IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

APPEAL DIVISION

In the matter between:-

RENFREW LESLIE CHRISTIE	Appellant
-and-	
THE STATE	Respondent

A P P E A L

AGAINST THE CONVICTION AND SENTENCE DELIVERED BY THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE ELOFF IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA (TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION) ON

6 JUNE 1980

ON BEHALF OF APPELLANT	ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT
Mr. R. Tucker 10th Floor National Board House 94, Pritchard Street JOHANNESBURG.	The Attorney-General Supreme Court PRETORIA.
Israel & Sapirstein E.P. Building Maitland Street BLOEMFONTEIN.	The Attorney-General Supreme Court BLOEMFONTEIN.

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

In the matter of:

THE STATE

versus

RENFREW LESLIE CHRISTIE

I N D E X

VOLUME 8

Item: Page:

E X H I B I T S:

EXHIBIT YY

IUEF - ADDRESS OF DIRECTOR,

TO 10TH MEETING OF ASSEMBLY,

1 DECEMBER, 1978

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE FUND

ADDRESS OF THE DIRECTOR, LARS-GUNNAR ERIKSSON

TO THE TENTH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY, 1 DECEMBER, 1978

First of all, I would like to welcome you all to Geneva on behalf of all the IUEF staff; we hope that the next few days are going to be useful and productive. I would like to extend a special welcome to: (1

During the forthcoming meetings, we must review the activities of the IUEF over the past year and plan our activities for the coming year. Our overriding motivation must be to discuss ideas which will help us to further improve the programmes and activities of the organisation, and to look critically at our policies and structures in the light of what will ultimately provide the most efficient assistance to those we seek to help and co-operate with. And I would like to emphasise the word (2
"co-operate", as we want to work with those individuals, groups and organisations we seek to aid, not above or in isolation from them.

During the past year, the work of the IUEF has expanded significantly. However, the problems with which we seek to deal have, if anything, worsened. The white minority-ruled countries of Southern Africa have increased the repression exercised against those who seekfreedom and self-determination, which has led to a continuing exodus of refugees. The refugee problems of Latin America can only be described as escalating, and it (3
is clear that the world community and the IUEF are faced with

potential/..

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potential new and increased refugee situations. Refugees also continue to flee from independent countries in Africa, and in this context, note should be made of the particular problems facing refugees from Eritrea, the Sahara, Equatorial Guinea and Uganda. I will return to some details about these problems later, but let me add that we are privileged today to have representatives of the liberation movements of Southern (1
Africa present with us, as well as several representatives from Latin America. I am sure that they will be able to inform us of the up-to-date situation facing them and their people and what more the IUEF can and should do to assist them.

The IUEF programme continues to be focused on Africa and Latin America, whilst our programme in Europe is complementary to this, dealing both with those African and Latin American refugees for whom solutions cannot be found in Africa or Latin America and with de facto refugees, who are persons who for various reasons cannot return to their own country, but (2
who are not recognised as refugees under the international conventions. The IUEF also remains willing, when necessary, to mount special assistance programmes for European refugees such as was done previously for refugees from the then dictatorships in Greece, Portugal and Spain.

IUEF assistance programmes in the abovementioned areas are described in more detail in various reports made available to you. But the following should serve as a basic guide to the areas covered. The cornerstone of IUEF work is our scholarship programme and support activities, such as the provision of (3
counselling services and facilities for student seminars. A

related/..

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related activity is the IUEF programme aimed at developing educational facilities in countries hosting refugees, in order to allow them to give more places to such refugees seeking education. Priority is given to the development of vocational and technical training facilities. A further development in this area has been the provision of support to liberation movements and other refugee groups for both educational and (1
non-educational self-reliance projects.

The IUEF has also continued to develop its assistance programme: for the liberation movements and other groups which are operating programmes inside the white minority-ruled countries as well as in certain Latin American countries. These programmes are mainly educational in nature and designed to be of assistance in the conscientisation of people under oppression. Other programmes, however, are of a relief nature, designed to give assistance to those suffering oppression.

During the past year, there have been more demands on the (2
IUEF to develop further programmes of assistance for those countries in Africa which are newly independent or in post-refugee situations such as the Sudan, Angola, Cap Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tomé and Principe, Djibouti. In all these instances, the IUEF assisted those who were forced into exile. However, now that the past problems have been resolved and the refugees have been able to return, the IUEF has been called upon to continue providing specialised educational assistance programmes such as scholarships and training facilities. It is generally recognised that the ultimate solution to any (30
refugee problem is voluntary repatriation so that the refugees

are/..

are able to return to their country and become reintegrated into life there. However, this cannot be achieved merely by returning the refugees to their country - especially in cases such as the Portuguese ex-colonies. Thus, the IUEF feels that in order to contribute towards an adequate and permanent solution it should continue providing educational assistance programmes for an interim period. (1

The IUEF programmes of information and special studies relate to the refugee situations with which the IUEF deals and have also expanded over the year. These programmes are important in that the IUEF can only generate support for its work if the situations with which it deals are well known. Further IUEF studies into refugee situations always seek to make practical suggestions for solutions to the problems. Thus, this aspect of the work of IUEF contributes towards the development of the activities of the organisation as a whole.

The IUEF now has more than 2 000 students on individual (2
IUEF scholarships in Africa, Latin America and Europe. The IUEF is constantly seeking to increase the number of scholarships it can award, because despite the increasingly high number of scholarships being awarded by us as well as by other agencies, the demand far exceeds the funds available. The donors to the IUEF programmes are aware of this situation, and it is hoped that they will make further substantial increases possible.

The IUEF finds that it is becoming increasingly important to develop the scholarship programmes for certain categories of refugees who wish to study outside Africa or Latin America (30
as there are factors which sometimes make it impossible for a

refugee/..

refugee to stay in either Africa or Latin America. This may be because of political reasons or the course to be followed may not be available, and in other cases language and other cultural differences may make it almost impossible to successfully undertake studies on the continent of origin. The IUEF has also been asked by some of the Southern African liberation movements to place people in training courses outside Africa, (1
and it can be forecast that this demand will increase as the liberation of Southern Africa comes closer, and more and more skilled manpower becomes necessary.

Mention has been made of the fact that IUEF wishes to respond to further demands being made upon it by increasing its assistance programmes for both Latin America and Africa. However, the programme of assistance for refugees from independent African countries needs special mention. The organisation of African Unity (OAU) has estimated recently that there are in excess of four million refugees in Africa, most of whom are from (2
independent African countries. In many instances, the solutions found for African refugees have been impressive. The Sudanese example as well as the example of the refugees from the ex-Portuguese colonies and the example of the successful integration of Burundian refugees into Tanzanian society are but a few which may be cited. Solutions, however, cannot be found unless they are worked towards, and the IUEF intends intensifying its efforts in this area. At this time, it should be remembered that there are, today, at least four serious "active" refugee situations facing independent Africa: In Eritrea, the Sahara, Equatorial(30
Guinea and Uganda. The IUEF is operating assistance programmes

for/..

for all these groups, but further assistance is urgently needed.

It is in this context that the IUEF has accepted the Vice-Chairmanship of the Planning Committee of the Pan-African Refugee Conference, which will take place in May 1979 in Arusha. This conference will discuss the refugee situation in Africa and is being jointly sponsored by the OAU, the (10
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) who together with IUEF and a number of other voluntary agencies form the Planning Committee.

This conference is seen as a follow-up to the 1967 Conference on the Legal, Social and Economic Problems of African Refugees and will attempt to review the refugee situation today, to evaluate the progress made and to prepare new solutions for the future. IUEF will be playing an active role both in the preparation of the conference and during the conference itself and it is hoped that new ideas and approaches can be developed (20
also during our meeting here.

Let me then turn to Latin America specifically. The Latin-American programme is now completing its third anniversary and has expanded its activities over the last period to include all aspects of our work as carried out in Africa.

The rapid expansion of the scholarship programme was followed by setting up special assistance programmes for the victims of repression inside their own countries and by complementing our programmes with non-formal educational courses. At the present time, and especially in view of the political de- (30
velopment in Latin America, where, as I also said last year, only

cosmetic/..

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cosmetic changes amongst a few regimes have taken place, it will be important that IUEF concentrate its efforts on some major areas:

- First of all, we have to stabilise and strengthen our existing programme with all its elements and to increase our efforts so we can expand and enlarge the numbers of scholarship-holders as well as the (1
number of projects aimed at permanent solutions.
- Secondly, it will be important to support all efforts which may help to restore democracy in those parts of the continent which are deprived of it.
- Thirdly, IUEF has to continue and expand its work in those countries where respect for the rights of refugees and for human rights in general is strong, most notably Costa Rica, the home country of our regional office, Mexico, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. (2
- Fourthly, IUEF has to implement the decision to establish a Latin-American information programme, to provide not only information about our work in Latin America, but also to widen the discussion on the political situation and development in the different countries.

Presently, IUEF is coping with these four areas by supporting about 450 scholars in Latin America and about 150 in Europe. This figure does not include the scholarship-holders inside repressive countries of Latin-America where our programmes form a substantial contribution to the work of the still existing (3
democratic presence and resistance to military dictators and

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against permanent violations of human rights in pursuit of democracy and freedom.

In order to achieve these aims, the IUEF has cooperated when developing its programmes with the representatives of all refugee communities in the receiving countries and with the committed and friendly governments - for example: Costa Rica. IUEF has also relied on the personal and political help given by (1
groups and friends, inside countries suffering under repression and persecution.

A special word must be said about the recent events in Nicaragua, where an intensified struggle has been mounted to overthrow one of the oldest dictatorships in Latin America. IUEF has always included victims of the Somoza regime in its programmes, and we are now planning, with the active help of our donors, as well as with the participation of our Latin American friends, to set up a special aid programme for Nicaraguan refugees in Costa Rica and for the forces fighting for democracy (2
and freedom inside Nicaragua.

Generally, it should be noted that, despite all expectations linked with the "year of elections" in Latin America, only minor changes or positive developments can be noted. Repression, torture, violations of human rights are still the normal way of governing most Latin American countries, and all appeals from outside the continent are without impact so long as these verbal efforts are not supported by economic and political measures.

Therefore, IUEF's work in the region will have to be increased, taking into account the special situation in the continent, (3
in order to strengthen democratic opposition forces and all

groups/..

groups seeking respect for human rights and freedom. We also have to continue, in this context, the aid given to refugees from Latin America coming to Europe in order to escape from the permanent and daily threat to their lives.

Mr. President, I turn now, to perhaps the most critical area of IUEF activity which is our support to the Southern African liberation movements and to those democratic and non-racist (1
groups and organisations working for the total liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

As I said this time last year, the final confrontation between the racists and those who seek freedom is well under way. The peoples of Southern Africa did not start the war which is raging and which is bound to escalate. It was forced upon them by those who enforce racist domination through the barrel of a gun. Let no person pass judgment on those who are seeking to overthrow their oppressors of hundreds of years, and who meet reactionary violence with revolutionary force. (2

I am forced to reiterate what I said last year about Namibia. Here we can see an attempt to impose a fraudulent solution on the territory, and South Africa seems to have the active support of many Western states. A free and democratic election in Namibia can only take place when;

a) the South African authorities have complied with United Nations' resolutions demanding the withdrawal of the South African police and army from Namibia; and

b) the establishment of a United Nations' control in the territory is effective. (3

In addition, a fair election will only be possible if enough

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time is allowed for groups, including SWAPO, to organise freely inside the territory in order to fully explain the issues and options to the Namibian people. For this to happen time will also have to be allowed, prior to any election campaign, for SWAPO exiles to return to the territory and for all political prisoners to be released.

The South African authorities are continuing their vendetta (1
against SWAPO within Namibia in a last ditch effort to destroy as much of the SWAPO internal structure as possible. In the illegal courts, SWAPO members have continuously been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment - and even worse - the South African authorities seem to have instituted procedures whereby supporters of the Turnhalle alliance and other groups are allowed to terrorise and murder SWAPO supporters with impunity.

On the armed front, the South Africans have moved in massive troop reinforcements under the pretext of guarding against a possible invasion from Angola. At the same time, however, they (2
carry out such atrocities as at Kassinga, which is graphically illustrated in all its horror in the recent IUEF publication "The Kassinga File".

In regard to Zimbabwe, Mr. Smith has, in the guise of a so-called Internal Settlement, further entrenched the white minority rule in Rhodesia and made it clear to anybody who had not already realised this that he has no intention of abdicating power to the people of Zimbabwe. During the past couple of months, this has been made even more clear through the stepping up of attacks on innocent refugees in Mozambique, Zambia and (30
Botswana through an unprecedented number of full-scale air and

ground/..

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ground attacks in which thousands of people have been killed.

Even worse, however, is the condoning and complicity with these acts of aggression perpetrated by the betrayers of the Zimbabwe liberation, Smith's stooges and conscious collaborators in the internal mafia sometimes referred to as the Internal Settlement. The International University Exchange Fund has been supporting and cooperating with the two components (10 of the Patriotic Front since its foundation. It is as clear to us today as it was seventeen years ago when we started work that the legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe are the two components of the Patriotic Front. There is not, and there never will be, an internal settlement. Zimbabwe's freedom can only be realised by the Patriotic Front. Whether the problem is finally resolved in the conference room or on the battlefield, one thing is sure, and that is that the Patriotic Front, and the Patriotic Front only, represents the people of Zimbabwe and, furthermore, that no so-called settlement (20 outside the Patriotic Front is meaningful.

In South Africa, the regime is responding to the increased revolutionary activity with increasing repression, to no avail. During the year, there have been numerous incidents of guerrilla activity, and the authorities are whipping the white population up into a war hysteria. It has been reported that government officials questioned a long-term development at the White University of Natal because of the future possibility of "war".

1978 Can be described as the year of trials in South Africa. These trials reflect the growing level of resistance inside (30 South Africa as well as the States' increasingly desperate

attempts/..

attempts to curb this. The most indicative part of these trials is the widely varied nature of offences alleged, as well as the fact that they encompass all parts of the country - both rural and urban. The most common charges are brought under the infamous terrorism act or internal security act and relate to activities carried out in pursuit of the armed struggle. Most of those who have been so accused are said to (1
be members of either the ANC or the PAC and one cadre of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, Solomon Mhlangu has been sentenced to death. Many other trials involve young people who were active in the post-1976 uprisings throughout South Africa, and who are usually charged under the sabotage act for burning schools, government property, etc. Since we met here last year, at least four more persons have died while being held in Security Police detention, and the total of such known deaths now stands at 50.

Despite this repression, resistance in South Africa is on the (2
increase. Of the total of 306 people known to be held in Security Police detention as of August 1978, 169 or more than half were school pupils, and 99 of them had been in detention for over 18 months. Some of these are as young as 13 and 14 years old.

Organisations have been banned and consequently activities and programmes closed down. It is, however, astounding that wherever an activity or programme has been forced to close down a similar one appears and functions, although in a different form; and each time one person is banned from doing certain (3
work others take over.

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The Bantu education system is dead, and no efforts by the South African authorities will revive it, even though they may manage to keep a facade going. This, of course, poses a growing challenge for the IUEF in that we need to plan what assistance we can offer those resisting the South African system so heroically, both inside and outside their country. It is fitting that the South African struggle so integrally (1
involves the struggle for true education as well. For centuries the colonial system has been to deny the people the skills they need to overturn the system and create a new society. I believe that the IUEF has a role to play in assisting the people of South Africa to confront and destroy the exploitative and oppressive system of today.

The people struggling in Southern Africa are confident that they will win their long-denied freedom, and they are also confident that they can rely on assistance from their friends in the international community. The IUEF is seeking to step (2
up its assistance to the liberation movements and other groups and this assistance needs to be of the nature determined by the movements themselves. The Secretariat is of the opinion that the strength of the IUEF lies in the field of educational assistance, but this does not allow us to be deaf to the requests of the movements for other types of assistance which we well know that they need. It is particularly in the area of administrative assistance that resistance is often shown by donors. We cannot understand this, as the movements need assistance for administrative purposes in order to be able to (3
better administer the other assistance so readily granted by

donors/..

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donors.

The IUEF has in the past year further developed its relations with the Southern African liberation movements, and will increase programmes aimed at generating skilled manpower resources which will be needed by the governments of the future liberated Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. In the short term, those cadres who benefit from these schemes are of use to the (10 movements and to their country of refuge. It goes without saying that there must be increased IUEF assistance to the liberation movements and related organisations. The IUEF is determined to respond to the needs of the liberation movements, and in so doing the IUEF will consult closely with the movements in the planning and implementation of this assistance.

A recent and practical example of this sort of programme is the Zimbabwe Manpower Survey, launched by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe with the assistance of the IUEF. This survey, or rather these 16 research papers into various aspects of the (20 foreseen manpower needs of an independent Zimbabwe, represent the first time this sort of pre-planning has been used. The surveys, largely carried out by Zimbabwean researchers, formed the basis for a Patriotic Front-organised and IUEF-supported seminar, held in Dar-es-Salaam three weeks ago. This seminar, after five days of intensive discussion, drew up a report which now forms the basis for Patriotic Front internal discussions and decision-making in regard to continued research, as well as in regard to the formulation of special training programmes to prepare for the future. It is our hope that, apart from (30 being able to support the Patriotic Front in the follow-up to

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this seminar, other liberation movements might wish to consider the mounting of similar programmes - learning from the Zimbabwe experience.

During the past year, the IUEF has been especially active in relation to Southern Africa as it is Anti-Apartheid Year. The IUEF is the Vice-Chairman of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation and (1
took part in the Planning Committee for the International NGO Conference for Action against Apartheid, which took place in Geneva during August 1978. This conference was attended by 89 organisations, and the IUEF delegation included representatives of SAIH and DUF. The IUEF is also on the Planning Committee for the 1979 International Youth and Student Conference Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Southern Africa. This will be held at UNESCO in Paris early in 1979, and is being sponsored by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid. It is hoped that the IUEF delegation will be comprised of at (2
least 15 people, representing various youth and student organisation members of the IUEF, or their affiliates. The IUEF was also represented at the NGO Day, held during the United Nations World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in Geneva during August 1978, and the Director and Deputy-Director attended the conference as ICVA representatives. You will all also have seen the various publications produced in connection with the year, and there are more to come.

As in the past, IUEF has continued to maintain and expand its relations and cooperation with various organisations (30
dealing with similar questions. In addition to close relations

with/..

with IUEF Assembly member organisations and with donor organisations, the IUEF remains actively involved with the activities of Euro-Action/Acord (EAA), the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) and the (International) Non-Governmental Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination Apartheid and Decolonisation. The IUEF is a member of the board of all these organisations. (10

As far as inter-governmental organisations are concerned, the IUEF maintains its consultative status with the United Nations ECOSOC, UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The IUEF has been active in all these forums. With ECOSOC, IUEF has participated in human rights activities, and IUEF will soon seek to upgrade its consultative status with UNESCO. The major activities participated in under the aegis of the Council of Europe related to the situation of European exiles and refugees. The IUEF African programmes are carried out in close consultation with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). (2

The IUEF has maintained particularly close working links with the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) both in Geneva and in the field. Other United Nations bodies cooperated with include the Special Committee against Apartheid the Centre against Apartheid, the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africans (UNETPSA) and the Committee of 24 on Decolonisation.

Close collaboration continues between the IUEF and numerous other non-governmental organisations working in the same field, both church and secular. Those with which IUEF enjoys (3 particularly close relations include the World Council of

Churches/..

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Churches (WCC), World University Service (WUS), International Defence and Aid Fund and others.

Finally, Mr. President, I would like to touch on a few issues of direct relevance to the IUEF itself. Firstly, I refer members to the Finance Report to the Assembly, which shows that pressure is being felt by the IUEF administration, due to the expansion of IUEF programmes, which is not coupled with (1
the same relative expansion as far as administrative income is concerned. This is due to the fact that funds being received have all depreciated seriously against the Swiss franc while they need not necessarily have done so, in the same way, against the currencies used in the field programmes. This means that, while programmes expand in volume, the administration funds needed to cover these programmes have diminished. This matter will be dealt with more fully later on, but it should be noted here that, despite the falling income, the administrative capacity of the IUEF has had to be kept at the necessary level (2
to cope with programmes and, despite major efforts to keep costs down by utilising staff and office capabilities to the full it was impossible to absorb the loss in income through increased productivity and cost-cutting alone.

This matter will have to be fully discussed during the relevant agenda item.

Secondly, I refer members to the note on some issues for possible consideration during this meeting. The Secretariat hopes that this note, along with the reports produced for the meeting, will lead to a constructive and fulfilling debate. In (30
particular, I wish to mention that the Secretariat is of the

opinion/..

opinion that the work of the IUEF would be enhanced if, in certain instances, the IUEF were able to support worthwhile projects which arise and which it is impossible to obtain funding for from donors. The Secretariat has in the past often been presented with valuable projects which it has for various reasons, but usually of security, not been able to persuade donors to fund. It is felt that the time has come for the (10 IUEF itself to establish an operational fund from which the IUEF, as the IUEF, could support projects. Perhaps some thought could be given to this along the lines of how Assembly members would contribute to such a fund, what type of projects could be supported, how these would be decided upon, and so on.

Finally, some comments should be made about the cooperation between the Secretariat and Assembly members. The Secretariat is of the opinion that the strength of the IUEF is its wide base of support and the active involvement of the Assembly members in the work of the IUEF. It is proposed that thought might be (2 given to ways and means whereby Assembly members can become more actively involved in actual IUEF operations. The Secretariat feels that the most productive possibility is in the areas where Assembly members cannot carry out such an activity themselves, and the IUEF is facing difficulty in funding such an activity. An obvious example is the support for liberation movements' administrative costs.

What to say in conclusion? There are more refugees today than there were yesterday. There are likely to be even more tomorrow. There are fewer democracies in Latin America today than last (3 year, and the oppressors, if anything, seem more entrenched than

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ever. The representatives of white minority-rule and oppression in Southern Africa are not only entrenching themselves, but also stepping up their policy of external aggression. The only meaningful reaction from our side, and hopefully that from our donors, must be to increase our solidarity with those fighting and those suffering, to increase our material assistance, to increase our efforts and to make ourselves (1 even more directed towards the real and genuine issues and concerns, and less confused and diverted by the paraphernalia of international organisationism and personal attainment. I sincerely hope that this Assembly and the ensuing Board meeting will take some further steps in that direction.

May I, Mr. President, end by expressing my thanks to my colleagues in Geneva, as well as in the field, for their efforts and collaboration during the past year. Whilst it is always difficult to single out individuals for special thanks, I would like to thank especially Hassim Soumaré for his unflinching (2 loyalty in sometimes difficult circumstances, and Fritz Rolle for carrying alone a workload normally considered too heavy for two. The achievements of the London Office, are largely due to the hard work and personal devotion of Christopher Beer, who has often been called upon to assist us outside the borders of the UK. And, finally, Mr. President, I must also direct a "thank you" to our donors, not only for a continued, but for an increased support, the significance of which is particularly obvious in times of what at least some consider as economic crisis.... (3

EXHIBIT ZZ

ADDRESS OF THE IUEF DIRECTOR, LARS-GUNNAR ERIKSSON TO THE 11TH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 29/11/1979

BAM/79/28

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE FUND

ADDRESS OF THE IUEF DIRECTOR, LARS-GUNNAR ERIKSSON, TO THE ELEVENTH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY

GENEVA, 29TH NOVEMVER 1979

My first pleasant duty is to welcome you on behalf of the IUED staff (10 to Geneva. We are not going to offer you an easy time while you are here, however. In most of the countries in which the IUEF works, conditions have again worsened rather than improved - a situation which requires of you diligent and conscientious effort to ensure that our programmes are effective and properly adapted to changing circumstances. In addition, the organisation itself is going through a period of change and adaptation, which requires of us all serious thought and well-considered guidance. But I hope that in between the demanding discussions and difficult decisions which the circumstances of these meetings call for, you will find time to (20 enjoy our company and your stay in Geneva.

I turn at once to the major area of our activities - Southern Africa and in particular the countries which are still under minority rule. The support we offer to the suffering people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, to their Liberation Movements and to the groups working for their liberation has remained our most important contribution to the general goals to which the IUEF is committed. I refer here as much to the scholarships we award as to our direct support for liberation activities. During the past year, we have been able to increase substantially our assistance in these (30 areas. This has been due, not only to increased efforts by the

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ADDRESS BY IUEF DIRECTOR TO 11TH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 29/11/1979.

IUEF staff and to increased resources given by our donors, but also to the cooperation and assistance we have received from our comrades of the ANC of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. I am proud to say that the IUEF does not merely provide humanitarian assistance to the people of southern Africa. We are active participants fighting a common struggle at their side. Our contribution cannot match that of those fighting (10 on the front-lines but is nevertheless part of the same struggle.

At this point I must mention our deep gratitude for the assistance the IUEF has also received from the independent states of southern Africa. The contribution being made towards the liberation of southern Africa by the peoples and governments of Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland is an example to the world. The whole world has condemned the attacks by the racist régimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe on Mozambique, on Zambia, on Angola, on Botswana and the threats made against Lesotho. But more than condemnation of these régimes, is needed. (20 Thousands, yes thousands, of innocent refugees have died brutally. Starvation and difficulties are being created in remote areas where the countries' infrastructure of roads, bridges and communications have been destroyed. South Africa wields a mighty whip of economic domination in the region. Condemnation of South Africa and Rhodesia alone is not enough. We must also condemn those who make the racists' criminal policies possible; we must demand an end to the collaboration with the racist régimes; we must demand comprehensive international action against them. For our part, the IUEF, like similar organisations, must redouble its involvement (30 in and assistance to the liberation struggle, both in terms of what

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we can offer the Liberation Movements, and in terms of what we can do to assist the States of the Front Line in easing the burden, and especially the refugee burden, which they have so willingly taken on.

Mr. President, we in the IUEF have been watching developments in southern Africa for 20 years now. Year by year we have seen the confrontation escalate between racism and colonialism on one side (10 and the will and aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa to be free on the other. We have seen progress made by the African people in their struggle for emancipation and our own involvement has taught us that the paramount need is to eliminate, from the entire continent, but especially from southern Africa, colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

The new order that must emerge in southern Africa will eradicate oppression, exploitation, poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy. For this, our comrades in the Liberation Movements are prepared to fight. This does not mean that the Liberation Movements, or the (20 IUEF, prefer armed struggle as the method of liberation. That is not so. But experience has shown the need for this approach. Racists in Africa have always enforced and defended racism and exploitation by force. Only a superior revolutionary force can counter them.

In the current Zimbabwean struggle, we can see the effects of the armed struggle waged by the Patriotic Front forces. Let no person under-estimate the desperate efforts of the so-called Rhodesian Security Forces to maintain control in Rhodesia, a goal which they have patently failed to achieve. The Rhodesian forces have carried (30 their war to the civilian population inside Rhodesia and to the

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refugees, as well as to citizens of Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and even Angola. We know of harassment, intimidation, torture and the killing of thousands of Black Zimbabweans.

Equally, the Security Force atrocities committed in the neighbouring states are a matter of record. The important point is that these are the desperate reactions of a force which is steadily being defeated. (10

There is still some reluctance in the International Community to accord the Patriotic Front its rightful status in Zimbabwean affairs. As I said last year, whether the problem is finally resolved in the conference room or on the battlefield, one thing is sure, and that is that the Patriotic Front alone represents the people of Zimbabwe. We in the IUEF are confident that, given the chance, the people of Zimbabwe will demonstrate overwhelmingly their loyalty to the Patriotic Front. The greatest effort must therefore be made to ensure that the Front is accorded its rightful status in Zimbabwe with all the resources it needs to (20 participate equally in the forthcoming elections.

To move on to the question of Namibia, Mr. President, I am forced to say that far from advancing towards a just solution, Namibia appears to be further from independence today than it was this time last year. We may well ask whose fault this is and we must say we have always denounced any strategy for Namibia which has as an integral part concessions to the South African régime. It appears that international pressure on South Africa over Namibia has slackened as a quid pro quo for South African support for a Zimbabwe-Rhodesian settlement. (30

The President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, in a message sent from

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Luanda in the middle of July, described the situation in Namibia as "grave and explosive....due to increased acts of brutality and genocidal atrocities involving random mass arrests, detention, torture and widespread killings of Namibian patriots, especially members and supporters of SWAPO by racist South Africa". In the same month, the Organisation of African Unity's Council of Ministers, meeting in Monrovia, expressed concern that the South (10 African régime's aim was to establish a puppet régime in Namibia in defiance of UN resolutions.

The internal and LEGAL political machinery of SWAPO may have suffered some disorganisation due to the recent concerted facist terror to which they and their members have been subjected. But Mr. President, at the same time that the South African Army makes its confident statements that SWAPO is losing ground in Namibia, we read in the same newspapers reports of South African Army personnel killed in the "operational area". In Namibia, as in Zimbabwe and as in South Africa, the racists insist on trying to maintain (20 control through ever increasing force. But you cannot suppress a nation forever, and the people of Namibia will be free.

And now, I turn to the heart of the monster - South Africa. For the third year in a row, I can report to you that revolutionary armed activity inside South Africa is increasing. In 1977 when I first said this, it was not common knowledge and the information I had came from our friends inside South Africa and from the Liberation Movements.

During 1979, the whole world has become aware that a civil war is being fought inside South Africa - at a low level still, but (30 constantly escalating.

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The South African State has reacted in a predictable fashion, with increased repression. Last year I informed you of the ANC cadre, Solomon Mahlangu, who had been sentenced to death. They hung him in Pretoria Central Prison at dawn on April 6th 1979. Why did they choose that day? It was a message to the oppressed Black people and the world for April 6th 1652 was the day the first white man landed at the Cape. (10

This November, in the South African Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg, another cadre of the armed wing of the ANC, James Mange, was sentenced to death for high treason. Eleven of his comrades received long prison sentences. Acting quickly, the IUEF has prepared an appeal and an information note on this trial. We hope all our Assembly members will protest against these sentences to the South African Government so that it knows that while we may be helpless, we are watching.

We are also getting constant reports about the tireless activities of the Security Police and BOSS to harass and disrupt (20 all anti-apartheid political action. Some members of the Liberation Movement and others active in the struggle have been arrested and a twisted form of retribution has been extracted through gruesome torture.

One of South Africa's reactions to increasing demands for a rapid end to the system of apartheid has been increased repression. During 1979 we have also seen the new Prime Minister, P.W. Botha develop further his "total war strategy". But another string has been added to the régime's strategies. This is cosmetic change to the face of apartheid. So now we have the classic carrot and stick(30 strategy - the repressive machinery of the state has been strengthened

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with the domination of the military in the affairs of state; at the same time, P.W. Botha speaks about scrapping the immorality and mixed marriages acts. Confusion has also been created by the permission granted to black trade unions to register officially. We know this to be a sham and a fake intended to facilitate the recognition of puppet unions for blacks controlled by old existing white unions, while the genuine and independent black trade unions (10 which have existed up to now will find it even more difficult to survive. We also know that while Minister Koornhof speaks about stopping resettlements, thousands and thousands of people are being moved from their homes secretly at night and taken by government trucks with only those possessions that they can carry, to new homes on bare and desolate hills, without buildings, water, food, shops, doctors, medical care or employment. No, Mr. President, apartheid is not dead, it is alive and well but trying to change its clothes.

The struggle for liberation is still being waged elsewhere on (20 the African continent than in the south. I must express my regret that the process of the granting of independence to colonial countries and people has not been applied to Western Sahara. The non-aligned countries as well as the United Nations General Assembly have reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. We are well aware of the Saharaoui people's desire for self-determination and independence through our contact with them over the past years. We are at present engaged in expansion of our programme of assistance to the Saharaoui Red Crescent and to Polisario who are caring (30 for thousands of their people in refugee camps.

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On a more positive note, I am happy to be able to report to an IUEF Assembly that, during the year, three of the most serious and bloody refugee-producing situations in Africa have changed drastically. I refer, of course, to the situations in Uganda, Equatorial Guinea and the Central African Republic. While the fall of Amin, Macias and Bokassa must be welcomed, it does, however, not mean that the problems facing the people of those (10 countries, or the IUEF, are over. On the contrary, the internal situation in all three countries is still uncertain and it will be some time before they will be able to accept the organised return of large numbers of refugees and exiles.

A huge task facing these countries, is, of course, that of economic, social and political reconstruction. It is in this area that the IUEF has been able to play a small role in the past in similar situations, and we are currently engaged in assessing what exactly the IUEF can offer and what the people engaged in recon- struction work in these new situations would like the IUEF to do. (20 In the case of Uganda, this assessment is already far advanced. In the case of Equatorial Guinea and the Central African Republic the initial evaluation work still remains to be done. A recent report is available on Equatorial Guinea by Dr. Artucio of the International Commission of Jurists, who went on a joint IUEF/ ICJ mission to observe Macias' trial. But that trial has not quietened our doubts about the nature of the new régime in Equatorial Guinea and we will at least be watching the situation closely before we change our programme for Equatorial Guinea from one of assistance to refugees to one of assistance for post- (30 refugee reconstruction.

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This, then, is the political background against which the IUEF has continued its programmes in Africa of scholarships and educational assistance and of other assistance to the Liberation Movements and other groups.

To turn first to the core of our work - scholarships - the circumstances I have described have certainly not reduced the flow of refugees from many African countries or the consequent (10 demand for assistance from the IUEF.

The demand for assistance still vastly exceeds the resources available, even taking into account the problems in obtaining replacement in educational institutions. In fact, large numbers of refugees for whom educational places have been found have had to be turned down due to our lack of adequate funds for scholarships.

While needs remain unmet for many refugees from southern Africa seeking scholarship assistance, the situation for refugees from independent African countries is even more serious. In the same way as IUEF has generally given priority to its work re- (20 lating to the liberation of southern Africa, donors have also been prone to allocate proportionately more funds for these programmes. While we do not mean to suggest that funds for southern Africa and Liberation Movement scholarships should be diminished or re-allocated - on the contrary, they must continue to be increased - we would suggest that much more additional resources should be made available for educational programmes benefitting refugees from independent African countries.

The fact that most of Africa's refugees today come from independent African countries was one of the main themes of the (30 Arusha conference. This also means that more resources must be

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made available for these refugees, an opinion which was expressed by the 1978 Assembly meeting. Unfortunately, we have not yet seen this view reflected in grants made to any large extent.

We are constantly re-evaluating other aspects of our basic scholarship programmes to ensure that they are tailored to real needs and that they go as far as our limited resources allow to meet the total need. (10

We continue to see counselling as a crucial adjunct to the award of scholarships. While the IUEF's policy of supporting joint counselling has remained in force, we still feel that co-operation at all times with all partners leaves certain questions unanswered. We believe that the evaluation of the existing counselling services and arrangements with a view to making proposals for the future, as recommended by the Arusha conference, is very important. The question for the Assembly to look at, in view of the fact that the IUEF initiated, in cooperation with the World Council of Churches, making counselling a serious part of the assistance (20 to the refugees, is what role we wish the IUEF to play. Should we take further initiatives, perhaps in cooperation with AACC and WCC, to get this project of joint counselling moving?

Levels and areas of education are other subjects of concern. It has been suggested that it might be worthwhile to look at the IUEF's current policies in these areas. It has, for example, been suggested that while awards for tertiary studies should continue at the current level, any increase in funds in future years should be used at the secondary/vocational level and for non-formal education for both rural and urban refugees. While it would (30 not be desirable to have an inflexible policy in this regard, it

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is felt that the Assembly could usefully give this problem some attention.

We feel finally that the Assembly must look at the whole question of the IUEF's involvement with basic education. The policy until now has been not to be involved at any but post-primary levels. It is felt that in countries where a large percentage of the population including refugees, is illiterate or (10 lacks primary level education, there are sound reasons to consider support at this level, not only from a rate of return analysis, but also since it will be a contribution to improving wquality of access to basic education.

An area in which both our scholarships and project assistance are involved is the question of the role the IUEF should play in post-refugee situations. It has for some time been established IUEF policy that when a country is liberated or when the problems leading to a refugee situation have been settled and the refugees are able and willing to return, IUEF assistance should not (20 immediately cease. Scholarship support to students already under our programmes has been continued until the completion of their courses. We have applied this policy in the Sudan, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. It has also become more or less explicit policy that the IUEF should also provide assistance to the new government for an interim period in the fields of education and training.

Programmes are now operating in Angola and Guinea-Bissau and discussions are still being held with the Mozambiquan government. Currently proposals are being discussed for IUEF involvement of a (30 similar nature in Uganda and Nicaragua. Both governments have

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expressed a desire for IUEF involvement in assistance to different types of educational and leadership training programmes in the countries.

This is not the place for me to go into details about our project work in Africa. Our policies and aims in the area of support for projects relating to the education of refugees, the educational work of the Liberation Movements and in the area (10 of sustaining groups within the countries under minority rule are clear. We remain convinced that channelled of support for the expansion of educational institutions in order to create more places for refugees as well as related activities (hostels, distance teaching, etc.) should be an integral and natural part of our work.

At the last meeting of the Assembly, we also raised the question of our occasional difficulties in obtaining funds from regular donors for often valuable projects. This can be because, for security reasons, we are unable to present sufficient details (20 on the projects; it can be because the projects are too small, or it can be because of problems with timing when a decision has to be taken within a matter of days and we cannot wait to go through the normal procedures. The Assembly has already approved in principle the proposal to establish an operational fund, financed by the Assembly and other voluntary contributors, to allow the IUEF out of its own funds, so to speak, to finance such projects. The Assembly asked the Board to present a detailed proposal and suggested that this could partly be based on contributions through a membership fee scheme. Unfortunately, (30 due to the many other matters before it at the time, the Board

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was unable to formulate such a proposal. It is therefore suggested that the Assembly might wish to look at this question again and perhaps to establish a small task force to formulate a proposal which could be discussed and decided on during the meeting itself.

I do want to discuss in more detail the question of our assistance to the Liberation Movements and to what we term (10 "internal groups". It should have been clear from what I said in my introductory remarks that, central as scholarships and educational projects are to the work of the IUEF, we feel impelled to do more if we are to achieve our fundamental goals.

In the face of the situation described, the IUEF is seeking continually to increase its assistance to and cooperation with the struggling peoples and the Liberation Movements of southern Africa. The IUEF Secretariat sees the main strength of the IUEF as the provision of educational assistance and it is therefore in this area that the greatest efforts have been made to extend (20 and improve its programmes of assistance to the Liberation Movements. However, we remain firmly of the opinion that experience has often shown the IUEF to be the most effective instrument for providing other, non-educational aid, to the Liberation Movements, to the victims of the racist régimes and to those democratic forces working for freedom inside the minority ruled countries of southern Africa.

The main problem which remains unresolved is the question helping the Liberation movements to meet some of their administrative costs. The 1978 Assembly recommended that priority be (30 given to raising funds for this purpose. In spite of numerous

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requests to various donors, including Assembly members, not a centime has been forthcoming - excluding that is the special fund that was raised as a contribution towards the Patriotic Front's costs of attending the Lancaster House talks.

This poses first and foremost a problem for the Liberation Movements which are facing increased demands for reports and documents and for attendance at conferences, meetings and seminars (10 on top of their normal "duties". But it also makes life very difficult for the IUEF in a period when we are trying to operate on an austerity budget. It is all but impossible for us to give much assistance out of our own administrative budget; at the same time, it is equally difficult to turn down some of the very urgent and important requests made to us.

I must stress that demands on the IUEF for assistance from the Liberation Movements outside the area of the educational work are constantly increasing. In one particular area in which we have been involved in a limited way for some time, we are now (20 being asked to expand our involvement ever more rapidly. I am referring to legal aid. We are now working even more closely than before with the major organisations active in this field and with the Liberation Movements and while not being able to give any details, I can report that over the past year we have been able to defend over 30 individuals charged with offences like public violence, possession of arms, breaking banning orders possession of banned publications and membership of banned organisations. In not one instance has a severe sentence been passed and in most cases, the accused were free to leave the court (30 after acquittals or fines. We are sure that in the coming years,

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this programme will expand and we intend ensuring that our donors react accordingly.

The second general area I wish to mention is that of the special training programme for Liberation Movements.

Following the recommendation of the Africa Working Group at the IUEF Assembly last year, we are fundraising for a special training programme in Europe for Liberation Movements. The (10
IUEF has, of course, been committed to the policy that refugee students should, whenever possible, follow courses at institutions in their own region or continent, but we feel that there is a clearly justifiable need for specialised studies in Europe to cater for certain groups of refugees or to fulfil particular needs. In this new programme, we are trying to make available to the Liberation Movements of southern Africa the possibility of sending their members to Europe to follow courses that are not offered in Africa.

We have also, since the last Assembly, agreed in principle (20
with the ANC of South Africa, to prepare a plan for a project similar to the Zimbabwe Manpower Survey and the Manpower Training Programme in relation, this time, to South Africa. This plan is being developed at present.

(Incidentally, we believe it is equally important, and in line with some of the Arusha Conference recommendations, to look at the problems of the refugees from independent African countries in a similar way, i.e. what training is most likely to lead to useful employment - for themselves and for the host country). (30

Before leaving this question of support for the Liberation

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Movements, I want to stress our commitment to and solidarity with the Movements. We are sure that their victory is certain and intend to continue to make our contribution to that victory.

Some of our donors sometimes question the desirability of the IUEF extending such broad assistance to the Liberation Movements. Efforts by others, particularly Assembly members, to clarify the situation and to put the very convincing case (10 for general assistance to the Liberation Movements directly to the donors would greatly improve the IUEF's capacity to respond to the many, usually urgent, requests we receive from the Movements.

From what I have already said, it should be clear that within the IUEF, we are considering all aspects of our work in Africa within the context of an effective and coordinated follow-up to the Arusha Pan-African Conference on Refugees. I will not lengthen this speech by discussing the Conference in detail - although I would emphasize that it was an important milestone in the history (20 of efforts to come to grips with Africa's refugee problem, and both an inspiration and challenge to those who attended it.

I only want at this point to say that a conscientious effort to implement the recommendations made at Arusha is of crucial importance - whether the regulations are legal, political, social, economic or educational. The conference recognised that the primary responsibility for implementing its resolution lies with the OAU, working in cooperation with the UNHCR. But it also placed responsibilities on the shoulders of all those agencies with major programmes of assistance to African refugees. In view of its own(30 programme, its close cooperation with the OAU and the Liberation

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Movements, as well as other refugee groups, and also in view of the role it has played both in planning for and holding the Arusha conference, the IUEF has a special responsibility to do its share when it comes to implementing the different recommendations. The IUEF has always upheld the view that while we concentrate on educational programmes, with special reference to scholarship programmes, it is impossible to give meaningful (10 assistance to African refugees without dealing with the problem as a whole, including its legal and political aspects.

The question for the Assembly, is to discuss what the role of the IUEF should be in terms of implementing the Arusha recommendations - both general and specific. In particular, it ought to be determined to what extent the IUEF should take initiatives and to what extent we should wait for others to act.

I turn now to the other main area of IUEF activity, speaking geographically.

Democracy has made some progress during the past year in (20 Latin America; two countries whose refugees we have been helping for some years, ceased to be refugee-producing countries during the year, and joined the ranks of those able to shelter refugees. The almost total amnesty for political dissidents and exiles decreed in Brazil in the middle of 1979, presented a major political change in Latin America. Now, very few Brazilian exiles are unable to return, and those still abroad include those who are completing their studies, and a very small number who fear criminal charges arising out of their past political activities. The IUEF is still supporting a small number of Brazilian refugees, as (30 scholars, but happily, most of our former Brazilian refugee

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scholarships were able to return during the European summer. Another happy development is that Brazil is now, quietly and without publicity recognising the fact, allowing refugees from other Latin American countries to settle in the country.

In Nicaragua, the long and bloody civil war ended with the victory of the people of Nicaragua led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front. A very large number of Nicaraguan exiles (10 returned, so that less than one quarter of our Nicaraguan refugee scholars asked for renewals of their scholarships this autumn. We are now actively looking at the possibility of supporting projects inside Nicaragua which will strengthen the revolution and assist the Government of National Re-Construction in establishing a democratic system in the country. Nicaragua is not, as yet, however, in a position to become a major country of settlement for refugees, although we expect that there will be room for well-qualified refugees from other Latin American countries to play their part, under the direction of Nicaraguan experts in the (20 rebuilding of the country.

There were also victories of a sort for democracy with elections, for the first time in years, in Ecuador and Bolivia. Subsequent events in Bolivia have underscored that it would be premature to say that the tide is turning in the direction of democracy in Latin America. In Bolivia and Ecuador, it is clear that while the desire for the overwhelming majority of people is to move to a system allowing greater democracy and social justice, important sectors of the country are prepared to resort to violence in order to prevent such developments. In Brazil, (30 where, as a result of previous repression, there is a dearth of

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working class leaders, the present liberalisation is being accompanied by a degree of anarchic violence which could end in a return to the repressive days of the past. Meanwhile, the Pinochet government in Chile, while perhaps less repressive than in the years immediately after the coup, continues to derive its inspiration from reactionary philosophies and to remain in power, basically, by the use of force. In Argentina, (1
a bitter controversy between extreme right-wing army leaders and those who would welcome a cautious democratisation very nearly errupted in civil war, with the abortive uprising by the ultra-rightist General Menendez of Cordoba in October. The outlook for democracy remains bleak. In Uruguay, meanwhile, there seems to be no letup in the almost totally hopeless situation, with continuing total repression and a total absence of political debate or of press, trade-union or judicial freedom. In Paraguay and Guatemala also, the situations have the same depressing aspect they had at this time last year, and the changes that (20
are occurring in El Salvador and Colombia cannot be called promising.

The world depression is hitting the Latin American countries as it is hitting all countries of the Third World, much harder than the richer countries of Europe and North America. If, in North America and Europe, the energy crisis and recession are challenging the lifestyle of the affluent middle-classes, the same is equally true in Latin America; the response of the middle-classes in Latin America, however, aided by the authoritarian régimes which dominate the continent, has been the maintenance of their life-style at all costs, and a consequent increase in (30
the political and economic repression of the masses. Since those

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same authoritarian régimes have, as we mentioned in the case of Brazil, largely obliterated democratic and left-wing parties, unions and leadership cadres, the prospect is of uprisings and violence of sporadic and anarchic nature rather than of any disciplined and coherent movement towards greater social justice and political freedom.

For the IUEF, the main task will continue to be the provision (10 of scholarships to the victims of oppression. In Latin America, our programme remains largely concentrated on Mexico, where 241 refugee students were studying on IUEF scholarships during 1978/79 and, at least 300 will be doing so during the academic year which is just beginning. Our programmes in Costa Rica, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru and Panama, though small, continue to make an important contribution to the economic, social and political self-respect of the exiled communities. There is a need, as the Latin American Working Group at this Assembly will doubtless confirm, for some form of follow-up study to parallel the follow- (20 up study of our African scholars which was written some years ago in order to evaluate the effects of our programme, on the general situation of Latin American refugees in Latin America. The coming year will see a large number of our original scholars, i.e. those who joined the programme on its inception in 1975, obtaining their qualifications and seeking employment in their country of adoption. The other likely major development in our Latin American scholarship programme during the coming year is the possibility of Brazil opening up as a country of settlement for refugees from Argentina and Uruquay. (30

Another field which remains to be developed, but which, with

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the establishment of the Sponsorship Group and the appointment of Nelson Soucy is well on the way to rapid development, is the support of projects in Latin America. Nelson has already produced a package of small self-help projects for refugees, and we are actively engaged in raising money from our non-governmental donors for the support of such projects.

The assistance inside countries under authoritarian rule to (10 people who, if it were not for our assistance, might otherwise have to go abroad as refugees, is another aspect of our work. Very often, the people supported by IUEF in these "internal programmes" are people who are likely to have a key role to play in the event of a return to democracy in their country. The IUEF helps a variety of institutions, mainly through scholarships, and there is no doubt that the effects of these programmes is to increase the diversity of opinion in the country and to provide a counter-weight to the monolithic official ideology.

Alongside the Latin American programme, the IUEF continues (20 to support Latin American scholarships in Europe. Besides small programmes in France, the UK, Switzerland and elsewhere, the IUEF programme in Italy and in Spain continues to be of some importance. During the past two or three years, Latin American countries have become increasingly reluctant to admit refugees from other Latin American countries in any numbers, while the collapse of the facist régime in Spain has meant that conditions in that country have become increasingly favourable to refugees from the Southern Cone of Latin America. Indeed, the numbers arriving from Argintina and Uruguay, in the past two years, has far exceeded the (30 numbers going to other Latin American countries such as Mexico.

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This exodus to Spain has not been noted or responded to by the official and unofficial agencies dealing with refugees. The UNHCR ha expanded its activities in Spain, working mainly through the Spanish Red Cross, and we have tried to expand our scholarship programme, but the resources of our scholarship programme and the resources of the voluntary agencies in Spain itself are woefully inadequate to meet the challenge. During the year, IUEF, with a grant from (10 the Danish Refugee Council, was able to support two refugee counsellors and to commission the preparation of a Handbook for Refugees and a report on the refugee situation in Spain. The counsellors have done valuable work, not only in helping refugee students to prepare their applications for scholarships to the IUEF, but also in seeking educational assistance from other sources, both in Spain and elsewhere in Europe, for the refugees. The guide, or Handbook for Refugees, giving a detailed explanation of Spanish immigration law and a list of organisations offering services to the refugees, is now being printed in Spain. The (20 report on the situation of Latin American refugees, which includes not only a description of the Spanish legal framework and an account of the services offered by official and non-official agencies in the country, but also a survey of the refugees themselves, is now available in an English version here in Geneva. We intend to use this report as a fund-raising document to our donors and to agencies likely to be able to assist the work of supporting Latin American refugees in Spain. Although we agree that Spain is a European country, indeed a candidate member of the European Economic Community, we do not accept that there (30 are as yet, sufficient indigenous resources inside the country

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to provide adequate support for Latin American refugees, and therefore, we invite our donors and supporters to regard Spain, not in this sense as a European country, but as a country whose infrastructure and mechanism in the field of refugee-support are more akin to those of Mexico than, say, France.

I should mention, in passing, that the question of support for study in Europe - and the difficulty of mustering resources (10 to do so when study here is clearly desirable - is equally pressing in the case of African refugees as well. Last year's Assembly passed a resolution asking our donors to provide more funds for scholarships in Europe, and the Arusha conference passed a resolution calling for more support for study in Europe. The African governments and the Liberation Movements have a very clear and sensible attitude towards study in Europe. Can our donors not be persuaded to adopt the same attitude?

Another promising development for the IUEF's work - to return to Latin America - is our growing contact with the Government of (20 Cuba. A very useful partnership could develop here. Since the inception of its programme in Latin America, the IUEF has had close contact with the Cuban government which has been prepared to receive recommendations for people for placement in Cuba, particularly people who have been in particularly exposed situations in Argentina. Recently we have had further discussions with the Cuban government about the possibility of further developing this programme. There is now a very clear possibility that IUEF might be able to place, for study at existing Cuban institutions, at all different levels, Latin American students on IUEF scholarships (30 In terms of creating an additional opportunity for placement,

this/..

this would be an excellent arrangement, both in relation to the standard of education offered and from a financial point of view. Should this work out, the possibilities for placing African refugees as well, for education and training in Cuba ought to be looked at.

Finally, we have long believed that the legal position of Latin American refugees in Latin America is unclear and that this (10 lack of clarity has allowed more disreputable governments to flout international conventions in their treatment of refugees. The situation has arisen because Latin American governments in the past did not regard the Geneva Refugee Convention and the New York Protocol as applying to Latin American refugees because there were already extremely liberal legislative provisions allowing those who were being persecuted for political reasons to seek asylum in the embassies of other countries. However, as more authoritarian governments have come into power, the right to asylum has, in fact been restricted to the embassies of a small number of Latin (20 American countries, while the rights of the politically persecuted under the refugee conventions have been non-existent or ambiguous. IUEF has, therefore, commissioned Professor Göran Melander of the University of Lund, and a South American legal expert to undertake a study of the situation and to make recommendations for its improvement. This study will be undertaken in cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

IUEF is constantly considering the direction of its programmes and looking at ways and means of improving them. However, the scholarships programmes for Latin American refugees in Latin (30 America run by IUEF remain unique and give important political,

psychological/..

psychological and economic support to a section of the community which, as a result of political events in the 1960's and 1970's in southern South America have been forced to live abroad. At the moment, the thanks of the refugees to the support that, thanks to the generosity of our donors, we are able to give, is expressed strongly and sincerely to members of IUEF staff and to the agencies with which we work. It may well be that, tomorrow(10 those whom we have helped today will be able to place their expertise and experience at the service of their peoples.

I have deliberately left to this late stage in my speech any mention of the administration and organisation of the IUEF. Most people in this room are well aware that the IUEF has encountered certain difficulties - financial and administrative - in the past year, and that we are in the throes of working out some far-reaching and hopefully efficacious solutions to our problems.

But I would urge you to keep these problems in perspective. How the IUEF goes about its work is obviously a proper concern (20 of the Assembly - but the work and its effects are fundamental to the organisation, not administrative and financial problems which, serious as they may seem at times, promise to pass. It will be a sad day if we ever lose sight of what we are doing because how we are attempting to do it looms to large. The organisation as such must never distract attention from the work there is to be done.

Having sounded this caution, I hasten to seek your guidance and help in surmounting the difficulties we face. I am confident that provided we approach the difficulties in a cooperative, (30 positive spirit, they will dissolve.

In/..

EXHIBIT ZZ

ADDRESS BY DIRECTOR OF IUEF TO 11TH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 29/11/1979

In fact, the role of this Assembly itself is in need of clarification, and in my introduction to the Assembly Report, I have discussed this in some detail.

I will not go over this ground again, I simply express the hope that the changes we have made to the programme and organisation of this meeting will in turn help the Assembly to clarify its own role in relation to the Board, the Secretariat and our donors, (10 and to offer sound advice to the Secretariat on policy issues.

I would like to stress, however, that we feel the Assembly could play a greater role in implementing the decisions it makes and in spreading information about the IUEF and its work.

Some Assembly members are also donors to the IUEF and are obviously in a special situation when it comes to assisting in implementing recommendations made by the Assembly.

Donors or not, we believe that Assembly organisations can influence other donor agencies in the direction of the recommendations made. How many Assembly members approached their national govern-(20 ments and relevant bodies on the concrete recommendations made last year about the need for more funds for refugees from independent African countries and more funds for scholarships for studies in Europe? How many member organisations took up, on the national level, any of the political issues raised last year? A special recommendation was made to establish an operational fund to support projects for which normal donor funding was not available. Today there is still no such fund!

We feel it important to discuss what role the Assembly and the Board should play in relation to contacts with donors and (30 fundraising and what expectations the Secretariat can have in this

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respect. We also feel that while our relationships with our main donors are of crucial importance, it is also very important to look at our relationships and contacts with the many smaller and private organisations and groups which channel funds through the IUEF and/or can contribute to specific projects and programmes. Their needs and requirements are often very different from those of the larger donors and we feel that the Assembly and Board members could have a very special role to play in this area to ensure good understanding and frequent contact.

Similar comments could be made about the information which is being disseminated by member organisations about the IUEF and its work. We recognise that during the long period when the post of Information Officer was vacant, we were less able to serve our member organisations in this area. We are now anxious to establish better cooperation between member organisations and our Information Department, in order to help overcome this problem. The organisation does not, I hasten to say, seek publicity for its own sake, but we do feel that our work on behalf of refugees and others would be better supported, and thus more effective, if more people were aware of the IUEF and what it does.

The second area in which Assembly members could assist the information work of the IUEF is in advancing its Latin American Information Programme. We have made a small beginning with this programme - and are hopeful that this beginning will encourage donors to make available the small extra resources we need to mount a truly effective programme.

In the next decade, Latin America is going to be a crucial area of conflict and development - which is indeed why the IUEF

believes/..

believes so strongly that it must maintain its programme there. But at the moment, there is a dearth of information about many aspects of Latin America. There is a role here for the IUEF similar to the role we are discharging successfully with our Southern African Information Programme, to use its contacts and sources of information in Latin America and among Latin American refugee groups to acquire, sift and then disseminate information (10 which will advance the development of the region and its emancipation from oppressive and undemocratic régimes.

Finally, it is no secret that the IUEF, like most, if not all, NGO's and voluntary agencies in Geneva, has felt the pinch of the economic climate and particularly of the appreciation of the Swiss franc against all our major donor currencies. This, together with other unforeseen circumstances, has created an administrative deficit, the liquidation of which remains a major pre-occupation. The Board and the Secretariat in cooperation, first at the Board meeting in December last year, and subsequently at the Bureau (20 meeting in June, have devised and implemented a number of austerity measures which contributed to an improvement in the situation. Unfortunately, the first round of these measures required the elimination of certain posts which led to certain staff changes. We believe the situation is coming under control but that a continued tight budget will have to be applied for some time to come.

I can, in closing, do not better than quote some of the words President Fidel Castro used when he addressed the United Nations a few weeks ago. Human rights, he observed, are very often spoken of, but we must also speak of humanity's rights. "Why should some (30 people go barefoot, so that others may travel in expensive cars?

Why/..

EXHIBIT ZZ

ADDRESS BY DIRECTOR OF IUEF TO 11TH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 29/11/1979

Why should some live only thirty-five years, so that others may live seventy? Why should some be miserably poor, so that others be exaggeratedly rich? I speak on behalf of the children of the world who don't even have a piece of bread. I speak on behalf of the sick who lack medicine. I speak on behalf of those who have been denied the right to life and to human dignity. Some countries possess abundant resources, others have nothing. What (10 is their fate? To starve? To be eternally poor? Why then civilization? Why then the conscience of man? Why then the United Nations? Why then the world?"

The IUEF is in no doubts as to its answers to these stirring questions. It may work mainly in one relatively narrow field - the provision of educational assistance to refugees - but it is inspired by a wide vision and sees the specific tasks it performs as part of a broad, world-wide effort to eliminate injustices and inequalities, to eradicate want and deprivation, hunger, disease and ignorance. Some think it naïve, even sinister, to (20 dream of a brave new world. The IUEF, however, has such a dream.

Lars-Gunnar Eriksson

Geneva, November 1979.

JW/pb

27.XI.79

EXHIBIT AAA

COPY OF LETTER TO FRENE GINWALA FROM LARS-GUNNAR ERIKSSON, DIRECTOR OF IUEF, DATED 6/4/77

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE FUND

Telephone 29 17 88 Cables: unifund/geneva Telex 23 997

Postbox 248

1211 geneva 11

switzerland

Ms F. Ginwala

4 Pirdaux Road (10

London, S.W. 9,

England

ref: LGE/gg

6th April 1977

Dear Frene

Just a short note to tell you that the scholarship matter is in hand and a letter from Canada will be forthcoming.

Let me also introduce to you Craig Williamson, who formally was Vice-President of NUSAS and who since the demise was involved with some important and confidential work inside the country and (20 has proven himself very liable. He has some matters that he would like to discuss with you, initially on a confidential and informal basis.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Lars-Gunnar Eriksson

DIRECTOR

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EXHIBIT BBB

NOTES ON DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE PROJECT

Notes on discussions concerning an

INTELLIGENCE SERVICE PROJECT

held between 18th and 22nd September, 1976

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1. The object is to make available, on a continuous basis, reliable detailed information, assembled in dossiers, to those actively engaged in the liberation of South Africa, who can best make use of them. Such information may relate to general topics, or deal with specific activities of organisations and institutions which are of concern to the recipients; it may also prove possible to undertake work specified by the ultimate recipients, on request. (10

2. An assumption behind the project is that this sort of service can at present best be provided by persons with whom the recipients either cannot or do not want to contact directly.

3. Some thought has been given to the mechanics of establishing a satisfactory method of obtaining the information, and of communicating it to those who may make use of it. There is need for further examination of the details of the internal organisation of the machinery, but it is for the moment clear that the process of establishing it will entail one visit from abroad of one person to a single centre for about one month. It is also likely that a moderate sum of money (± R1,000) would be needed for the purpose of internal travel and communication by persons ultimately engaged to assist in providing the service. It is equally clear that the services will be required, outside but as near as possible to, South Africa, of someone with (i) sufficient background knowledge of the country to be able to assemble and correlate (20 (30

disparate/..

disparate pieces of information from diverse sources;

(ii) a degree of political sophistication. Whether this would initially be a whiletime activity is doubtful, at least so far as the initial stages are concerned, It may become so as the project grows.

4. Dossiers compiled by such a person should be transmitted onwards to an agency in Europe (IUEF if it is willing to do this) which will take a decision as to what is to be done with them. (10

5. A certain amount of high risk activity inside the country is involved. Preliminary discussions on machinery have attempted to formulate ways of minimising this. In order to avoid further risk of initial exposure, and also to provide an opportunity for assessing the feasibility of proposal and the utility of information, it is suggested that a pilot project be undertaken on one or two copies related to infrastructure (transport, power, communications networks) or a government agency, in a particular locality. (20 The locality suggested is the Witwatersrand.

6. The pilot project should last 9 months to 1 year, and (if an alternative mode of onward transmission to Europe can be devised), it may be possible to eliminate the need for the person with special qualifications described in 3 above - on the assumption that someone else will be able and willing to do this in Europe.

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EXHIBIT BBB

NOTES ON DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE PROJECT: ACTUAL PROPOSAL

SERVICES PROJECT - PROPOSAL

Aims and Objects

The basic aim of the service is to provide information. It will be for those who receive the information to decide how best it can be used, on the assumption that it is those who are most directly concerned with achieving the process of liberation who must be charged with the responsibility for deciding where and how information can be used. (10

A subsidiary aim is to afford an opportunity to those who are, or may become, possessed of relevant information to make it available and thus to contribute, indirectly, to the process with which they agree but with which they are unable to be directly identified.

Specifically, the service should aim to:

i) collect, assimilate, disseminate to carefully selected bodies general information of strategic importance concerning the functioning of S.A. society. (20 This would include information on aspects of the economy and the way in which particular sectors function, as well as material concerning operation of elements of the infrastructure such as transport power, communications, etc.

ii) provide detailed information, on request, on any such institutions within a given locality.

Affiliation.

The organisation should not be affiliated to any movement and should act independently of them, so that it can preserve its anonymity; but the existence of the information which it (30

accumulates/..

accumulates, and its capacity to generate this, should be made known through a body, such as the IUEF, which has contact with the relevant movements. The same applies to requests directed at the organisation, which should be directed to it from the IUEF.

Structure

The organisation would operate best at four levels:

i) the people who gather information, who must be (10
situated in positions which give them relatively easy access to certain data. They do not necessarily have to be highly political, though they will obviously be fairly strongly opposed to the regime. The most important thing here is the jobs they occupy and the people with whom they habitually associate, since it is in these ways that they will normally acquire the information without attracting undue suspicion. Some obvious sources would be: banks and other financial institutions; newspapers and journals; (20
mining houses; local authorities, including Bantu authorities; and government agencies, both civil and military. Some information of a more generally available kind regarding specific topics, (e.g. transport schedules) may of course be gathered by people not necessarily employed at the source.

ii) Channels: their function is to receive the information from those in i) (without necessarily knowing the source) and to pass it on as rapidly as possible. (30

While they will necessarily have to have a higher

degree/..

degree of political commitment since they are exposed to a higher risk, they need be relatively few in number a nd their job is immaterial. Since they run the risk of detection, they should preferably not have attracted previous attention from the SB, and should preferably be able to travel freely.

iii) Assimilation. This level requires a person (or persons) with a high level of political sophistication and a good knowledge of the general objectives of the organisation. He must be able to analyse material received, and to relate apparently unconnected items of information received to another in such a way that the whole becomes useful for political purposes. He will also have to compile the related pieces of information into a brief, usable form for the bodies to whom it (or its existence) will be made known. Raw data will have to be collated in such a fashion that it is their significance within a socio-economic or political context that indicates their utility. While it is probable that a single person could perform this task, at least in the early stages, he would almost certainly benefit from the more or less regular advice of one or two other people.

It is essential, for security reasons, that he be situated outside SA, but preferable that he be as near as politically possible, so as to have access to those inside with whom he is in contact and to whom he will also, from time to time, have to pass on

instructions/..

instructions. Botswana would be the optimum.

iv) Distribution. The distribution point could also be in Botswana or some other African state, or it could be in Europe. However, a high degree of political sophistication is also needed here, and it is suggested that for this reason Europe might be preferable since this would facilitate the maintenance of a greater (10 degree of independence from any one of the groups in the liberation movement. Once again, the best person would be someone in the IUEF.

Starting the Organisation in S.A.

This will have to be done with the maximum of secrecy. A method of doing this which is designed to provide maximum security for all of the individuals involved while permitting their numbers to be just sufficient to ensure a minimum necessary for efficient working, is (for any given city): Two individuals are to be involved (2, 3, 4) plus an initial contact (1). (20

(1), who is based outside S.A. goes in to make contact with no more than 2 individuals, within something like a month - i.e. at a fairly leisurely pace. He then leaves and does not return. The two individuals he has contacted then become the two key elements in the organisation inside the country. They are as follows:

(2) the individual responsible for finding the information gatherers (a, b, c, d) and establishing a suitable means of maintaining contact with them (e.g. by providing them with post office box numbers known only to each of them and to him). He must, similarly, establish a simple means of communication with (30 the assimilator (in Botswana). He will thus know all the information

gatherers/..

gatherers, and they will know him, but they will not know each other. He will also be involved in receiving instructions which may require additional information gatherers, and/or requesting different kinds of information from a, b, c and d.

(3) will be responsible for picking up the information from the boxes and, if necessary, for finding other individuals (x, y, z) to act as couriers in passing information out of the (10 country. (3) and they will know each other, but x, y and z will not be aware of each other's existence, or identity. None of these will know (2), or a, b, c and d. He will however be able to contact (2) since he knows his box number. In this way (2) receives instructions through (3) either through (3)'s own box number or by using the boxes in which a, b, c and d deposit their information.

The object throughout should be that as few of these individuals know about each other as possible, and that only (1) knows who (2) and (3) are. (20

It may be possible to eliminate unnecessary complexities in this structure, if there are already in existence satisfactory channels of communication which are available.

The external organisation.

Whereas the internal side of the operation is composed of information gathering and channels of communication, the external side consists of assimilation and distribution. By the very nature of the organisation it is on the external side that the major decisions are made and from which the directives are issued. It would seem preferable that for reasons of security, the assimilator should (30 operate under a cover in Botswana, eg. church employees, etc.

This/..