

INTRODUCTION

The ANC Chief Representative arrived in Tokyo, Japan on May 15, exactly ten months ago today and opened our first mission to the Far East region ten days later, May 25. 1988 - Africa Liberation Day. 'All these took place as planned and implemented accordingly.

Before the opening of our representative office, quite a number of our Comrades, including Comrade President O.R.Tambo visited the region, Japan in particular to campaign and solicit support for our struggle. Influential individuals from inside South Africa like Rev. Allen Boesak and Bishop etc also made trips, at least once to Japan to further mobilise for isolation of the Apartheid regime. These important visits, together with international condemnation of Japan as the leading trading partner of Pretoria and the national showing of the movie "Cry Freedom". occasional small scale activities and campaigns of anti-Apartheid and other citizens movements, help to create a foundation from which our newly opened office could start its activities and implement tasks assigned.

Japan has been and still the leading trading partner of South Africa. It been No.2 or 3 does not make it less important to Pretoria and therefore should be spared all round pressure. Our office had, from the very start, begin to confront this issue headlong. About 95% of Japanese, and the same can be said about Hong-Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, have no knowledge about our situation and day-to-day-life our people experienced. They only know the word Apartheid. And yet the potential for support looked immense and needed to be exploited. These two factors influence the nature, pace, level and content of our campaigns. Our campaigns so far have been successful. Awareness is increasing.

1) Office Strength

Tokyo Chief-Representative office is staffed daily by three people, namely 5;

(a) Chief Representative ----- Jerry Matsila

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(b) Campaign & Finance Secretary--Cde Hirano Kazunari (Japanese) i

(c) Administrative Secretary ----- Cde Naoko Tsuyama (Japanese)

When I opened the office on 1988-05-25, I did so almost alone With occasional

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office in cooperation With other mass democratic movements of Japan. CdeHirano joined the office in October 1988 - seconded by AALA on part-time. He Will join the office as full-time from April 1, 1989. Naoko Tsuyama joined our office in November sponsored by

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General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) and three of its main affiliate union's Fund. She is full-time. The two Japanese staff members are paid salaries by the above indicated two separate fund Committees. Presently, the Chief Representative allowance

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and welfare is taken care of by the AALA-Solidarity Fund for South African People;.

In addition to their daily office work, the two Japanese staffs also translate communication, information into Japanese-English. They also accompany the representative to meetings for translations. In addition our office has its disposal a core of twelve volunteers. translators who usually assist in meetings, demonstration and preparation of information packages. For the current plan to publish an ANC booklet over eight volunteers are involved in translating the material into Japanese. They include three journalists volunteers. These additional reinforcements have increased the administrative coordination and campaign capacity of the office.

However the work keep expanding daily and forces the staff to work over 12 hours a day - sometimes throughout weekends. And as our presents increases in Japan;

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Hong-Kong, Philippines, South Korea, Malaysia and Taiwan, more personnel will surely be needed - especially the deputy-Chief Representative. i

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2) Relations with Political Parties, NGOs, and Solidarity Groups 1

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Japan Politics is characterised by bitter rivalry and antagonisms and money politics. The democratic forces are also divided. These divisions affects and the entire social and political spectrum of Japanese society. Consequently, labour movements, citizens groups, religious organisations and anti-Apartheid and Solidarity movements also follows, falls a

are affiliated to a particular political grouping. These trends can be summarised as follows ;

(i) The Revolutionary Left

(ii) Social Democratic and Centre Coalition and . i

(iii) Conservative and Right Wing. I

(a) Revolutionary Left : These forces led by the Japan Communist Party, Conference for the Trade Union for the United Front, Democratic Youth League of Japan. Federation of Japan Women's Organisation, and Africa Asia Latin-America Solidarity are the core of ANC I

support - all round support in Japan, They maintain our office, pay all the running costs

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welfare of Chief Representative and Ode Hirano. They promote ANC policies, colours and symbols. They are unflinching in their moral, political and financial support. They have

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committed themselves to fund our mission until it changes into an Embassy of Democratic

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Republic of South Africa. Only minor differences on few tactical questions still remains

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our bilateral cooperation. The strength of this group is growing as shown by recent

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prefectural elections.

(b) Social Democratic & Center Coalition : Forces in this group is led by :

Japan Socialist Party ----- (No.1 opposition party in Japan)

Komeito Party ----- (No.2 opposition party)

Social Democratic Party ----- (No.3 opposition)

United Social Democratic Party-(No.5 opposition).

Komeito and Social Democratic Parties are Centrist Parties. These Parties draw

support and are working hand-in hand with Japan's two biggest trade unions namely; -

Japanese Private Sector Trade Unions Confederation (RENGO)-with 5.2 million members and

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General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO)-with 4.5 million members. (These him Unions Will merge in autumn to for one National centre with an estimated membership 70f about 8 million workers.)

This group presents an undoubtedly a big influence in the lives of ordinary Japanese. Affiliated to it is also network of small business, religious, solidarity! citizens and anti-Apartheid movements. On 1989-03-09 I met the Chairperson of their Diet i (Parliamentary Group - Mr.Kawagami at the Parliamentary building) to finalise launching o f

the Sprra-partisan Diet Committee Against Apartheid in April 1989. lVIembers of this political trend, from leadership in the Paliament to grass-roots and all their movements have dynamic contacts with their counter-parts in almost all parts of Asia-Oceania region

. These network of contacts as been put introduced to our mission and put at our disposail. Our relations With them have developed remarkably very well, noting the uncertainty created by the way our office opened in Tokyo. I met the leaders of all Parties, Unions and groups and reassured them of our independence. explain our policies and style bf work. They in turn reassured me of their total support, in all respect and Will like to strengthen cooperation With ANC. We need to still strengthen our relations with the group. They have big potential in Japan. They have won by-elections recently. defeating the dominant Liberal Democratic Party - Which is rocked by trade scandals. In our mass campaigns, we cannot therefore ignore this. group. I

(c) Conservative and Right Wing : The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Prirrie Minster Noboru Takeshita leads and dominate this trend. LDP itself is not unitory party, 'but a coalition of conservative factions. about four, run, managed and coordianted-lilie Board of Directors for a company. This party have been dominating Japanese polities almost throughout the entire World War II era, making Japan a de facto one party state. They enjoy support from the big corporate business. And network of funding and support groups form part of their major signed membership. However the Party and. its government I

have lost trust of the people due to the way, they handled and use the illness

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and death of Emperor Hirohito, the devastating ongoing Recruit Stock Scandal and their railroading against popular protest of the controversial Consumption Tax that will be introduced from April 1, 1989.

Our office has strong contact with the Director of International Department of LDP, Congressman Toshio Yamaguchi, himself one of the leading LDP Parliamentarians and once Minister of Labour. He is organising some parliamentarians within this group to join the Supra-partisan Parliamentary Group against Apartheid. This was confirmed by the JSP-Parliamentary Group Against Apartheid Chairperson in our meeting a week ago.

(d) Relations with NGOs, especially Solidarity and Anti-Apartheid movements is strong; However the difficulty is that they will never cooperate to work together due to political rivalry they are affiliated to. Additionally AALA doesn't see itself associating or

working with Group that support BCM and PAC in addition to ANC. Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee (JAAC) have maintained their policy of supporting all groups fighting Apartheid and all parties recognised by OAU and UN. However this view was held by only few influential members at the top - BCM hard core group. Presently, almost 95% of their activities are geared towards supporting the ANC. Now they are engaged in promoting the Freedom Charter, ANC symbols, organising ANC support groups etc. The overwhelming majority of this group do not know anything about BCM and PAC. They know, see ANC all over Japan, in all South Africa newspapers, Our office position is to encourage this trend.

Educate them and mobilise them for our cause. They are also closely aligned to JSP, Komeito, Democratic Party, Sohyo, Rengo and National Council of Japan. We must adopt a simplistic approach in our relations with them. Although they do support BCM and PAC in a small way, our office thinks that cutting ties with them now will isolate us from other forces we want to mobilise. We have to walk a tight-rope. No alternative at least presently. , 1

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3) Relations with Host Government

I met the host government Foreign Ministry officials five times in the past 10 months. Our relations are confrontational, tense although occasionally very warm. This (11:18

to our office stubborn demand for meaningful sanctions against Apartheid regime and Japanese government unwillingness to take drastic measures in this regard. Repeatedly the Foreign Ministry will like to convey the impression that it has done much and is going to do even more to ease/reduce level of trade with South Africa and in turn nothing concrete is done. This year they hurriedly announced that they are now NO.2 trading

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partner of Pretoria to show that their self-restrain policy and persuasion of business community is working. Our office dismissed the report as disappointing to little, and not in line with drastic action that needed to be taken, action that should equal the level of

suffering and repression in South Africa. Their cover-up during the funeral of Emperor Hirohito strained our relations further. In the process the mass media, both English & Japanese gave the side of story maximum publicity. However they have been very helpful in many other areas. Always asking my opinion on issuing of visas to South African wishing to visit Japan, giving me a list of all people coming to Japan etc.

They also make sure that my life is as secured as possible. I have established personal friends with those heading the Africa Division of Foreign Ministry.

4) ANC members

So far I am the only known ANC member in Japan, and maybe in the Far East.

5) Contact with HQ

Our office file almost regular reports to HQ. HQ response have also been very quick and timely, especially from DIA and Comrade Sindiso/SGO. However our office have not as yet received response of recommendations (some) made in the comprehensive report sent 1988 and those sent January 1989.

However, to summarise or characterise contact with HQ, our office will say it is fair.

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7) Fund Raising

Our office fund raise through many ways, e.g. ;

- (i) Printing of booklets, posters. post cards, photo panels etc.
- (ii) Appeal for donations
- (iii) Organising Concert
- (iv) Lecturing and speaking engagements.

More of such activities are planned this year. We estimate that this Will more than treble funds donated to our struggle during 1989. However if we can manage to stape the Huge Anti-Apartheid Concert planned for August 1989, and possibly bring Amandla to Japah this year or early next year, more funds can be collected. f

PROJECTS : -- We are convinced that if our movement can present, well written arid elaborate projects for funding in East Asia, the responce Will increase further. The sympathey is there. We need to change it into concrete support. The money is there - We need to channel it into projects into both sides of the South African border.

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1. Dealing with supporters, be they political parties, Trade Union, Youth & Women groups, citizens and Anti-Apartheid movement with diverse and antagonistic difference is strenuous, time consuming, it is like walking in a mine-field. This trends sometimes give positive results as it create and extend base for contacts and activities. But sometimes depletes the forces and reduces impact of the campaigns. This picture will remain unchanged for some foreseeable future.

2. The level of consciousness among the people in the area about Apartheid and our struggle is still small. South Africa is still a far away country to many Japanese. Generally speaking, Japanese have never taken moral or political interest about other people's problems or countries. After Japan, then the next country is America. Only thereafter can they think of Asia, Pacific and Europe. To change perception, and to bring the day-to-day reality of life under Apartheid to Japanese, will need extraordinary efforts.

Printing more; availing audio visual material, more tours/speaking etc.

3. Work of Chief Representative is just too much for one person to utilize the growing sympathy and awareness. Working 18 hours daily Monday to Monday for the past 10 months and expected to carry-on for more months is too much. Deputy Representative is more than necessary.

4. The existing confrontational relations with Japan foreign Ministry is surely unavoidable. We know the reasons well. Our office encourages more campaign, similar to U.N. Dec.5 1988 Anti Apartheid resolution, that singled out Japan as major trading partner of Apartheid.

5. The problem of Hong Kong and Taiwan as sanction busting centres need immediate attention. Ways should be found to bring these two countries under international spotlight, especially for boycott and sanction campaigns. East Asia and Far East have immense potential for political, moral and

financial supprotts. Prosanly forces of confusion have nol, made Lhcir' presents in this area. Due to its fast economic growth, trade links with Pretoria, countries in the region cannot be regarded as unimportant any more. We should begin earmarking and preparing cadres for deployment as soon as possible. We have started. The pace should be incresed.

Additional to those made previously

1. We do whatever possible to help People's Plan for 21st century PPZ1 to realize the planned Anti-Apartheid concert with Rock Stars from Europe in August 1988. Success of this concert will have big impact in the region.
2. Identify an all-round-cadre to reinforce our Tokyo mission possibly this year.
3. From my six-days speaking visit to Hong Kong mid-February and broad discussions held with Anti-Apartheid Groups, sympathisers and Nigerian deputy commissioner, Hong Kong and Taiwan can be effectively organised by someone based in Beijing. Hong Kong people are gearing themselves to reunite with Mainland. China is a Power in the region and its influences is growing with eased tension with USSR. Opening of ANC mission in China will be timely, at least from the Tokyo office side. We should also approach Beijing to make their position clear and public on the role of Hong Kong as major Pretoria ally and trade guarantor.
4. Encourage Parliamentary groups in Europe, North America etc. to take contact with their Japanese counterparts. We are also exploring the possibility of 1986 Swedish styled - People Parliament Against Apartheid in the East Asia. Contact, strong contact between Japan opposition Diet-men, South Korean Diet-men and American congress members sympathetic to our organization will motivate and increase awareness of legislators about Apartheid. They will surely be compelled to go to the public and increase pressure on their respective governments.
5. We should encourage advance Anti-Apartheid Groups to keep dynamic contact with Japanese Groups to bring them out of isolation.
6. We should encourage more of our students to study or do their second/doctorate studies in Japan to increase their skills and to help with mass

mobilisation. So we must also encourage democratic forces internally to send members for studies in the region.

7. Whenever we want projects funded, we should be specific and send elaborate (with security consideration) project plans that we can easily ask Parties/Groups to finance.

8. Japanese Government is in crisis. Rocked by scandals that led already to three cabinet ministers resigning and loosing in recent by election. The . support to Takeshita government have reached the lowest 21%. Japan have just released statement of intention to increase contact with Africa to avoid U.N. Dec.5 type resolution, Japan want to win Africa. It will use its overseas Development Aid (ODA) grants to implement this new policy. However Japan has problem of Apartheid to deal with. It cannot have Africa and still maintain the present relations with Pretoria. The crisis is how far to distance itself from Pretoria to win Afirica and to also win support of Business Community at home. All round pressure should be maintained.

'C Chief Representative to Japan

JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY AND ANC TOKYO OFFICE MEETING

DATE: 9 March, 1989, Thursday

PLACE: The House of Representatives Building No4 Meeting Room

TIME: 3:00pm - 4:30pm

ATTENDED BY:

1. KAWAKAMI Tamio (Member of the House of Representative JSP Anti-Apartheid Committee Chairperson)
2. KAWASAKI Kanji (Member of the House of Representative JSP Anti-Apartheid Committee Vice-Chairperson)
3. OZAWA Katsusuke (Member of the House of Representative JSP Anti-Apartheid Committee Vice-Chairperson)
4. MOTOOKA Syoji (Member of the House of Councilors JSP Human Rights Committee)
5. YASUI Eiji (Director of International Department)
6. KITSUKAWA Kozue (Deputy Director of International Department)
7. IKEUCHI Shiroo (Socialist Party News Paper)
8. YAMASHIRO Takeomi (National Movement Bureau)
9. Jerry Hatsila (ANC Chief Representative)
10. TSUYAMA Naoko (ANC Secretary)

EMBASSY FROM SOCIALIST PARTY

1. JSP Anti-Apartheid Committee is going to try to form a supra-partisan basis Anti-Apartheid Committee. Specially they want to involve the LDP Diet Members, because LDP is the closest relation with Economic world. It will be formed in April 1989, if it goes well.
2. They want to resolve Anti-Apartheid Law in the Diet during this year. The U.S. Anti-Apartheid law which resolved last year is much help to them.
3. JSP Diet members attended the International Anti-Apartheid Diet Members Meeting in India in August 1987 and they were very encouraged.

4. Also JSP has close contact with Social Democratic Parties in Scandinavia countries which work very hard for Anti-Apartheid issues.

5. If we give informations about using Japanese automobiles, videos etc. in South African Polices or Armies, they will close up this issue to the commercial and technological committee in the Diet.