

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH UNIT

Research Division  
School of Economics  
Robert Leslie Building  
University of Cape Town  
RONDEBOSCH  
7700

Telephone 69-8531 (Ext.440)

(10)

QUARTERLY COAL ECONOMIC HISTORY RESEARCH REPORT NUMBER ONE

JULY, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1979

DR. RENFREW CHRISTIE, RESEARCH FELLOW

NOTE:

This report is PRIVATE and not for publication. It is only an interim working document for the information of the research grant donors and other interested parties. As the research progresses the findings and opinions herein contained may well change. They are therefore not to be quoted at present.

(20)

(30)

COAL ECONOMIC HISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT : DR. RENFREW CHRISTIE

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1979

INCOME

Research grant, CCFD Paris R7 921.99

Less: Expenditure

Living expenses and emoluments R2 499.99

Travel and subsistence 2 033.40

Phone, post, & stationery 177.06

Subscriptions 450.57

Sundry 46.82

5 207.84

Balance

R2 714.15

Represented by:

Savings account, Barclays

Bank R2 000.00

SASOL Ltd. Share application 400.00

Cash at Barclays Bank 314.15

R2 714.15 R2 714.15  
=====

(10)

(20)

SEE ATTACHED NOTES TO THIS FINANCIAL REPORT.

COAL ECONOMIC HISTORY RESEARCH PROJECT : DR. RENFREW CHRISTIE

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER

1979

A. PROVISION FOR SOUTH AFRICAN TAXATION

A leading tax lawyer has agreed to approach the Receiver of Revenue pro-amico to ascertain the position regarding the payment of income tax. Pending clarity an amount is being provided for personally by the researcher from (10 his emoluments to pay tax in due course if necessary, but in the event of the entire grant being taxable, which is unlikely, a further amount will have to be made available from the research grant.

B. TRAVEL AND SUBSISTENCE

A motor car has been acquired on hire purchase for travel to coal mines and for research travel generally. To simplify accounting procedures and because of the difficulty of judging the true rate of depreciation of motor vehicles in South Africa during the present oil shortage it has been decided to (20 charge all costs, including the initial deposit, to travel and subsistence expenses in the period in which they occur. In other words, the vehicle is being treated simply as a current expense, not as a capital asset on which a depreciation is provided.

The current state of the hire purchase contract, as given by the Barclays Wesbank computer monthly, will be reproduced in each quarterly report.

C. HIRE PURCHASE ACCOUNT VEHICLE CA 159 997: BARCLAYS WESBANK LTD

16 September 1979

(30

Original contract balance		R6 209,00
Payments: Deposit	R1 250.00	
Instalment	<u>137.75</u>	<u>1 387.75</u>
Contract balance		<u>R4 821.25</u>
Instalment due		<u>R137.75</u>

D. SUBSCRIPTIONS

A number of subscriptions have been taken to a variety of trade and academic journals, for periods ranging from one to three years. These are PAYMENTS IN ADVANCE, and this the figure for this initial quarter is consequently higher than it will normally be. However it seems that the amount budgeted for is somewhat too low, and may have to be adjusted upwards in due course. It is intended to subscribe to the most important journal for anyone interested in the world coal market, a monthly called COAL INTERNATIONAL, published by Zinder-Neris Inc. 1828 L Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20036. The annual subscription rate is \$170.00 which will exhaust the current subscription budget.

(10

(20

E. SASOL LIMITED SHARE APPLICATION

Application has been made for the minimum amount of 200 shares in the current issue by Sasol Limited. The issue will be over-subscribed, and it is by no means certain that the application will be successful. If it is, there is no intention to sell at once, although the takings will be high, reportedly of the order of 40%. These shares are to be treated as long term capital investments, which will give the additional benefit of providing regular information on the activities of a major coal producer. Dividend income will be treated as additional

(30

research/..

research grant income.

F. FURTHER RESEARCH GRANT INSTALMENT

The research grant donors undertook to pay the remainder of the first year's grant within six months of July 1979. As will be seen from the accounts, the initial expenses have been larger than the current running expenses are likely to be, because of payments such as deposit on the car, and subscriptions. It will be noted that the balance remaining (10 only covers living expenses and emoluments for the months October to December, but will not cover anything else. To avoid a serious cash-flow problem it would be appreciated if the grant for the remaining eight months outstanding were paid as soon as possible, and at least by December 1979.

G. METHOD OF PAYMENT OF GRANT

The remainder of the grant for this financial year should be paid into the following account from which it will be transferred to Cape Town:

Account 20256099 R.L. Christie (20  
BARCLAYS BANK, 71 BANBURY ROAD, OXFORD,  
ENGLAND.

The researcher should be informed by post that the payment has been made.

H. FINANCIAL YEAR END. 30 JUNE 1980

1) A financial report is attached, in the format which will be followed in future. Any suggested alterations to the format are welcomed. A full set of account books with supporting documents and vouchers is being maintained by the researcher. A bank account for the project has been opened (30 in the researcher's own name, and all project finance is being/..

being handled through that account, which is being kept strictly separate from the researcher's personal bank account, held at another bank.

The research grant paid in July 1979 covered the first four months of operation. The remaining grant for the next eight months is now due, and it was agreed that this would be paid by December 1979 at the latest. For reasons explained in the financial report it would be appreciated if this (10 grant would be paid as soon as possible, to the account detailed in the financial report.

2) Passport

Acting on the authority of the Secretary for the Interior, at 7:00 hours on 23 August 1979 two lieutenants of the Security Police removed the South African passport issued in the researcher's name. Correspondence was entered into, and the Secretary for the Interior refused to advance reasons for this action. "The question of returning the passport cannot be entered into at this stage". (20

This action prevented the researcher from travelling to North America for comparative research into coal mining practices there.

3) Travel

The researcher travelled from Oxford to Johannesburg in July, having done preparatory research in Oxford and London. A week was spent in Johannesburg and environs renewing research contacts, doing library research, and starting negotiations for the employment of black research assistants. The researcher then travelled to Cape Town by second class rail on 4/5 (30 August. The month of August and the first week of September

was spent in Cape Town, taking up office as a non-stipendiary Research Fellow in the School of Economics, U.C.T., opening bank accounts, obtaining credit cards, finding accommodation setting up a filing system, setting up a financial control system, purchasing, financing and insuring a motor vehicle for travel to coalfields, making preparations for the abortive research tour of North America, subscribing to relevant trade and academic journals, and undertaking library research both (10 in the U.T.C. libraries and in that of a major oil company involved in the export of South African coal. The researcher then travelled to Johannesburg by car on research, results of which will be given below. Time was spent in Johannesburg Sandton, Pretoria, Roodepoort, and the coalfields of the Eastern Transvaal. The researcher was still in the Transvaal on 30 September 1979, returning to Cape Town on 10 October 1979. In the six weeks since purchasing the car it has travelled almost 7000 kilometres. It is intended not to travel to the Transvaal again until the new year, when a sustained (20 period of some months will be spent in Johannesburg. The months October to December will be spent researching and writing in Cape Town, including the reading, indexing and filing of the large amount of material obtained in the Transvaal. The trip to the Transvaal may be described as extremely successful, and laid an excellent grounding for the project.

---

EXHIBIT UU

RESEARCH BUDGET

RESEARCH BUDGET:

ANNUAL REQUEST:

LIVING COSTS AND PERSONAL EMOLUMENTS	R10 000
TRAVEL R250 p.m.	3 000
and SUBSISTENCE R150 p.m.	1 800
ASSISTANTS 2x3 months @ R400 p.m.	2 400
ASSISTANTS' TRAVEL 2x3xR250 p.m.	1 500
and SUBSISTENCE 2x3xR150 p.m.	900
PHONE, POST, STATIONERY R100 p.m.	1 200
SUBSCRIPTIONS: NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS	600
SUNDRY	300

TOTAL R21 700

=====

TOTAL REQUEST OVER THREE YEARS R65 100

(10

(20



RESEARCH BUDGET

South African Coal Research Programme

Revised Research Grant Request

Revised Budget

Living Costs and Personal Emoluments	R10 000 (taxable)	
Travel R250 p.m.	3 000	
& Subsistence R150 p.m.	1 800	
Interviewers 2x3 months x R400 p.m.	2 400	
Interviewers' Travel 2x3xR250 p.m.	1 500	(10
& Subsistence 2x3xR150 p.m.	900	
Phone, Post, Stationery R100 p.m.	1 200	
Subscriptions and Trade Journals	600	
Sundry	300	

-----  
R21.700

=====

Annual Request

£51.000

=====

Total Request Over Three Years

£153.000

=====

Note: The previous budget noted that the living expenses then requested were significantly below those of academic researchers attached to universities and research institutions at post-doctoral level. After receiving further information on prices and inflation in South Africa, and taking into account the need to pay tax, this revised request has been prepared, to give the researcher the rate for the job. The amount, 'Living Costs and Personal Emoluments' is approximately the going rate for a post-doctoral researcher in SA, or the United Kingdom, but is still significantly below

that/..

(20

(30

RESEARCH BUDGET

that for a university teacher or researcher aged 30  
in the United States.

---

RESEARCH BUDGET

Research Grant Request

Subject: "South African Coal: Its Social, Political, Economic, and Strategic Implications to 1985"

Budget: The figures given below are per annum. The total request is for a three year period.

Living Costs @ R400 p.m. R4.800

Travel @ R250 p.m. 3.000

& Subsistence @ R150 p.m. 1.800

(10

Black Interviewers: 2x3 months  
@ R400 p.m. 2.400

Interviewer's Travel: 2x3 months  
@ R250 p.m. 1.500

& Subsistence: 2x3 months @ R150  
p.m. 900

Phone/Post/Stationery @ R100 p.m. 1.200

Subscriptions & Trade Journals 600

Sundry 300

-----  
R16.500  
=====

(20

Annual Budget £39.000 p.a.  
=====

Total Request Over Three Years £117.000  
=====

Note: The living expenses quoted above are significantly below those of academic researchers attached to universities and research institutions at post-doctoral level.

(30



FIGURE 2 - MAP OF THE COAL MINES  
IN TRANSVAAL

*Bew VV.2*

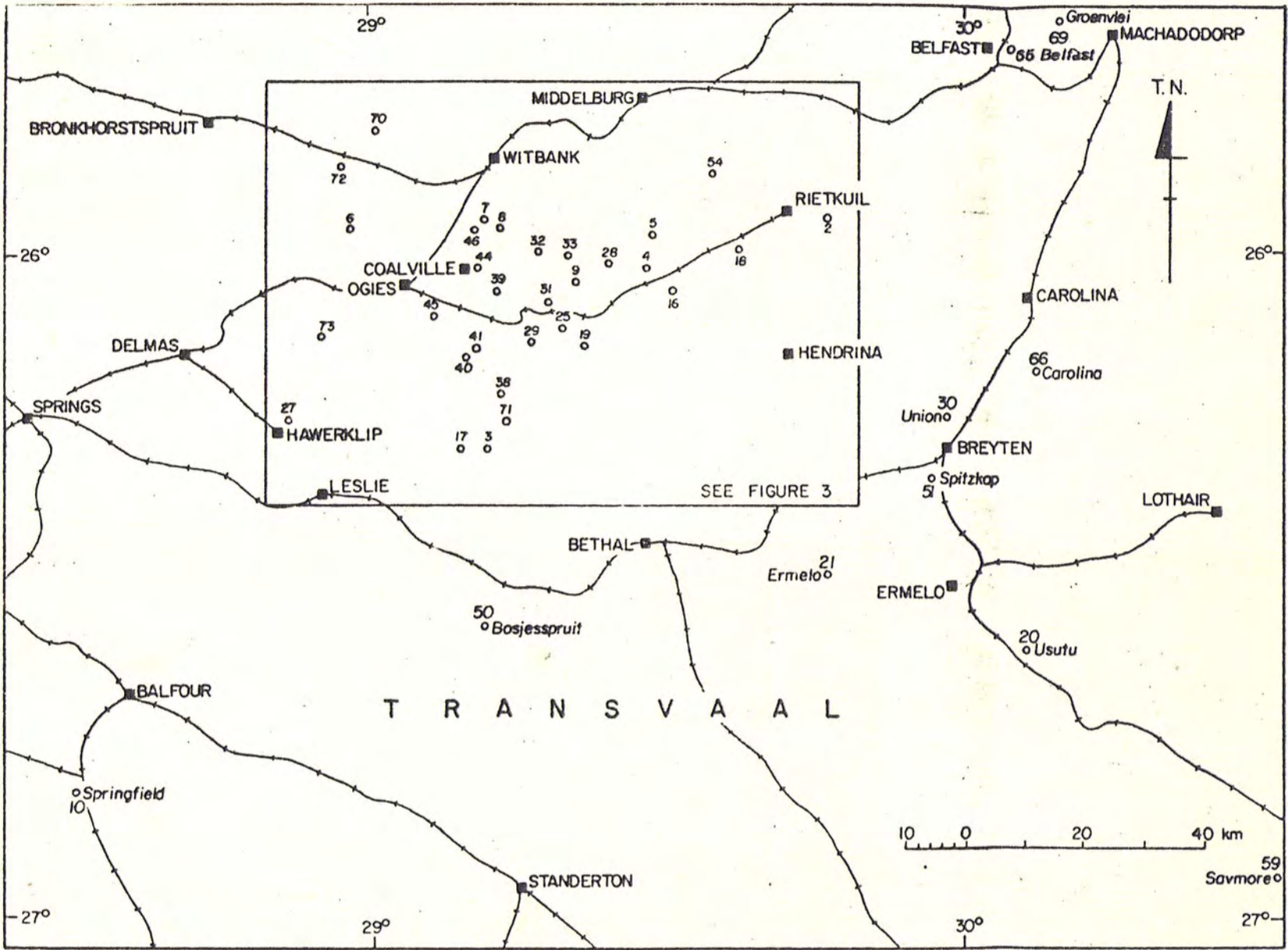


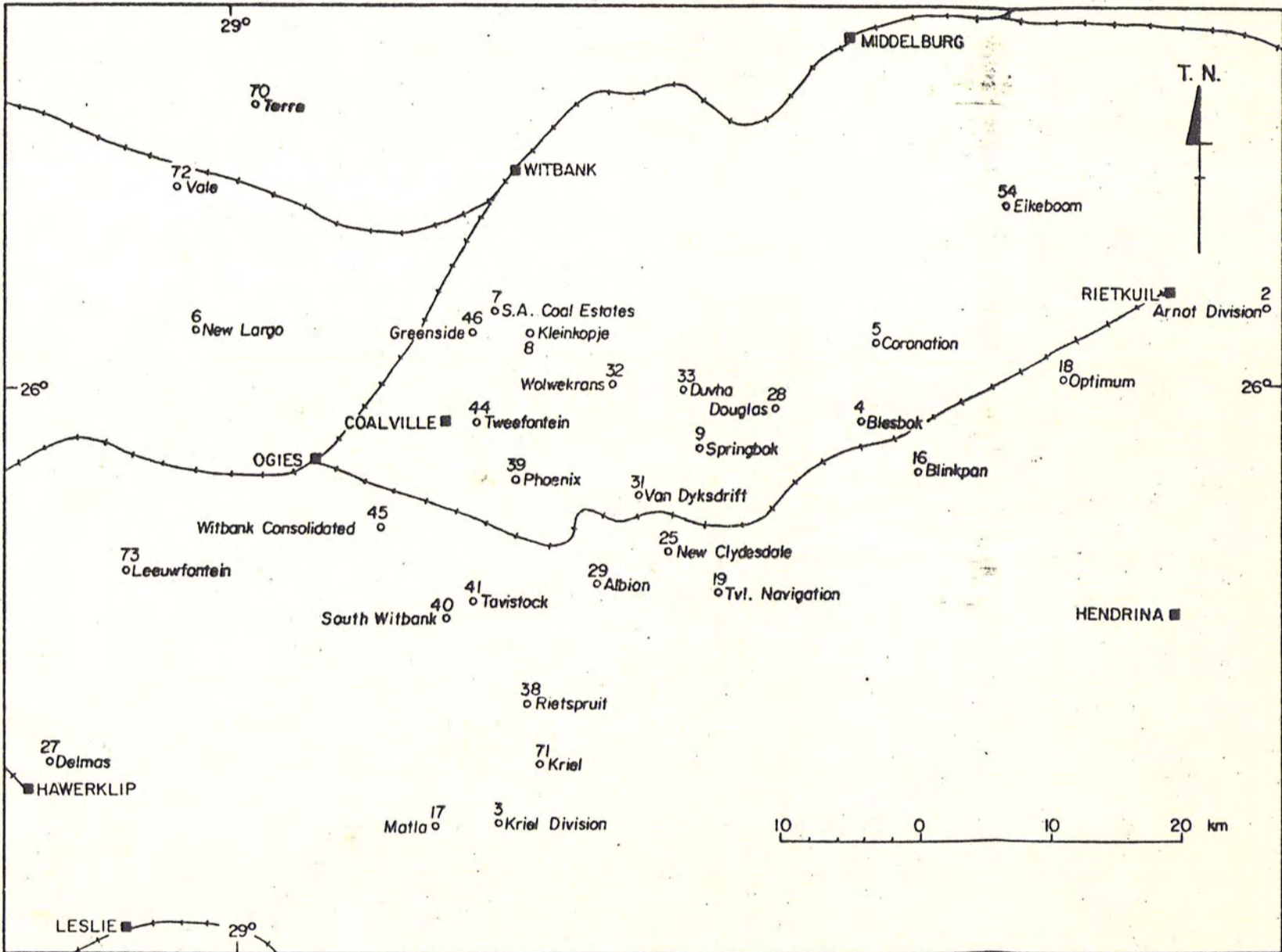
FIGURE 2. Map of the coal mines in the Transvaal

Drawn by Geological Survey, Dec. 1978

*(13)*

FIGURE 3 - MAP OF COAL MINES  
IN WITBANK AREA

*Bew VV3*

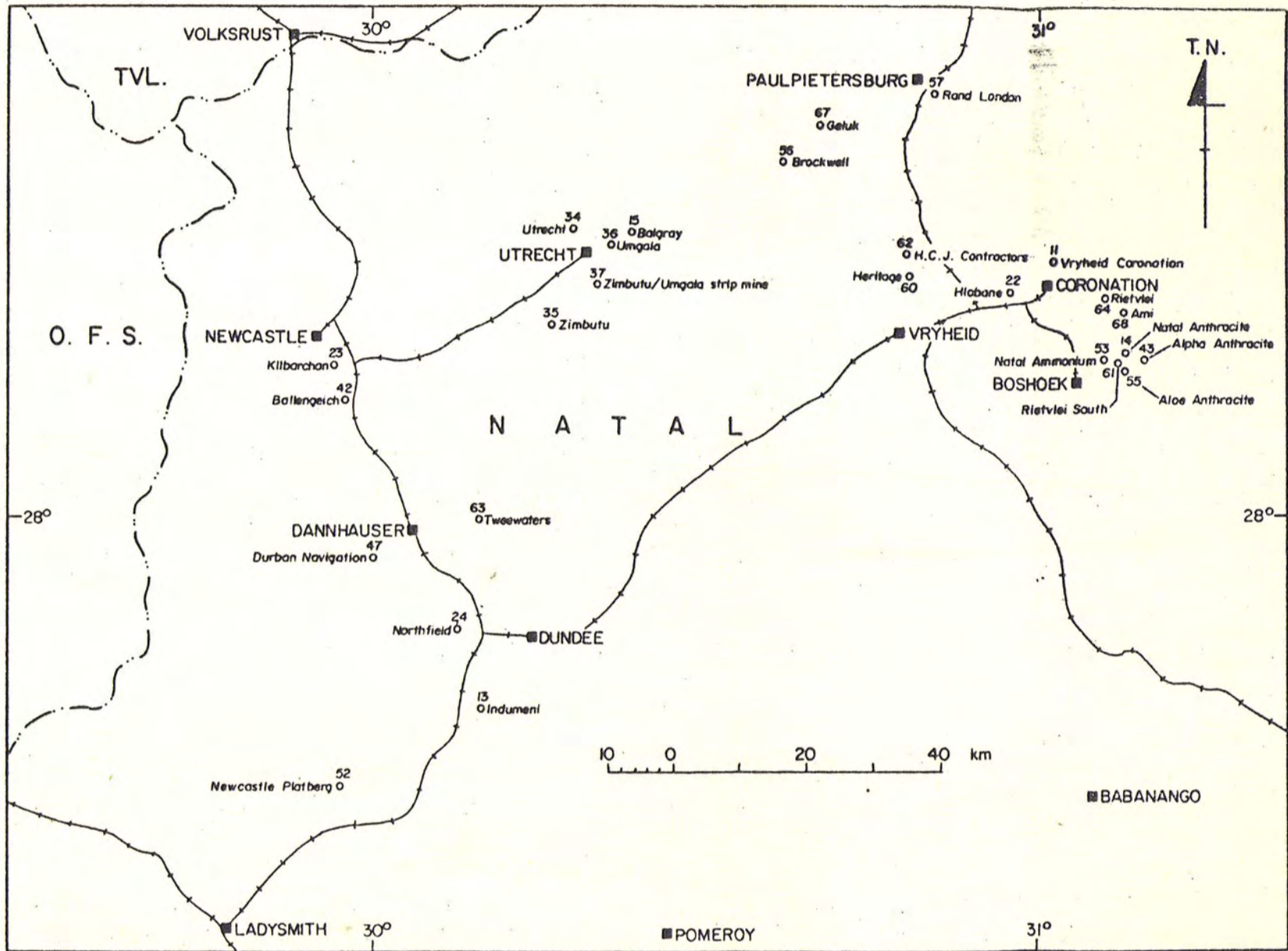


Drawn by Geological Survey, Dec. 1978

FIGURE 3. Map of the coal mines in the Witbank area

*M*

FIGURE 4 - MAP OF THE COAL MINES  
IN NATAL.



Gen VV. 4

13

Drawn by Geological Survey, Dec. 1978

FIGURE 4. Map of the coal mines in Natal

FIGURE 5 - MAP OF THE COAL MINES  
IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE WITH AN  
INSET SHOWING THE COAL MINES IN  
THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.

*Bew V.V.5*

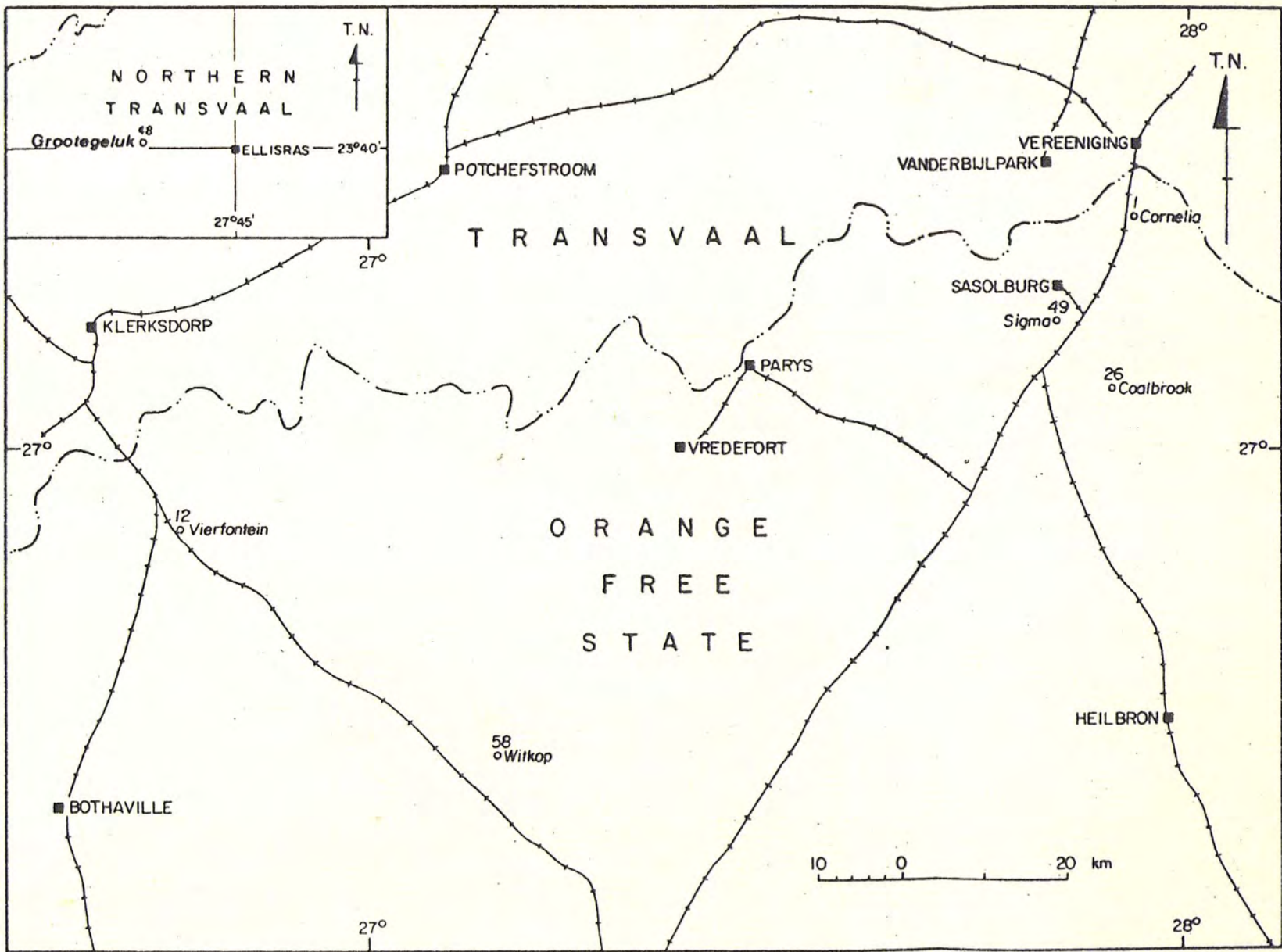


FIGURE 5. Map of the coal mines in the Orange Free State, with an inset showing the coal mines in the northern Transvaal



I U E F

International University Exchange Fund

S T A T U T E S

IUEF STATUTES

F O R E W O R D

The International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), was founded in 1961 to promote and coordinate exchanges, scholarships and technical assistance for student organisations, refugee groups and individuals. In the period immediately following the commencement of its operations, the IUEF quickly became pre-occupied with what was to dominate its activities - a programme providing educational assistance to African refugees.

On 13th May 1969 the IUEF was formally and permanently re- (10) established with a new organisational structure at a meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark, when the Danish National Union of Students the Danish Refugee Council, the Norwegian National Union of Students, the Norwegian Refugee Council and the Norwegian Special Committee for Aid to Refugees from Southern Africa resolved to establish the IUEF as an association under Swiss Law and adopted the new Statutes of the organisation.

Since 1961, the IUEF has built up a far-reaching programme of assistance to African Refugees with special reference to Southern Africa and more recently it has turned its attention (20) to the pressing needs of Latin American refugees. Parallel to the activities carried out in Africa and Latin America, it has collaborated with other agencies in seeking to improve the status of certain categories of refugees in Europe. In addition the IUEF has a programme of direct support for the educational and development activities of the liberation movements caring for substantial numbers of refugees in the countries surrounding South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The IUEF also provides material support for the Southern African liberation movements research and information activities (30) as well as to groups inside the white minority ruled countries

IUEF STATUTES

who are working for the establishment of a democratic society.  
In addition the IUEF Information Department produces publications from research undertaken on refugee problems on the situation in Southern Africa.

---

IUEF STATUTES

S T A T U T E S

1. OBJECTS

- a) To cater to the needs, particularly in the field of education, of refugees, with special reference to refugees from Southern Africa;
- b) to assist refugees and their organisations to prepare for the future development of their countries;
- c) to promote and assist the economic development of the developing countries, particularly in the educational field; (10)
- d) to act as a channel for aid or otherwise to assist student organisations in developing countries and thereby encourage them to contribute to the national development of their countries;
- e) to undertake activities, co-operate with other bodies or assume such functions which directly or indirectly support the above-mentioned objects, within the guidelines laid down by the International Board.

II. STATUS AND LOCATION

(20)

The IUEF is constituted as an Association in accordance with Articles 60-79 of the Civil Code of Switzerland. Its Head Office shall be located in the Canton of Geneva.

III. MEMBERSHIP

- a) The IUEF is an association of non-governmental organisations working in the same field as, and contributing to, the IUEF.
- b) The members of the Fund constitute the Assembly, to which new members can be admitted following the approval of a two-thirds majority of the existing members of the Fund. Admission of new members can be conducted by the

(30)

Assembly/..

IUEF STATUTES

Assembly in meeting or by postal ballot. The Assembly shall likewise have the power to grant special status for organisations interested in the work of the IUEF.

IV. ASSEMBLY

- a) The Assembly shall meet once a year. Its powers shall be: (1) to review the work of the organisation; (2) to elect the members of the International Board; (3) to discuss and adopt the administrative budget of the IUEF; (4) to deliberate on other matters referred(10 to it by the International Board, or raised by members.
- b) Each member of the Assembly shall be entitled to one vote at meetings.
- c) Each member may be represented at the meetings of the Assembly by not more than two delegates.
- d) Members of the International Board may participate in the meetings of the Assembly, with the right to speak and to move and second motions.
- e) The quorum for meetings of the Assembly shall be a simple majority of the members. (20
- f) Meetings of the Assembly will normally be convened by the President of the Assembly. A special meeting, however may be held upon the request of two members.
- g) The President of the Assembly shall be elected from amongst the participants of each meeting. He shall not have a deliberative vote but shall be entitled to a casting vote where the Assembly is deadlocked.
- h) Notice of meetings of the Assembly should be given one month prior to the meeting. The agenda and working papers for the meetings will be kept in the form of a (30 summary of decisions and recommendations, which should

IUEF STATUTES

be circulated two weeks after the meeting.

V. INTERNATIONAL BOARD

- a) There should be an International Board composed of a minimum of 10 or a maximum of 13 persons elected by the Assembly on the basis of their individual capabilities. The individuals should be elected in rotation for a 2-year term of office; a minimum of five and a maximum of eight in each consecutive year. In electing the members of the Board, the Assembly shall bear in mind the desirability of ensuring a geographical distribution reflecting the international nature of the organisation. (10)
- b) The Board shall elect from its own number a Chairman. The Chairman shall be entitled to both a deliberative and a casting vote. In between meetings of the International Board the Chairman shall be empowered to represent the Board on the basis of specific authority given to it.
- c) The Board shall be charged with reviewing the work of the organisation in between Assembly meetings and with establishing the broad policy within which the Secretariat shall work. It shall also appoint the Director of the organisation and, upon his recommendation, the other senior staff. The International Board, both collectively and individually, shall be available for consultation and shall, as far as possible, assist the Director in his work. The International Board has all the rights and powers which are not reserved for other organs of the Association. (20)
- d) The International Board shall meet at least once each year/.. (30)

IUEF STATUTES

year. Meetings shall be called by the Secretariat in consultation with the Chairman. Special meetings may be convened upon the request of three members of the Board.

- e) The quorum for meetings of the International Board shall be a majority of the members.
- f) Any vacancy occurring on the International Board may be filled through postal ballot of Assembly members.
- g) Matters of concern to the Board may be submitted for (10 its consideration by post by the Secretariat.
- h) Notice of ordinary meetings of the International Board should be given one month prior to the meeting. The agenda and working papers for the meeting should be circulated two weeks prior to the meeting. Records of the meetings will be kept in the form of a summary of decisions and recommendations, which should be circulated two weeks after the meeting.

VI. SECRETARIAT

- a) The Secretariat of the International University Exchange<sup>(20</sup> Fund shall be headed by a Director who shall be responsible to the International Board for the work and administration of the organisation. His responsibility shall include the selection and implementation of projects within the guide-lines laid down by the International Board.
- b) The Director and other senior staff shall be appointed by the International Board. The Members of the Assembly and the Secretariat shall assist the International Board in finding suitable candidates for the senior (30 staff positions.

c)/..

IUEF STATUTES

- c) Other staff may be appointed as required by the Director within the approved budget.

VII. FINANCE.

- a) The financial year for the IUEF shall be 1st April to 31st March.
  - b) Prior to the commencement of each financial year, a budget shall be prepared by the Secretariat to be presented by the International Board to the Assembly, outlining the administrative needs of the organisation. (10
  - c) At the conclusion of each financial year, the Secretariat shall be responsible for presenting to the International Board, and through it to the Assembly, duly audited accounts of the preceding year's financial operation.
  - d) The auditors shall be appointed by the Assembly.
-



IUEF STATUTES

MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Africa Educational Trust

Africa Centre

38 King Street

LONDON WC2 8JT

England.

All Africa Conference of

Churches

P.O. Box 20301

Nairobi

Kenya

CIMADE

176 rue de Grenelle

75007 Paris

France

Canadian University Service

Overseas

151 Slater

Ottawa

Ontario K1P 5H5

Canada.

Norwegian National Union of

Students

Løkkeveien 7

Oslo 1

Norway.

Norwegian Refugee Council

P.O. Box 4376

(10

Oslo 4

Norway

Norwegian Special Committee

for Aid to Refugees from

Southern Africa

Oslo Dep

Oslo

Norway.

(20

SAIH - Norwegian Students'

International Assistance Fund

Løkkeveien 7

Oslo 1

Norway

Danish/..

(30

IUEF STATUTES

Danish Refugee Council  
Kronprinsessegade 4  
1306 Copenhagen K  
Denmark

SUL - The National Council  
of Swedish Youth  
Döbelnsgatan 35 nb  
113 58 Stockholm  
Sweden

Danish Youth Council  
Radmandsgade 55  
2200 Copenhagen N  
Denmark

University Assistance Fund  
F.C. Donderstraat 16 (10  
P.O. Box 13001  
Utrecht  
Netherlands.

---

IUEF STATUTES

ERRATA : IUEF STATUTES Article IV(h)

This article should read:

'Notice of meetings of the Assembly should be given one month prior to the meeting. The agenda and working papers for the meetings should be circulated three weeks prior to the meeting. Records of the meetings will be kept in the form of a summary of decisions and recommendations, which should be circulated two weeks after the meeting.'

(10)

---

(20)

International University Exchange Fund

Postbox 108

1211 Geneva 24

Switzerland.

June 1978/2,000

(30)

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE IUEF AT THE OPENING OF THE 9TH MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE IUEF, GENEVA, 20 NOVEMBER 1977.

I would like on behalf of all the staff to wish you all welcome to Geneva. We hope that we together during the coming few days can produce ideas and agree on action that will help us to further improve the programmes and activities of IUEF. (10

You should have all received extensive documentation on the work of the IUEF since the last Assembly meeting. For that reason I will not dwell on all the specific aspects of the work carried out but will just attempt to give an overview of our activities and to highlight important areas. In addition I will draw attention to some issues of policy and future methods that I believe we must consider.

Let me start with the "newest" IUEF activity, which is the Information Department. Although the IUEF always has been active (20 in the field of information and publicity it is only since January that we have a formal information department.

As a voluntary organisation concerned with the welfare of refugees, with development assistance in newly independent African states and with assistance to the Liberation Movements of the White minority-ruled Southern African countries, the IUEF is concerned with the long-term benefit of all the people of the countries where the IUEF is active. It is clear that the IUEF is able to do more than support refugees or assist projects. Many of the problems with which the IUEF is concerned are those which are particularly prevalent throughout the Third World. (30

The/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

The problems of under-development, of racist/fascist regimes and refugees are the consequences of historical exploitation of the poor by the rich. The IUEF is not assisting in merely providing solutions to such symptoms of the problem, but is also committed to the eventual elimination of the root causes of the symptoms.

Thus, the IUEF sees a role in educating people about the (10) problems with which the IUEF and others deal, and in producing information which is of use to those who work as pressure groups in the same problem areas. This information is aimed at creating an awareness of Third World problems with which the IUEF works. However, the long-term aim of the Information Service is to contribute to the campaign which is providing the impetus for the elimination of the problems.

The IUEF has become more directly involved in generating (20) international concern about Southern Africa by participating in the Maputo International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the Lisbon International Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, and the Lagos World Conference for Action Against Apartheid as well as the Geneva International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against the Indigenous Populations in the Americas, 1977. In addition, the IUEF has been requested to participate in the organisation and input of the planned 1978 youth/student world regional conference against Apartheid.

International opinion, which must be followed by international (30) action, is turning against all those regimes where oppression, racism, exploitation and other evils are present and the IUEF

has/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

has a duty to continue to incite this process.

At the initiative of the Sub-committee on Racism and Decolonisation of the Special NGO Committee on Human Rights in Geneva, a proposal was made for the establishment of an NGO focal point for the pooling, dissemination and distribution of information on Apartheid and the struggle for liberation of Southern Africa. We see this as a means to making the work of (10 the many support-groups and NGO's more effective, and the IUEF has been appointed to chair the working group which is working on the structure of such a centre.

In general, the activities of the IUEF have expanded rapidly over the past 12 months and this is reflected in the reports. Almost all our donor agencies have substantially increased their donations to the IUEF which has allowed a strengthening of the administrative capacity of the organisation. This was made necessary by the increased programme activity and today the IUEF employs 37 staff in various capacities, who work from the four (20 offices. It must, however, be stated that we have as a principle to keep administrative costs at what we consider an appropriate and acceptable level for an organisation of IUEF's type and I am pleased to state that our administrative costs in relation to the total turnover of funds, is still just under 10%.

The Board of the IUEF decides from which donors and donor agencies the IUEF should accept funds. The traditional governmental donors to the IUEF are Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Canada and the Netherlands. The IUEF also receives funds from non-governmental voluntary agencies and Church sources in Europe and Canada. (30 An important development during the year was the decision by the

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to donate funds to the IUEF. For this we express our gratitude and we hope that this relationship, for the benefit of the oppressed people of South Africa, will be further developed.

I would like to add here a special mention of the role played by the staff of the IUEF in making the achievements of the organisation possible. In particular it is necessary (10 for me to single out the field staff who often work under the most difficult and uncomfortable conditions. I know that some may feel neglected and taken for granted at times. However, this is not the case at all but is an unfortunate effect of the distance that often separates us and of the pressure under which the organisation is forced to work.

Turning to the topic of refugee work in general I will make some comments on the situations of concern to us in Europe, Latin America and Africa. The IUEF remains concerned with the plight of refugees wherever they may be even though practicalities (20 limit IUEF involvement to specific areas.

Regarding Europe, it has, at regular intervals, been reported that the refugee problem has been brought to an end. It is true that the "traditional" refugee, i.e. refugees from Eastern Europe have decreased in number and that the influx of refugees from those countries is possible to control. It is also true that the Greek refugee problem has been brought to an end and that Portuguese refugees have the possibility, and have made use of this possibility to return to their country of origin. The process of democratisation in Spain indicates hope for the future situation regarding (30 that country.

In/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

In spite of these developments, there are still serious refugee problems in Europe although these problems are of a different character compared to other continents.

It has been said that the problem of the so-called de facto refugees is of no relevance in view of the development in Greece, Portugal, and Spain. It is true that the absolute number of de facto refugees has decreased but the concept of de facto (10) refugees has never been a matter of refugees only from these states. In European States there is a steady influx of asylum seekers today. States are, however, reluctant to recognise them as Convention refugees, although they are in most cases tolerated and seldom returned to their country of origin.

Another most serious problem concerns the refugees in orbit. By this term is meant the situation of persons who, although they have not been placed in immediate jeopardy by being rejected at the frontier or otherwise sent back to the country where they are liable to persecution, are not granted asylum, still less (20) refugee status, in any country in which they made an application for asylum. As a result they are shoved to one country after another in a constant quest for asylum.

As far as the above and other refugee questions are concerned the IUEF is constantly involved in the international effort which is designed to find successful solutions. I am pleased to state that the co-operation among agencies resulting from the work in regard to exiles and refugees in Europe has continued and improved.

Perhaps, the most serious refugee problem today in terms of the lack of security, the actual physical danger facing refugees, (30) next to that of the Zimbabweans in Mozambique, is the situation



INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

in Latin America, which over the past four years at least, has been a subject of grave and increasing concern for the IUEF. It is clear that the vast number of refugees involved presently surpasses the capacity of existing programmes to provide for their respective resettlement and for their social and economic integration in countries of asylum. Indeed, precise figures for the number of refugees in Latin America are impossible to (10 calculate but the presence of over 20,000 Latin American refugees, whether officially registered or not, in Argentina alone gives some indications of the general situation.

Although in the long term only a return to the rule of law can improve the position of refugees and exiles in Latin America, it is vital that the international community should give consideration to how legal protection for refugees should be provided for and implemented in Latin America. In specific terms a review of the Vienna Convention as it affects Latin America, and of the Caracas and Montevideo Conventions, is overdue. (20

Another major subject of concern for voluntary agencies is the relative lack of progress towards the long term economic integration of refugees in Latin America. Years after their departure into exile, thousands of refugees continue to live in conditions either of complete marginalisation or of total dependency on the cash support provided through the UNHCR. Voluntary agencies active in Latin America are making several efforts to assist refugees in accommodating themselves to their new situation; particularly in the field of education, where large number of scholarships are being distributed to the (30 refugees, who are for the most part young and in need of training.

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

I will refer to IUEF's programme more specifically at a later stage.

As far as the situation in White-ruled Africa is concerned I will be dealing with specific points later; however, it must be stated that in spite of all the efforts by the International Community, the racist regimes in Pretoria and in Salisbury are still in power, still oppressing the majority of the people (10 of these countries as well as of Namibia, and are still responsible for a constant outflow of refugees. The situation in Southern Africa demands not only increased material assistance but also vigilance in the field of legal protection in order to safe-guard the security of the refugees.

In this context we would like to draw special attention to the many refugees still remaining relatively unassisted in Botswana, and also express our determination to further develop IUEF activities in this area.

We also feel that the situation of Zimbabwean refugees in (20 Zambia and Mozambique merits further attention. In particular I refer to the perilous situation of the Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique as demonstrated by the murderous attacks on the refugees camps by forces of the Smith regime. Their protection must be a major concern of the international community.

Although, via various efforts, the situation for Namibians has greatly improved during the last few years, additional efforts particularly in the educational field, are required to answer the plight of the Namibian refugees.

A matter which is becoming of increasing concern to the (30 IUEF is the growing number of the so-called Thornhill refugees

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

in South Africa. At the Thornhill refugee area in the Ciskei about 40 to 50 thousand people, who fled from the Glen Grey and Hershel areas of the Transkei when they were turned over to independent Transkei control, live in tents and tin shanties. Most of the refugees are unemployed and they are struggling to survive. Dr. Seidler, the resident doctor and chief organiser of the refugees, says that the conditions are appalling and that (10 an average of 10 children are dying in the camps per week. Dr. Seidler said that these figures are those she counts herself and do not include those children whose parents bury them unreported.

The IUEF has been approached for help by refugees from the "Transkei regime" who have fled to Botswana. This is a new dimension to the refugee problem created by Apartheid and one which the IUEF will strive to deal with.

Let me now, Mr. Chairman, turn to the situation of refugees from independent African countries.

The situation of Ugandan refugees, particularly in Kenya (20 is still deserving of urgent attention. More assistance in the educational sphere as well as imaginative resettlement efforts for many former civil servants and politicians are needed.

The IUEF remains concerned with the Eritrean refugees in the Sudan, as well as with the Burundi refugees, mainly in Tanzania and hope that, in collaboration with the other agencies concerned, the work for the resettlement of these refugees can continue. We also feel that attention has to be paid to the new groups of refugees now starting to leave Ethiopia.

As regards the Saharoui refugees in Algeria we must emphasise (30 the need for increased assistance to this group. Here I would

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

like to take the opportunity of thanking the Algerian authorities for the invaluable assistance, given, and am pleased to announce that the Swedish Government two days ago made a grant of Sw.fr. 100,000. - to the IUEF for educational assistance to Saharoui refugees in Algeria.

A refugee situation that still has been to a large extent neglected, is that of Equatorial Guinean refugees in West Africa (10 and in Spain. We feel it is essential that more attention is drawn to the very difficult situation of the more than 60.000 Equatorial Guinean refugees and that efforts are made by donors to provide financial assistance. It is regrettable that initial study commissioned by the IUEF has not materialised. Steps are now being taken for a second study to be made.

In regard to the Rwandese refugees in various East African countries, we are wondering whether the time is not approaching when one can look upon the Rwandese refugee problem as resolved and consider whether international assistance is still required. (20 The IUEF has suggested that the High Commissioner for Refugees, in consultation with the OAU and the governments and voluntary agencies concerned, review the situation of the Rwandese refugees.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it must be mentioned that the AACC has taken the initiative to call together, hopefully, in the autumn of 1978, all interested African governments, and those inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations concerned, to a conference entitled "The Granting of Asylum is a Peaceful and Humanitarian Act" - a consultation on the rights and problems of refugees in independent Africa. The organisational form (30 for the conference has just been reviewed, particularly with a

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

view to a more active participation by the Organisation of African Unity, in order to ensure maximum government participation. IUEF will however continue to play an active role on the planning committee and concrete proposals concerning our role will be made later.

Let me then turn to the IUEF programme in Latin America. At this time last year, our programme in Latin America had just (10 completed its first 12 months of existence. The generally confident tone with which we spoke of its development has, we feel, been fully borne out since then. The speed with which we have built up an educational assistance programme which is already one of the most active and dynamic of its kind in Latin America draws us to conclude that our general policies are the correct ones, i.e. to rely on the friendly cooperation and support of the duly authorised representatives of the refugees, as well as of the democratic governments of the continent.

We have been especially helped by the collaboration of the (20 authorities of Costa Rica, who have welcomed the establishment of our Regional Office in their capital city; and I take this occasion to thank our Board Member from Costa Rica, the former Minister for Economic Development, Mr. O. Arias - Sanchez, for the role he has played in this regard.

Among the refugees themselves, we intend no slight to our friends all over the continent by mentioning with special gratitude the advice and cooperation received from the many national groups established in Mexico, including the Casa de Chile and its Directorate. It is equally important to express our thanks for (30 the cooperation provided by our friends and contacts inside the countries/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

countries ruled by repressive dictatorships, and whose work is carried out at so much actual personal risk.

It will be seen from our Report to the Assembly that the progress of our Latin America activities over the past year has been marked firstly by a rapid expansion of our scholarship programme for refugees and secondly by the beginnings of our assistance programmes for victims of persecution inside their own countries. We trust that our Report, along with the Annual Review for 1976-77, will provide the necessary information on these developments, and we look forward to a plentiful discussion in the Working Groups on Latin America. (10

Suffice it to say at this stage that the political situation in Latin America unfortunately gives us no room for a slackening of our efforts. Members of the Assembly will no doubt be aware of some of the cosmetic changes that have taken place among a few regimes in Latin America, for example, Chile, in response to the growing international pressure they face on the issue of Human Rights. (20

To be accurate, these changes have in a very few instances created rather more favourable conditions for a democratic opposition to manifest itself, and to organise the sort of activities that the IUEF would wish to support. Nevertheless the general context of police repression, torture, legalised murder and other violations of Human Rights remains in force. Similarly, there is little progress to report concerning the treatment accorded to refugees in Latin America. Only a handful of countries, most notably, Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela, continue to respect the rights of of refugees. In Argentina, where the greatest numbers are (30

concentrated/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

concentrated, refugees continue to face a daily threat to their very lives. Among other consequences of this situation is a continuing flow of Latin American refugees to Europe, where the IUEF still operates a relatively small scholarship programme.

It is also appropriate to note, with deep appreciation, the generous response of our donor agencies and governments to our funding requests, including several large increases. We feel that there is<sup>(10)</sup> a growing concern among our friends in Europe for the tragic situation in Latin America, and a growing determination to translate that concern into effective action.

Finally, I take this occasion to welcome to the IUEF our new Regional Director for Latin America, Mr. Friedrich Roll, the former Secretary General of the International Union of Socialist Youth. His predecessor, Mr. David Stephen, has as you know been called to new duties by his Government in the United Kingdom; he will nevertheless be with us on Thursday, when the occasion will arise for us to thank him for his great contribution to our<sup>(20)</sup> work. In his place, we feel very lucky to have obtained the collaboration of Mr. Roll, whom you will all, I hope, get to know during this week.

Mr. Chairman, I turn now to the cornerstone of IUEF activity - our programme in Africa.

The Scholarship Programme for Southern Africans and Refugees from Independent African countries remains the principle activity of the IUEF. The right to education is a basic human right and wherever this right is denied, for reasons of race, political conviction, membership of a certain social group, etc., the<sup>(30)</sup> IUEF seeks to assist the affected individual by providing him with advice/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

advice and the financial means to fulfil his potential. Alone, there is little the IUEF can achieve. The attitude of the governments and the schools in the refugee's host country is crucial. They have to make their facilities available to him, otherwise the right to education would remain an academic one. The role of the IUEF, and other organisations active in this field, is to create the conditions under which the host country (10 can reasonably be expected to open its schools to refugees.

Many African countries are classified as belonging to the poorest nations on the globe. Yet, it is the continent that has support a larger number of refugees than any other. Can the nations of Africa reasonably be expected to open their schools to refugees, who are aliens, when they can hardly afford to provide a minimum of education for their own citizens? It is obvious that the international community has the duty, in a spirit of solidarity, to come to the rescue and make a contribution to help share the burden. The IUEF is one of the channels through (20 which the more affluent countries can do so.

The provision of study scholarship is the most prominent means to create the opportunity for a refugee to further his education in his host country. It is, however, not the only one. Equally important is a constant effort to provide the governments and educational institutions concerned with the incentives and with the physical facilities to accept refugee students. The IUEF seeks to make its contribution in all these areas. In our Annual Report, a description is given of our programme of direct capital assistance to African schools and colleges with a view to en- (30 abling them to expand their facilities and, thus, to make extra places/..



INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

places available to refugees.

IUEF scholarship programmes for African refugees are aimed at two principal groups: refugees from the White minority regimes in Southern Africa and refugees from independent African countries. In accordance with IUEF statutes and policies, the greater portion of the support is directed towards the victims of colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa. (10)

I would like to take this opportunity to express our thanks to the Federal Government of Nigeria, for having made available an initial 256 places in schools to refugees from South Africa and Zimbabwe for further education in this country. It is our hope that other African countries will also make similar offers in conformity with resolutions adopted at different OAU meetings; latest in Libreville in June. In following the Nigerian example, they will help the front-line-states that have the large influx of refugees. As with the Nigeria programme the IUEF stands ready to serve as an implementing agency in any such programme. (20)

In the period covering April 1976 to March 1977, the African scholarship programme, has expanded considerably. Last year, a total of 1,537 students were supported as compared to 1,984 this year, an increase of virtually 30%.

The growing willingness of donor agencies to allow the IUEF a certain flexibility in the utilisation of grants, thus permitting swift responses to new needs is particularly welcome. An example is the immediate action that could be taken when the Rhodesian regime excluded hundreds of students from secondary schools in the middle of 1976. The students were alleged to be involved (30 with demonstrations against a governmental proposal to extend

military/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

military conscription to certain categories of Blacks. The students suspected of having participated were expelled from their schools and were not even allowed to write exams as private candidates. Locally organised programmes to provide classes for the affected students and to register them for overseas exams were supported by the IUEF and individual scholarships enabling the students to attend the classes could be awarded without (10 delay.

We are pursuing our established policy of raising funds for educational institutions which are already accepting refugees and are willing to expand their facilities in order to place more refugees. Continuous influx of refugees into independent countries puts a heavy strain on the resources buildings and equipment of any institution which is prepared to take refugees and the IUEF, therefore, emphasises the need to expand existing institutions, thus also contributing to the development of the host country. (20

Our efforts have, so far, concentrated on activities in strategic Southern African states, particularly Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania, but we now feel that, as educational placement for refugees is becoming increasingly difficult, we should begin to explore the possibilities in West Africa and, in this connection we intend to organise a mission to West Africa in the near future.

Our assistance is concentrated on capital grants for the construction or renovation of buildings, or the purchase of equipment; it is usually given in return for a fixed quota of places for refugees. Our particular interest lies in the expansion of (30 existing facilities for middle-level, non-academic courses.

Following/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

Following decisions by the Assembly and the Board, we have continued our support for newly independent African countries and countries in post-refugee situations. Our programme of assistance to the Portuguese-speaking countries was discussed by the working group on projects at the 1976 Assembly meeting and we have continued our efforts to provide scholarships and assistance to educational institutions in these countries. We (10 have awarded a few new scholarships to students from the Southern Sudan but it is anticipated that this programme will be gradually phased out during the course of 1978. Finally, we are currently negotiating with the Governments of Djibouti and the Comores concerning possible joint educational programmes.

Mr. Chairman, I turn now to the most critical area of IUEF activity which is, of course, the support of the Southern African Liberation Movements and for those democratic and non-racist groups and organisations working for the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. (20

In Southern Africa today, the situation is shaping up for the final confrontation between the majority Black population and the minority White rulers. The Whites who rule in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have clearly shown that they do not intend to willingly hand over power to the majority. These Whites have built themselves an unreal society in which they enjoy unlimited political and economic power with limitless social benefits. They ruthlessly exploit the wealth of their countries and equally ruthlessly, suppress any Black discontent. However, over the past 18 months, the dream has been rapidly fading and is, in fact, (30 becoming a nightmare. After majority rule was achieved in Mozambique and/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

and Angola, South African forces were forced to retreat from Southern Angola and White confidence suffered a serious blow. These events were followed by the escalation of guerrilla warfare by the Patriotic Front and by SWAPO, and in South Africa itself, cadres of the ANC(SA) launched a series of attacks. At the same time, open unrest is manifest amongst the Black communities in the three countries. There are disturbances in Namibia and Zimbabwe with open demands for freedom being made. In South Africa, since June 1976, there have been constant and heroic challenges to the authorities. All this is accompanied by a serious economic recession in all the White regimes which, although it also affects the Black population, has an even worse effect on the Whites as it is undermining their confidence in their dream. It is also making it more difficult for them to pay for the security forces which they need to defend their privileges over the Black majority who are keen for Liberation. (10

What then, one may ask, is going to be the result of the situation in Southern Africa? There is only one final result which can be definitely predicted - the final victory of the Black majority. What is in doubt is the final fate of the White minority as well as the manner in which Liberation is to be achieved. The fate of the Whites will depend entirely on what form of Liberation procedure they choose. (20

Should the Whites choose to negotiate, this will not be because of some sudden "progressive" swing in their ranks, but will be a pragmatic response to Black pressure. Most of the Whites in Southern Africa are, in fact, "White Africans" who have no roots elsewhere in the world. They might realise that if the/.. (30

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

the Liberation of the Black majority is denied, a war along racial lines can only develop and escalate. I fear, however, seeing the latest orgies in violence and oppression engaged upon by Messrs. Vorster and Smith that they have formerly chosen the line of war. In this situation our support to the National Liberation Movements and to the armed struggle must continue unflinchingly.

(10)

In Namibia, we can see an attempt to enter fraudulent negotiation. Here, the Whites hope to retain their position of privilege by setting up a puppet Black administration which will ostensibly represent all the people of the country but will exclude the real representatives of the Black majority - SWAPO. However, in Namibia the Whites are more subtle than in Zimbabwe. They do not bluntly deny the so-called "right" of SWAPO to participate in some sort of national election to determine who will rule Namibia after independence. However, the conditions for SWAPO's participation are such that either SWAPO must refuse to participate or SWAPO takes part in unfair elections with no chance of emerging as the genuine winner. The South Africans insist that their police and troops will "maintain law and order" until after the elections. A fair election with SWAPO participating under such conditions is impossible. Nevertheless, South Africa seems to have got the support of several key Western nations who are attempting to persuade SWAPO to accept the South African conditions.

(20)

A fair 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

(30)

South/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

South African Police and Army from Namibia, and, (b) the establishment of a UN control in the territory. In addition, a fair election will only be possible if enough 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 (10 to return to the territory and for all political prisoners to be released.

In Namibia, despite the negotiations with the so-called "5" the South African authorities have not diminished their repression of people in any way suspected of having links with SWAPO. The concentration camps maintained by the South African Army and used by the Security Police continue to be used as detention and torture centres while their very existence is officially denied.

Over the past year, the armed struggle has intensified (20 and the stage has now been reached where South African troops no longer build permanent camps or bases in the Northern regions as these are immediately attacked and destroyed by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). In addition, PLAN has reported that South African patrols of border regions are usually carried out by helicopter rather than by foot and that when PLAN cadres hold meetings in villages the South African troops never "arrive" until the PLAN force has departed,

The South African authorities are supporting the Angolan UNITA forces who are now based in Namibia and, in return for UNITA (30 action against SWAPO, South Africa is supporting the UNITA plan to

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR

IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING

OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

set up a "UNITA State" in Southern Angola. In this regard, the South African tactic is clearly designed to destabilise the entire Southern African sub-continent, as well as to split the unity of Black Africa.

The UNITA personnel are also used to terrorise villages and to loot, rape and kill both in Angola and Namibia while disguised as SWAPO and claiming to be such. This tactic is designed to erode<sup>(10)</sup> support for SWAPO amongst the local population and is similar to the tactics used by the notorious "Selous Scouts" in Rhodesia.

In addition to South Africa's support for UNITA they are also known to be supporting a group of Zambian dissidents in the Caprivi Strip from where the dissidents are sent into Zambia in order to carry out subversion of the Kaunda Government.

The South African authorities are continuing their vendetta against SWAPO within Namibia in a last ditch effort to destroy as much of SWAPO internal structure as possible. In the illegal courts, SWAPO members have been sentenced to long terms of<sup>(20)</sup> imprisonment and even to death. On May 30th 1977, at dawn, SWAPO militant Filemon Nangolo was hanged in Windhoek. Nangolo had been paralysed from the waist down by wounds sustained during his arrest. The IUEF salutes Filemon and his comrades who have laid down their lives so that their people may be free.

The IUEF is constantly expanding its programmes in co-operation with SWAPO and will continue to do so.

In Zimbabwe, the Smith regime seems determined to carry on with an internal settlement, of some sort, which will exclude the Patriotic Front. This is an example of a regime which has seen<sup>(30)</sup> the necessity of negotiating but still hopes to maintain White privilege/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

privilege by excluding from the negotiations those whom they see as a threat. The Patriotic Front is representative of most Black Zimbabweans and even if the Whites manage to create a Black puppet administration, the war will continue and the Whites will have to fight to protect their puppet regime against the majority of the people. Thus, in Zimbabwe, it seems that the Whites have already chosen war, even if they have to try (10 to disguise the nature of the war.

Over the past year, the Liberation war has escalated further and the forces of the Patriotic Front have almost unlimited access to certain areas within Zimbabwe, particularly on the Eastern and North-Western fronts. Despite claims of continuing victories by the Rhodesian Security Forces, it has become clear that the morale of the White civilians, as well as that of the Security Forces, has reached an all time low.

Despite increasing pressure, the Smith regime remains intransigent and has unleashed an unprecedented wave of repression (20 aimed at those inside the country who are working for Liberation. Many people associated with the parties of the Patriotic Front have been arbitrarily detained. Thousands of others have suffered at the hands of the Security Forces in attempts to extort information about the freedom fighters. This repression and brutality is not confined to Zimbabwe as Smith has constantly ordered his forces to invade and destroy sections of Mozambique Zambia and Botswana. At the same time, Smith is conducting mass hangings of captured cadres.

Amongst the most fearless opponents of the Smith regime (30 are the many progressive Church missionaries in the rural areas.

These/..



INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

These people have witnessed the horrors perpetrated by the Security Forces and, through organisations such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, have ensured that such brutality is well documented and publicised. However, Smith has acted here also. This year has seen the arrest, trial and deportation of several prominent Church figures, including Bishop Lamont of Umtali. Another, less judicial, method (10) employed by the regime is the use of the notorious Selous Scouts who are disguised as freedom fighters and commit atrocities designed to serve the regime's ends. During the year, several outspoken and brave Church missionaries have been assassinated, supposedly by "freedom fighters".

Rhodesian troops have also carried out the following massacres recently in villages in Rhodesia.

- 100 villagers killed in the village of Dabwa in the Chiredzi district, mostly women and children. When press enquired about this incident, Rhodesian (20) authorities said that 35 villagers were unfortunately killed in the cross-fire between guerrilla's and troops.
- In the town of Gwelo, near Mozambique, Smith troops are rounding up school-age males and many are reported to have been murdered. It is believed that this is as part of a campaign to clear the area of guerrilla supporters.

I would at this point also like to recall the callous murder by the illegal Rhodesian regime, through a parcel bomb, of a (30) great friend of the IUEF and me personally, and a great leader

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

in the Zimbabwean struggle, Comrade Jason Moyo, one of the architects of the Patriotic Front. And in this context we must also condemn the continuing acts of aggression committed against front-line States by the illegal Smith-forces. It is, I believe important that the IUEF discusses how we can further increase our support to the Frontline States.

In support of a free Zimbabwe the IUEF has also stepped (10  
up programmes in support of the elements of the Patriotic Front as well as support to internal activities being carried out in pursuit of a truly free Zimbabwe. In particular we regard the planned Manpower programme to be of critical importance as this will assist a Government of Zimbabwe to take over the administration of the country in as effective a manner as possible. The IUEF is also studying other ideas related to contingency plans for a free Zimbabwe.

I turn now to South Africa. At this time the full horror of the Apartheid system is becoming apparent as never before. (20  
On December 6th 1977 the second "independent" Black State within South Africa will be declared. Bophutatswana, like the Transkei before it is certain to await fruitlessly for any international recognition. This will, however, not change the reality of the millions of Black South Africans who will with a stroke of a pen be deprived of their birthright and of the few privileges their present citizenship affords.

Never before in the long history of White oppression and Apartheid in South Africa has there been such a concerted effort by the people of that country to rid themselves of the yoke (30  
of repression and exploitation. The people of South Africa are

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

daily taking steps to free themselves and to achieve liberation and at the same time the intransigence of the White oppressors has increased. Violence and repression have increased and yet the cry of liberation becomes ever louder. White South Africa is in a panic as they realise the inevitability of the victory of the majority and the degree of White inadequacy to face this threat to their privilege. (10)

However, as the victory of the forces of liberation approaches so are the forces of repression stepping up their oppression and their disregard of any form of Human Rights. In South Africa, the racists have killed over 1,000 people since June 6th, 1976, they have imprisoned thousands of others and they are continually performing barbarious acts of torture. To date, during 1977 alone, twelve political prisoners have been announced to have died while in Security Police detention. This makes an official total since 1963 of 47 deaths of political prisoners in Security Police custody and the true total will probably never be known. (20) Yet, in this connection, the S.A. Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr. Kruger, has said that there is no need for any enquiry into the many deaths in prisons. He further stated his full confidence in the S.A. Police and their conduct but added that "not all policemen are angels".

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the popular resistance to the Apartheid regime by the people of South Africa are the numbers of them who, despite the penalties laid down by the regime for resistance, continue to organise and to plan for the inevitable revolution which will bring liberation. In (30) the courts of the regime, at the end of 1976, 1,760 people,

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

(662 of them under the age of 18) had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their roles in the 1976 uprisings. In January of this year, Minister Kruger announced that 385 people were to appear in 52 separate trials under the Terrorism Act.

During December 1976 the NUSAS Trial was finalised with the acquittal of the five leaders charged with furthering the aims (10 of the ANC and "communism". At the time of the events charged in the indictment, NUSAS leaders were clearly turning their minds to the reconstruction of South Africa once change has taken place. It is in this light that one should see the call for the release of political prisoners: this was really a statement that people presently imprisoned, some of whom are regarded by very many South Africans as leaders, will have to participate in governing a future South Africa. Similarly, the December 1973 Seminar and subsequent discussions saw the first serious attempt by NUSAS to define the sort of society they wanted in South (20 Africa - a society that was to be built along broadly Socialist lines. The State wished to prevent the public presentation of political prisoners as something other than "terrorists", and wished - and still wishes - to put a stop to discussion about fundamental social and economic policy issues. Again to a limited extent, the acquittals frustrated this aim.

Also during December, however, the SASO 9 were convicted of Terrorism in their Trial and sentenced to between 5 and 8 years each. This trial has been widely condemned as a travesty of justice and the reasons the Judge gave for convicting the 9 was (30 that even though they were doing nothing violent or illegal in particular/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

particular, their actions could possibly lead to confrontation and was therefore equated with Terrorism. Thus South African law earned the precedent which allows acts of writing and thinking to be defined as terrorism.

Other trials which are proceeding are those under the Terrorism, Internal Security and Unlawful Organisation Acts. These mainly concern persons accused of being members of the PAC, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the ANC, Umkonto We Siswe or the South African Communist Party. (10)

In Pietermaritzburg 10 persons accused of ANC and SACTU activities were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, 5 of them to life. In the Pretoria Supreme Court 12 persons are standing trial on charges of running an underground network for the ANC.

An important factor in this trial is the fact that the accused range in age from 21 to 67 years. While some of the older accused have served terms of imprisonment on Robben Island before, some of the younger accused were members of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) (20)

It has recently come to light that in Camperdown, in Natal a little publicised trial is under way. This trial is of three PAC militants, Stanley Pule, Morgan Gxekwa and Isaac Mnikwa, who are each long-standing members of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army. An important aspect of this trial is the secrecy with which it is being held and also the length of time the accused have been held in Security Police detention.

In the final analysis, one must ask why the State persists in running trials instead of detaining dissidents in terms of the ample powers at its disposal. At least part of the answer (30

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

is that conviction in a court lends legitimacy to the State's apparatus for restricting opposition: opponents become convicted criminals instead of competitors.

In addition, public trials have a vast potential mobilising effect on public opinion, particularly White public opinion. The show trial, complete with secret spies and shocking revelations, is a standard weapon in the armoury of those who (10) wish to subdue criticism. This is one of the reasons why even where there is no chance of acquittal, a vigorous defence is necessary.

Despite these sorts of actions against them the people of South Africa who are fighting for a democratic and non-racial society have not been discouraged and if anything their determination has increased. This determination is also being publically demonstrated.

June 1977 saw the anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the increased and well-planned action against the Apartheid (20) system. These activities can best be described by outlining the activities of SASM and the SSRC in Soweto over the period.

In the early part of 1976 the Government issued its now renowned decree on the use of the Afrikaans language in 'Bantu' schools in Soweto. This incensed the children as Afrikaans is regarded as the language of the oppressor in South Africa. SASM set up a local Action Committee to co-ordinate and focus this discontent. This dissatisfaction came to a head on June 16, 1976; what had been a minor local issue suddenly became an explosion of long pent-up frustration. The first shootings (30) of young school children aroused the anger of the Black population throughout/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

throughout South Africa, and the violence quickly spread.

The Action Committee re-named itself the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). With no constitution, no clear political ideology and no long term aims, it remains an Action Committee channeling and directing the frustrations and anger felt by all Blacks under the Apartheid system.

It is this very nebulousness which has in fact been its greatest strength and has allowed it to become one of the most powerful Black organisations in the country today. Able to be all things to all people, it is action orientated and does not request or discuss, but demands, and takes to the streets in support of those demands. It has taken the initiative away from the Government and from the Black compromise leaders in Soweto and the stage has been reached where the Government can only re-act to the SSRC. Its leaders have been detained and imprisoned or have fled the country, but there is always someone to take over the leadership. (10) (20)

Its list of achievements is considerable for so short-lived a body; the scrapping of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Soweto schools; two one-day strikes that deprived Johannesburg of 50% of its labour force; and the postponement of rent increases in Soweto. These were, however, the mere flexing of its political muscles compared with the task it has now set itself: the dismantling of Government control over Soweto.

The first phase of this campaign began on the second of June this year when the SSRC summoned the Urban Bantu Council (UBC) to a joint meeting with them. The UBC was a puppet body (30 set up by the Government to act in an 'advisory' capacity.

Its/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77.

Its members were elected by the people of Soweto, although at the last election a mere 8% bothered to vote at all. It had no real power and its advice was only taken when it agreed with Government thinking.

When the UBC members failed to turn up to the meeting the SSRC fetched the 'Mayor' of the UBC and another prominent member, Mr. Maponya. The discussions took the form of an ultimatum to the UBC, resign or else face the consequences. Under no illusions about the ability of the SSRC to carry out its threats, the UBC collapsed within days. This was the first attack by the SSRC on what it terms 'collaborationist' bodies. (10)

The next target of the SSRC was the School Boards in Soweto. In an attempt to re-tribalise Blacks in Soweto most schooling is organised along tribal lines, with pupils having to attend schools of their ethnic group. These ethnic schools have Boards which are responsible for the day-to-day running of the schools and for the handing out of salaries, etc. (20)

This new campaign was announced on July 4. By July 13 three of these Boards had resigned (Zulu West, Xhosa East and Bavenda East) and more were expected to do so shortly. Between them these Boards had controlled 42 schools. Again the SSRC has demanded and again its demands are being met.

It is significant that today the Bantu Education system in Soweto is dead and in all other centres in the country it is rapidly dying. The opposition to this system has also spread to the so-called Black Universities and at the Black Durban Westville Medical School, all students, including those in (30)



INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

final exams in order to demonstrate their opposition to the Apartheid system. In the fact of people willing to make such sacrifices the regime must ultimately crumble.

However, in order to crush this spirit of Black resistance the South African State embarked on a widespread campaign of terror. In addition to the post-June 1976 trials, more were scheduled following hundreds of arrests, detentions, raids. (10) People active in anti-Apartheid organisations were intimidated and people were banned and banished. Included were Winnie Mandala, Dr. Maphela Ramphela and Mxloise Mvovo.

But this action was not enough. Despite all official efforts Black mobilisation continued. Urban guerrilla and sabotage attacks were launched by the ANC and PAC. Robert Sobukwe was questioned by the Security Police on his alleged role in organising PAC activity throughout the country. Serious unrest disrupted several homelands, mainly the Ciskei and Vondaland. (20)

Then the Security Police arrested a close friend of ours, Steve Biko. His murder by the South African police is now history and the daily reports of his inquest must turn the stomach of any normal person. I will not do more than repeat some of what we said after Steve's death. He does not need any tribute now as he will be given his tribute after the liberation of South Africa when his name will stand high on the list of those comrades who gave their lives for freedom.

Steve was a true leader of his people and a true fighter for liberation and he never faltered no matter how hard the (30) struggle. Despite all the efforts of the South African authorities

Steve/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

Steve and his fellow workers in the various Black Consciousness organisations carried on regardless and if anything with increased determination. Like all those who oppose the Apartheid system Steve suffered legal harassment, detention, arrest assault, terrorism, insult, threats and the murder of his friends, but never flinched, despite his suffering. As a leader Steve suffered even more than most in South Africa because the (10 authorities sought a way to break him and his influence amongst his people.

Steve Biko was a great African, a great Human Being and a person to whom the freedom of his people and the liberation of the last corner of his continent meant enough for him to give his life. We warn the South African authorities that his death will not go unavenged and that his example is an inspiration to all those who wish to see South Africa free. The South African authorities know that against such people they cannot hope to win.

This blow to the Liberation Movement in South Africa was (20 followed by the "Night of Long Knives" bannings of 19th October, 1977.

That night the South African Government declared illegal 18 major anti-Apartheid organisations. In addition, 3 major Black newspapers were prohibited from publishing and executive action was taken against the two foremost anti-Apartheid newspapers in the country. At least 8 Whites were banned and approximately 70 Blacks, all prominent in the various arms of the Black Consciousness Movement, have been indefinitely detained.

The main thrust of the South African Government's action (30 was against the components, leaders and supporters of the Black

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

Consciousness Movement (BCM). Justice and Police Minister Kruger announced that, despite the fact that the South African Government has removed the grievance which sparked off the June 1976 Black unrest, the BCM was fostering continued unrest. Kruger said that the BCM was a small portion of the Black community but had "many puppets" through which they could work. He said that he could not allow "a small group of anarchists" (10 to cause suffering to the rest of the Black population. Kruger charged that the BCM was using outwardly respectable "names and projects" merely as a smokescreen for subversion.

The South African Government has indicated that they regard these recent actions as only the beginning of their campaign against those whom they see as responsible for the continuing unrest throughout South Africa. Minister Kruger has said that supplementary actions are planned and will be used if necessary. He has said that such measures may include more detentions, more press prohibitions and even a ban on physical movement within (20 or between certain areas. The South African Government has already declared a "State of Emergency" to exist in the Ciskei and Vendaland Bantustans.

Within the South African context, groups working for fundamental change realise that they are often only likely to be able to exist openly while their level of effectiveness is acceptable to the South African Government. Thus, in all cases, such organisation take precautions to ensure that the functions which they carry out will be preserved, despite the fate of formal structures or individuals. The structures which evolve after (30 the South African Government has taken action are always different/..

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR,  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

different, but the aims remain the same. The people fighting the struggle inside South Africa are confident that the struggle can be won and, in fact, the recent action of the South African Government merely shows the insecurity of the South African system. The people inside South Africa are also confident that their supporters in the international community understand the position and will continue their support. It (10 must be emphasised that as the struggle sharpens, it will be more and more difficult for groups working for liberation to operate long-term structures and programmes, as has been their dominant method until now. For this reason, supporters should give further and careful consideration to amending their support structures accordingly. It is increasingly necessary for support to the South African groups, and especially the National Liberation Movement, to be general and non-specific thus allowing the best use possible in an ever changing situation. (20

Mr. Chairman, I have spoken at some length in order to, hopefully, create a frame of reference for our more detailed and specific discussions in the coming days. I believe it is essential that we have it clear in our minds within which human and political background we are discussing our concrete activities and programmes. I also think it is essential that we make clear our support for the liberation movements and those others in Africa and Latin America who are fighting the forces of repression, darkness and destruction. It is clear that unfortunately we have not yet reached the point in history (30 where I can report to the Assembly that we can close the offices

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY DIRECTOR  
IUEF, AT OPENING OF 9TH MEETING  
OF ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 20/11/77

of the IUEF. I must therefore ask you, ask all of us, to try to constructively use these days to see how we can find ways of improving our programmes and of increasing our support to those who are leading the struggle, the Liberation Movements and the corresponding organisations and our programmes for assistance to the victims of the oppressive systems in Africa and Latin America. I hope that by working closer together, (10 and by further increasing our efforts, the day when we can close our organisation will be coming closer.

---

Collection Number: AD2021

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS, Security trials 1958-1982**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Publisher:*- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

*Location:*- Johannesburg

©2012

**LEGAL NOTICES:**

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.