in March. That was mainly because of the Gulf crisis which occupied the agenda.

The Swedish Government has planned to organise a seminar in Johannesburg. That has been a surprise to the anti-apartheid movement in and ANC in Sweden. The Norwegian anti-apartheid movement visited the Foreign Ministry and they were told that according to their interpretation of the visa regulations they imply only to the political relations not cultural or scientific. Thus Pretoria Youth Choir would not have been allowed to enter Norway. Danish representative Patrick Mac Manus told that Denmark had established an embassy to South Africa and that an Inkatha representative had visited Denmark. It seemed appearant to the meeting that the Nordic countries want to faciliate in creating a pluralistic democracy in South Africa. The purpose of the easing of visa regulations is to allow free flow of information and pluralism. Iina Soiri from EELAK told that in Finland there has been a lively public discussion on the sanctions and especially some prominent figures in the social democratic party have stated that our relationship to SA government should be more positive and rewarding. However the relationship to ANC and MDM in South Africa has become closer as a result of the new ambassador in Pretoria.

The meeting decided that we should continue the pressure to our governments not to lift or ease the sanctions by any means. We should also work very closely to ANC and take account its advice.

#### The situation in Eastern Europe

Last Nordic Meeting agreed that the Nordic organisations contact the Eastern European Embassies and ask their South African policy. The response received is quite few. Ingvar Flink from Afrikkagrupperna proposed that we approach the Embassies again and try to find solidarity groups in Eastern European countries to contact as well. That was agreed. We should ask them only to maintain the sanctions. It is not realistic and appropriate to appeal to them to continue financial assistance because of their deep economic crisis. One thing to point out would be to ask why they are supporting undemocratic regime while they are democratising their own countries. If there is no answer each organisation would ask for an appointment. The meeting also decided that after contacting the Embassies each country would release a press statement. The response from the embassies would be published on the Nordic Newsletter in December. All letters sent would be circulated around other nordic anti-apartheid organisations.

# The role of the Nordic Anti-apartheid Movements in the current situation and future cooperation

The role of our organisations is still according to Anders Samuelsson from ISAK to monitor and pressurise the governments and companies concerning economic sanctions. Sjurd Tveit from Norway pointed out that according to the Shipping Research Bureau Report "Fuel to Apartheid" Norwegian ships still transport one third of the petroleum products. Norway also process manganese which originally comes from South Africa in spite of the trade ban. Iina Soiri told about the plans to start tourism to South Africa by one Finnish travel agency. That is not illegal, because the Finnish trade ban law does not mention export or import of services. That is the case in Denmark as well. The meeting agreed that we should work for maintaining the existing sanctions but there is very little chance to increase them.

Other tasks in this situation is to maintain public discussion on South Africa and to counter the information given in the press that everything is already OK in South Africa. We should spread information and increase people's knowledge about the transition period and the problems existing in that. The Nordic organisations could also help to solve the problems with homecoming exiles and address the problems of economic apartheid, which will remain for a longer period. Our task is also to watch that our governments do not give wrong signals to the business life, which seems to be very keen on tradinging with South Africa.

Patrick Mac Manus told that it will be a honour for us when the time comes to "close the shop" and we should not be affraid of that. In Finland there has already been informal discussions what to do after EELAK. Other countries have started that as well.

Concerning the Nordic cooperation the meeting had an opinion that it is very good and more lively than ever before. Especially for organisations with more limited resourches it is very important to keep close contacts with the others. Traditionally there has been a division of work so that the Norwegians take care of the Newsletter, the Finns and Swedes organise meetings and Denmark takes responsibility on the Nordic Foreign Ministers' meetings, described Ingvar Flink from Afrikkagrupperna. That system decided to be maintained. Tapio Leskinen from EELAK pointed out that more cooperation would be suitable concerning the visits of South Africans. Iina Soiri hoped more cultural cooperation.

### The ANC Campaigns in different coutries

The delegations presented the main points of their fundraising campaigns for ANC and some other activities they are doing this autumn. The Swedes collect funds with a system that half of the donations goes to ANC and other half to a voluntary target (youth, women or work in Sweden). The Norwegians will have they information campaign in the coming week. The Danes have decided to "adopt" a branches of ANC and channel the support for them. Other organisations found it as a good idea. The Finns have started their fundraising few weeks ago e.g. by sending "challenge" postcards.

The meeting agreed that a common Nordic tour for ANC Womens League representative will be organised in November-December. Afrikkagrup-perna will make the general arrangements. The Swedes also offered their candles for sale also in other countries. Other material was distributed as well.

### Coming common activities

The Nordic Newsletter will be published in December the deadline being 15.11. The theme will Eastern Europe providing that some kind of response would be given until that. Also the ANC campaigns will be presented.

The Danish plan to organise a three-day seminar in February was accepted as a common project.

The idea of having a Nordic Youth Camp was found interesting and the Swedes and Norwegians promised to look for possibilities to prepare it.

Ingvar Flink made a longer-term suggestion that there should be a large celebration between the anti-apartheid activists when apartheid is defeated. That would also include seminar on future work.

Mohamed Hussein's idea of a museum of Nordic anti-apartheid material was found good and recognised.

### The statements

The Nordic meeting accepted two statements 1) to the Nordic governments pointing out especially the interpretation of the visa regulation by Finland and 2) a statement directed to the president de Klerk concerning the obstacles for negotiations. The latter statement will be sent in connection the UN day for political prisoners in South Africa. Both statements are enclosed to this report

## Participants of the Nordic anti-apartheid meeting

Tapio Leskinen EELAK Iina Soiri EELAK Hilkka Tervonen EELAK

Mikko Cortez Tellez Intersolid (EELAK's member organisation)
Marja Lindblom Travel Agency Workers Union (EELAK's member

organisation)

Inkeri Kuisma Afrikka Committee

Nina Andersson Afrikkagrupperna i Sverige Ingvar Flink Afrikkagrupperna i Sverige Laila Niklasson Afrikkagrupperna i Sverige

Pelle Knutsson ISAK i Sverige Anders Samuelsson ISAK i Sverige Lotta Johnsson ISAK i Sverige

Sjurd Tveit Fellesrådet for det Sorlige Afrika i Norge Patrick Mac Manus Landskomiteen Sydafrika-Aktion Denmark

Mohamed Hussein ANC Finland

Pirjo Virtaintorppa ANC Finnish office

President FW de Klerk Union Building South Africa

On the occasion of their meeting in Helsinki, the nordic anti-apartheid movements wish to address the following remarks to the government of South Africa.

We recognize that the South African government as a result of internal and international pressure has made some concessions which have been welcomed by the liberation movement and the international comunity. But these are far from sufficient.

To ensure the continuation of the process towards real negotiations and the dismantlement of apartheid a number of remaining obstacles must be removed.

Two major obstacles in the present situation are:

- The extremely slow release of political prisoners and the continued detentions of members of the Mass Democratic Movement, including the member of ANC executive, 'Mac' Maharaj and the general secretary of SAYCO, Rapu Molakane. The political trials have increased and thus the number of new political prisoners more than those old ones who have been released. Also the detentions have increased enourmously since the February 1990.
- The increased violence in Natal and more recently in the the black townships on the Witwaterstrand is a serious threat to a peaceful negotiated settlement. There is clear evidence that this violence is orchestrated in colusion with the security forces. The government of South Africa has therefor a clear responsibility to regain control over its own security forces. We demand that it takes decisive action in this direction. Otherwise the government of South Africa will be open to allegations of persuing a double strategy, on the one hand a declared intent to negotiate with the liberation movement, and on the other, a policy of violent destabilisation of that same movement.

Helsinki, October 7, 1990

Isolate South Africa Committee of Sweden Africagroups of Sweden Isolate South Africa Campaign in Finland Norwegien Council of Southern Africa Landskomiteen Sydafrika Aktion Danmark

To the Governments of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Danmark

The Nordic anti-apartheid organisations met in Helsinki on 6.-7. October 1990. During the meeting we discussed the current situation in South Africa and the Nordic policy towards South Africa. We also looked at possibilities for cooperation in supporting the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa.

The meeting agreed that the sanctions against South Africa must be maintained until there is a clear signal from ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa to lift them. Concerning the Nordic policy towards South Africa we demand that the Nordic countries maintain all measures directed to isolate the apartheid government. We cannot accept any actions which are meant to reward the South African government and demand instead full support for the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa. The Nordic anti-apartheid organisations expressed their concern about the efforts to ease the sanctions policy in the name of "dialogue and democratisation". According to us the Nordic Governments role in the process of abolishing apartheid is most effective in supporting the ANC and its allies.

The meeting of the Nordic anti-apartheid organisations also expressed its concern about the recent development in Finland concerning the South African policy. Finland's interpretation on the visa regulations concerning the visits of cultural groups must be regarded as totally unilateral. The decision taken at the Foreign Ministers meeting in March to revise the visa regulations for South African citizens must not be implemented in a way that violates the UN Cultural Boycott against South Africa. We demand all Nordic countries to respect the UN Declation on South Africa unanimously accepted by the UN General Assembly on December 1990.

Helsinki, October the 7th 1990

Eristetään Etelä-Afrikka - kampanja EELAK (Finland) Suomen Rauhanpuolustajien Afrikka -komitea (Finland) Afrikagrupperna i Sverige Isolera Sydafrika kommitten (Sverige) Fellesrådet for det Sörlige Afrika (Norge) Landskomiteen Sydafrika Aktion (Denmark)