From Jan van Riebeeck to solidarity with the struggle: The Netherlands, South Africa and apartheid

By Sietse Bosgra

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Nederland en 'The Road To Democracy'

In het jaar 2000 nam de Zuidafrikaanse president Mbeki het initiatief tot het opzetten van een project, SADET genaamd, om de geschiedenis van de bevrijdingsstrijd van Zuid-Afrika voor het nageslacht vast te leggen. Zijn voorganger, president Mandela, had indertijd de Waarheidscommissie ingesteld, maar die had alleen de wandaden uit het verleden onderzocht en vastgelegd. President Mbeki meende dat de hele "Road to Democracy" van Zuid-Afrika moest worden beschreven. Het SADET project wordt gefinancierd door het Zuid-Afrikaanse bedrijfsleven.

Ondertussen zijn over het binnenlands verzet in Zuid-Afrika Volume 1 (1960-1970) en Volume 2 (1970-1980) verschenen. Daarvoor werden meer dan duizend veteranen uit alle delen van Zuid-Afrika geïnterviewd. Gewerkt wordt thans aan Volume 4 (1980-1990) en Volume 5 (1990-1994). Volume 3 is gewijd aan de bijdrage van de internationale solidariteit aan de strijd tegen de apartheid. In juni 2008 werden de eerste twee boekwerken van Volume 3 (in totaal 1400 pagina's) aan president Mbeki overhandigd. In dit Volume 3 wordt van de West-Europese landen alleen aan Nederland, aan de Scandinavische landen en aan Engeland en Ierland een volledig hoofdstuk gewijd.

De twee gepubliceerde boekwerken van Volume 3 zijn voor 90 euro (inclusief luchtpost) te bestellen bij Unisa Press in Zuid-Afrika. In deze twee banden is niet alleen de rol van alle West-Europese landen beschreven, maar ook die van de EU, van de "Liaison Group of Anti-Apartheid Movements in the EC"en AWEPAA, van de Verenigde Naties, de USA, Canada, Australië/Nieuw Zeeland, de Sovjet Unie, de DDR, Cuba, China en India. In het nog te verschijnen derde band van Volume 3 zal de rol van de Afrikaanse landen worden belicht, van de Wereldraad van Kerken etc.

Vanwege mijn betrokkenheid bij de bestrijding van de apartheid werd ondergetekende gevraagd de Nederlandse bijdrage aan de anti-apartheidsstrijd te beschrijven. Omdat niet alle belangstellenden in Nederland bereid zullen zijn de twee verschenen boekdelen van Volume 3 aan te schaffen is door SADET toestemming gegeven om een beperkt aantal overdrukken van het hoofdstuk over Nederland te verspreiden.

Oktober 2008

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Professor Ben Magubane (Project Leader) op de SADET website:

The SADET management and research team moved into the SADET offices in the Nedbank building in Church Street, Pretoria, on the 1st September 2000. The offices, donated by Nedcor for SADET's use, was once the Dutch embassy and Klaas de Jonge's home for two years while he was keeping out of the reach of the South African apartheid authorities. Klaas de Jonge visited the offices during the year with a television crew from Holland to record his reminiscences about his stay in what are currently SADET's offices.

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Chapter 1 - The early years 1652–1973

The role of the Netherlands in the anti-apartheid struggle can best be understood by going back to the early Dutch colonisation of South Africa. This 'blood tie' remains one of the most controversial features of the Dutch–South African relations. The myth of the tribal relationship was one of the causes of the large interest in the struggle against apartheid in the Netherlands and the heated and emotional South African reaction to Dutch condemnation of apartheid.

It has been suggested that the mental/spiritual roots of apartheid can be traced to the Netherlands. Is 'apartheid' not the only Dutch word that is known the world over? Yes, apartheid is a Dutch-sounding word, but it only has meaning in connection with South Africa. The word arose in Afrikaner intellectual circles in the 1930s. But in radical Afrikaner nationalism there was no place for Dutch influence, which was rejected as decadent and too liberal. German National Socialism had far greater influence on Afrikaner ideology. But Hendrik Verwoerd, the man who introduced formal apartheid policies in South Africa, was a Dutchman. Yes, he was born in Amsterdam in 1901, but left the Netherlands for South Africa at the age of two.

1.1 Sympathy and antagonism (1652–1945)

Relations between the Netherlands and South Africa date back to 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) landed at the Cape in order to set up a refreshment post halfway between Europe and the East Indies. Later the Cape developed into a Dutch colony with a permanent and expanding white population. South Africa was the only popular outgrowth that emerged from Dutch colonialism.[1]

When the British took control of the Cape in 1806, part of the Dutch-speaking population – called Boers after the Dutch word for 'farmers' – left the Cape and migrated into the interior to establish two independent republics in the interior of today's South Africa. The indigenous inhabitants were driven into servitude. Although the Dutch language continued to be spoken, there was little contact between these Boers and the Netherlands. However, many Afrikaners later began to go to the Netherlands to study. Moreover, Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal Republic, imported Dutch experts to establish and expand his civil service. Virtually from the beginning there was antagonism between the Boers and the Dutch. The Boers resented the haughtiness and arrogance of the Dutch expatriates and developed what came to be known as 'hollanderhaat', antagonism towards these 'imported' Hollanders. In the eyes of the Dutch the Boers were lazy, narrow-minded, corrupt and incompetent. They were religious fundamentalists, racist and cruel towards the black population. Among the Dutch there was more shame about their distant relatives than national pride.

When the British attacked the two Boer republics in the two Boer Wars (1880–81 and 1899–1902) the Dutch government remained neutral, but the general public

[1] A very readable and informative historical novel on this period, based on VOC archives and giving voice to individuals from the various groups involved, is Dan Sleigh, Islands (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004).

sympathised with the Boers; feelings of allegiance were awakened, and a desire to increase Dutch influence and culture in South Africa. However, when the Boers lost the South African War of 1899–1902 and South Africa became a British dominion, Dutch interest in the Afrikaners waned. Only a small minority felt nostalgic about the war heroes. Others were strongly critical of the authoritarian and anti-Semitic attitude of National Party leaders.

1.2 The influence of three wars (1945–1949)

The Second World War, during which the Nazis occupied the Netherlands for five years (1940–45), influenced the Dutch view on apartheid South Africa. After experiencing for themselves the horrors of racial superiority and discrimination, demands for the respect of human rights and condemnation of racism became an integral part of Dutch policy. But feelings of gratitude towards their liberators weighed more heavily. The Smuts government of South Africa had supported the war against Germany; consequently, during the years immediately after the war the Dutch and the Smuts government were on very friendly terms.

At the same time, relations between the Dutch and the Afrikaners were tense. The Dutch public and press reacted negatively to the election victory of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948. When the new government registered it's intention to appoint the former fascist Otto du Plessis as it's representative in the Netherlands, the Dutch government refused to accept his credentials. Du Plessis was recalled and replaced by D.B. Bosman.

During 1945–1949 the Netherlands was involved in another war that led to the acceptance of the Afrikaner government in South Africa. After four years of colonial war the Netherlands was forced by international pressure to accept the independence of it's large colony in Asia and the Dutch East Indies became Indonesia. Many in the Netherlands saw the ‘loss’ of the profitable colonial empire as a second disaster for their country, after the destruction of the Second World War. For them it was a bitter blow that the Netherlands was now reduced from a middle-to-large world power to a small nation in Europe.

But there was another country where the Dutch language was spoken and where the tricolour flag waved: South Africa. The Netherlands needed new markets to export it's products and to settle what was seen as it's redundant population. The hope was that South Africa under the new Afrikaner government would solve these problems.

After 1949 the relations between the Netherlands and the National Party government improved rapidly. In the same period, a third ‘war’ had begun that brought the Netherlands and white South Africa still closer. After the communist coup in Prague in 1948 the Soviet Union was considered the biggest threat to

freedom in Europe. The anti-communist attitude of the South African government became increasingly acceptable. In the West, South Africa was seen as a bastion of the ‘free world’ and an ally against communism. Without apartheid, so they thought, there would be chaos in South Africa, which would create a basis for a communist takeover.

1.3 The years of fraternisation (1949–1959)

Cordial relations between apartheid South Africa and the Netherlands were strengthened in 1949 by the visit of South African premier D.F. Malan to the Netherlands. Deliberations led to extensive landing rights for the Royal Dutch Airline, KLM, and the removal of some impediments to Dutch emigration and exports to South Africa. It was only Queen Juliana who refused to accept the new bonds of friendship. When Malan visited her at Soestdijk Palace, she told him she would never visit South Africa as long as there was apartheid.[2]

In 1951, at the request of the Netherlands, the missions in both countries were upgraded to embassies ‘in order to strengthen the special ties of kinship and friendship.’[3] In 1952, in both South Africa and the Netherlands, extensive celebrations took place to commemorate the tri-centenary of Jan van Riebeeck’s arrival in South Africa and in the same year a cultural agreement was signed between the two countries. According to it's preamble, the aim of both governments was ‘to strengthen the friendly relations that have always existed between both peoples’.[4] From the many references in the treaty to the tribal relationship it becomes clear that these two peoples were the Dutch and the Afrikaners.

From 1952 onwards, emigration to South Africa was subsidised by the Dutch government and this led to a considerable increase in the number of new arrivals in South Africa. Between 1946 and 1960 the Netherlands was, after Britain, the most important source of immigrants for South Africa. In 1953, Drees, the Labour Party prime minister, paid an official visit to South Africa. At a mass meeting on Kruger Day he spoke about ‘the Netherlands the mother and South Africa the grown up daughter’. [5] In a meeting with the Dutch press he refused to say anything about the ‘native’ question. The following year, Prince Bernhard, the husband of Queen Juliana, toured South Africa and after his visit he said: ‘You can only speak about the racial relations when you have lived for years in that country.[6] Both Drees and Prince Bernhard pleaded for additional landing rights for KLM, greater investment and increased emigration to South Africa.

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2 W.G. Hendriks, ‘Die Betrekkinge tussen Nederland en Suid-Afrika 1946-1967’, PhD thesis, UWC, 1984, 93-8, 100-3, 123-5; E. Holsappel , ‘Herfsttij van een Stamverwante Vriendschap, het Nederlands Beleid ten aanzien van Zuid-Afrika 1945-1960’, Ph.D thesis, Utrecht, 1994, 54-5.

3 Jaarboek Buitenlandse Zaken, 1950-1951, 144.

4 Hendriks 'Betrekkinge', 264

5 Cited in Ibid., 174; Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, De Ontdekking van de Derde Wereld, Beeldvorming en Beleid in Nederland 1950-1990 (Den Haag: SDU, 1994), 215.

6 Cited in de Boer, Sharpeville, 72; Kuitenbrouwer, Ontdekking, 215.

11.4 The first small clouds (1959–1970)

Until 1960, the Dutch government had not expressed a single word of disapproval about South Africa's apartheid policy; and there was hardly any criticism from the side of parliamentarians. For most of the Dutch press and the public, the feelings of kinship with white people of Dutch descent served as a palliative for the wrongs of apartheid. Like most other Western states, the Netherlands took the position in the United Nations (UN) at the time that the racial policies of South Africa should be regarded as a domestic affair, outside the legitimate purview of the UN. But after 1959 the first small cracks appeared. As more and more former colonies became members of the UN, the Dutch government had to show it's true colours. As a trading nation the Netherlands wanted good relations with the Afro-Asian bloc. Moreover, the governments of it's Caribbean overseas territories, Surinam (Dutch Guyana) and the Dutch Antilles, protested about the Dutch votes on apartheid in the UN. Under these pressures the Dutch government felt obliged to take steps that the South African government considered hostile. At the end of 1959 the Dutch UN vote was still in favour of South Africa, as apartheid was considered an internal matter. But the Dutch representative at the UN stated: 'My government cannot accept the way the white people in South Africa view their black compatriots.' [7] The South African government delivered a first note of protest to the Dutch government, and for the first time apartheid was debated critically in the Dutch parliament.[8]

The Sharpeville massacre in 1960 led not only to indignation in the press and among the public, but also to a new debate in the Dutch parliament. It unanimously carried a motion appealing to the South African parliament 'to reflect on a policy that will exclude racial discrimination and that will prevent any violation of human rights'.[9] The Dutch government also made it's stance clear, stating that 'all kinds of racial discrimination, including the apartheid policy of South Africa, have to be rejected as being in conflict with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations'. But it still considered Sharpeville 'an internal affair of the South African government'.[10]

In 1961 the Netherlands voted – as the only Western country – in support of a UN resolution to denounce the pro-apartheid speech of the South African minister of foreign affairs, Eric Louw. The Dutch minister of foreign affairs, Luns, hoped to get the support of the Afro-Asian bloc in his continuing conflict with Indonesia about New Guinea. In reaction to the vote, Dutch emigrants in South Africa organised a protest meeting and started a signature campaign. Prime Minister Verwoerd said he was 'terribly shocked' and Louw blamed Luns for 'sacrificing the bonds of common descent and language for the demands of the two coloured colonies, Surinam and the Antilles'.[11] However, the Dutch government distanced itself from Luns and he was requested by the Council of Ministers to 'in future withhold himself from experiments'.[12]

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7 de Boer, Sharpeville, 79.

8 'Parliament' is used here to indicate the legislative assembly, or Lower Chamber (Tweede Kamer).

9 Cited in Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 17.

10 Cited in de Boer, Sharpeville, 81; Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 17.

11 Cited in de Boer, Sharpeville, 93.

12 Cabinet Council: ARA, 2.02.05.01, 13 October 1961; BZ, VN, II, 999-214, file 439, code message to Luns, 13 October 1961.

In 1965 the government overcame it's cautiousness and donated 100 000 Dutch guilders (€45 000) to the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF). The South African government, which had not reacted to similar contributions from other countries, was furious and the minister of foreign affairs, Hilgard Muller, announced in parliament that he was seriously considering economic boycott measures against the Netherlands. Negotiations on additional landing rights for KLM were cancelled. In angry reaction Dutch immigrants marched in protest through the streets of Pretoria and Johannesburg, but the Dutch parliament almost unanimously supported the Dutch donation. A few months later the South African government declared IDAF an illegal organisation and the Dutch government channelled it's funds to the UN Trust Fund for South Africa instead.

The Dutch government was told in 1966 that South Africa was considering the purchase of three submarines from the Netherlands and it was suggested that an order for frigates could follow. After a good deal of soul searching, debate and controversy, the Dutch government decided in 1967, with the support of parliament, to refuse an export licence guarantee. In consequence, this large order for the Dutch shipyards went to France, where the government had no qualms about supplying weaponry to apartheid South Africa.

In 1971 Dutch residents in South Africa organised a protest march to the Dutch embassy in Pretoria when Queen Juliana gave an unspecified amount to the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches (WCC). They organised a counter-collection for the South African military forces on duty in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. In the same year there was an outcry in the Netherlands when black Surinam crew members of two Dutch frigates were discriminated against in Cape Town restaurants. Irritating tensions between the two governments did not prevent the Dutch from trying to establish closer relations with white South Africa. Behind the scenes, commercial relations flourished and in the UN the Netherlands generally abstained from resolutions condemning apartheid or calling for sanctions, arguing that these would harm, rather than help the black population. These irritations and the airing of apartheid issues in the Dutch press led to an increased awareness among the Dutch public, a heightened interest in apartheid, and a further decline of South Africa’s relations with the Netherlands.

The documentation at the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the relations with the Netherlands is decidedly scanty, and in the South African parliamentary records the Netherlands is hardly mentioned. This would seem to be untoward when compared with the frequent mention of South Africa in the records of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the records of long debates on apartheid in the Dutch parliament. Moreover, while there was a steady increase of staff at the South African embassies in West Germany, France and Belgium, this was not the case in the embassy at The Hague.

1.5 From ‘dialogue’ to ‘critical dialogue’ (1964–1977)

After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 it was mooted that the Netherlands, because of historic ties, should begin ‘dialogue’ with white South Africa to convince the Afrikaners to end or at least mitigate it's apartheid policy. This attitude became more one of concern (linked to kinship ties) about the possible long-term effects of

the Afrikaners' 'suicide policy'. The fear was that the Afrikaners would be 'swamped' in any confrontation with the black population and be 'driven into the sea'. Only in the 1970s did the grounds for dialogue shift to the lack of human rights accorded to black South Africans.

In 1964, 15 prominent Dutchmen asked the government in an open letter to commence dialogue with the South African government; they feared that 'subversive elements would profit' from the situation in South Africa.[13] However, Minister Luns refused dialogue at government level:

> *"Especially a country like ours with it's historic ties with the South African people must be cautious and even reserved with initiatives from the side of the government, as they may aggravate the situation instead of improving it."*[14]

But the Dutch government stated that it valued private contact with South Africa to gain more understanding of the Dutch concerns about apartheid, and accordingly Luns requested that a visit by a private Dutch delegation be allowed. However, when the South African government learned that the delegation was to include discussions with the ANC's Chief Albert Luthuli, the semi-official visit was cancelled.

Until the Soweto massacre in 1976, 'dialogue' was the official Dutch government policy towards South Africa and when apartheid oppression increased only the terminology changed; the government now spoke of 'critical dialogue'. But Dutch journalists, church delegations and other visitors who rejected apartheid were refused visas to enter South Africa. Although it was clear that 'dialogue' had failed, the Dutch government insisted year after year that it was preferable to isolating the apartheid regime by sanctions; the government used these years to normalise and extend relations.

When Bakker, the Dutch minister of transport, visited South Africa in 1970, Prime Minister De Jong boasted that this was evidence of the 'dialogue between the Netherlands and South Africa on the highest level'.[15] But when it became clear that while there Bakker had not openly criticised apartheid and had even spoken with appreciation about South Africa's homeland policy, this aroused a storm of protest in the press and the Dutch parliament. However, during the visit KLM landing rights were secured in a new aviation treaty, and in the framework of the flourishing trade, Minister Bakker opened the Dutch–South African Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg.[16]

Clearly, most Afrikaners had their own expectations of dialogue based on kinship. They expected sympathy and support from the Netherlands and were intolerant of Dutch criticism. The Dutch government used this over-sensitiveness as an excuse to resist sanctions. However, in the 1980s kinship played a diminishing role in the new Afrikaner nationalism; anger and threats of counter measures faded. South Africa had apparently written off the Netherlands, while on the Dutch side the apartheid debate was more heated than ever.

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13 Cited in de Boer, Sharpeville, 110, 112.
14 Cited in Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 38.
15 Cited in Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 21.
16 During the next 15 years no other Dutch government minister visited Pretoria but South African ministers and parliamentarians visited their Dutch counterparts with or without official invitation.

1.6 The political-cultural revolution

Similar to many other Western countries, a political-cultural surge developed in the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s. After the long period of post-war reconstruction a rising new generation hoped for a better world with less conflict, more justice and greater personal freedom. In particular, many young people, amongst them churchgoers and members of the Labour Party, had learnt their own lesson from the 'three wars'. In the 1960s a series of TV programmes on the Second World War brought the horrors of fascism and racism back into the mainstream as topics of discussion. Revelations in the press and on TV in 1969 about excesses and war crimes during the Dutch war in Indonesia brought feelings of guilt and shame. And many concluded that the East–West tension in the world was not based on a black–white contrast between bad guys and good guys, as the 'free' world was involved in many suppressive wars and supported many dictatorial regimes.

It was in this period that the anti-apartheid organisations were formed. Many activists later explained their involvement in terms of the Second World War, to the Dutch role in Indonesia and the other wars carried out by the West in Third World countries like Algeria and Vietnam. Even the champions of the Cold War no longer saw apartheid as a guarantee against communism in South Africa, but as a cause of the unstable situation in the country – one that increased the risk of a communist takeover.

In the dominant Dutch Labour Party a more radical, youthful 'New Left' current emerged in the mid 1960s. A long struggle began against the arrogant, authoritarian and often conservative political elite that controlled the party, and by the 1970s the New Left movement had gained the upper hand at congresses and in the parliamentary caucus of the party. Furthermore, in the Christian Democratic Party there were parliamentarians who were amendable to new views on foreign policy. After the parliamentary elections of 1973 the leader of the Labour Party, Den Uyl, succeeded in convincing some of these Christian Democrats to join his new government.

The Den Uyl government became the most progressive government in Dutch parliamentary history. Jan Pronk of the New Left, became minister of development co-operation and he decided to give development assistance to Cuba and Vietnam, two communist countries that were boycotted by the US and many of it's allies. Pronk was convinced that 'the Dutch attitude towards South Africa has become the criterion of our development co-operation. The Third World judges our sincerity by our attitude towards what is happening in South Africa.'[17]

The Dutch government was already giving financial support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and soon this was also made available for the ANC, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). More conservative governments after the Den Uyl administration decreased these amounts, but did not reverse this support. During these years the anti-apartheid organisations became actively involved in political life. They were able to mobilise public opinion and began to play a central role in determining the agenda of political discussions in the press, parliament and government.

[17] Het Parool, 24 May 1973.

Chapter 2 – The Dutch anti-apartheid organisations

> *In his speech in the Netherlands Mandela thanked by name three Dutch anti-apartheid organisations, Kairos, Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland (AABN) and KZA (Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika), for their political, moral and material support. It was also these three organisations that the white South African government earmarked as 'dangerous' organisations during the 1970s, even banning some of their pamphlets. The Netherlands was the only country to have three organisations on this South African list, and the National Party regarded the anti-apartheid groups in the Netherlands as the most active in the world.*[18]

In this section some of the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations will be discussed, although there were also NGOs involved. Information on their role is provided in the sections on anti-apartheid activities.

2.1 The 'Comité Zuid-Afrika': 1957–1971

The first Dutch anti-apartheid organisation, the Comité Zuid-Afrika (CZA), was established in 1957.[19] The founder was the clergyman J.J. Buskes, who had visited South Africa in 1955 to investigate race relations.[20] The initial aim of CZA was to collect money by means of an art auction for the accused in the 1956–1961 Treason Trial. When that goal was accomplished in 1958 after €4 500 had been collected, the CZA became dormant until it was re-launched in March 1960 on the initiative of journalist Karel Roskam. Roskam had visited South Africa in 1958/1959 while doing research for his thesis on apartheid. Like Buskes he had a Protestant background and both were members of the Dutch Labour Party. Buskes became CZA chairman, while Roskam was it's secretary.

In retrospect, the board of the CZA, was described by Karel Roskam as 'decent ladies and gentlemen' who 'wanted a truly national committee, in which all sociopolitical currents were represented, with the exception of the Communist Party, as was usual in those days'.[21] But there were serious limitations inherent in this structure:

> *"Soon it became clear that a broad committee like CZA had great difficulties to agree to the methods of the struggle, such as sanctions, which ANC president Albert Luthuli had called for. Violence as an acceptable means to resistance in South Africa we even did not discuss."*[22]

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18 Klein, 'Relations'.

19 The archives of CZA and other anti-apartheid organizations are at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Amsterdam.

20 His findings were the basis of a book: J.J Buskes, South Africa's Apartheid Policy: Unacceptable (Den Haag: Bakker Daamen, 1955).

21 Karel Roskam, quoted in Carla Edelenbosch, In Goed Vertrouwen, Defence and Aid Nederland 1951-1991 (Amsterdam and Utrecht: Uitgeverij Jan Mets/DAFN, 1991), 11.

22 Ibid.

The board of the Comite Zuid-Afrika. On 2 May 1963 they delivered a letter of protest to the South African embassy in The Hague.

The CZA published a regular *Information Bulletin*, which at it's height had 1.000 subscribers. The organisation only called for donations to cover the cost of it's bulletin and did not collect money for the movements in Africa. It had hardly any contacts with the ANC, which was for the CZA the movement of Albert Luthuli, a moderate and peace-loving Christian. The CZA's first initiative was to appeal to MPs and academics to nominate Luthuli for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Not unlike the anti-apartheid organisations in other countries at the time, the CZA initially focused on relieving the suffering of the black majority through dialogue with the white regime. In 1964 it organised a symbolic one-month boycott of South African products, and later the CZA asked the Dutch government to end the export of weapons and police dogs to South Africa, to stop subsidising emigration and to terminate the cultural agreement. The organisation hoped to influence the policies of the two governments by sending them protest telegrams, and polite and formal letters. But neither government showed much interest in the opinions of the CZA. Requests for a meeting with government ministers or the South African ambassador were simply turned down.

2.2 CZA and Defence and Aid Fund Netherlands: 1965–1971

Many conservatives in the Netherlands protested in 1965 when the right-wing Luns, the Christian Democratic minister of foreign affairs, suddenly donated €45 000 to the IDAF in London. In reaction, the CZA collected another €45 000 to show that there was broad support from the Dutch public for this donation. For this purpose the Defence and Aid Fund Netherlands (DAFN) was founded, and with the support of a committee of progressive writers and artists, an art sale was organised at which the targeted amount was more than reached. Nevertheless the DAFN remained a relatively unknown organisation in the Netherlands. Board member Bert Musschenga explains: 'Fundraising was our primary aim. DAFN wanted to avoid that potential donors would be frightened by controversial political activities.'[23]

In 1968 the shortage of manpower in the CZA and DAFN became so acute that the decision was taken to form one organisation, operating with one board, but under two different names. At the time Karel Roskam was able to convince the board to issue a press release that 'CZA accepts that violence as part of the liberation struggle is justified', but this had no obvious consequences. The government information service AOD concluded in 1970 that CZA/DAFN 'has no dealings with subversive elements or guerrilla movements or supports them financially, such as the World Council of Churches'.[24]

At the end of the 1960s Dutch public interest in developments in southern Africa increased, but CZA became progressively more passive. On 23 August 1971, CZA and DAFN concluded that they had failed in their objective:

> *"There is money in The Netherlands, but we as CZA/DAFN do not succeed in obtaining it. There is a large market for a good action group, but we do not succeed in mobilising enough people. What we miss is the fanatism for motivated campaigning, the manpower and capacity to attract new people, an organiser, a full-time unpaid campaigner, and new ideas... Many people and groups outside CZA/DAFN can't wait to participate in our work, but as a consequence of different circumstances from the past and the present they are not integrated in the present team... Of these pressing newcomers many cannot wait and nothing is for sure, but in each case they are strongly motivated, fanatical and they have much manpower. So the solution is obvious."*[25]

A few months after this meeting, CZA was dissolved and made way for the more radical AABN, while the DAFN continued as an independent organisation. But by this time two other Dutch anti-apartheid organisations had been founded: the Working Group Kairos (Christians against Apartheid) and the Boycott Outspan Actie (BOA). In addition there was a solidarity organisation for the Portuguese colonies in Africa, the Angola Comité. All five would play an important role in the Dutch struggle against apartheid.

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[23] Ibid., 23

[24] IISG: BZ, VN, 999.214.9, file 1115, Memorandum AOD for DAM, 9 December 1970.

[25] IISG, CZA archive

2.3 The Defence and Aid Fund Netherlands: 1971–1991

DAFN continued it's activities for another 20 years. During it's existence it collected a total of €4 m, which made it the largest contributor of the national IDAF committees. In addition, the Dutch government contributed €2 million and the Dutch churches €0.5 million. The Dutch government channelled additional funds to IDAF through the European Community and the UN Trust Fund for South Africa. Most of the money from the public was collected through a system of 'family adoption'. Persons or groups of people would contribute a fixed amount each month for one or more adopted families in South Africa. When DAFN dissolved in 1991 many of the family adoption groups wished to continue, so DAFN arranged that the KZA would continue this work. Kairos took over the information activities.

In the early 1980s, the work of DAFN stagnated as a result of a conflict at the IDAF involving bad management and lack of transparency. The Swiss branch left, but when IDAF was restructured in 1984, DAFN returned and began a long-term co-operation on South African political prisoners with Kairos. In 1987 it moved into the Kairos office. 'Through Kairos we could get connection again with the other Dutch anti-apartheid organisations.'[26] DAFN, in addition to providing support through the family adoption scheme, provided other forms of support. For instance, in 1979 it collected, in co-operation with VARA-television, toys and money for Zimbabwean children who had taken refuge in Mozambique. It organised a fundraising campaign among university staff for scholarships for former political prisoners in 1986 and a campaign to send protest postcards to P.W. Botha against the imprisonment of children in 1987. In co-operation with VARA-television a documentary film was produced and €150 000 was collected for children in South Africa. In 1990, 200 Dutch judges sent a letter to their colleagues in South Africa appealing to them to use their position to dismantle apartheid.

2.4 The Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland: 1971–1975

The 'motivated and fanatical newcomers' who failed in their attempts to invigorate the CZA were students from the two universities in Amsterdam. The initiator and key person was Berend Schuitema, a white South African student in exile, who had been in contact with CZA since spring of 1970. One of the most important points of discussion between the new activists and the old guard was the need for 'hard action'. Finally, on the 13 November 1971, the AABN replaced the CZA. 'Schuitema founded the AABN and Schuitema was the AABN', say the people who worked with him during that period.[27]

The formation of the AABN implied a total rupture with the old CZA, where all political currents except the communists were represented on the board. Apartheid, according to the AABN, was an integral part of the capitalist system, and this system should be fought against, both in the Netherlands and in the Third World. 'The AABN has to be reconstructed with the support of those organisations that participate in the class struggle of the workers movement, that means who strive after a socialist society.'[28] The AABN declared it's solidarity with the ANC, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), and with SWAPO, ZANU and

[26] Edelenbosch, In Goed Vertrouwen, 30.
[27] De Anti-Apartheidskrant, 2 (Sept/Oct. 1990) 24-5.
[28] The AABN magazine 'Zuidelijk Afrika Nieuws', no. 97.

ZAPU. At it's first meeting with the ANC, in Amsterdam on 21 December 1972, the ANC representative in London, Reg September, was present and it was agreed that regular meetings would be held twice a year in the future. At this meeting Schuitema remarked that he was astonished at the close ties that many on the AABN board had with the Dutch communist party CPN: 'These ties with the CPN are somewhat strange: the party shows little interest in Southern Africa.' The AABN was also disappointed that it's newspaper *De Waarheid* hardly paid any attention to Southern Africa and more to Vietnam'.[29]

Since AABN aimed at the total boycott of South Africa, it started listing and investigating those companies that retained links with apartheid South Africa. In 1972 it started a campaign against Philips because this Dutch firm had been implicated in breaking the arms embargo. Two years later the focus was on Estel/Hoogovens because the company had plans to participate in a steel project in South Africa. The campaign was successful: Hoogovens dropped it's plans following a local protest meeting in which 1 000 participants, among them many workers of Hoogovens, took part. At the request of the ANC office in London the AABN and DAFN organised another art auction in September 1975 to raise funds for political prisoners in South Africa. On this occasion, ANC president Oliver Tambo met the Dutch government for the first time, and also addressed an audience of 1 000 people.

During this period the AABN's energy was directed at the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe rather than South Africa. It was successful in proving that the Dutch tobacco industry imported one third of it's tobacco from Rhodesia in defiance of the mandatory UN trade embargo against that country. Berend Schuitema was totally dedicated to the cause; so much so that he went at night to search the dustbins of the trading firms in order to find this evidence and was injured when waiting guards attacked him.

The AABN also supported SWAPO. A visit to the Netherlands by SWAPO's secretary of labour, Solomon Mifima, led to a wide publicity and a fundraising campaign for SWAPO by the NVV Industrial Union (Industriebond NVV). At it's 1975 congress the trade union symbolically handed over an amount of €100.000 to Mifima.

2.5 The Boycott Outspan Actie

Another 'motivated and fanatical newcomer' to join the CZA was the coloured South African student Esau du Plessis. When he arrived in the Netherlands in 1968 he offered his support to CZA, but it annoyed him that this organisation refused to recognise that change in South Africa was impossible without the use of violence. With a group of friends, including Karel Roskam and Tjitte de Vries, he started a Boycott Outspan Action (BOA) against the sale of Outspan citrus products from South Africa.

Esau and his group contacted the Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland (AABN) and asked it to become the organisational centre of the boycott campaign. The proposal was turned down because 'the AABN wants from the start to concentrate on more radical campaigns'. Moreover the AABN wanted to focus on making contact with the working class rather than the public at large. Years later Esau du

[29] Minutes, executive AABN, 24 April 1972.

Plessis was still bitter: ‘Vorster can give the AABN a gold medal for the way in which they obstructed our anti-apartheid campaign in those days.’[30] The Outspan boycott gained broad organisational support from many groups and enormous publicity. BOA’s slogan, ‘Don’t squeeze a South African’, and it's provocative poster became the best-known anti-apartheid symbol in the Netherlands. With his group of ‘Inspan Girls’, Esau du Plessis was able to cancel the annual promotional tours of the ‘Outspan Girls’. A public opinion poll of 1973 showed that 71 per cent of the Dutch population were aware of the Outspan campaign. Outspan oranges vanished from the market, but that did not mean that all South African blood oranges disappeared.[31]

BOA wanted the Dutch government to break off all economic relations with South Africa. According to Esau du Plessis, however: ‘The entire Dutch history concerning South Africa has been characterised by hypocrisy. The aim of the Dutch government is invariably to strengthen Vorster in the suppression in South Africa'.[32] And yet the same government had subsidised the BOA’s boycott campaign. The South African ambassador informed the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs that his government considered this support objectionable in the extreme.

In 1979 the city of Leiden offered BOA €4 500 for a campaign to increase it's citizens’ awareness of South African issues. In the local university, churches, schools, and the public library – virtually in all public arenas – activities were organised. Inspired by this success BOA began similar campaigns in other cities. Each year about five cities were chosen where after long and intensive preparation, an action week was organised. In the period from 1976 to 1990 as many as 55 of these city campaigns were organised, often resulting in the establishment of a new, local southern African support group.

According to the ideology of BOA, the struggle against apartheid was inseparably linked to the fight against racism in the Netherlands. Esau du Plessis was convinced the Dutch were historically and religiously responsible for what had happened in South Africa. Racism in the Netherlands and apartheid in South Africa were, according to BOA, connected. BOA virtually became an anti-racist organisation, increasingly isolated from the anti-apartheid struggle. As a consequence (because the government was only for Third World development, and not for anti-racism) the government cut back it's financial support to BOA in the 1980s and terminated it's subsidy in 1992. This meant the end for the BOA.

2.6 The Working Group Kairos

The Dutch (Protestant) churches were one of the battlefields in the struggle against apartheid, and the Working Group Kairos (a Greek word meaning ‘time is running out’ or ‘this is the right time to act’) played a leading role in that battle.[33] From 1965, the Rev. Beyers Naudé was a regular and respected visitor to the Netherlands, and he took a leading role in the debates about apartheid in the Dutch churches. In 1968, at the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, attended by member

[30] De Volkskrant, 19 June 1976.(translated from Dutch).
[31] An account of the campaign can be found in BOA Bulletin no 1 (February, 1974) and in Africa Today, XXI, no 2, Spring 1974.
[32] De Volkskrant, 19 June 1976 (translated from Dutch).
[33] The Kairos archive is at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG) in Amsterdam.

churches from both South Africa and the Netherlands, the debate on South Africa took centre stage. The Dutch friends of Naudé had the vain hope that the synod would condemn apartheid. At the request of Beyers Naudé this small group of mainly Protestant Christians established the Working Group Kairos in 1970 as the Dutch support group for the Christian Institute of South Africa (CI), which Beyers Naudé had founded in 1963 to promote reconciliation between South Africans of all races.

The close bonds between Kairos and the Dutch churches led to a financial arrangement in terms of which the churches would contribute to the budget of the organisation. One of first goals, to award Beyers Naudé an honorary doctorate at the reformed Free University in Amsterdam, was realised in 1972. In that same year Kairos broadened it's focus. A new source of inspiration for it's work was the appeal of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches for disinvestment and ending bank loans to South Africa. In 1973 Kairos decided to focus it's disinvestment campaign on Royal Dutch Shell, an initiative that developed into a concerted national campaign for a Dutch oil embargo, supported by churches, trade unions, political parties and many non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The oil embargo campaign continued for nearly 20 years and dominated the sanctions discussion in parliament. In addition, Kairos took the initiative for a campaign to boycott South African coal.

In about 1977 there was a new development in the history of Kairos. The Christian Institute in South Africa had been banned and Beyers Naudé could no longer travel to the Netherlands. During 1977–1979, a Christian Institute in Europe was established at the Kairos office by CI staff members such as Horst Kleinschmidt who had fled from South Africa. At the same time Kairos decided on the basis of many consultations with it's partners in South Africa to support the ANC (and SWAPO) and to declare it's solidarity with the Freedom Charter. This led to a conflict and a break with Professor Verkuyl, it's chairman and one of it's founders. From that time onwards Kairos tried to convince the Dutch churches to support ANC and SWAPO. In 1984 it refused an invitation to meet a delegation of Inkatha, after heeding the advice of South African anti-apartheid bodies such as the United Democratic Front (UDF). Kairos had now transformed itself from a support group for the Christian Institute into one of the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations with a similar agenda to the secular movements, working in close co-operation with them. It now focused it's efforts on securing support from the Dutch churches for national anti-apartheid campaigns. It's position was strong because of it's close contact with church circles in South Africa and with black South African clerics studying in the Netherlands; it also established links with Christian political parties and trade unions. The role of Kairos as a Christian anti-apartheid movement was of great importance because the Christian Democratic Party was a central factor in Dutch politics for many years.

In addition to sanctions, Kairos focused on human rights in South Africa. In collaboration with other religious organisations it started a campaign against the deportation of black people to the ‘homelands’, distributing 100 000 copies of a pamphlet on deportation. It also campaigned for the release of political prisoners; against torture and the death penalty; and against the threatened destruction of Crossroads. In 1989 it supported the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in South Africa and distributed 125 000 postcards of the Detainees’ Parents Support Committee (DPSC) addressed to P.W. Botha, in a protest against the detention of

children. Kairos also promoted South African literature in the Netherlands and organised the Dutch translation of books by Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Beyers Naudé and Frank Chikane. Because of it's human rights activities Kairos was asked by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to undertake research on the assault and torture of political prisoners in the 1970s and 1980s. The financial support of the Dutch churches ended in 1997, and in 2002 Kairos finally closed it's doors.

2.7 The Angola Comité 1961–1975

In the period that the CZA was founded at the end of the 1950s, numerous anti-colonial activities were organised in Amsterdam. A support organisation for the Algerian war against French colonisation was founded; campaigns were started against the American war in Vietnam and against the Dutch military adventures in New Guinea. Some of these activists had contact with the CZA, but in general the CZA mistrusted these ‘radicals’. The possibility of founding a new, more proactive organisation to support the liberation struggle in South Africa came under consideration.

In the spring of 1961 the first reports of an armed rebellion in Angola against Portuguese colonial rule appeared in the world press. In response, the Angola Comité was established. Soon it became the solidarity movement for all Portuguese colonies in Africa. One of the ideas behind the founding of this body was that the liberation of Angola and Mozambique would contribute to the liberation of South Africa. That the southern Africa issue did not disappear from the Dutch political agenda during this period was to a significant extent due to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. Large sections of the Dutch population became indignant about the fact that the Netherlands was a military ally of the Portuguese oppressor, and that NATO countries supported Portugal with arms.

The liberation movement of Mozambique, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), had a significant influence on the policy of the Angola Comité. Under the influence of FRELIMO it changed from a radical left-wing protest movement into an organisation at the political centre. It succeeded in building up close relations not only with the left-wing parties and the Labour Party, but also with the parliamentary spokesman for southern Africa of the Christian Democrats, Jan Nico Scholten. While parliamentary motions on South Africa were time after time rejected, motions condemning NATO support to Portugal’s colonial wars were carried virtually unanimously. As a result of these activities, in 1969 FRELIMO was the first southern African liberation movement to receive official government assistance. Official assistance to the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) soon followed. It's ties with the Labour Party became so close that the party regularly campaigned for donations to the Angola Comité’s liberation fund by mailing requests for donations to it's members. Since it had a large number of regular donors, the committee became an important source of material aid for the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

In 1974, when the dictatorship in Portugal collapsed and independence for the colonies was in sight, the Angola Comité was by far the largest of the Dutch

organisations that focused on southern Africa. It had a committed and experienced staff of ten modestly paid workers and many volunteers. It had 12 000 subscribers to it's monthly publication and 40 000 regular donors that supported the liberation movements financially. It had also organised substantial support among the general public and in parliament.

2.8 From 'Angola Comité' to 'Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika'

In the late 1960s, the Angola Comité had built up a countrywide network of local support groups. As it's aim was the liberation of the entire southern African region, they were called Working Groups Southern Africa (WZA). In 1970 the first annual national congress of these local groups was organised under the English name B(l)acking Southern Africa. These national congresses grew into three-day meetings, attended by up to 800 delegates from WZAs and other interested groups.

While there was hardly any contact between the Angola Comité and the languid CZA, good relations were developed with it's successor organisation, the Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland (AABN). The AABN concluded: 'The co-operation with the Angola Comité is materialising more and more: the aim is two souls, one thinking.'[34] The WZAs became the local support groups of both organisations. While the Angola Comité organised the national congresses of 1970 and 1971, B(l)acking Southern Africa III in 1972 was organised by the AABN for the first time.

The material support by the Angola Comité to SWAPO and ANC began in March 1975. After the April 1974 revolt in Portugal the South Africans had invaded Angola, and the Angola Comité concentrated all it's energy on supporting the MPLA. The public donated €0.5 m and the Dutch government contributed €1 m for development projects of the MPLA in the Angolan capital, Luanda. As at the time both ANC and SWAPO moved for the first time into independent Angola, it was decided to allocate part of the goods shipped from the Netherlands to ANC and SWAPO.

During this period the Angola Comité came to the conclusion that Angola's and Mozambique's major enemy was no longer in Lisbon, but in Pretoria. It therefore concluded that when these two countries had gained their independence, the committee should not disband, but should direct all it's energy to the liberation of southern Africa. In 1976 it's name was changed into Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA). Because the liberation movements called it the 'Holland Committee', the new, more formal name in English became the Holland Committee on Southern Africa. The Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, founded in 1969 by the Angola Comité, continued to provide material support to the former Portuguese colonies.

2.9 Years of confusion 1975–1976

In 1974–5 the Angola Comité began discussions with the AABN, BOA, Kairos and DAFN about co-operation or a possible merger. The latter three organisations all declared that they would welcome a continuation of the activities of the Angola Comité for the liberation of southern Africa. But in the summer of 1975 talks with

[34] IISG: Policy document AABN January 1973.

the AABN were suddenly interrupted by a heated conflict and a split in the organisation. The secretary general of the AABN, Berend Schuitema, and the South African writer in exile Breyten Breytenbach had secretly visited South Africa to set up an underground white resistance organisation, Okhela.[35] Breytenbach and about 75 others were detained; Berend Schuitema was able to escape back to the Netherlands. But instead of welcoming him as a hero who had been courageous to set up underground activities in South Africa, some of his colleagues in the AABN wanted to oust him from the organisation.

This soon developed into a conflict between the two key persons in the AABN, Berend Schuitema and his former girlfriend, Connie Braam, who worked at the AABN as an administrative secretary.[36] Without informing the executive committee of the AABN, she went to consult the ANC office in London about the activities of Berend. The conflicting opinions in the ANC about Okhela spread to the AABN. The ANC office in London sent a senior delegation led by Duma Nokwe and Johnny Makatini to Amsterdam to be present at a general plenary assembly, where all AABN volunteers were also welcome. The ANC delegation subsequently informed Berend that he was expelled from the AABN. The outcome of the crisis was that the AABN executive stepped down and a number of others left the movement with Schuitema.

These developments in the AABN presented the KZA with a difficult problem. Their relations with Berend Schuitema had always been excellent, and now Schuitema and his team approached the KZA with a proposal to join the organisation and support it's work. This was an attractive proposal for KZA, as it was a very motivated and capable team that would be very useful for the coming campaigns. But, for the KZA the underlying causes of the conflict in the AABN were unclear, and it feared there could be repercussions with the AABN and with the ANC's London office. The proposal was thus turned down and a disappointed Schuitema left the Netherlands for good.

During the same period the AABN suddenly announced in a press statement and in it's magazine that it would merge with the Medisch Komitee Angola (MKA), an organisation that was, like the AABN, oriented towards the Dutch communist party, the CPN. The MKA was founded in 1971 by medical students from the Amsterdam universities. it's aims were similar to those of the Angola Comité: support to the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC. However, the relations between the two organisations were sour. The announced merger between AABN and MKA was a further indication that the restructuring of the southern Africa movements was destined to reach a deadlock between two political currents. MKA and AABN started to work closely together and moved into a new office in 1976, but the announced merger failed to materialise. In 1975 and 1976 AABN and MKA jointly organised a national campaign, but by the end of this first collaborative effort it became clear that not only the Angola Comité, but also the AABN had problems with the MKA. The AABN reported that although both organisations had a similar political agenda, there was 'an atmosphere of distrust' and 'a considerable crisis of confidence'.

[35] Okhela planned to organise resistance to apartheid among South African white people, Like the ANC Okhela saw it's future in the armed struggle. Some SACP members in the ANC leadership saw Okhela as a threat to their position in the ANC, but Oliver Tambo and Johnny Makatini encouraged the plans.

[36] See Connie Braam, De Bokkeslachter (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1993). Berend Schuitema's reaction in his unpublished 'Amsterdam Footnotes', is available at IISG, Amsterdam.

After the 1976 campaign the AABN decided to end all co-operation with MKA.[37] As a result of these developments the close relations between the AABN and KZA from 1971 to 1974 came to an end. But the talks about talks between the new AABN and KZA continued. The AABN made future co-operation with KZA dependent on two demands, which according to them were backed by the ANC in London:

- no boycott campaigns against companies; the ANC feared that this would alienate the workers from the liberation struggle. Instead, campaigning should be focused on 'total sanctions'; and
- no Ducth government assistance for the liberation movements, as such donations were a smokescreen to continue the relations with apartheid South Africa.

For KZA these demands were unacceptable. 'Total sanctions' was a good slogan, but not an effective approach for the realisation of sanctions. The successful Angola coffee boycott of 1972 had convinced the KZA that there were good possibilities to use public opinion as a weapon against firms co-operating with apartheid. With regard to financial support by the Dutch government, that was up to the liberation movements to decide. If they were interested, the KZA would support their demands. Under the Den Uyl government (1973–1977) the prospects of getting such support were better than ever before.

Moreover, the AABN demanded that there should be discussions about ideological unity before other matters could be discussed. The gap was clearly unbridgeable and the discussions did not take place. 'We have never hidden that we had intensive contacts with the Dutch Communist Party CPN, and that there were personal ties, but it was not the CPN that took the decisions in our movement.' With these words in 1995, AABN staff member Fulco van Aurich summarised the situation in the AABN.[38]

In the Dutch political spectrum the staff of KZA could best be described as close to the radical left Pacifist Socialist Party and left-wing Labour. KZA was convinced that the CPN was not the right channel to win the hearts of the Dutch public for the anti-apartheid struggle. In those days of the Cold War the party was isolated and distrusted. Moreover, it had no mass base among the public. While the CPN had more than 10 per cent of the votes in parliamentary elections in 1945, in the 1977 elections only 2 per cent of the voters supported the party, which some years later lost it's last seat in parliament.[39] Moreover KZA had built up good relations with the Labour Party and the left wing of the Christian Democrats in parliament, and it did not want to put this co-operation at risk.

There was also an international dimension in the choices made by KZA. In Vietnam millions had died because the United States saw 'Soviet aggression' there. The Americans had just initiated, in co-operation with apartheid South Africa, a new devastating war in Angola because in their view the MPLA was a fellow traveller of Moscow. For the Western military planners, South Africa was of even greater

[37] In this period MKA accused some KZA staff of being CIA agents. The termination of the co-operation between AABN and MKA put an end to similar accusations by AABN.

[38] Parool, 16 June 1995.

[39] The 150 members of parliament are elected by proportional representation, so the CPN had less than 0.66 % of the national votes.

strategic importance to the West (with it's minerals and because it was on the sea route around the Cape) than Angola. Broad public and political support for the ANC, especially from a NATO member state like the Netherlands, could help to avoid a situation where the ANC and South Africa would become the next victims of the global American battle against the Soviet Union.

2.10 Five anti-apartheid organisations

So in the period after 1976 there were five anti-apartheid organisations in the Netherlands. The KZA was the largest with a paid staff of 15–20 persons, followed by AABN (8–10); Kairos (3); BOA (2); and DAFN with 1 paid member of staff. Both BOA and DAFN worked on their own projects and kept some distance from the others. From it's inception the aim of KZA was that the anti-apartheid organisations should take practical steps to work together. It was unacceptable that there were now four competing anti-apartheid periodicals being distributed: that of KZA which had a circulation of 12 000, AABN with 4 000 and BOA and Kairos both of which produced a periodical with a circulation of 1 500. A proposal put forward by KZA to merge the periodicals was accepted by BOA and Kairos, but rejected by the AABN. Because Dutch is spoken in the northern half of Belgium, the Belgian organisations Aktie Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (AKZA) and BOA-Belgium joined the new monthly Amandla. This co-operation survived cordially for nearly 20 years until the end of apartheid.

The three public faces of the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations: Connie Braam (AABN), Sietse Bosgra (KZA) and Cor Groenendijk (Kairos) at the 75 year celebration in january 1987 of the founding of the ANC.

KZA decided that it would not start it's own new anti-apartheid campaign, but would rather join an existing one. As a result it worked with Kairos for an oil embargo and the withdrawal of Shell from South Africa. This joint campaign continued harmoniously until the end of the apartheid era. In addition, KZA's first material aid campaign for the liberation movements in 1976–1978 was organised in co-operation with Kairos.The leading figures remained in their respective organisations for the entire anti-apartheid period: Connie Braam, Fons Geerlings and Kier Schuringa with AABN; Sietse Bosgra, Trineke Weijdema and Paul Staal with KZA; Cor Groenendijk and Erik van den Bergh with Kairos and Esau du Plessis with BOA. They became well known to the public, the press and the politicians. This created great stability and made the lengthy *Amandla* alliance and the long co-operation between KZA and Kairos possible. The negative side was that the dissent between AABN on the one hand and KZA, Kairos, BOA and DAFN on the other also continued for 20 years. None of the five organisations was based on membership, so there were no annual congresses with difficult resolutions. They were foundations where the decisions were formally taken by the board, but in practice the staff had much influence. Only KZA kept the informal structure of the former Angola Comité: no foundation, no constitution, no statutes or mission statements, and no board. In this case decisions were taken in the weekly staff meetings. The local groups were all autonomous. As they could choose for themselves which national campaigns they would support; they had an indirect influence on the national organisations.

In the 1980s relations between AABN, KZA and Kairos improved considerably. There was an increasing number of joint campaigns. There were again discussions about a merger between KZA and AABN, but it was decided that in all likelihood working towards a fusion would be time consuming and risky. Moreover, there were still incidents and the occasional conflict. Like KZA, the AABN established increasing contact with the Dutch Labour Party. The leadership and the parliamentary section of the Communist Party had never shown much interest in Southern Africa[40] Moreover it had lost most of it's support among the Dutch people. In 1990 the party merged with the PSP, the radical left-wing party which was much closer to KZA. The relations between BOA and AABN also improved; they produced a joint publication for SACTU's 30 years anniversary celebration. AABN and Kairos also organised a joint congress on political prisoners, but a merger with KZA, Kairos and BOA's monthly, Amandla, was still too much for the AABN.

2.11 Natural division of tasks

The complicated Dutch situation was not ideal, yet most observers are not negative. The competition, mainly between AABN and KZA, kept the organisations on their toes and society at large and the politicians were bombarded by an almost continuous flow of campaigns. No important sector in Dutch society and no relevant subject were allowed to pass by. Moreover, the work of one organisation simultaneously strengthened the position of the others. For instance, KZA and Kairos profited in their campaigns from the role of the AABN as a friendship organisation for the ANC, which helped to increase public sympathy for the liberation movement. The national network of local groups, essential for the

[40] In 'Van Sharpeville tot Soweto' Stefan de Boer reports that in parliamentary debates about South Africa the contribution of the CPN was 'marginal'. It's MP, Marcus Bakker,explained that for the party Vietnam was 'the central issue': Handelingen Tweede Kamer 1969-1970, 2176; 1971-1972, 1447; 1974-1975, 3007

success of any campaign, was considerably strengthened by the ten years of ‘city campaigns’ organised by BOA. Through the work of Kairos in the churches, a sector of the population could be mobilised that none of the others could have reached on their own.

On the basis of their ideological visions and past experiences a natural and spontaneous division of target groups and a practical allocation of tasks developed. The AABN had very close links with the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC in London, especially after the 1975 transfer of power from Schuitema to Braam.This brought the picket lines, the signature campaigns, the protest telegrams and the focus on the political prisoners to the Netherlands. In reaction to the death sentence handed down to Solomon Mahlangu in 1978, tens of thousands of protest cards were sent to the South African embassy and the Dutch government. In the week before the execution thousands demonstrated in Amsterdam. Similar campaigns followed for the ‘Pretoria 12’ (1978), James Mange (1979), Oscar Mpetha (1981), Manana, Lubisi and Mashigo (1983), Benjamin Molise (1984), the ‘Sharpeville 6’ (1986) and for Ebrahim Ismael (1987–88). The other anti-apartheid organisations played a supporting role in these campaigns.

Demonstration in Amsterdam against the imminent execution of Solomon Mahlangu, April 1979 (photo Bert Zijlstra).

In 1980, AABN and Kairos began a campaign for the release of Mandela, supported by 45 organisations. During his second visit to the Netherlands, Oliver Tambo presented the 56 000 signatures to parliament. In 1988 congratulation messages from 150 000 people to Mandela on his 70th birthday were handed over to Winnie Mandela. Also during this period the AABN organised conferences with hundreds of South African participants, including the cultural manifestation (CASA) in 1987[41] and Malibongwe in 1990, at which the position of women in a new South Africa was discussed. It was organised in co-operation with the Women's Section of the ANC.

As the AABN originated from youth and student organisations, it was logical that it organised activities at universities and schools. It campaigned for the academic boycott of South Africa and for support to the educational facilities of the ANC. It focused on artists and campaigned for the end of the cultural agreement with South Africa. The AABN, given it's ideological stance, sought contact with workers in the factories and tried to find supporters in the trade unions.
The activities of the AABN did not focus only on promoting links between Dutch society and the ANC, but also on close, often personal relations with the ANC.[42] Connie Braam, who often attended conferences and visited the ANC in London and Africa, had many friends in the ANC. In line with these close relations, she was asked in 1986 by Ronnie Kasrils to help the ANC to assist with Operation Vula. The plan was for some exiled leaders of the ANC to return secretly to South Africa. They were to travel to Amsterdam, and after undergoing acting lessons and fitted with wigs, inconspicuous clothes and false travel documents they would enter South Africa disguised as businessmen. But the carefully prepared operation was overtaken by history. Some ANC leaders did still enter the country illegally, but the secret operation had to be abandoned and Mac Maharaj and other ANC leaders were arrested.[43]

The activities of the KZA were influenced by the past experiences of the Angola Comité. 'The liberation struggle in Africa is a matter for us. There you have no task. Your assignment is in the Netherlands, in Europe.' These words of FRELIMO were in accord with the committee's view that Europe, the Western 'free world', was the root cause of much of the world's injustice. Like the Angola Comité, KZA aimed at reaching the general public with huge campaigns, and using the mass media. It's experiences with the successful boycott of Angolan coffee were used to organise, with the support of the trade unions, largescale boycott campaigns against Dutch firms supporting apartheid and against South African products. KZA also continued with it's campaigns to raise funds to provide material aid for the liberation movements. It's contact with the Dutch Labour Party and the left wing of the Christian Democrats were used to get support from the government for the liberation movements and for a boycott of South Africa. The KZA continued with it's bi-weekly newspaper cutting service in English, Facts and Reports, set up in 1970. After 1976 it dealt not only with developments in the Portuguese colonies but with southern Africa. It was sent to a thousand addresses and was an important tool for spreading information for fully 25 years.

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41 See for CASA the section on the cultural boycott in the chapter on non-economic boycott measures.

42 As a consequence, the close contacts with SWAPO were maintained by KZA and Kairos.

43 A detailed description can be found in Connie Braam's book Operation Vula. South Africans and Dutch People in the Struggle against Apartheid (Johannesburg: Jacana Press, 2004). See also six articles 'Talking to Vula', in Mayibuye, May-October 1995.

2.12 Relations with the liberation movement

All the Dutch organisations – AABN, KZA, Kairos, BOA and DAFN – recognised and supported the ANC as the only liberation movement of South Africa. In theory this was a good basis for mutual co-operation, but in practice it became a cause for much friction. KZA, Kairos and BOA reproached the AABN for trying to monopolise the ANC and refusing to accept the others as equals in their relations with the ANC. This position was still apparent in June 1992 when the AABN stated in an official letter to the secretary general of the ANC in Lusaka that it was 'the sole and only national solidarity movement with the ANC in the Netherlands for over twenty years'.

In 1976, the first interaction between KZA and the ANC was not particularly positive. Two members of KZA, who were in Angola to attend the country's anniversary celebrations, were invited for a meeting by Joe Slovo, leader of the SACP. Slovo was sat at one end of a long table flanked by about 20 silent young black ANC members. Slovo had a long list of questions that were full of suspicion. It was clear that he had received a detailed and negative report about KZA from the Netherlands. Soon afterwards it became evident that not everyone in the liberation movement distrusted KZA. In 1977 the ANC treasurer general, Thomas Nkobi, wrote to ask KZA to organise, 'together with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Esau du Plessis and other friends', a tour to the Netherlands by a top leadership delegation.' [44] However, the AABN, who had been asked by Nkobi to support the coming trip, rejected the ANC decision that KZA should organise the visit. It contacted the ANC to say that the AABN should be the sole organiser and that all others should be excluded:

> *Our movement has enough force and support to make your double request superfluous … And secondly: some of these organisations we have reason to distrust politically. So your double request may also force us into an alliance that we under the present circumstances regard as an undesirable one.*[45]

The AABN indicated that BOA, DAFN and Kairos were all aligned to KZA. But the ANC did not heed this call and KZA organised the visit under the joint responsibility of all Dutch anti-apartheid organisations. The delegation of Oliver Tambo, Afred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi also had fruitful discussions with the Dutch government, which resulted in the first official Dutch financial assistance to the ANC. KZA built up it's own close contacts with ANC members such as Oliver Tambo, Frene Ginwala, Ruth First and Thomas Nkobi. It arranged for visiting delegations of the ANC to be received at the airport in the Netherlands with the respect and protocol that was normally reserved for official delegations. The Dutch secret service, BVD, which closely monitored the activities of KZA, informed the government about one of these arrivals: 'Normally the KZA has no access to the VIP rooms. But if an ambassador is present they can make use of the VIP facilities. We suspect that they used the ambassador of Tanzania for this purpose.'[46] It became established

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44 IISG, KZA archive: Letter ANC to KZA, 8 August 1977.

45 IISG, AABN archive: Letter AABN to ANC in Lusaka, 28 August 1977.

46 After long juridical procedures the BVD was forced to inform individuals and organisations about it's activities. First, all names of their informers and infiltrators were removed from the documents. This information is derived from the personal dossier of the author and from research into the files at BVD headquarters in 1995 by Huinder and van Beurden, authors of De Vinger op de Zere Plek. In 1978 a 20-page report was compiled: 'De solidariteit's comité's m.b.t. Zuidelijk Afrika', 25 May 1978 (BiZa, BVD, nr 2.241.336.75, file KZA (including AABN)). According to the report the BVD focused it's activities on the KZA as it was considered more dangerous: 'The KZA has a much larger support amongst the public than AABN, where probably the strong influence of the communist

practice that one of the friendly ambassadors was willing to come to the airport to help KZA, at the arrival and at the departure of such delegations.

These contacts with the VIP room at the airport were of great use when KZA was contacted in 1991 by the ANC that Nelson Mandela would make a stop-over at the Amsterdam airport on his way back to South Africa, and that some help was needed. 'Tell it to nobody, the old man will be very tired.'[47] This time no African ambassador was needed to get VIP treatment. The meeting was used to discuss what would become the last campaign of KZA for the ANC as a liberation movement, collecting several millions for the ANC election campaign. When a picture of the meeting was published in the Dutch press it became evident that the old sensitivities had not disappeared: the AABN felt excluded and sent a complaint to the ANC. Nor was KZA pleased when in 1994 Bart Luirink of the AABN said in an interview in the Dutch press: 'The inner circle of the ANC would always speak about the people of the AABN as "comrades". The KZA people had to be content with a suave "friends".'[48]

After 1980 the Netherlands no longer fell under the ANC office in London, but an office was opened in Brussels for the three Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg). Godfrey Motsepe played a very useful role here for eight years. The solidarity organisations in Belgium and the Netherlands were expected to fund the office and KZA offered to guarantee 75 per cent of the total costs for the first three years. In 1982, when there were problems raising the other 25 per cent, the ANC tried to convince KZA to finance the full amount. This time the KZA was irritated in it's reaction:

> *"We are a solidarity organisation for the ANC on the same basis as the other [Dutch] solidarity organisations … We do not wish to be regarded as a financing body for the liberation movements, while others are seen as solidarity organisations."*[49]

In 1987 AABN thought it necessary to have an ANC representative in the Netherlands, in addition to the Brussels office. The ANC agreed and in early 1988 Sunny Singh arrived in the Netherlands under the name Kumar 'Bobby' Sanjay. However, the AABN refused to accept him and it was the KZA (who had not supported the AABN's suggestion) who in the end had to accept the responsibility for the funding of the new ANC office. In 1989 the city of Amsterdam offered an office building free of charge. The Dutch government accepted the ANC representation on Dutch soil on the condition that it would confine it's activities to the distribution of information to the Dutch public. On this basis, all attempts to have a meeting with officials of the ministry of foreign affairs were refused.

party frightens the public.'

47 Telephonic communication: ANC (London) with the author, followed by a letter from ANC (London) to KZA, 22 April 1991.

48 De Groene Amsterdammer, 12 October 1994.

49 IISG, KZA archive: Letter KZA to Joe Jele, ANC, 22 September 1980.

2.13 Support for the PAC: The Azania Komitee

In 1974 the Azania Komitee was founded; it's stated aim was to support the PAC as the only representative of the true aspirations of the majority of the Azanian people. However, a year later it changed it's attitude and offered support to all the liberation movements in South Africa, although in practice it was the Dutch support organisation for the PAC and, to a lesser extent, for the Black Consciousness Movement. The Azania Komitee was connected with small organisations which campaigned for UNITA in Angola, SWANU in Namibia and ZANU in Zimbabwe. For more that twenty years the Azania Vrij quarterly was published, and after 1982 the Azania Komitee offered an Azania newspaper cutting service in English. From it's early days the Azania Komitee campaigned for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and it organised an annual Sharpeville commemoration.

After the death of PAC leader Robert Sobukwe, a commemorative service was held in Rotterdam. After the Soweto uprising it also organised a demonstration under the slogan ‘Viva Azania, down with South Africa’. The use of similar banners in demonstrations that were organised by the other solidarity organisations often led to conflict. The Azania Komitee was based and had it's strongest support in Rotterdam, although it had a few local groups in other cities. When BOA in the framework of it's ‘city campaigns’ organised an action week in Rotterdam, it had to accept co-operation with the Azania Komitee, but in other cities BOA excluded the representatives of the Azania Komitee. It was only in the 1990s that relations with the other anti-apartheid organisations improved, and for the first time representatives of the ANC and PAC could speak from the same platform.

The fundraising foundation ‘Steun het volk van Azania’ (Support the people of Azania) was founded in order to support a PAC transit camp in Bagamoyo (Tanzania), but failed to gain enough support to succeed in this. The Dutch government’s support for the ANC was thus used as a motive to approach the government with a request for material support for PAC refugees in Africa and in 1978 the Azania Komitee succeeded in bringing representatives of the PAC and BCM to discussions with members of the government. The result was that the PAC received government assistance for it's refugees for one year. When Rotterdam decided to become an ‘anti-apartheid city’ in 1993, the Azania Komitee saw new possibilities. Rotterdam decided to support the black townships near Durban, and as part of the project the national health secretary of the PAC, Selva Saman, received €50 000 for a health project at the Chatsworth Community Clinic.

2.14 Subsidised anti-apartheid campaigns

The Netherlands, together with the Scandinavian countries, were the only countries in the world that contributed more than 0.7 per cent of their GNP to development co-operation. To maintain the support of the population for this policy, in 1970 the government set up a fund for public education on Third World issues, the NCO. A year later the Angola Comité asked a small donation for it's boycott of Angolan coffee. The NCO was forced to decide whether it was willing to support boycott campaigns against Dutch companies. The NCO decided to give it's support on this occasion, thanks to the support of it's influential chairman, Prince Claus, the husband of Queen Beatrix. This resulted in a fierce debate in

parliament, and Prince Claus was forced to step down from the NCO as such a politically sensitive role was not considered appropriate for someone in his position. But the NCO continued to finance campaigns directed against Dutch firms with government funds and against Dutch government policy.

The anti-apartheid organisations in the Netherlands were able to grow and become professional organisations due to the financial assistance provided by the NCO. The money was distributed each year on the basis of detailed applications. In general, the largest organisations received the largest grants because they were able to propose and realise the largest projects for the next year. In addition to the NCO, the Dutch Ministry of Culture and Sports financed activities in the field of arts (the Amandla Cultural Group, Jazz Pioneers, CASA, etc.) and the sports boycott against South Africa.

When the Dutch government, as one of the few Western countries, in 1981 voted in favour of the UN Year for the Mobilisation of Sanctions against South Africa, Kairos and KZA decided to use the occasion to set up a broadly based committee and campaign for Dutch and international sanctions under the emblem of the UN, together with members of parliament, the leaders of trade unions and churches and youth organisations, etc. Both the Dutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Sports and Culture felt obliged to finance the Sanction Year Committee, and so did the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

There was still another source of money for public mobilisation, the European Community (EC). But only large organisations were considered eligible and received money from this source. The subsidies were given in cycles of three years. As the EC paid only part (usually 50 per cent) of the total cost of a campaign, the more an organisation received from other sources (such as the NCO or the public) the more the EC paid. KZA received €110 000 in 1989. In addition, KZA received considerable allowances for salaries and office costs from the Dutch government, from the EC and from different development NGOs for channelling material assistance to the liberation movements and to projects inside South Africa and Namibia. UN agencies (Special Committee against Apartheid and the Council for Namibia) and the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches also supported various KZA and AABN activities.

Chapter 3 - Material aid to the liberation struggle

In the Netherlands both AABN and KZA were involved in fundraising for the liberation movements of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. In addition DAFN raised money for the victims of apartheid and MKA for the ANC Holland Solidarity Hospital in Mazimbu, Tanzania. Shortly after it's foundation in 1971 the AABN stated in an internal discussion document:

> *"The ambition of the AABN is a closer contact with the [Dutch] workers movement as they are able to crush the capitalist system … What we have done until now - in co-operation with the Angola Comité (KZA) - is mobilise the critical minority in the privileged class … There is nothing wrong when you consider this to be your task … But we must link the solidarity to the workers movement".*[50]

This explains why, during the first years of the AABN, their fundraising activities were not for the ANC but for SACTU. In 1975 it sent two cars to Dar es Salaam for SACTU. After the 1976 Soweto uprising, the ANC had to care for thousands of youth that fled from South Africa to the neighbouring countries. As the needs of the movement increased enormously, both AABN and KZA started to fund ANC projects. At the same time fundraising for SACTU by AABN, KZA and BOA continued.

From the outset there were differences in approach between AABN and KZA. Over the years the practice developed – and was later formalised – that AABN would focus on clearly defined projects by mobilising related focus groups, while the KZA would raise funds from the public at large. In the 1980s AABN and KZA often organised joint fundraising campaigns; these campaigns were also important for the political mobilisation of the public. KZA had experience with large-scale fundraising from it's days as the Angola Comité. It had a register of some 40 000 regular donors who were asked to contribute for 'unconditional' support to the liberation movements. Fundraising from the public was not only necessary to increase income, but also to maintain the size of the list of donors.

In addition to the regular donors and the public campaigns, KZA had a third source of money. If a request for humanitarian aid was received from the liberation movements, it tried to find a Dutch NGO, willing to pay for the project or goods. There were many dozens of sources that could be tapped: organisations for children, education, medical aid, church or development organisations and the campaigns to fight hunger in Africa. It is necessary to focus only on a few of these campaigns: the first long-term campaign of AABN in 1979; the (first) public campaign of KZA for the ANC in 1979; the support of the Dutch government to the liberation movements; the European Community (EC) 'Programme for the victims of apartheid'; and the campaign for Radio Freedom.

3.1 The AABN campaign 'Education against apartheid'

After an emergency call by the ANC for international support for the young people who had left South Africa after the Soweto revolt, the AABN began it's long-term campaign, 'Education against Apartheid' in 1977. Youth and pupils were one of the

[50] IISG, AABN archive: Report of an AABN discussion day, 16 December 1972.

focus groups of the AABN, and a group of AABN volunteers had been visiting (mainly secondary) schools to give or support lessons on apartheid. It was decided to combine this spreading of information with fundraising for ANC educational projects. Each year about €10 000 was raised by educational institutions and local support groups.

The campaign was supported by the teacher's trade union ABOP. In 1979 the campaign focused on twelve Dutch cities. Schools, youth organisations, the local trade unions of teachers and the local alderman for education were all contacted. The campaign was supported by a tour of the South African group The Freedom Singers.

Each year in the summer period two work camps of three weeks each were organised to produce educational materials, like blackboards, schoolbags, maps, educational puzzles and satchels. Although some support went to SWAPO and the Zimbabwean liberation movements, most went to the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu College. In 1983 five Dutch teachers selected by the AABN started working at the school.

3.2 The KZA fundraising campaign of 1979

During 1975/1976 the Angola Comité/KZA focused all it's energy on supporting the Angolan government in it's war against the South African invasion forces. After the expulsion of these forces to Namibia, the campaigns of 1977 and 1978 were focused on SWAPO. Until Namibia gained it's freedom, the country would constitute a basis for new South African invasions into Angola. The KZA hoped to convince the many people that had in the past supported the freedom struggle in Angola and Mozambique to continue their support for the liberation of the other white-ruled countries in southern Africa.

After two years of campaigning for SWAPO, the KZA's campaign in 1979 was the first time it gave unconditional support to the ANC. It was important to select a campaigning period in which no other national organisation was raising funds. Such a 'collection free' period was a condition for local support groups to get permission from the municipality for home-to-home or street collections and to secure free advertising (about one minute) on radio and television and free advertisements in the newspapers. The Social-Democratic broadcasting organisation VARA, the Catholic KRO, the left Liberal VPRO, the neutral NOS and the religious IKON were all willing to comply as far as radio and TV spots were concerned. VARA supported the campaign with a TV evening with Miriam Makeba and a complete day of coverage on radio.

In total, VARA and the Labour Party and the smaller progressive parties sent out one million letters with a pre-printed bank transfer form to their members. Moreover, the FNV trade union decided to support the campaign through appeals to it's 1.5 m members in the trade union periodicals. This fundraising campaign was organised parallel to the campaign for the oil boycott. In support of both activities a free newspaper was distributed with a circulation of 800 000 copies. The campaign raised €400 000. Some of the money was used to buy equipment for the ANC, but a large part was transferred directly to the ANC's bank account. The Dutch state intelligence service BVD was alarmed at these fundraising

activities, which they classified as ‘indirect support to terrorism’. They complained:

> *“You could expect such unconditional support from AABN and MKA, as there is a communist majority in their board. But the problem is not only the KZA: the Labour Party raised funds for the ANC amongst all party members, money that can be used by the movements as they wish. And even the Foundation for Ecumenical Support (SOH) and the youth organisations of the protestant churches co-operated with KZA to raise unconditional support for these communist liberation movements.”*[51]

3.3 Dutch government support for the liberation movements

In 1969/1970, the Angola Comité succeeded in persuading the Dutch parliament and government to give financial support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. When the centre left Den Uyl government came into power in 1973, the new minister of development co-operation, Jan Pronk, represented the young, progressive wing of the Dutch Labour Party. Previously, government aid to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies had only been a few hundred thousand euro a year, but Pronk put no less than €6 m into the 1974 budget; in 1975 this rose to €9 m, with organisations now also targeted for assistance including SWAPO of Namibia and ZAPU and ZANU of Zimbabwe.

The ANC was still excluded from Dutch government support in 1975 because some bureaucratic problems had to be solved. In the view of the government, South Africa was not a Third World country, so it did not fall under the minister of development co-operation. Furthermore, because South Africa was not a colony the ANC could not be recognised as a liberation movement. Moreover, until the Soweto uprising there were doubts about popular support for the ANC inside South Africa. From 1977 onwards the ANC received about €250 000 annually from the Dutch government; this support was classified as ‘humanitarian assistance’. President Tambo met government ministers and the prime minister on several occasions to ask for increased assistance.

The assistance to the liberation movements was problematic for the Ministry of Development Co-operation as the government bureaucracy was not equipped to ship an assortment of commodities to various places in Africa, and the liberation movements were impatient as the system was slow. It was for these reasons that the Dutch government agreed to a request from all four liberation movements – the ANC, SWAPO, ZAPU and ZANU – that the government money would be spent through KZA, who would buy and ship the requested goods. This arrangement, accepted by Pronk, was subsequently continued under the more conservative Dutch governments. The bills for humanitarian goods were settled with the government, so that the money received from the public could be used for other needs or be transferred to the bank accounts of the liberation movements for their local expenses. For instance, KZA contributed €70 000 annually for ANC safe houses inside South Africa and for travel and living expenses of the underground political activists in the second half of the 1980s.

In addition to the support for the ANC through KZA, government assistance for ANC refugees was channelled through international organisations like the UNHCR, the Red Cross and the World Council of Churches. In addition, the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) was given €230.000 annually. From 1977 the

[51] IISG: KZA archive; BiZa, BVD, nr 2.241.336.75, file “KZA including AABN”

government also gave funds to the Dutch development NGOs and the trade unions for projects inside South Africa that were designed to provide education and training. After 1981 the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria also identified projects and financed them.

3.4 The EC 'Programme for the Victims of Apartheid'

On 10 September 1985, the foreign ministers of the European Community (EC) announced a Special Programme for the Victims of Apartheid. The move was clearly aimed at reducing public pressure on the EC to introduce economic sanctions against South Africa. This initiative became the EC's largest aid programme of any kind in it's history and by far the largest support programme for organisations in South Africa. In the first five years a total amount of R445 m (over €100 m) was spent on more than 200 different projects.

Two days after this announcement in Amsterdam, a conference on 'Apartheid and Southern Africa, the West European Response', was held. The conference was organised by KZA in co-operation with AWEPAA and Novib. It was attended by about 60 European MPs, representatives of European NGOs, the ANC, and President Nujoma of SWAPO. At the conference, European Commissioner Claude Cheysson and officials of the EC development department DG VIII gave more details about the Special Programme.

After the Amsterdam conference KZA decided to investigate the intentions behind the programme. Would part of the money go to Inkatha structures? Was the aim only to soften the effects of apartheid by aiding it's victims, or did it hope to remove apartheid by supporting UDF-affiliated organisations? A week after the conference, KZA's 'roving ambassador' Paul Staal met Beyers Naudé in Copenhagen.[52] Beyers Naudé visited DG I (external affairs) and DG VIII of the EC and some like-minded European funding agencies. In October, Staal and David de Beer (Kairos) travelled to southern Africa to consult with the leadership of the ANC, SACTU and SWAPO, with the secretaries general of the South African and the Namibian Councils of Churches (SACC and CCN), Beyers Naudé and Shejavali, and with potential recipients of the European money.

As a result of this trip, an internal South African consultation with the main potential recipients was held, which drafted a list of 'conditions and principles' for the Special Programme. No South African government programmes (or those conducted by 'homeland' governments) were to be supported; in this way Inkatha was excluded. These prerequisites were supported by the SACC and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC).

When Beyers Naudé and Shejavali came to Brussels to present the letter with the 'conditions and principles' to the EC, KZA organised a meeting with 16 European funding agencies that were expected to be in favour of the conditions. At this gathering a standing committee of seven 'like-minded' Protestant, Catholic and nonconfessional European NGOs was formed to co-ordinate the European end and

[52] Beyers Naudé was a highly respected man in the Netherlands. The Dutch churches donated money for his 'silent funds', but as he could not inform them where and how the money was used, they stopped doing so. KZA took this service over.. The money was used for research on white death squads that were instigating armed conflict between Inkatha and ANC, for bribes to informers, for safe houses and income for people sought by the South African police.

keep a watchful eye on the EC's implementation of the Special Programme. Beyers Naudé said that no projects would be funded that were unacceptable to the ANC, and the ANC representative indicated that the ANC agreed with the criteria and the proposed administrative structure.

Beyers Naudé announced that the church leaders would prepare a third, secular channel that would later be named the Kagiso Trust. To minimise the possibilities of manipulation by the EC it was agreed that all projects should go through one of the three channels: the SACC, the SACBC or the Kagiso Trust. Moreover, these organisations reported to the EC that 'all applications by bodies such as the UDF, trade unions, student and youth, community, women's, human rights organisations, etc., will be presented to and handled by the Kagiso Trust'.[53] This new trust became by far the largest and most political channel of projects. It sent all it's projects to a consortium of nine secular NGOs in Europe, the SA/NAM Association. Each Kagiso project would be attributed to one of the nine SA/NAM member organisations, which would forward it to the EC. SA/NAM and the standing committee were based at the KZA office in Amsterdam, [54] and Paul Staal became the secretary of both institutions.

After EC commissioner Natali replied positively to the 'conditions and principles' on 23 May, by July 1986 the EC had received four projects through the SACBC, four through the SACC, 14 from the Kagiso Trust and two from the trade unions. But, under pressure from member states, the commission tried to differentiate between humanitarian and political projects, with only the former gaining approval. This differentiation was unacceptable to the South African partners, as in the South African context all humanitarian projects carried political implications.

In March 1987, SACC, SACBC and Kagiso Trust sent a joint letter to the EC in which the original criteria were re-emphasised and new 'basic principles' were added:

> *All projects should promote non-racialism and the general idea of uniting people of different cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds; they should encourage democratic practices and should enjoy the support of the communities in which they were based.*

These additional demands were an expression of the suspicions of a highly politicised South Africa about the reasons for aid coming into the country. As there was distrust of the role of the project evaluation committee of EC experts, it was agreed that they could only read the project descriptions, not copy them. Suspicion increased when some EC member countries tried to stop the programme and when the UK, Portugal and Italy pleaded for funds for Inkatha.

The commission gave in to the additional South African demands, but the position became impossible when several member states refused to accept the agreement. Under pressure, the commission tried to interfere. The conflict came to a head when KZA asked for €230 000 to start up a new weekly of the democratic organisations in Durban, The New African. This was a sensitive matter because Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha saw Durban as within his region. Pressure was put on KZA to withdraw, but it refused and finally the project was approved. When a delegation of EC officials arrived at the editorial office in Durban to call for a moderate course and to publish Buthelezi's views, the editors refused to comply.

[53] IISG, Archive Bevrijdingsfonds KZA.

[54] KZA was the only anti-apartheid movement participating in the European Special Programme.

The EC programme still had a positive side effect as the EC bureaucracy became very aware of the implications of the struggle in South Africa. This was the case when the South African government introduced legislation which would deny access to external financing, and when in 1988 it decided to prohibit and curtail the activities of 18 organisations, many of whom were funded by the EC.

From the very beginning the South African partners and the European NGOs considered it politically important that the people of Namibia were also recognised as victims of apartheid. But in July 1986 when the South Africans submitted their first projects, there were none from the Council of Churches of Namibia. At the request of the CCN, KZA organised training courses on project work for Namibians in Harare and Lusaka.

3.5 Summary of KZA assistance, 1988–1990

After 1986 material support by KZA came from four different sources: the Dutch public, other (mostly Dutch) NGOs, the Dutch government and the European Community. Each of the four sources contributed about a quarter to the total income (see table below). During 1988 and 1989 there were signs of a changing climate in southern Africa when the Pretoria government spoke about a possible release of Mandela and had accepted free elections in Namibia. These developments had an influence on the assistance that KZA could give to ANC and SWAPO (external) and to organisations inside South Africa and Namibia. From 1988 to 1989 the assistance to SWAPO outside Namibia dropped considerably as a consequence of the ending of the Dutch government assistance to the Namibian refugees; the support now went to organisations inside Namibia. A similar development took place concerning South Africa. Increasingly, as the struggle moved inside South Africa, many donors preferred to support local organisations in the country. At the same time, many UDF projects in South Africa preferred EC funding through KZA since it was the only anti-apartheid organisation in the EC Programme. After the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 contributions to this country were stopped. The only KZA support was a group of some 60 Dutchmen working on a contract basis with the Zimbabwe government in education and health.

Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA): Assistance in euro*

	1988	1989	1990
SWAPO (outside)	926 000	141 000	
Namibia	186 000	2 347 000	450 000
ANC	815 000	410 000	350 000
South Africa	1 160 000	1 950 000	2 500 00
Zimbabwe	30 000	22 000	
Total	3 116 000	4 870 000	3 300 000

Based on documentation in IISG, Bevrijdingsfonds KZA Archive.

3.6 Support to the armed struggle

Although some radical individuals and local groups pleaded that the anti-apartheid organisations should send arms to the liberation movements, at no stage did AABN and KZA ever send military hardware, as it was not requested. In 1975, KZA had, however, helped the MPLA in their war against the South African invaders by buying landing craft, transport planes, and equipment to repair airfields, and had assisted with visit's to Belgian arms traders. KZA also sent night vision equipment, infrared video cameras, detailed military maps and deep-sea diving equipment to the ANC liberation army. Both military wings of SWAPO and ZANU received modern radio communications systems from KZA. The operators were sent to Belgium for training in the use of the sophisticated equipment. Cars and trucks were also sent, although until 1981 this was not allowed with government money, so other funds had to be used.

Press conference with Klaas de Jonge after his return from South Africa, held in the press room of Schiphol Airport, Amsterdam, 7 September 1987. From left to right: Fulco van Aurich (AABN), Klaas de Jonge, Karel Roskam, Sietse Bosgra.

A number of young Dutchmen were involved in the smuggling of arms over the border to South Africa. A useful source of recruitment for the ANC were the Dutch teachers who were sent by KZA to work in Zimbabwe. In 1985, Klaas de Jonge and his former wife Hélène Passtoors were arrested in South Africa and accused of smuggling arms and preparing sabotage actions for the ANC. During a trip through Pretoria to indicate the places where he planned to plant his bombs, Klaas de Jonge managed to escape and reach the Dutch embassy. A diplomatic row erupted

and eventually he stayed in the embassy for more than two years. The South African government formally requested his extradition, but the Dutch government refused. The situation became more complicated when the embassy moved to new premises. The South African government threatened to lift the immunity of the former embassy. After negotiations between the Dutch, French, Angolan and South African governments, Klaas de Jonge returned home in a complicated prisoners' exchange in September 1987.

Hélène Passtoors was sentenced to ten years in jail. During her trial she was dressed in black, green and yellow, the colours of the ANC, and the public gallery was filled with people singing freedom songs. Hélène had both Dutch and Belgian nationality, and she chose to request the Belgian government for legal assistance. Finally, after four years of imprisonment Hélène was able to return to Belgium in May 1989, where her children and grandchildren welcomed her.

3.7 The Radio Freedom campaign

In 1982 the AABN received a request for support from Victor Matlou, the director of Radio Freedom, the ANC radio station in exile with transmitters in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Madagascar and Ethiopia. The aim was to collect funds for recording studios for the ANC radio station. Fundraising started on a small scale; with the support of the ANC unit in the Netherlands a 'mobile studio', a bus with a radio system, was used to collect money from the public in the street.

But soon, however, the initiative developed into a largescale campaign. A 'Group of Initiators – Radio Freedom', consisting of 80 broadcasting employees with Karel Roskam as one of the leading initiators, set up the Omroep voor Radio Freedom (OvRF), although the administration of the campaign was still done by the AABN. OvRF collected funds among the staff and the boards of a variety of Dutch broadcasting organisations. In the end 7 000 people made annual financial contributions of €5 to the station.

Moreover, publicity for the campaign was organised in daily and weekly newspapers, on radio and TV. In the promotion reference was often made to Radio Oranje, the Dutch transmitter in exile in England that broadcast to the Netherlands during the German occupation in 1940–1945. In 1985, at a benefit performance in the Amsterdam Carré Theatre, €50 000 was raised. The event was transmitted for five hours on radio and an hour and a half on TV. The broadcasting organisations – IKON, VARA, KRO and VPRO – all supported OvRF with the trade unions FNV and CNV contributing €50 000.

In 1983 the first recording studio with professional equipment was shipped to Madagascar, where the ANC had two hours of air time each day on the national radio station. The Dutch World Broadcasting had a strong transmitter on Madagascar, but all attempts to get airtime on that transmitter for the ANC failed, because permission was required from the Madagascar government. In 1984 there was enough money for a recording studio in Zambia, and in 1985 a third studio was set up in Ethiopia. In all these countries Dutch radio employees accompanied the equipment to install it and train the staff. Moreover, several staff members were trained at the Radio Netherlands Training Centre. In 1987, after five years of campaigning, a million Dutch guilders (€450 000) was collected; five years later it

had grown to €1 400 000.

In 1991, at the request of the ANC, OvRF organised a conference in Amsterdam on the future of the electronic media in South Africa. About 50 journalists, media experts and broadcasters came over from South Africa for the Jabulani Freedom of the Airwaves conference. The participants also paid visit's to European and Dutch media institutions.

Poster of the Radio Freedom Campaign, designed by Opland.

In 1990 plans to purchase a strong short-wave transmitter positioned in Madagascar were cancelled when the ANC was unbanned and the radio station in exile stopped broadcasting after 30 years. The personnel and the assets were repatriated to South Africa. During a visit to South Africa by Karel Roskam in January 1992, the ANC Department of Information and Publicity requested OvRF to assist in founding a new independent media institute in Johannesburg to train black broadcasters. The focus of the new Radio Freedom Institute of Broadcast Journalism was to provide the ‘previously disadvantaged’ with broadcasting skills. With a contribution of €180 000 from the Dutch government and a further amount from the city of Rotterdam, OvRF agreed to pay for the new building and the running costs for the first three years.

However, the project ended on a very sour note. In 1994 a large festival was organised and Thabo Mbeki opened the Institute in September 1995. But the representatives of the OvRF met outside the festival hall and discussed the fact that all the money had been used, and that there was even an enormous debt. The staff complained that their salaries were not been paid and that the telephone was about to be cut. The festivities ended in a bitter row between the new director and the Dutch, who had supported Radio Freedom for over ten years. Angry letters were written to Walter Sisulu, the chairman of the board, demanding details in order to account for spending over R2.5 m; there were even threats of a court case. But no reaction was forthcoming and the Dutch support group simply had to be dissolved in distress.

Chapter 4 - Dutch government policy 1973-1990

> *It is deep in the night of 26 to 27 June 1980; parliament is already in session for two days. Through direct television broadcast the Dutch population can be witness of an exciting event: the government is in imminent danger of falling. The subject is the Dutch oil embargo against South Africa. A majority of parliament has voted in support of the boycott, the government refuses and for that reason the opposition has introduced a motion of censure. At 5 a.m. votes are counted: the motion is defeated by 74 to 72.*[55]

Most of the energy of the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations did not go into moral or material support of the liberation movements, but into attempts to isolate the apartheid regime. One of the objectives of their sanctions campaigns was to convince parliament and government to impose sanctions against South Africa. Every four years, before the parliamentary elections, AABN, KZA, Kairos, BOA and DAFN presented a detailed, joint programme for a better Dutch southern Africa policy. Moreover, in co-operation with the local groups, KZA began a national campaign – 'Partij kiezen voor Zuidelijk Afrika' (Taking sides for southern Africa; 'partij kiezen' also means 'choosing a party'). All political parties were asked to send their comments on a long list of questions about their anti-apartheid policy. Local groups and individuals were asked to raise these issues, detailed in an action book, at local election meetings.

4.1 The Den Uyl government, 1973–1977

After the 1973 elections, Labour leader Joop Den Uyl formed a new government with a left-wing group of Christian Democrats, which became the most progressive government since the Second World War. The anti-apartheid organisations were hopeful that some of their aims would be realised. It was encouraging that the new minister of development co-operation, Jan Pronk, began to give financial assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa. Then too, the minister of defence, Vredeling, reversed a decision by the former government that Dutch warships would visit Simon's Town. In May 1975, when the German government proposed to build a major NATO monitoring installation in South Africa, Vredeling threatened 'that public opinion in the Netherlands would not support such an installation', and that 'NATO could lose a member state if there would be any military co-operation with the South African government'.[56]

But against the wishes of the New Left, the more radical wing of the Labour Party, Max van der Stoel became the new minister of foreign affairs. He was an old style Labour Party man, the very opposite of Pronk, and a man of the Cold War. Characteristic of his views was that in 1976, after the independence of Angola and Mozambique, he warned 'against the advance of the proletarian internationalism in Southern Africa'. He pleaded for 'a firm and co-ordinated Western policy', for instance, in the framework of NATO.[57] The Labour Party parliamentary party and Pronk clashed repeatedly with van der Stoel. Cynics concluded that Den Uyl needed Pronk and Vredeling to satisfy his electorate and the parliamentary party,

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[55] Frank J. Buijs, Vreedzame en Gewelddadige Acties tegen de Apartheid (Violent and peaceful action against apartheid) (Amsterdam: Babylon-De Geus, 1995), 1.

[56] Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 1974-1975, 5262-5265.

[57] Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 27.

and that he needed van der Stoel on Foreign Affairs to reassure the Americans and other allies.

In it's declared policy towards South Africa the new government said that it would endeavour to root out all forms of racial discrimination but would at the same time retain some dialogue. However, during the ministry of van der Stoel nothing changed in Dutch policy towards sanctions and dialogue with South Africa continued. He was only willing to apply sanctions if there was an obligation through a UN Security Council decision. In 1973 the government voted against a UN resolution demanding an oil boycott against South Africa. His only steps against apartheid were the cancellation of subsidies for emigration to South Africa, ending guaranteed export credit's with an expiry longer than one year and freezing the cultural agreement with South Africa.

In 1975, South Africa signed a contract with three Dutch firms to build a nuclear reactor at Koeberg. A campaign began against the delivery, supported by the Dutch Council of Churches, the ANC, President Nyerere of Tanzania and many others. The Industrial Trade Union of the NVV was also opposed to building the Koeberg nuclear reactor, although this would mean the loss of 3 000 man-years of work. The Dutch trade unions also contacted their sister organisations in Switzerland, West Germany and France to take a similar position if the project were adopted by their countries. The Den Uyl government was strongly divided on the issue which nearly led to the disintegaration of the government and the situation was only saved when South Africa gave the order to France, where Pretoria experienced no antagonism.[58]

Only after Soweto (1976) and the murder in detention of Steve Biko (1977), during the last months of the Den Uyl government, did van der Stoel change his negative attitude towards sanctions, admitting that the use of force appeared to be inevitable if change was to be effected. In 1977, when the European Community (EC) adopted a code of conduct for European firms in South Africa, he (together with Denmark) proposed adding a ban on subsidised export credit's and a request to the European business community to refrain from any further investment in South Africa. The Netherlands was also one of the few Western countries that supported a ban on new
investments and a selective oil embargo in the UN. His South African counterpart, Pik Botha, was furious: ‘The Netherlands has the most poisonous and hostile policy towards South Africa in the whole world.’[59] In 1980, speaking at a meeting of KZA, Den Uyl admitted that his government had failed regarding sanctions. On the delivery of nuclear components for Koeberg, he admitted that his political ideals should have prevailed and that if need be he should, have ‘accepted the fall of my government’[60]

[58] In an advertisement in the influential French daily Le Monde (6 June 1976) the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations appealed to the French public to resist this order, but this met with little reaction.

[59] Vrij Nederland, 3 June 1978.

[60] Trouw, 7 February 1985.

4.2 The CDA–VVD government, 1977–1981

At the end of the Den Uyl government's four-year term the Labour Party won ten seats, indicating that there was support for a second Den Uyl government. The anti-apartheid organisations hoped this might mean the realisation of the sanctions van der Stoel had spoken of, but negotiations with the Christian Democrats dragged on without agreement and the Christian Democrats decided to form a centre-right government with the VVD. The Labour Party admitted later that they had been asking too much in the negotiations.

In order to understand the development of Dutch sanctions policy during this period it is necessary to look at developments in the Christian Democratic Party (CDA). In 1977 this party was established by a merger of the three existing Christian Democratic parties.[61] As several of it's members of parliament were afraid that the conservatives would dominate the party in the new centre-right coalition government, they formed a progressive group in the CDA parliamentary party, the 'loyalists'. One of the concessions to keep them and their supporters in the new party was that one of them, Jan Nico Scholten, would become parliamentary spokesperson on foreign affairs. He was to become the driving force behind the parliamentary sanctions lobby. The Angola Comité/Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) had since 1973 built up good relations with him. Prior to each parliamentary debate on southern Africa, Scholten would invite KZA to prepare for the discussion.[62] Tactics and possible manoeuvres by his Christian Democrat Party were discussed, as well as the arguments and information that might be useful.

The CDA–VVD government announced that it's aim for South Africa was limited to economic sanctions in the context of the EC and the UN. This meant that there would be no Dutch sanctions until there was a unanimous decision of all EC countries or of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. This negative stance led to heated debate in parliament, where after Soweto a large majority was in support of unilateral sanctions.

For the next ten years the struggle for a Dutch oil embargo, initiated in 1977/78 by Kairos and KZA,[63] dominated parliamentary debates. Labour leader Den Uyl stated: 'Since Iran stopped it's supplies to South Africa that country is dependent on oil from the free "spot" markets, of which Rotterdam is the largest. In my view the Dutch government is in a unique position to intervene effectively.'[64] In the parliamentary debates on foreign affairs in November 1979 the government refused a unilateral Dutch oil boycott, but indicated that a common embargo by the (then nine) EC countries 'might be useful'. Parliament adopted a Christian-Democratic motion, introduced by Jan Nico Scholten, which gave the government six months to organise a joint EC oil embargo. Failing this, the Netherlands would unilaterally join the existing oil embargo of the oil-producing Arab states.

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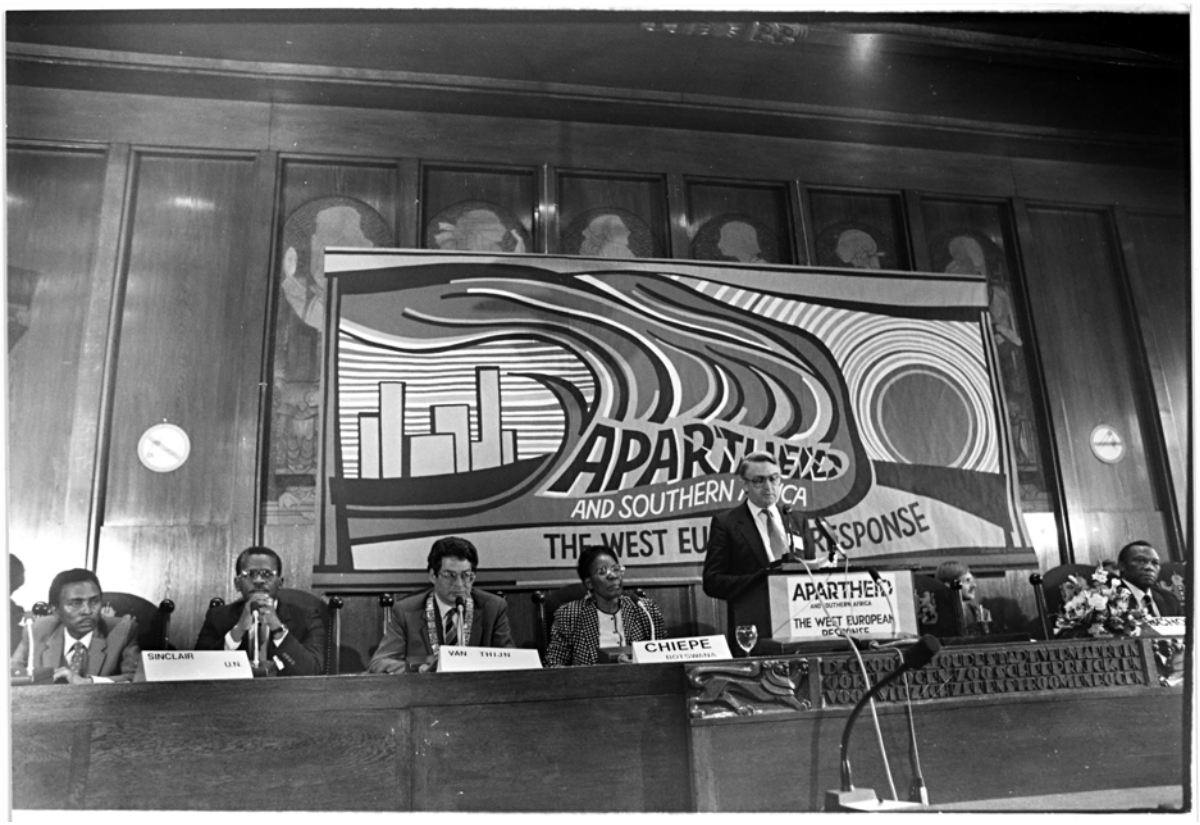
[61] At the time in the Netherlands there were three main political parties: the Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party, left-of-centre), the CDA (Christian Democrats, centre, with wings on both sides) and the VVD (right-of-centre). They had about 30, 30 and 20 per cent of the votes respectively. Governments were thus coalitions of two of these three parties, possibly with support from one or more smaller parties.

[62] See section on Angola Comité.

[63] The oil boycott campaign will be discussed in detail below, including the Netherlands' role in the oil embargo, the campaign against Shell and the international dimension of the campaign.

[64] Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 1979-1980, 140.



The first conference of European parliamentarians in 1980, 'Apartheid and Southern Africa, the European response' in the City Hall of Amsterdam, organised by KZA and Kairos. This was the initial step in the establishment of AWEPAA, the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid. Speaker is the Dutch Christian-Democratic MP Jan Nico Scholten, later president of AWEPAA.

In June 1980, the minister of foreign affairs reported that there was no support in the EC for an oil embargo. Parliament adopted, with a two thirds majority, a second motion tabled by Scholten, that an oil embargo against South Africa be introduced immediately, but the government refused, leading to a serious conflict with parliament and the general public. To avoid a confrontation with parliament the government proposed that the Scandinavian countries, Belgium and Luxembourg be approached for a joint oil boycott.[65] The government tried to win over some of the MPs by promising more aid to the frontline states, introducing visas for South Africans and expediting the end of the cultural agreement with South Africa. On 26 June 1980 the final trial of strength between parliament and the government took place; clearly the government's survival was in the balance. TV programmes scheduled for that night gave way to a direct broadcast of the debate, which continued until late at night. Parliament insisted it wanted a unilateral Dutch oil embargo immediately. Again, the same motion was adopted and again government refused.

[65] The Benelux is an economic union between the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. With it's open borders, an effective Dutch oil boycott would therefore have to include Belgium and Luxembourg.

The ‘loyalists’ then had to vote on the no-confidence motion introduced by the Labour opposition – against a government that was dominated by their own party. Under enormous pressure from the party, most Christian Democratic parliamentarians chose not to end their coalition government. The others stood with Jan Nico Scholten. The final count was 74 to 72 – and the government survived.

That same year the Dutch government voted in the UN General Assembly in favour of a resolution on an oil embargo against South Africa. Six months later the government reported to parliament that the Scandinavian countries and Belgium–Luxemburg were unwilling to join the Netherlands in an oil embargo. However, Scholten and his fellow progressive parliamentarians of the CDA refused to give up. With the prospect of new elections in 1981 the CDA leadership realised it was important to avoid further tension in the party on the embargo. The progressives agreed to defer the subject until after the elections on the condition that there would be a section on South Africa in the election programme that was acceptable to them. The result was that the CDA electoral platform included a statement on the introduction of an ‘efficient’ Dutch oil embargo to prevent the import of commodities from South Africa, especially coal, an investment ban similar to the one introduced in Sweden, and support for frontline states and the liberation movements.

4.3 The Labour–CDA government, 1981–1982

The declaration of policy of the new Labour–CDA government had a detailed seven-point paragraph on South Africa, virtually a verbatim copy of the CDA election programme. And indeed, the Dutch vote in the UN improved. While in 1980 only six of the 18 resolutions were supported, the new government voted in favour of ten of the 16. Moreover, the government asked sports organisations to end contact with South Africa. The anti-apartheid movements were hopeful that at last sanctions would be realised. But in the Labour Party, the spirit of the ‘New Left’ movement was weakened. It was significant that the conservative van der Stoel was re-appointed minister of foreign affairs. But he was optimistic: ‘It has become clear to me that in Southern Africa and in the whole of Africa great importance is attached to one sided steps by the Netherlands.’[66]

But the hopes of the anti-apartheid movements were short-lived. Van der Stoel tried to postpone sanctions by establishing an interdepartmental study group to investigate the possibility of realising the three economic sanctions of the CDA election programme in the light of international treaty obligations. Because of internal disagreements in the cabinet (on other issues), the Labour Party ministers resigned after six months. The only step forward was that the cultural agreement with South Africa was abolished.

4.4 The CDA–VVD government, 1982–1986

New elections were organised with unchanged election programmes. The CDA still had it's ‘loyalist’ paragraph on South Africa, but the Labour–CDA government was (then) replaced by a centre-right CDA–VVD coalition. Because the VVD was

[66] Annual parliamentary debates on foreign affairs, 9, 10, 11 February 1982, in Amandla, 3 (1982).

strongly opposed to sanctions, the CDA now had an excuse to take out the South African entry, particularly the unilateral Dutch sanctions. In it's new declaration of policy the government said that it supported sanctions in principle, but only in the framework of the EC, the UN, or together with ‘a relevant group of countries’.

The new minister of foreign affairs, Van den Broek (1982–1993), was a CDA right winger and a fierce opponent of Scholten. He decided to return to the policy of ‘dialogue’, but by 1985 the Dutch press and parliament forced him to tone down his statement that ‘one-man-one-vote will not be a realistic option for a free South Africa’. Even the right-wing VVD protested. When his South African counterpart Pik Botha was asked about the relations with the Netherlands, he said: ‘Owing to the personal contacts with van den Broek, the relations with the Netherlands are good.’[67]

The interdepartmental study group that was set up in 1981 by the previous government to study the possibility of Dutch economic sanctions published it's final report in 1983. The conclusion was that legally binding obligations towards Benelux, EC and GATT made ‘unilateral’ Dutch sanctions impossible. KZA and Kairos reacted by asking the opinion of legal specialists. In a joint statement, virtually all Dutch experts in international law denied that there were any legal obstacles. On the contrary, as apartheid was a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, all countries had an obligation to take measures against it.[68] Due to Scholten’s untiring initiatives, parliament eventually adopted, once more with a large majority, a Scholten motion asking for unilateral Dutch sanctions on oil deliveries, investments, coal imports and arms trade. But once again the government refused.

In 1983 the right wing of the CDA felt strong enough to dismiss Scholten as their parliamentary spokesperson on foreign affairs. The old fear in the CDA leadership that part of the more progressive rank and file might split off from the party had disappeared. Scholten left the party, and some years later, left parliament.[69] Most other ‘dissident’ CDA parliamentarians also left parliament, while others accepted party discipline or were isolated by the party. In addition, the CDA placed a ban on all future contact with KZA.

This was the end of a long period (1973–1983) of parliamentary support for unilateral Dutch economic sanctions. Until 1994 and the collapse of apartheid, the majority in parliament and the Dutch government supported only the sanctions measures of the EC and UN Security Council. Parliament virtually unanimously adopted a Christian Democratic motion asking the government ‘to develop in the EC initiatives that can lead to concrete measures of economic pressure on South Africa’.[70]

In 1983 the Dutch government abstained in the UN on an almost unanimous

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67 Cited in Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 39

68 United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Notes and Documents: no.16/84, Legal aspects of unilateral sanctions against South Africa, by Dutch university lecturers in international law, October 1984. The UN Centre against Apartheid found this statement so authoritative that it published it in French and German.

69 Scholten continued his efforts as the founder and chairperson of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPAA). For his dedication to the liberation of southern Africa he was awarded the Gold Medal of the UN General Assembly.

70 Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 1982-1983, 17895, nr 11.

resolution condemning the proposed new South African constitution. The Dutch parliament was shocked and adopted a motion to express it's anger. It is debatable whether it was in reaction to this that in 1984 the Dutch government refused to receive P.W. Botha during his West European tour. The only step forward in this period was the introduction in 1983 of visa requirements for South Africans and in terms of this, entry into the Netherlands was denied to South African government functionaries, representatives of the 'homelands' and sportsmen. Moreover, a Dutch-designed UN Security Council resolution was adopted to ban the importation of South African arms.

In 1984 the Dutch government introduced a new 'two-track' South Africa policy. The first aimed at international sanctions and dialogue with the South African government; the second at supporting projects.[71] The implementation of this assistance was placed in the hands of the Dutch embassy in Pretoria. The projects had to be aimed at peaceful change and be realised within the 'existing legality' and political organisations were excluded. Requests for support to Radio Freedom and the visit of an ANC youth delegation to the Netherlands for the International Year of the Youth were thus refused.
Parliament also asked that the UDF should be supported, but pressure from the right-wing government party, the VVD, with some support from conservative Christian-Democratic parliamentarians led to calls for assistance to Inkatha. Minister of Foreign Affairs van den Broek tried to profit from the confusion and proposed that support should not be given to either UDF or Inkatha, and furthermore that the existing humanitarian support to the ANC be stopped. The minister of development aid, Eegje Schoo (VVD), prevented the attempt to stop assistance to the ANC; she also blocked a request by Dutch business for financial support to train their workforce in South Africa, saying that this was a matter for the Dutch trade unions to handle within their existing cooperative links with the Dutch government.

4.5 The CDA–VVD government, 1986–1989

During the 1986 election campaign, KZA, AABN, Kairos, BOA and DAFN came up with a detailed 31-point election programme. To support the campaign, a detailed study of Dutch policy on South Africa since 1945 was published under the provocative title, *Blood Ties - The Hague-Pretoria*.[72] Dutch public opinion was stronger that ever, with 55 per cent in favour of unilateral sanctions; in 1988 about 50 000 people demonstrated in Amsterdam against the South African policy of the Dutch government. On that occasion, Allan Boesak said: 'For me the Dutch government is in the same position as the Thatcher government, an ally of apartheid.'[73]

However, the Christian Democrats decided to continue their centre-right government with the VVD. At the same time, parliament continued it's pressure on the government to realise (international) sanctions. During the Dutch EC presidency of 1986 van den Broek complained: 'The huge amount of attention for South Africa in the Parliament, together with the publicity that comes with it,

[71] Each year €5 m was spent, one third through international channels, a third through Dutch development organisations and trade unions, and a third through the Dutch embassy in Pretoria.
[72] Rozenburg, De Bloedband.
[73] Conny van Heemskerk and Elly Reinierse, 'De Bloedband Den Haag-Pretoria, 1986-1989' (Amsterdam: KZA, 1989), 2. Boesak repeated his statement for NOS radio.

hinders my functioning as EC president.' He added:

> *"Government and Parliament differ in their point of view on economic sanctions … Of course, a Minister of Foreign Affairs takes the Parliament's concern into account, but I still have my own opinion about the situation in South Africa and about taking possible positive and negative measures … If we should decide on economic sanctions, it has nothing to do with pressure of the Parliament, it is my own judgment of the situation in South Africa."*[74]

Nevertheless, the Dutch presidency proposed an EC-wide ban on vegetables, fruit and wine that was blocked by Portugal. In 1987 van den Broek told parliament that he was not prepared to travel around Europe like a Don Quixote any longer to look for co-operation on sanctions. In 1988 he refused to receive Oliver Tambo, who had previously been welcomed by several Dutch prime ministers[75]. When the government fell in 1989, the 1986 EC investment ban had not yet been implemented through national legislation.

Van den Broek soon found new arguments to oppose sanctions. Had P.W. Botha not promised independence for Namibia and an end to support for RENAMO in Mozambique? Had he not suggested a troop withdrawal from Angola and the release of Mandela? And then the argument was that De Klerk needed more time to realise his programme of reform.

4.6 Concluding remarks

The ability of the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations to mobilise the public in support of the liberation struggle in South Africa was enhanced by the following factors:

- The historic, culural and religiuos connections with the white South Africa resulted in media coverage of events in South Africa out of proportion to the remoteness and size of the country. In addition, the large number of Dutch emigrants in South Africa explains why developments in that part of the world were followed closely.
- As a consequence of it's colonial past and as result of the long-standing missionary work, the public, the press and the government had an open mind towards the problems of Africa and other developing countries. In the 1970s the Third World organisations had become an influential movement. Another expression of this outward-looking and internationalist attitude is that the Netherlands is the only country outside Scandinavia that contributes each year more than the internationally agreed 0.7 per cent of it's GNP to development co-operation.
- The Netherlands presents itself as a champion of human rights. This sentiment is shared by a large part of the population: No other country in the world has a higher percentage of the population that is a member of Amnesty International.

The result was that churches, trade unions, local authorities and many NGOs became active partners in the anti-apartheid struggle. Moreover, in the Dutch press the government was repeatedly criticised for it's refusal to take measures against the apartheid regime. The Dutch parliament was largely in sympathy with public opinion and voted with a large majority for stronger sanctions.

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[74] Het Financiele Dagblad, 20 June 1986.

[75] Duco Hellema in Het Parool, 6 June 1995.

This is only half the story. But various Dutch governments were reluctant to implement an unambiguous policy of sanctions against South Africa. From 1977 to 1994 there were six different governments, but very little substantive change in Dutch foreign policy. The government continued to resist unilateral sanctions against South Africa; it was willing to agree to sanctions, but only as far as this was in line with it's European and Atlantic allies.

Chapter 5 - The boycot of South Africa

The struggle for a boycott of South Africa was to a large extent focused on government policy, as discussed in the preceding section. This and the next two sections of this chapter look at the efforts to win over the public and pressurise the business community to boycott South Africa.

5.1 The arms embargo

The Netherlands was not an important producer of armaments. But two months after the Sharpeville massacre (1960) the Dutch government agreed to the sale of 20 000 firearms to South Africa by a state-owned firm. The government also agreed to the delivery of radar fire control and infrared equipment to South Africa.

In 1963, the UN Security Council adopted a voluntary arms embargo, calling on all states to stop the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. The Netherlands, together with most other Western countries, reluctantly promised to comply with this optional embargo; they came up with the peculiar interpretation that the embargo only referred to weapons that could be used to oppress the black population. This left the embargo virtually without effect, as South Africa had, with the support of Western companies, built up it's own armaments industry that could produce the needed small arms. In July 1963 the Dutch government prohibited the export of ammunition to South Africa.

In 1966 the Dutch government was told South Africa was considering the purchase of three submarines, and it was suggested that an order for some frigates and radar installations could follow. A condition was that ammunition for the naval guns should also be delivered. In 1970 South Africa again showed interest in ordering warships from the Netherlands for it's coastal defence. And five years later South Africa planned to order components for a nuclear reactor in Koeberg. There was extended discussion in the Dutch government and parliament but in the end, under the pressure from the anti-apartheid organisations, other NGOs, trade unions and church organisations, it was decided not to commit to granting an export permit. The orders went to France.

In 1977 the UN Security Council finally imposed a mandatory arms embargo. The Den Uyl government reacted positively to an appeal by KZA to block the sale of a civil aircraft, a Fokker F28, to Suidwes Lugdiens, as it could be used for South African troop transports in Namibia. At the request of the FNV trade union- the International Metal Workers Federation (IMF) in Geneva appealed to all unions to resist the delivery of a replacement plane.

Since it's foundation in 1971, the AABN had followed the Dutch implementation of the arms embargo closely. The great malefactor was the Dutch electronic company, Philips. In South Africa, Philips had produced mobile radio equipment for the South African army since 1962. it's most important competitor, an American firm, was forced to stop it's sales in 1978 as a consequence of American sanctions

legislation. Moreover, Philips built military equipment for the South African army in a factory in France. The AABN campaigned for the withdrawal of Philips from South Africa through publicity and reports to the Dutch parliament and government and to the UN; but the firm was not made the focus of mass campaigns. Another Dutch firm accused by AABN of breaking the arms embargo was Fokker, the Dutch aircraft producer. It delivered components for the Transall transport planes used by the South African Air Force and for Airbus passenger planes that could be used for troop transports, but also for refuelling jet fighters during flight.

In 1979 the UN Special Committee against Apartheid asked the Dutch government for an explanation of it's national sanctions law and the evasion of the arms boycott by foreign subsidiaries of Dutch firms. The Dutch government denied any responsibility. It was only in 1980 that it announced bans on arms transports and military technology transfers to South Africa.

In 1983 the AABN and the FNV trade union offered a report to the Dutch government with detailed evidence about the involvement of Philips, Fokker and others in breaking the arms embargo. The goods mentioned in the AABN–FNV report were all produced by subsidiaries of the Dutch firms in France, Britain, Germany and South Africa. The Dutch government again refused to take any responsibility for these deliveries. 'If subsidiaries of Dutch companies based in other countries export to South Africa it is up to the governments of those countries to monitor the compliance of the arms embargo.'[76] An extension of the arms embargo to include paramilitary goods could not be decided and effectively implemented nationally, only by the EC, as there is free trade within the EC.

In 1984, after numerous debates in parliament, the Dutch government reported that as a result of it's long and intensive lobby work, it was able to convince the UN Security Council to introduce a voluntary ban on the import of military goods from South Africa. The aim of the Dutch government was a mandatory ban, but that was blocked by the United States and Britain. Moreover, in September 1985 the EC introduced a long list of 'restrictive measures' against South Africa, including a prohibition on the export of paramilitary equipment. But in 1990, at the shareholders meeting of Philips, Abdul Minty of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa reproached Philips for the use of it's equipment in South African war planes, cameras in the South African prisons, communication equipment by the South African police and computers by the South African army.

5.2 The oil embargo

> *You have to respect the anti-apartheid lobbyists and their views. They are right in believing that South Africa can only change by attacking the economy. And of course it is true that the South African economy would suffer a severe blow if a company the size of Shell felt forced to pull out.*[77]

Although oil was as indispensable for the South African army and police as arms, the UN resolution on a mandatory arms embargo did not include oil deliveries. In a

[76] AABN-FNV report, cited in Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 52.

[77] John R. Wilson, Chairman of Shell South Africa, 24 May 1988, as quoted by Donna Katzin in Embargo, Apartheid's Oil Secrets Revealed, 334.

strategic sense, South Africa was vulnerable due to it's dependence on imported oil. Before 1979, Iran regularly supplied South Africa with 90 per cent of it's oil import needs. But there was now a revolutionary government and the decision by the government of Iran to join the oil boycott in February 1979 forced the apartheid regime to turn to international traders and middlemen and buy the oil it needed on international spot markets. The large crude oil transhipment port of Rotterdam in the Netherlands was drawn upon to replace direct shipments from the Middle East. The role of Rotterdam, the involvement of a number of large Dutch ship owners and oil traders, and the predominant presence of Royal Dutch Shell in the South African energy industry and in oil transports to South Africa were all major factors in making oil an important focus of Dutch anti-apartheid campaigns.

In 1973 Kairos chairman Cor Groenendijk attended the shareholders' meeting of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company (Shell) for the first time. His appeal to the top Shell officials to break ties with the apartheid regime received much attention in the Dutch press and was the beginning of an international campaign against Shell that continued until the 1990s, covering as many as 14 countries on three continents in the 1980s. 'We are backing South Africa,' Shell cheerfully announced in it's advertisements in the South African press in the 1970s. 'To anyone thinking of quitting South Africa: why is Shell chemicals coming in with R100 m?' Shell injected billions into the South African economy and introduced new technologies in the country's oil industry quite apart from helping to supply South Africa with the necessary oil.

There was a second reason to start a campaign against Shell. The company had continued to supply the white rebel regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia with oil, in defiance of a UN Security Council embargo against such deliveries. Although 120 Dutch jurists called for taking the responsible Shell executive Dirk de Bruyne to court, Shell was never punished for defying the embargo.

The decision of Kairos to start a campaign for the withdrawal of Royal Dutch Shell from South Africa was an implementation of the appeal of the World Council of Churches in 1972 for disinvestment from South Africa. Shell was chosen because of the strategic nature of Shell's presence in South Africa. Moreover the oil industry was not extremely labour intensive, so withdrawal of Shell would not have much direct effect on employment in South Africa.

During the first years of the campaign the emphasis was to a large extent on research by Kairos and OSACI (a church-related economic research unit). The other focus during these years was on a dialogue with the Shell management. But after a prolonged period of talks between the management and it's critics, it became clear in 1976 that further talks were of little use; neither side was prepared to change it's stance.

Expansion of the campaign (1977-1985)

In a second phase (1977–1985) the campaign was expanded. Four Dutch organisations carried the campaign through the years: Kairos, the Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA), the Catholic peace organisation Pax Christi and the largest Dutch development organisation, Novib.[78] The ensuing 15 years of close co-

[78] Later the Dutch partner in Oxfam International. In 2006 it changed it's name in Oxfam Novib.

operation among four comparatively diverse groups were remarkable by Dutch standards. The campaign began to acquire a mass character. KZA and Kairos distributed over a million leaflets from house-to-house with the same design that Shell used. Shell threatened legal action, but in the end no legal steps were taken. Because the Dutch government financed the anti-Shell campaign,[79] Shell's European head of PR pleaded, without success, for equal government support for the Dutch pro-apartheid organisations.

A pattern was established in which nearly everyone could contribute to the pressure on Shell. Local activists demonstrated at Shell filling stations. Actors refused to appear in Shell commercials. Clergymen, mayors and city councillors sent delegations to Shell. Religious orders and congregations decided to sell their shares or use them to protest at the shareholders' meetings. Within universities, Shell affiliated scholarships and prizes were no longer accepted and some newspapers refused to run Shell advertisements. Producers of an educational TV programme on technical jobs avoided filming in a recognisable Shell environment. Delft Technical University withheld an honorary degree from Royal Dutch's president van Wachem.

And year after year dozens of prominent speakers from Africa, the United States and Europe attended the shareholders' meetings in The Hague to criticise the company. They were supported by hundreds of 'protest shareholders', singing freedom songs. Outside the building the shareholders were welcomed by drummers, music groups and demonstrators, carrying banners and shouting slogans. Each year these events received good media coverage. Full-page advertisements were placed in the daily press with the names of 5 000 people who signed an appeal to Shell to leave South Africa; a second information magazine was distributed with a circulation of 800 000 copies. It was a painful experience for Shell. The cost was great in time and energy, especially for the management.

The Shipping Research Bureau

The Dutch campaign for Shell's withdrawal from South Africa soon became one component of a broad campaign for a global oil embargo. In co-operation with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, KZA and Kairos organised an international conference on the oil embargo in Amsterdam in March 1980; as a result, the two organisations established the Shipping Research Bureau (SRB) in the same year.[80] Under this neutral sounding name and at a secret Amsterdam address, several researchers set out to unravel South Africa's secret worldwide oil trade. Between 1979 and 1993 SRB claimed that they had uncovered 865 cases of secret oil deliveries to South Africa. This information was used world-wide to stop supplies of oil reaching South Africa. SRB was financially supported by, among others, the Norwegian, Swedish and Canadian governments, the World Council of Churches, and trade unions.

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[79] See the last part of section on the anti-apartheid movements.

[80] Details of the work of SRB and of the campaign for an oil boycott can be found in: Richard Hengeveld and Jaap Rodenburg eds, Embargo: Apartheid's Oil Secrets Revealed (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995). G.G. De Valk, Dutch Intelligence (The Hague: Boom Juridische, Uitgevers, 2005), has comparative case studies on the SRB and the Dutch National Security Service BVD.

Every year, at the annual shareholders' meeting of Shell, protesters sang freedom songs and pleaded for the withdrawal of Shell from South Africa.. Beyer Naude is in the first row of speakers, second from left.

Although both the ANC and SWAPO called for a comprehensive economic boycott, this did not mean sanctions in a specific economic sector were their highest priority. Through the contacts with Kairos, KZA and later the Shipping Research Bureau, the conviction grew within the liberation movements that, in addition to the arms embargo the oil embargo was an important weapon in the struggle against the apartheid regime. Discussions with ANC president Tambo and ANC's sanctions specialist in London, Frene Ginwala, led to the formation of an ANC 'oil unit' in 1978. SRB discovered that most of the oil came from the Middle East, although all oil-producing and exporting countries nominally endorsed the embargo against South Africa. The ANC unit used SRB's findings to contact the government of the country involved to convince them to close the loopholes in their embargo. The UN Special Committee against Apartheid also exerted diplomatic pressure on these governments.

In 1986 President Botha admitted that 'between 1973 and 1984 ... the Republic of South Africa had to pay R22 billion more for oil than it would normally have spent ...There were times when it was reported to me that we had enough oil for only one week.[81] A researcher at the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs stated in 1995:

[81] Windhoek Advertiser, 25 April 1986.

"The direct costs of the oil embargo in the 1980s equalled South Africa's gross foreign debt, which by the end of the decade was estimated at between $15 and 20 billion. Indeed, had the oil embargo not been imposed, the 1985 South African debt crisis would probably not have emerged".[82]

SRB played an important role in the internationalisation of the oil embargo and the campaign against Shell. By 1979, the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, the UN Council for Namibia and the UN Decolonisation Committee declared their support. In 1986 the UN established an International Oil Embargo Monitoring Group, and the UN Special Committee began to subsidise SRB. Another important step was the decision of the World Council of Churches and the ICFTU to support the campaign against Shell. Kairos and KZA worked closely together with the Shell campaigns in other countries and KZA printed it's anti-Shell posters in ten different languages. In addition, shareholder resolutions were placed as advertisements in the international press.

Violent activities

The role of the oil embargo became prominent in the Dutch parliamentary discussions and for years the parliament voted in favour of such resolutions, demanding that the government join the oil embargo instituted by the Arab states. But the government refused to budge. This resulted in a growing feeling of frustration among members of the public and activists in the mid 1980s and led to a demonstration by 50 000 people in Amsterdam. The frustration also led to decisions by many municipalities to start their own boycott policy of Shell and other firms active in South Africa. Furthermore the frustration also led to violent activity.[83]

On 7 January 1985, an unidentified group calling themselves 'Pyromaniacs against Apartheid' bombed the country house of the Dutch oil trader Deuss.[84] The house, which was being guarded by South African bodyguards, dogs and electronic equipment, was partially burnt down, causing damage of €700 000. A firebomb attack on the adjacent computer centre of Deuss's firm Transworld Oil failed.

In September 1985, a Makro retail store was completely burned down by an unidentified group using the name RaRa, causing damage of €13 m. Makro was owned by SHV, the Steenkolen Handels Vereniging (Coal Trading Union), a company involved in oil and coal trading in South Africa. In earlier press statements RaRa stated that it's campaigns were an addition to the large anti-apartheid campaigns; but now for the first time it had turned against the 'subsidised anti-apartheid activists'.

In the summer of 1985 there were eight additional bomb and arson attacks or other acts of destruction in a three-month period. In 1986 the press reported a total of 19 attacks on companies. One of the biggest was on the van Leer factory for oil drums. On 18 December 1986, RaRa attacked two other Makro properties.

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82 Peter van Bergeijk in Hengeveld and Rodenburg, Embargo, 343.

83 Buijs, Overtuiging en geweld.

84 SRB had reported that between 1979 and 1985 Transworld Oil, owned by the Dutch oil trader John Deuss, supplied South Africa with an estimated 25 per cent of it's total oil needs. In 1976/77 he bought oil from the Soviet Union and sold it to South Africa. For evading the oil embargo he received more that €100 m over the market price. Between 1979 and 1983 Deuss was the largest supplier to South Africa, second was Dutch-British Shell, and third the Dutch company Vitol Trading.

One of them burnt down completely, with damage of €22 m. In January 1987, another Makro shop was reduced to ashes, and the damage was estimated to be €18 m. Five days later SHV discussed the situation with the minister of justice and threatened to withdraw from South Africa if it's properties in the Netherlands did not get more protection. As the government was unwilling to provide permanent police observation, Makro decided to sell all it's properties in South Africa.

In June 1987, RaRa attacked two Shell petrol stations. A week later it set fire to the garages of a Shell wholesale trader, causing damage of €400 000 and in January 1988 a Shell monument in The Hague was destroyed. The anti-apartheid organisations distanced themselves from the violent RaRa activities; the ANC and Beyers Naudé condemned them. But James Motlatsi, president of the largest South African trade union of mineworkers, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), who spoke at the 1988 Shell shareholders meeting, said:

> *"We do not support sabotage, but at the same time I say that people who burn down Shell petrol stations should not be punished. Because they are angry, and their anger is understandable. If Shell takes another position no filling stations will be burnt down."*[85]

In 1987 Shell was becoming increasingly the focus of small radical groups. A popular activity was 'pump slashing'. Bluf, the bi-weekly radical magazine, published a manual for beginners. In each edition a list of vandalised Shell stations was published, in addition to the picket lines, the painted slogans or the use of glue in locks. On National Action Day for Shell pump slashing on 7 March 1988 in 37 cities one or more Shell petrol stations were vandalised. In 1989 the number of attacks increased. Shell reacted setting up a national service to repair the nightly damages. In Scandinavia 'pump slashing' was also practised, but on a smaller scale. Shell reported that the number of attacks on their service stations worldwide reached as high as ten per week.

In 1988 a broad coalition of activists started the Shell Out of South Africa (Shell uit Zuid-Afrika or SuZa) campaign to bridge the gap between the 'established, reformist' Shell critics and the 'radicals' of RaRa. SuZa organised an international day of action at Shell filling stations and managed to temporarily obstruct a ship carrying South African coal to Rotterdam. In 1989 it organised, in co-operation with AABN and KZA, a large three-day blockade of the Shell laboratory in Amsterdam, in which an estimated 7 500 activists took part. The trade union and the Amsterdam churches also appealed to people to join the blockade. According to Shell, the blockade was unlawful, but the court refused to prohibit the 'blockade show'. However, when the activists blocked all roads to Shell, the Amsterdam police intervened. The president of Shell-Netherlands, Hooykaas, complained that the pressure had become 'indecent'.

The turning point

In 1986, the chairman of the Shell board of directors, van Wachem, admitted in the official Shell in-house publication that a large-scale boycott of Shell products could lead to Shell's withdrawal from South Africa. Shell decided in the end not to do so,

[85] Volkskrant, 11 May 1988

but the worldwide campaign forced it to change it's public and political profile and to actively oppose the apartheid government. This pressure by the international business community contributed to ending apartheid, and Shell stood in the forefront of this. In 1986 the *Financial Times* reported on it's front page that Royal Dutch Shell had emphatically rejected apartheid for the first time. Shell South Africa chairman, Wilson, declared that, 'The business community now realises that there is an enormous threat to it's very existence, which can only be removed if fundamental political reforms are made in the structure of South Africa.'[86] Wilson, who was also chairman of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries, pleaded for negotiations with the true leaders of South Africa. In a later speech he declared that business was now pressing for the unbanning of the ANC, the release of political prisoners and the reprieve of political exiles, as the only remaining option for resolving the power struggle in South Africa through bargaining and negotiation.

Shell now placed full-page advertisements calling for a democratic and nonracial South Africa: 'Due to the increased pressure on Shell SA in respect of the Shell boycott and disinvestment campaign it has been necessary to step up on our corporate advertising.'[87] But the advertisements only appeared in progressive South African weeklies. Wilson declared that Shell was 'committed to doing all it can, including by way of it's social responsibility programme, to eradicate apartheid and to ensure a free and equal society for all.'[88] The spending on this programme was increased in 1987 by 70 per cent. In September 1989 the director of Shell SA, Kilroe, participated in a large anti-apartheid demonstration through the streets of Cape Town. And in the 1990s, when negotiations for a transfer of power were under way, Kilroe even argued that the West should not immediately lift all sanctions against South Africa: 'Mandela is afraid that the process of full abolition of apartheid will otherwise be stopped, we must take that fear seriously.'[89]

5.3 The economic boycott: Loans

One of the first successful anti-apartheid campaigns in the Netherlands was the campaign to ban bank loans to the South African government and state enterprises. The initiative came from the World Council of Churches (WCC), which, after an extensive correspondence with the banks, decided in August 1975 to boycott all banks that participated in the European–American Banking Corporation (EABC). Among the banks that refused to stop supporting South Africa with loans was one of the largest Dutch banks, AMRO. The second largest Dutch participant in EABC, ABN Bank, stopped lending money to South Africa.

The Dutch support organisation of the Programme to Combat Racism of the WCC, Betaald Antwoord, started discussions with both AMRO and ABN Bank in 1971, and in 1976 began a boycott campaign of AMRO Bank. The anti-apartheid organisations AABN, Kairos and BOA joined the boycott. The pressure on the bank increased considerably when the Labour Party and two smaller left-wing parties (PSP and PPR) indicated in a joint statement that they would be joining the campaign, and private clients as well as organisations and municipalities were

[86] J.R. Wilson, 'Business and the Reform Process in South Africa', FCI Annual Banquet, 29 October 1985.
[87] Katzin, Embargo, 310.
[88] 'Time to Fight Back', in 'Corporate Social Responsibility', supplement to Financial Mail, 30 January 1987, 46.
[89] Ibid.

asked to cut their ties with AMRO Bank. In September 1976 there were picket lines in front of 80 branch offices of AMRO during two days of action. The bank reacted with a full-page advertisement. In March 1977 the WCC removed the embargo against AMRO after it promised to issue no new loans to the South African government.

One of the problems during the boycott campaign was to find banks that were ‘clean’. Research and correspondence with the other banks gave the impression that AMRO was the only large Dutch bank involved in providing loans to South Africa. The AABN had earlier launched a successful campaign against two smaller banks, van Lanschot and Mees & Hope.

In 1982 South Africa experienced serious financial problems as a consequence of a sudden fall in the gold price. In 1983 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) rescued the apartheid government with a US$1.1 billion loan. The Dutch government voted in favour of the loan. The trade union branches of the FNV in the AMRO and ABN banks were worried that this signal by the Dutch government might stimulate the banks to offer new loans to South Africa. In new research undertaken in co-operation with the AABN they discovered that AMRO Bank was involved in three new loans to South Africa through a consortium; ABN Bank was involved in four new loans through a French subsidiary. In 1985 both banks made written promises to end their indirect loans to South Africa.

In July 1989, at a conference of the ANC with European and American NGOs from 16 countries, held in London, it was decided to start an international campaign against five international banks to force them not to help in the rescheduling of South African debts. Although none of the banks was Dutch, KZA began a campaign against the French bank Credit Lyonnais, the only one with branches and customers in the Netherlands.

5.4 The boycott of Investments

According to official data, Dutch investments in South Africa were limited; in 1973 they were less than 1 per cent of total foreign investments. But this understated the real situation as the largest Dutch investors, the Dutch–British firms Royal Dutch Shell and Unilever, were regarded as British. In 1970, a Dutch–South African Chamber of Commerce was opened in Johannesburg for the benefit of about 50 Dutch firms, but lack of financial means forced it to stop it's activities after seven years.

In the Netherlands, the AABN did a good deal of research into the relations of Dutch companies in South Africa. In 1974, in reaction to pressure from the anti-apartheid organisations and other NGOs, the churches and the trade unions the Dutch government introduced a ban on investment by Dutch public enterprises. This ban did not include parastatals like the Hoogovens/Estel steel factory, which at the time was studying the possibility of participating in the South African steel industry. After extensive public pressure, Hoogovens abandoned the plans. Buoyed by this success, all energy was then focused on forcing the withdrawal of Shell from South Africa.

In 1977 when the European Community introduced a code of conduct for European

firms in South Africa after the Soweto massacre, the Dutch government proposed in addition a request to the European business community to stop any further investment in South Africa. However, there was no consensus within the EC for this demand. The Star Weekly wrote that, 'Holland was one of the countries most earnestly pleading for tough apartheid-eroding measures when the EC nine foreign ministers approved the Code.'[90]

In 1981 the Swedish ban on investments inspired the Dutch Christian Democratic Party to insert into it's election programme an investment freeze similar to the Swedish law of 1979. In 1983 the parliament debated at length about the investment ban. The discussion ended with a promise by the government that new Dutch investments in South Africa's armament industry would be forbidden. Although the campaign for disinvestment continued, the government remained unwilling to introduce unilateral Dutch measures, saying that it was awaiting a mandatory decision by the UN Security Council.

In the end, about half of the Dutch enterprises did indeed withdraw from South Africa, such as Boskalis, Dura, Hagemeyer, AKZO & van Leeuwen, Holland International, SHV, ABN, Forbo, Heuga, and Nationale Nederlanden.

5.5 The boycott of the Krugerrand

After many years of campaigning against Shell and in support of a Dutch oil boycott, there was no end in sight; it was becoming increasingly difficult to inspire the local anti-apartheid groups to continue the oil boycott campaign. Without abandoning the oil boycott, the Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) decided that a victory was needed. That was one of the arguments that led to the decision to start the campaign against the Krugerrand in 1984, leading to a revitalisation of the local anti-apartheid groups.

The campaign 'Krugerrand, Blood Money for Apartheid' immediately attracted interest in the press and among the public. This was partly due to the fact that Kruger had been a hero during the Boer war against British imperialism. Probably no other country outside South Africa had, and still has, so many Kruger Streets, Kruger Parks, and Kruger Bridges as the Netherlands. Kruger had become a symbol of the apartheid state.

By 1975 the two largest banks, AMRO and ABN Bank, had already promised KZA to end their TV commercials and other promotion of the Krugerrand gold coins. But they still sold them to customers on request and when the campaign began, the banks all refused to halt these sales. The FNV and CNV trade unions of bank clerks, together with KZA, sent letters to all branch offices of the banks. Municipalities, universities, and many other institutions threatened to end relations with the banks if Krugerrand sales were not stopped. The discussion in the various city councils raised a lot of publicity.

On 6 February 1985 there was confrontation. The city of Leiden had invited NMB Bank for a discussion. Other important customers of the bank were also present such as an array of radio and TV broadcasters, from VARA (historically Social-Democrat) to mainstream Protestant NCRV. The Dutch press was waiting behind

[90] The Star Weekly, 1 October 1977.

the doors. This proved to be the end of the campaign and the anti-apartheid activists were again full of confidence. The concluding demonstration was held with the play ‘Egoli, City of Gold’, performed by black Surinam actors; the play drew full houses everywhere in the Netherlands. In the same year the European Community banned the import of Krugerrand, and this was followed by a voluntary UN Security Council ban. In 1986 South Africa stopped the production of Krugerrand.

5.6 The boycott of fruit and other products

South Africa was not an important trading partner of the Netherlands. In 1984 only 0.4 per cent of Dutch exports went to South Africa and only 0.2 per cent of imports came from South Africa. The Netherlands exported eight times more to the rest of Africa, and it's imports from the rest of Africa were 17 times as large. In 1964 the Comité Zuid-Afrika began a short symbolic campaign against the import of South African products. Ten years later the ‘Boycot Outspan Actie’ started it's campaign to oust South African oranges from Dutch shops and markets.

After the successful Krugerrand campaign in 1984, the KZA started the campaign ‘Don’t pick the fruit's from apartheid’ in 1985. It aimed to receive written promises from all retail chains to stop the sale of all South African products. The committee of recommendation included former prime minister Den Uyl, and the chairmen of the Council of Churches, of the consumers’ organisation, of the trade unions FNV and CNV, etc. The campaign was supported by the Labour Party, small left-wing political parties and 11 religious organisations. About 250 local groups were active in the campaign. Only the right-wing party VVD asked the government to end the financing of the boycott campaign through the NCO[91], as long as KZA continued to send ‘blackmailing letters’ to the industry.

The tactics were the same as the Angolan coffee boycott in 1972; the focus of the boycott was not on the products or on individual shops, but on putting pressure on the large retail chains. The first success came before the campaign had even started: Albert Heijn, the largest Dutch chain of supermarkets and a second retail chain Vendex sent a written agreement to boycott all South African products. The second success was that ‘for fear of disorders’ all South African products were removed from the professional Dealers Exhibition for Fruit's and Vegetables and from it's catalogue. After three months, 33 large retail chains had promised to stop selling any South African products. Now the campaign was focused on the hospitals, homes for the elderly, canteens of companies, and municipalities. In co-operation with the Association of Retail Dealers, stickers stating ‘We do not sell South African products’ were printed for the independent retailers. During the first seven months of 1985 the imports of South African oranges and apples were 1 600 and 700 tons. During the same period of 1986 these figures were 200 and 280 tons respectively.

The Dutch government refused to support the campaign with an appeal to Dutch business to stop the import and sale of South African products, but after the success of the campaign, the minister of foreign affairs proposed an import ban of South African fruit, vegetables and wine for all EC member states.[92]

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[91] Discussed in the chapter on anti-apartheid movements.

[92] At the EC Summit of June 1986 Minister van den Broek proposed to impose an EC import ban on all South African

5.7 The coal boycott

Coal was an important export product for South Africa. As a trading nation theNetherlands imported and transhipped large quantities of South African coal. Royal Dutch Shell was involved in the production of oil by owning dozens of South African coal mines. In addition, 20 per cent of the total South African coal export was handled by Shell. Because of Shell's involvement, the campaign for a coal boycott was started by Kairos in 1979, later joined by Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA). At a press conference the four Dutch anti-apartheid organisations (Kairos, KZA, AABN and BOA) appealed to the government and to industry to stop their use of South African coal. In 1980 the Labour Party, the Christian Democrats and smaller parties drew up a parliamentary motion asking the government to take measures against the import of South African coal, but the reply was that this was a matter for trade and industry to decide. From then on, the coal boycott was a recurrent issue on the agenda of the parliamentary debates. As a result of public pressure, the local politicians decided to end the use of South African coal in electricity production in 1979. While in 1979, 4.2 per cent of Dutch coal imports came from South Africa, by 1981 this had dropped to 0.3 per cent

The next target of the anti-apartheid organisations was the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Probably 15 per cent of all South African coal exports went through these ports, partly for Dutch consumption – but mostly for transhipment to Germany and other European countries. The coal boycott campaign in these cities is described in the section on local authorities.

In 1983 the parliament again asked the government to limit or stop the import of South African coal, and again the government refused. In 1985 the government took refuge in the argument that such measures were only possible in the framework of the EC, the free trade arrangement between the EC member states. But two other EC members, Denmark and France, had just rejected that argument and decided to boycott South African coal.

5.8 The boycott of air links

The Dutch airline company KLM supported apartheid South Africa in a number of ways.[93] In 1985 a committee of Dutch development workers in Africa decided to boycott KLM until it stopped it's flights to South Africa. Their appeal 'Fly away– out of South Africa' was endorsed by the Dutch development organisations, SNV, HIVOS, NOVIB, ICCO and CEBEMO; by the FNV trade union; by the Hervormde Church and others. But KLM refused saying: 'We fly to 70 countries, and our policy is not determined by the political acceptability of a country or government.'[94]

The development organisations argued that their work, especially in African countries, was lacking in credibility if not backed by Dutch opposition to all collaboration with apartheid. But most development workers had a contract with the Dutch government-financed development organisation SNV, and SNV was

vegetables, fruit and wine. The Dutch political parties were very enthusiastic about this step, but Portugal blocked the decision, which had to be taken unanimously by all EC member states.

93 See the section on the advocates of white South Africa.

94 Zuid-Afrika vliegt eruit, publication HIVOS, ICCO, NOVIB, SNV, June 1989, 15.

under government orders to continue flying KLM. Dutch development workers in Tanzania who placed an advertisement in a local newspaper exposing KLM were threatened with dismissal. Soon development workers from Denmark and Germany joined the boycott of KLM. More radical activists discussed taking action such as blocking kerosene transports to Schiphol airport or blocking the check-in counters. In 1985, 450 activists occupied a runway and military police was brought in.

The aviation ban was regularly on the agenda of the Dutch parliament from 1986, but while the USA, the Scandinavian countries, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand cancelled flights, KLM, with the support of the Dutch government, continued it's flights to South Africa. It even tried to profit from the American air ban by advertising that it's flights to Amsterdam were 'the quickest connection to America'.

In 1988 the SNV published a report 'Fly away, out of South Africa' in which it called for a denunciation of the aviation treaty with South Africa. By now the call had the support of almost 30 other organisations, many of them church-based, such as the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Catholic Bishops' Conference. However, the coalition parties Christian Democrats and the conservative VVD blocked the proposal in the Dutch parliament.

5.9 The cultural boycott

> *"Of course the present political circumstances in the Netherlands are mainly responsible for the estrangement that is taking place. With the daily distorted reporting and with the domination of the global communication media by extreme left wingers our last contacts, that could be used to place the matters in the right perspective, are all disappearing.".*[95]

The cultural co-operation between the Netherlands and South Africa was laid down in a formal cultural agreement.[96] The first discussions on cultural ties took place as early as 1938, but the negotiations were interrupted by the Second World War. After the war the Smuts government was unenthusiastic about renewed contact with the Netherlands. After the National Party victory in 1948, matters moved ahead and the agreement was concluded in 1951. The text was clearcut: the treaty referred to the Dutch and Afrikaner people. The implementation of the treaty from the Dutch side was handed over to the Nederlands–Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging (NZAV).

Meanwhile the NZAV's South African counterpart made sure that people who were not well disposed towards the South African regime would not receive scholarships or be allowed to spread their views. The agreement was not only used for cultural contact. The Dutch nuclear physicist Kistemaker went to South Africa in 1975 to visit the Pelindaba test factory for the enrichment of uranium and the Christian Democratic defence specialist De Vries reported after his visit to South Africa that, at his request 'the cultural agreement had been so broadly interpreted that I could also collect military information.'[97]

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[95] The South African Department of National Education on cultural ties with the Netherlands, 1976.

[96] See for instance S.E. van der Watt, 'Die Opsegging van die Kultuurverdrag Nederland-/Suid-Afrika: 'n Kritiese Ontleding', MA dissertation, UFS,1992

[97] Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 114.

In 1975 the AABN began a campaign by publishing a critical report on the cultural agreement and in 1976 the campaign led to an appeal to the Dutch government to repeal the treaty, signed by 90 cultural and political organisations. The highlight of the campaign was a working conference under the slogan 'Artists against Apartheid'. After Soweto (1976), the Den Uyl government decided that the agreement would henceforth be used to influence the Afrikaners in the framework of 'critical dialogue', but both the NZAV and the South African government refused to co-operate. In 1977, when the South African regime refused entry visas to four prominent Dutch Protestant and Catholic opponents of apartheid, the Dutch government decided that the agreement should be cancelled.[98] As this was a lengthy procedure, it was frozen and the subsidy to the NZAV was stopped. In 1981 a large majority in parliament finally endorsed the cessation of the agreement. This did not necessarily mean that all cultural contact was over, but artists who had visited South Africa became the target of demonstrations at their performances.

In 1982 the AABN organised a conference in Amsterdam – The Cultural Voice of Resistance – to strengthen the cultural ties between the Netherlands and the ANC. The main topic of discussion was on the possibilities available after the cancelling of the old cultural agreement. In 1987 another cultural conference was held, to which the Dutch government contributed €50 000. It was a two-week event with discussions and performances in many theatres in Amsterdam. It was organised by the CASA Foundation in co-operation with the AABN and in close consultation with the cultural department of ANC. The aim was to offer a podium for debate, which was impossible within South Africa. About 300 South Africans, including those in exile and from inside the country, were accommodated in Dutch family homes. They discussed the cultural future of a democratic South Africa and one of the conclusions reached was that the cultural boycott of South Africa should be used in a more selective way because some of the artists who visited South Africa contributed to the anti-apartheid struggle. One of the aims of the organisers was that during the conference a cultural treaty would be signed between the Dutch government and the ANC, but this did not eventuate.

James Philips played an important role in spreading the ANC culture in the Netherlands. In 1981 he began a project to train Dutch choirs to sing South African freedom songs at political events. Seven of these choirs performed at the 1982 Cultural Voice of Resistance conference; at CASA, 200 singers participated.

In March 1992, KZA organised, with financial support from the Dutch ministries of Foreign Affairs and Culture, the first Dutch–South African cultural festival in Johannesburg and Cape Town. KZA wanted to avoid a situation where the Dutch government funds ear-marked for this kind of activity would once again go to the former pro-apartheid organisations, whose aim was to revive their traditional ties with the Afrikaners. The Vrye Festival, with the multicultural theatre group De Nieuw Amsterdam and a multicultural team of writers, artists and musicians from the Netherlands, was organised by the Vrye Weekblad[99], the only Afrikaans language magazine critical of apartheid. In 1994 a similar event took place with four Dutch writers and the DOG theatre group.

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[98] For a detailed description see van der Watt, 'Die Opsegging'.

[99] The Vrye Weekblad, was financed by KZA. EC made donations of €200 000 in 1990, €260 000 in 1991 and €160 000 in 1992 for the costs of a court case.

5.10 The academic boycott

In the 1970s agitation for an academic boycott of South Africa was started at the universities. At the same time, a campaign at the technical colleges began against traineeships in South Africa. Some years later all Dutch universities decided to refrain from contact with their South African counterparts, although some opponents of this policy tried in secret to maintain existing contact. In the 1980s the university campaigns for a strict application of the boycott were continued with support of the AABN, which in 1980 published a 'black book' of academic contacts.

The most difficult battle took place at the Protestant (Reformed) Free University (the VU) in Amsterdam, which since it's foundation in 1880 had enjoyed close relations with religious educational institutions in South Africa. Under pressure from the students, in 1974 the University Council decided to break off it's 20-year co-operation agreement with the white Potchefstroom University, which was considered a bastion of apartheid. A second aim was a boycott of the international Ciariche conferences[100] as long as Potchefstroom participated. The board of the VU tried to break the resistance against it's participation by including Beyers Naudé in it's delegation, but the South Africans then withdrew theVU's invitation. Before the next conference in 1978 in Grand Rapids (USA) the University Council unanimously decided against participation. In the hope of changing the attitude of the VU, which was considered the 'mother' of the Ciariche meetings, the organisers of the conferences invited the VU to organise the next conference in Amsterdam in 1981. But a condition for the VU was that Potchefstroom University would not participate.

The municipal University of Amsterdam had no problem with the academic boycott. In 1978 it awarded an honorary doctorate to ANC leader Govan Mbeki. The solemn ceremony took place in the absence of Mbeki, who was serving a life sentence on Robben Island; the ANC was represented by his son Thabo and by Alfred Nzo. A Govan Mbeki Fund was also established at the time by the university to support scientific research by the ANC; the first ANC fellow was Manala Manzini, who did research on the labour situation in a free South Africa. During his stay Manzini founded the ANC Unit in the Netherlands. In 1983 Oliver Tambo was invited to open the academic year of the University of Amsterdam.

5.11 The sports boycott

In the 1970s and 1980s the Dutch anti-apartheid organisations demonstrated against South African participation in sport events, mainly cricket and tennis. In 1977 the government appealed to all sporting organisations to refrain from participation in any activities against South African teams that were selected on the basis of race, but no official ban was placed on all sporting contact with South Africa. In 1979 the Dutch delegation at the UN voted against a resolution requesting such a prohibition.

From 1964 South Africa was excluded from the Olympic Games, but it was not barred from the Olympic Games for the handicapped. When these 'paralympics' were due to take place in 1980 in the Netherlands, KZA began a campaign against South African participation. The white South African Sport Organisation for the

[100] Ciariche: Conferences for an International Alliance of Reformatorical Institutions for Christian Higher Education; the first such conference was in 1929 in South Africa.

Paraplegics had been registered to participate with a ‘mixed’ team. The Dutch TV station AVRO sent a team to South Africa to investigate and returned with moving pictures of the integrated sports for the handicapped. These served to fulfil the conditions of the Dutch government.

The campaign to exclude South Africa was set up with the active support of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). It's chairman, Sam Ramsamy, and the secretary general of the non-racial South African Council on Sport SACOS, Nadarajen Pather, became regular visitors to lobby against South African participation. Although South Africa had promised to participate with a ‘mixed’ team, on 21 May 1979 the South African parliament admitted that less than 1 per cent of the sports events in South Africa were multiracial. The chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Akporode Clark, warned the Dutch representative at the UN, Scheltema, that the participation of South Africa would be a violation of several UN resolutions. As a result of the campaign, a motion was finally adopted by parliament with a large majority to withhold any support to the games if South Africa was allowed to participate. The government decided to implement the motion, so the organisers had no other option but to inform the South Africans that they were not welcome in the Netherlands.

During the International UN Year for the Mobilisation of Sanctions against South Africa in 1982, the sports boycott was one of the central themes for the organising committee. The government was induced to appeal to all Dutch sporting organisations to abstain from any sporting contacts with South Africa and from any sports event with South African participation. This was a different situation from 1977; now the multiracial character of the South African participants was no reason to continue the contacts. In a meeting with the national umbrella organisation, NSF, the government threatened sanctions against sport associations that did not observe the boycott. The NSF also endorsed the boycott, and co-operation with KZA in implementing the boycott improved considerably. At the same time the Ministry of Sports and Culture started to finance KZA’s efforts to promote and popularise the sports boycott.

Individual South African sportspeople still participated in sporting events in the Netherlands. When Amsterdam presented it's candidature for the Olympic Games in 1986, the government reiterated it's appeal that exceptions to the boycott be avoided. Amsterdam clearly tried to court the African states for it's candidature.[101]

Visa

In order to gain relief from the pressure for an oil embargo, the government decided to introduce a visa duty for South Africans visiting the Netherlands. Dutchmen who wanted to visit South Africa were already obliged to obtain South African visas. The Dutch decision was announced in 1977, but after passport control between the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg was abolished, the three Benelux countries had a common visa policy. This common visa duty for South Africans was only established in 1982. Two categories of South Africans would be refused visas:

- officials of the South African government, the military, representatives of the ‘independent homelands’, and people representing governmental or

[101] For the role of KLM in breaking the sports boycott see the chapter ‘The advocates of apartheid’.

semigovernmental institutions; and
- people who intended to visit the Netherlands for reason of culture, sport or science.

Early in 1983 the Dutch minister of foreign affairs boasted that all South African sportspeople had been effectively barred from entering the Netherlands. However, when the parliament evaluated the results over 1983 and 1984, it turned out that some 20 000 South African visitors had been allowed into the Netherlands annually and only 20 had been refused. Sportsmen, artists and scientists were able to enter the country simply by indicating that they were tourists. The visa duty was not much more than another symbolic indication that the Netherlands was opposed to South Africa’s policy of apartheid.

Chapter 6 - Partners in the struggle against apartheid

In addition to the anti-apartheid organisations, other sectors of Dutch society played an important role in the campaigns against apartheid, of which three will be described in this section. The NGOs also played an important role, especially Novib (now Oxfam Novib). This organisation was not only involved in material aid projects and financial assistance to the ANC, but also supported many anti-apartheid campaigns in the Netherlands, such as the oil boycott and the campaign against Shell.

6.1 The Dutch churches

The long-standing relations between the Dutch Protestant churches and the influential South African Nederduit's Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)[102] go as far back to the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652. The exclusive white Dutch Calvinist NG church dominated the South African religious scene for centuries. It took it's language, bible and liturgy, confession of faith and canon law from the Netherlands. The Afrikaners believed that God had brought them, as Calvinist Christians, to Africa where he protected and guided them. Although their church became independent of the Dutch mother church in 1824 and the contacts between Dutch and the white-people-only South African churches declined, it's preachers still received their training in the Netherlands. Through religious channels there were thus close personal links between the Netherlands and South Africa.

After the Second World War, the Dutch Protestant churches renewed their contacts with the white-people-only church in South Africa that had now become the ideological pillar of the apartheid state. However, relations between the Dutch and South African churches soon deteriorated. The Dutch churches moved with the mainstream of political, social and religious change in the Netherlands. There was a development in their attitude towards matters like birth control, homosexuality and euthanasia, and also towards religious themes such as the role of women in the church. The conservative and fundamentalist South African church, traditionally suspicious of new European ideas, considered the Dutch churches too liberal. They complained about the secularisation in the Netherlands and the revolutionary changes in theological thinking and religious practice. But the main cause of estrangement was different views on racism and apartheid.

The wide interest in South Africa and the fierce conflict in the Dutch Protestant churches were a consequence of these historical links. In the Netherlands there were two large Protestant churches: the Nederlands Hervormde Church and the Gereformeerde Church[103]. The Hervormde Church had no formal ties with the South African white-people-only church, but the Gereformeerde Church had connections with it's South African NG[104] sister church. They were both members of a Calvinist

[102] In English: Dutch Reformed Church, but to avoid confusion NGK or NG church will be used.

[103] The English names of these two churches are confusing, the 'Netherlands Reformed Church' and the 'Reformed Churches in the Netherlands', the latter having split off in the late 19th century. The Dutch names will be used: Hervormd and Gereformeerd.

[104] During the General Synods of the Gereformeerde Church representatives of the South African 'daughter' church

equivalent of the World Council Churches (WCC), the Reformed Ecumenical Synod. At the synod in the Netherlands of 1968, a heated confrontation occurred between the South African church and Dutch opponents of apartheid, supporters of the Rev. Beyers Naudé, who had been expelled from the NGK.

The next cause of confrontation between the Dutch and South African churches was the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) instituted by the WCC and it's Special Fund to Combat Racism. Discussions about support to the WCC Special Fund and it's assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa brought an end to the silence about apartheid in the Dutch Protestant churches. The Hervormde Church immediately decided to support the Special Fund after it's establishment in 1971. This church had been closely involved in the formation of the WCC in Amsterdam in 1948; the first secretary general of the WCC, Visser 't Hooft, came from the Hervormde Church.

The Gereformeerde Church joined the WCC in 1970, and only decided to support the PCR in 1974, including contributions for the ANC. But after threats from it's South African NG sister church to break off all relations and after strong protests from parts of it's own congregation, the church reconsidered it's decision in 1976. With a small majority of 34 to 32 votes it decided to end it's support for the PCR. Angry church members donated money to the PCR, far more than the Hervormde church members had contributed. Finally, in 1978, after the death of Steve Biko, the banning of the Christian Institute and the house arrest of Beyers Naudé, the Gereformeerde Church decided with a large majority to actively support the PCR. The two Dutch Protestant churches did not themselves contribute to the Special Fund, but asked their members to donate money. Because they did not actively campaign for funds, very little money was collected.

In response, the white South African NG Church cut it's ties with it's Dutch fellow Protestants. The reasons given were 'support of a fund for terrorism' and the 'dogmatic aberrations' of the Dutch church. Under the influence of Beyers Naudé, the links between the Dutch Protestant churches and South Africa now shifted to the black reformed churches, and black theological students like Allan Boesak came to the Netherlands to study.[105] They taught the Dutch Christians to see South Africa from a black perspective.

The two Dutch Protestant churches and the South African NG church were still members of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC). However, in 1982, under the influence of Allan Boesak, the WARC declared apartheid a heresy and contact with the South African NG church was suspended. Boesak was elected president of the WARC. The renunciation of these white South African Christians from the world community has probably contributed to their acceptance in the early 1990s that the struggle for apartheid could not be won.

Church support for sanctions

Through the years the Dutch Protestant churches and the church-related organisations developed many strategies to help the victims of apartheid: campaigns to write letters to the South African government or embassy; collection of signatures for political prisoners; vigils for people sentenced to death; sending

repeatedly exercised pressure on synod members.

[105] About 30 local ecumenical support groups were formed, each supporting (the family of) one of the black theological students. The first was created in 1970 for Allan Boesak.

observers to political trials; and moral and financial support for the families of detainees. Most information, contacts and campaigns originated from Kairos and the Defence and Aid Fund, Netherlands. In 1981 eleven different church-related organisations began a deportation campaign for the 3.5 million black people who were evicted from their homes in forced removals. A *Deportation Newsletter* with a circulation of 100 000 copies was distributed in local churches.

In addition to these humanitarian activities, the churches also moved slowly towards sanctions. The two large Protestant churches, the Roman Catholic Church, and several smaller churches were all affiliated to the Dutch Council of Churches. The council often adopted a harder line on apartheid than it's members: many statements of the council were not easily endorsed by the affiliated churches.
The support for sanctions began modestly in 1973 with an appeal by the Dutch Council of Churches to stop emigration to South Africa. As a reaction to the WCC's disinvestment resolution in 1972, the Dutch Council of Churches began dialogue with large companies about their investments in South Africa. As the results of these discussions were unsatisfactory, the council began a campaign against bank loans in 1976, followed by statements against new investments, in favour of withdrawal of companies from South Africa and against tourism to South Africa in 1978.

In 1979 the Council of Churches and the Synod of the Hervormde Church went a step further: they supported the oil boycott campaign against Shell led by KZA and Kairos. After a meeting between Shell and the Council of Churches about Shell's role in the Rhodesia boycott, the council felt deceived. In a letter to Prime Minister van Agt, the council asked for an embargo on the export of oil to South Africa. In 1982 both the Hervormde and Gereformeerde churches decided to support disinvestment.

Moreover, the Gereformeerde Church, with a 51 to 18 majority, also decided to join the oil boycott campaign. Professor Verdonk addressed the Shell shareholders meeting in 1983 on behalf of both churches. The church pressure for sanctions, appeals to the Christian Democratic Party (CDA) and the support for the sanctions campaigns of the anti-apartheid organisations continued through the 1980s.

The appeal to the churches, church organisations and pension funds to sell their shares in Shell, Philips and companies active in South Africa was less successful. The investment funds of the churches had shares of about €32 million in companies connected with South Africa.[106] In 1986, to convince them to sell the shares, Kairos and 11 religious organisations[107] began a campaign under the slogan: 'Does your money support apartheid?' The aim was disinvestment, no trade, no tourism. In 1985 the Council of Churches decided to support the appeal, but the Hervormde Church and many pension funds refused to do so.

[106] De Tijd , 21 February 1986.
[107] Bisschoppelijke Vastenactie; Centraal Missie Commissariat; Hervormde and Gereformeerde Zending and Werelddiakonaat; Nederlandse Missieraad; Nederlandse Zendingsraad; Pax Christi; Stichting Oecomenische Hulp aan Kerken en Vluchtelingen; Vrouw, Kerk, 2/3 Wereld.

Church support for the ANC

The collaboration between the Dutch Protestant churches and the ANC increased steadily through the years. This was influenced by the black reformed churches in South Africa, who became increasingly outspoken in their resistance to apartheid. Important too were the discussions between various Dutch churches and the ANC president Oliver Tambo in 1980 and 1981. In February 1978 the Hervormde Synod decided to strengthen it's contacts with the black South African Christians and with the liberation movements. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the ANC, the Hervormde Church sent a message of encouragement to the ANC and published an appeal for support. In 1982 the Gereformeerde Church decided to strengthen it's relations with the ANC by supporting the liberation struggle both morally and materially as far as it was able.

The two Protestant churches donated about €500 000 each year to South Africa, Namibia and the frontline states. The Gereformeerde Church annually paid €7 000 rent for the ANC office in Brussels and supported two other ANC projects, while the Hervormde Church donated €45 000 to the ANC in 1986. The emergency aid organisation of the small Protestant churches, SOH, gave €25 000 for three ANC projects in 1986. Money also went to SACTU and the black trade unions in South Africa.

The Dutch Catholic Church

The Dutch Catholics had fewer connections with South Africa because they were a minority there. This was probably the reason that the Catholics did not play a prominent role in the Dutch anti-apartheid struggle. Moreover, as the Catholic Church was not a member of the WCC, there was no discussion about joining the Programme to Combat Racism. In 1971 the Dutch Catholic bishops donated €4 500 to the WCC Special Fund, but when their South African counterparts pleaded for economic sanctions against the white regime in 1986, the Dutch bishops merely declared their sympathy with the appeal. When the boycott pressure on Shell increased, the company invited the three largest Dutch churches for a meeting in 1987. The two Protestant churches refused to go, and they were furious when the bishops accepted the invitation and did not even plead for disinvestment by Shell from South Africa.

Catholic organisations like Pax Christi, Justitia et Pax and many congregations did take part in the struggle against apartheid. They organised themselves in the 'Breed Overleg Zuidelijk Afrika' (BOZA) and actively supported the sanctions campaigns and donated money to organisations in South Africa. They criticised the Christian Democratic Party (CDA) and condemned the passive role of their bishops. 'Talking without acting is treachery' was the headline of an article in which they were critical of the non-committal declarations of the Catholic Church leaders on the economic boycott.[108] In 1988 the bishops, perhaps as a result of all this negative comment, asked the Dutch government for a boycott of the importation of coal from South Africa, a ban on flights and on extending loans. In their letter the bishops admitted that thus far they had been 'restrained' in their demands to the Dutch government.

[108] Pax Christi, April 1989.

The pressure groups

A number of Christian organisations were involved in anti-apartheid campaigns. In addition to the two Catholic organisations and Kairos already discussed, two others were:

- Betaald Antwoord (Prepaid Repy) was the Dutch ecumenical support group of the PCR, and comprised 10–20 members from different denominations. It did not limit it's activities to fund raising for the Special Fund, but also functioned as a catalyst in the churches to sustain the South Africa resolutions of the WCC, particularly the divestment resolution of 1972. It formed 15 church groups to tackle the 15 Dutch firms that were listed by the PCR. After 1976 the organisation played a leading role in the campaign to end Dutch bank loans to South Africa.
- Vrouw, Kerk, 2/3 Wereld (Women, Church, 2/3 World) started a campaign for a boycott of South African products in 1979; they based this on a similar German women's organisation, the Evangelische Frauenarbeit in Deutschland.

There were also Christian organisations that were opposed to a break with the apartheid churches. After the decision of the Gereformeerde Church to support the PCR in 1974, Geen Kerkgeld voor Geweld (No Church Money for Violence) was founded in 1975. In the Hervormde Church, the orthodox wing, Gereformeerde Bond, also wanted to keep it's links with the apartheid churches and was opposed to the PCR. Moreover, several small orthodox Protestant churches also defended white South Africa, such as the orthodox Protestant radio and TV broadcaster, Evangelische Omroep (EO).

These groups were at times quite vocal, but were never a threat to the church leadership of the Hervormde and Gereformeerde Churches. Through the years the leadership had secured sound contact with black South Africans and this influenced their opinions. However, there was less support for the anti-apartheid stance among church members than church leaders. Opinion polls in 1979 and 1986 showed that more than 40 per cent of the members were opposed to the anti-apartheid statements of their church.

Resistance to the anti-apartheid stance of the churches often came from Protestant church members who had relatives in South Africa. As a result of an active promotion of emigration to South Africa by the 'Christelijke Emigratie Centrale' in the 1950s, many of the Dutch emigrants had an orthodox Protestant background. Moreover, the South African government asked explicitly for Protestant immigrants. The South African minister, Connie Mulder, was pleased with the Protestant gulf. As a consequence of emigration there were about 100 000 Dutch passport-holders in South Africa. Not only did they form a vocal and politically active group in South Africa, but it is clear from their letters and reports to friends and relatives in the Netherlands that they broadened the constituency of those sympathetic to apartheid South Africa.

Protest against the prohibition of the UDF and 17 other organisations, held in front of the South African embassy in The Hague, February 1988.

6.2 The trade unions

The Dutch trade unions played a major role in the anti-apartheid struggle. After the Second World War the trade unions federations – like most other institutions – were split according to religion or ideology. The NVV was in the social democratic camp, oriented towards the Labour Party; the CNV was Protestant; the NKV was Catholic.

The involvement of the Dutch trade unions in the sanctions campaign against South Africa began in 1963 when the NVV supported the first symbolic boycott of South African products by the Comité Zuid-Afrika,[109] but CNV and NKV rejected the idea of a joint statement of support. It was only in 1972 and 1973 that all three union federations supported the successful boycott of coffee from Angola, and in June 1973 the three trade unions released the first cautious joint statement on South Africa. The Dutch government was asked to discourage emigration to South Africa, and investments there should only be allowed under certain labour conditions. The three unions wrote a joint letter which they sent to 80 Dutch firms with investments in South Africa.

This co-operation between the three unions ended when NVV and NKV merged in 1976 into the FNV, with more than a million members. The FNV wanted a withdrawal of foreign firms from South Africa; the smaller Protestant CNV only sought reconciliation between black and white. After the Soweto uprising in 1976

[109] IISG, NVV archive: The 22nd annual report, NVV, 1959-1961, 338.

the FNV pleaded to the Den Uyl government for total economic, political and cultural sanctions, insisting that this must apply even when it cost jobs, as was the case with the prevented delivery to South Africa of a civil Fokker airplane and the Koeberg nuclear reactor. The FNV was one of the more progressive members of the international anticommunist trade union organisation, the ICFTU. It supported the ICFTU call for a week-long boycott of South Africa in January 1977, to be focused on ships, airplanes and postal connections. All FNV unions participated but, as in the other Western countries, the boycott failed. In the port of Rotterdam several ships arrived that were loaded in South Africa, but no action was taken. Furthermore the plans to disrupt the bi-weekly KLM flights to South Africa and of South African Airways to Schiphol failed abysmally. When the ICFTU organised a second international week of action against South Africa in March 1978 no boycotts were planned. Instead the focus was on information and mobilisation of the workers. For this purpose the FNV organised seven regional meetings for it's cadres.

In 1979 the FNV reached another important milestone when the Federation Council decided to give it's full support to the campaign of KZA and Kairos against Shell and for a Dutch oil boycott; it had concluded that the possibilities of acting alone were limited and that co-operation with the anti-apartheid organisations promised better results. The FNV Industrial Union distributed leaflets among Shell workers and FNV secretary, General van Eekert, addressed the annual general meeting of Shell, appealing for the withdrawal of the company from South Africa. The FNV also supported the KZA campaign that forced the banks to stop selling Krugerrand in 1984 and the 1985 campaign that brought promises from chain stores that they would stop trading in South African products.

This co-operation with the anti-apartheid movements reached a new high in 1982/1983 with the UN International Year of the Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. All FNV unions joined in the year-long activities with more than 30 different initiatives. The AABN's trade union group concluded: 'In the Sanction Year the FNV started, more clearly visible than before, to take initiatives in the direction of mobilising it's unions.'[110]

Since it's foundation in 1971, the AABN had mobilised the workers to put pressure on the companies to withdraw from South Africa. In addition, the trade union group of the AABN played an important role in collecting information on the Dutch companies in South Africa. There were dozens of active trade union groups, both at the level of the different unions and in many cities and companies with subsidiaries in South Africa, such as Shell, Hoogovens, Unilever and Philips. They organised meetings, distributed pamphlets and held discussions with the management about the company's involvement in South Africa. The national FNV working group on South Africa also produced a periodical *Arbeidersstrijd tegen Apartheid* (Workers' struggle against apartheid).

Progressives in the ICFTU

In the ICFTU the FNV formed, together with the Scandinavian unions, a 'progressive constellation'. In the early 1980s they were alone in their support for

[110] IISG, AABN archive, Minutes of AABN meeting, 28 November 1983.

the ANC and the isolation of the apartheid regime through sanctions. From 1975 to 1978 the joint Scandinavian and Dutch financial contributions represented almost half of the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund. These like-minded trade union organisations shared the cost of the assistance to the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). After the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in late 1985 they co-ordinated their support to COSATU. In 1986 the FNV and the Nordic ICFTU clashed with the AFL–CIO when the US trade union federation – acting outside ICFTU structures – was present at the founding of the Inkatha-related trade union UWUSA.

When the Dutch government decided to give financial assistance to ANC and SWAPO in 1977, it also started to channel money through FNV and CNV to the South African trade unions. Most of the FNV money went secretly to unions inside South Africa. The funds from the Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation increased in the 1980s to about €2 m a year. These funds were mainly used inside South Africa for training and for building up the trade union organisations. In addition, the FNV used about €50 000 a year of it's own International Solidarity Fund to support workers on strike, for juridical assistance and for humanitarian aid to the families of political prisoners.

In 1977 and 1978 the FNV donated €30 000 – Dutch government money – to SACTU to set up offices in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka. After long discussions in the board, the FNV in 1979 decided to end this support as the FNV was not satisfied with reports on the use of these funds. More important was the fact that SACTU was aligned with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which the ICFTU considered to be dominated by the communist bloc.[111] The driving force behind this cold war attitude was the American union AFL–CIO. Discussions between FNV and SACTU in 1981 in Lusaka and in 1985 in Amsterdam did not lead to a resumption of financial support. SACTU was not opposed to outside support to the unions inside South Africa, but it felt that all assistance should be co-ordinated and channelled through SACTU. Another point of disagreement was the question of how far SACTU was involved in the labour struggle inside South Africa. Most of the grassroots workers in the FNV South Africa groups were supporters of SACTU and the ANC and they collected money for these organisations at their meetings. They had, however, no influence on the negative attitude of the FNV towards SACTU.

The FNV and it's member unions also supported the ANC through several donations to Radio Freedom and donations by the teachers union ABOP to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School in Tanzania. Moreover, it repeatedly appealed in it's magazine to the union members to donate money for the KZA's Liberation Fund. The AABN's Support Fund was not recommended, probably as most of it's funds went to SACTU. But the KZA Liberation Fund also reacted positively to requests for support from SACTU.

Different positions on sanctions

During the period under study the policy of the FNV was often undermined by the weak-kneed attitude of the Protestant trade union federation, CNV. While the FNV reacted to the suppression after the Soweto uprising and the banning and arrests of 30 trade union leaders with an appeal for the economic isolation of South Africa,

[111] Roger Southall, 'Imperialism or Solidarity?' International Labour and the South African Trade Unions (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1995), 214.

the CNV only sent a letter to Vorster as an expression of it's concern. The CNV also decided not to support the first ICFTU boycott week of January 1977 as there had been no explicit request from black South Africans for sanctions. The Dutch government gave the CNV only about half the amount given to the FNV. The money was used to support the Congress of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) unions through the Urban Training Project. In April 1977, a delegation of the CNV led by it's chairman, Jan Lanser, went on a three-week visit to the South African trade unions that it supported. The FNV and the anti-apartheid organisations condemned the trip; Kairos and Pax Christi tried to convince the CNV to cancel it. The conclusion of the delegation was that 'the black population is against sanctions' and that a boycott is 'undesirable as there is still a willingness among the black trade union members to work for a peaceful change towards an equal society.'[112]

But the ban on Beyers Naudé's Christian Institute and 17 other organisations, some of whom were supported by the CNV, forced it to change it's position. It pleaded in 1977 for limited sanctions, primarily on deliveries of arms, nuclear and strategic goods, and it supported the Dutch government's assistance to the ANC. It also participated in 1978 in the second international boycott week of the ICFTU. In 1979 it supported the oil boycott against South Africa, the KZA campaign against the Krugerrand and against the sale of all other South African products. And, together with the FNV, it campaigned for the release of South African trade unionists in prison.

But while the FNV had little confidence in the code of conduct introduced by the European Community, the CNV considered it an important instrument for peaceful change in South Africa. And while the FNV was in favour of withdrawal of all investments, the CNV was against a total isolation of South Africa and against a comprehensive ban on investments. Moreover, with it's sympathy for Buthelezi it remained a disturbing factor in the anti-apartheid struggle until the end of the 1980s. In 1985 the congress of the Dienstenbond CNV, organising CNV clerks, including bank employees, unanimously decided to support the investment ban. it's chairman announced: 'We are very worried about the developments in South Africa. We came to our decision by the attitude of the Dutch churches and by the support we have given to the Krugerrand boycott of KZA.'[113] A few months later the CNV as a whole also supported the ban on new investments. This change of position was significant as the Christian Democrats in parliament and government had for many years used the CNV position as an excuse to block an investment ban.

6.3 Local authorities against apartheid

In the 1980s there was broad support among the Dutch population for sanctions against South Africa. But both the Dutch government and the EC refused to implement them. It was partly out of frustration that local authorities in the Netherlands became active in the fight against apartheid. As the Christian Democrats at the local level did not fall under the discipline imposed on the parliamentary party, they often supported or were even initiators of anti-apartheid measures.

[112] IISG, CNV archive.The findings of the trip were published in the report Delen of Nemen.
[113] Chairman Nico van der Stel in Trouw, 24 May 1985.

The anti-apartheid organisations played an important role in this development. Boycott Outspan Action (BOA) organised campaigns in as many as 50 cities and in 1986 Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) decided that one of it's staff members would focus full time on the local authorities. It also published suggestions on how municipalities could contribute to the anti-apartheid struggle. In the same year the Labour Party organised a study conference on this issue and came to the conclusion that as long as the government was unwilling to start a serious boycott of South Africa, the municipalities had a role to play.

After a meeting with an ANC delegation in 1985 the city council of Amsterdam formally proclaimed itself an ‘anti-apartheid city’. It made office space available for the ANC representation in the Netherlands and blocked a lecture by the wellknown Dutch writer W.F. Hermans in the city because he had made a tour through South Africa. In the end, 80 cities had some form of anti-apartheid policy although many measures were symbolic. As a consequence of the one-time sympathy for the Afrikaners during the Boer Wars, many towns had Kruger Streets, Transvaal or Afrikaner districts – now there was a change to new names such as Luthuli or Steve Biko Street, Mandela Place, and Soweto Bridge. In Amsterdam a monument against apartheid was erected in the Transvaal district.

Rotterdam refused to accept a financial contribution from Shell for the celebration of it's 650th anniversary; Amsterdam turned down a donation of €550 000 from the van Leer Foundation for education; and Delft did not allow Shell to use of it's historic Princenhof building. The Hague bought 50 copies of the film ‘Witness to Apartheid’ to be shown at schools and in churches. The city of Culemborg, the town where Jan van Riebeeck was born, gave it's development budget to SACTU and in later years to the women’s section of the ANC. This touched a sensitive spot and the South African ambassador David Louw sent a message of protest.

In many municipalities and city councils discussions were held on whether to boycott Shell and South African products and to break off all relations with their banks in order to force the bank to stop selling Krugerrand. Delegates of 45 cities met with the board of Shell to urge the company to leave South Africa. Shell reacted with an angry letter to The Hague, the city where it had it's headquarters, in which it indirectly threatened to leave the Netherlands instead of leaving South Africa.

In September 1986 the mayor and Aldermen of Hilversum decided to begin a boycott of all companies who had trading links with South Africa. Their decision to exclude Shell was, however, suspended by the government and later rejected by the Crown Council, the highest administrative court in the country. This did not stop Hilversum from signing the permit for a new petrol station with an oil company other than Shell. This issue immediately began to attract extensive media coverage. The government sent circulars to all municipalities, warning them that it would intervene in similar cases, as such action was outside the competence of municipalities under the Dutch constitution. This negative attitude was in sharp contrast to the Scandinavian countries, where the government stimulated the boycott of South Africa by (semi-) governmental institutions.

This conflict with the government became the main issue at the first anti-apartheid conference of Dutch local authorities in 1987 in The Hague. The 60 local authorities decided to disregard the circular letter from the authorities and to

simply bypass the governmental ban by ‘preferential policies’. This meant that preferential treatment would be given to those companies that refused to collaborate with apartheid. At the conference the organisation LOTA (Local Authorities against Apartheid) was formed, with 76 municipalities and five provinces joining up. This meant that more than half the Dutch population lived in an anti-apartheid municipality. Hans Buis, who had started working with KZA on local authorities, now moved to work for LOTA.

In co-operation with West European Parliamentarians against Apartheid, LOTA drew up a list of projects in southern Africa which could be supported by Dutch cities. On the list were an orphanage in Angola, the ANC school in Tanzania, the Heal the Wounds campaign for war victims in Zimbabwe, a refugee project in Zambia, and the Save the Press campaign in South Africa. One of the more popular options was partnership with a ‘civic’, the organisations in South Africa representing the black inhabitants of the poor black townships. The port towns of Amsterdam and Rotterdam both decided to support Beira in Mozambique in order to make the hinterland less dependent on the South African port of Durban. But the largest cities were also careful not to burn their fingers. The mayor of Amsterdam had a four-hour ‘tug of war’ discussion with the leadership of Shell. But when thousands of activists in 1989 closed off the huge Shell laboratory in Amsterdam during a three-day blockade, the mayor used police on horseback against the demonstrators. Moreover, the city council was unwilling to take measures against it's airport Schiphol, which was the most important transshipment airport for South African goods in Europe.

One of the most contentious issues arose in Rotterdam, then the biggest seaport in the world and an important spot market for crude oil and oil products. In 1981 a proposal to close the port to exports of oil to South Africa was put on ice by the municipality, by asking the Erasmus University to make a study of the expected loss of jobs at the port. This loss was comparatively limited: between 3 and 29 jobs. The FNV Transport Workers Union declared itself willing to forfeit part of the salaries. Another study, by the Shipping Research Bureau (SRB), about a practical way to exclude sanctions evasions, proposed a system of certificates of final destination. But nothing further was done.

The Labour Party traditionally had an absolute majority in the city council. it's local elections programme was clear: ‘The port of Rotterdam shall not be misused for the importation of goods from South Africa, especially of coal and fruit. The municipality will use every means to further this aim, even when it is outside it's direct authority.’[114]

The alderman for the port, den Dunnen, supported the party programme. But the city council announced in July 1987: ‘The port is of course the best means to frustrate the regime in South Africa. There is an enormous pressure on the municipality to make use of this possibility. But the consequences can be serious harm to the interests of citizens and private enterprises.’[115] Soon it became clear that these interests prevailed. The local authority of Rotterdam decided to support a project to build a new deepwater coal terminal for ships up to 250 000 tons with a credit of €60 m. It refused a proposal to give this credit on the condition that the terminal would not handle South African coal. According to the employers, this

[114] Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 4.
[115] Amandla, 10 (1987), 15.

would cost 700 port workers their jobs. Already 40 per cent of the coal transhipped in Rotterdam, mostly to Germany, came from South Africa, amounting to 10 per cent of South Africa's coal exports. In 1988 the city council granted the credit for the terminal. In this way Rotterdam undermined the US and Scandinavian coal boycott.

In February 1989 it became known that Rotterdam was also to grant a credit to build a third cold storage warehouse at it's fruit terminal. It aimed to take over the position of the Belgian port of Antwerp as the largest importer of South African fruit in Western Europe. In reaction the Labour Party formed a steering committee with prominent party leaders to improve the bad reputation of the party. They argued that Rotterdam could only end the import of South African products if this was a common step by all seaports in Western Europe. If one port stopped handling South African goods, they argued, the others would take over it's share. Labour Party leader Wim Kok made a trip to the German ports of Hamburg and Bremen; Rotterdam contacted all major continental West European seaports (Bremen, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Le Havre) to propose a conference in Rotterdam to decide on a common coal boycott. But none of these ports showed much enthusiasm.

With financial support from Rotterdam, KZA and Kairos organised a conference in January 1989 for anti-apartheid organisations from the West European seaports. Because the mayors in all seaports were members of the Labour Parties and the municipal councils were in most cases also in Social-Democratic hands, the organisations sent an urgent appeal to Socialist International to stimulate a united boycott by the seaports. Finally Rotterdam invited the large seaports of Germany, the Netherlands, France, Britain and Ireland for a conference in November 1989 in Rotterdam to discuss a united boycott of South Africa. However, the conference did not take place – the other seaports refused to attend because they were not under public pressure. As compensation for breaking the boycott the city council of Rotterdam decided instead to contribute one million guilders (€450 000) each year to the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

In the meantime, the government started to attack the local policy of preferential treatment and in 1990 LOTA was invited for discussions at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Minister Dales was in a difficult position. As mayor of the anti-apartheid city of Nijmegen she had backed the LOTA policy; now as minister she had to oppose it. Days later, the government decided to suspend the preferential policy of 14 municipal councils.

Early in 1990 Mandela was freed. The Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland (AABN) now advised LOTA to stop the juridical procedure. The Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) considered this 'a wrong signal', as the ANC felt it was much too early to end the boycott campaign. Six months later Mandela visited Amsterdam where he was welcomed by thousands of enthusiast supporters. His message was clear: the sanctions should continue.

Minister Dales sent the municipalities an ultimatum: before 15 September 1990 they had to revoke their preferential policy. Of the suspended municipalities, 12 decided to follow the advice of Mandela, disobey the government, and fight to the bitter end. In January 1991 they had to give in when council decisions were nullified by the government.

LOTA found a new, urgent task for Dutch municipalities: supporting the reconstruction of democratic South Africa by providing the civic organisations with training, expertise and financial backing. Members of these organisations were trained in 23 Dutch municipalities; and six municipalities sent their own staff members to South Africa to help provide the necessary expertise. The Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation helped to finance these projects. After 1995, the focus shifted to supporting housing projects, with Culemborg, for example, financing construction of homes in Villiersdorp by imposing a special tax on building projects in the city of one guilder per square metre. The work of LOTA was transferred to the umbrella organisation of Dutch local councils, the VNG. On 1 January 1993, an independent unit, Local Platform Southern Africa – Gemeentelijk Platform Zuidelijk Afrika (GPZA)', took over the staff and tasks of LOTA.

Chapter 7 - The advocates of white South Africa

In addition to the Hervormde and Gereformeerde Church members who criticised the rupture of relations with pro-apartheid churches in South Africa (see previous section) there were others who actively supported official South African policies.

7.1 The Nederlands Zuid–Afrikaanse Vereniging

Since it's foundation in 1881 the NZAV had been 'the Dutch organisation to promote the interests of our fellow-tribesmen in South Africa'.[116] It's main activities were related to emigration, promotion of the Dutch and Afrikaans language and culture in South Africa as well as in the Netherlands and, to a lesser degree, promoting trade. In 1961 it described it's aims as 'to forge tighter links with our tribal kinship in South Africa' and to 'inform public opinion in the Netherlands'.[117]

After the Second World War the NZAV played an important role in Dutch–South African relations. In 1951 the Dutch government entrusted it with the implementation of the formal cultural agreement with South Africa. Moreover, in 1952 it recognised the NZAV as an official application office for emigration to South Africa. At it's annual meeting of 1952, NZAV vice chairman Everts warned 'that the maintenance and extension of white civilisation in South Africa can become threatened by a development where non-whites from the bottom take the places of the whites'[118]. For that reason he requested the South African government to allow unskilled white people to immigrate as well.

From 1909, the NZAV and it's magazine *Zuid-Afrika* were substantially subsidised by Zuidafrikaansche Stichting 'Moederland' (ZASM)[119]. Moreover, the organisation had an annual grant from the Dutch government of about €150 000. When the cultural treaty was frozen and subsidised emigration to South Africa stopped in 1982, this grant was also ended, reducing the NZAV from a significant institution to a small, inward-looking body.

In 1984 radical anti-apartheid activists forced their way into the NZAV office, threw historic books into the Amsterdam canals and stole documentation. From the documents it became clear that the NZAV was supported by an annual donation of €10 000 from Pretoria and an additional €12 000 from the South African embassy for it's library. The NZAV posed as a non-political organisation, but it was always against sanctions and severing cultural ties with South Africa. It supported the proposed sale of Dutch submarines and nuclear installations to Pretoria. It showed some empathy for 'grand' apartheid' and the 'homelands' but criticised 'petty apartheid' (separation in parks, restaurants and public buildings).

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[116] Cited in de Boer, Sharpeville, 23.

[117] Ibid., 116.

[118] Rozenburg, De Bloedband, 128.

[119] In 1887 a company the Nederlands-Zuidafrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij (NZASM) was established with Dutch capital to build a railway line from Pretoria to the port of Lourenço Marques, now Maputo. When the railway was nationalised by the British, the indemnification was and is still managed by the Zuidafrikaansche Stichting 'Moederland' (ZASM).

The NZAV was torn between the wish to be acceptable to Dutch society, which required it to be anti-racist, and acceptance by it's friends in South Africa who were pro-apartheid. In 1985 Ambassador David Louw still called the NZAV 'intelligent and constructive co-operators',[120] but Ambassador Booysen considered the NZAV's *Zuid-Afrika* to be 'a monthly of an anti-South Africa organisation' and his cultural attaché, Jordaan, saw the NZAV as 'an extension of the AABN'.[121] The NZAV explicitly distanced itself from the anti-apartheid organisations, usually described as 'anti-South Africa' groups. But because it was a small, closed group with some 500 members, it had little influence on public opinion or on government policy.

7.2 The Nederland Zuid–Afrikaanse Werkgemeenschap

In 1963 several prominent members of the NZAV expressed the wish to openly provide propaganda for the apartheid state. As a majority in the NZAV board rejected the proposal, the more militant pro-apartheid group separated from the NZAV and founded a new body, the Nederlands Zuid–Afrikaanse Werkgemeenschap (NZAW). It's membership (in 1983 some 3 700) was soon much larger than that of NZAV, but the NZAW lacked the enormous financial backing of the NZAV. The NZAV was not averse to the new organisation; it complained only about the confusing names. In the 1980s, after the NZAV's move to the right, the two organisations still presented themselves in different ways to the public, but the NZAV secretary, Ms De Waard, admitted confidentially that in the 1980s their political aims were probably very close.[122]

The aim of the NZAW was 'to strengthen the religious, cultural and economic ties that traditionally have connected the Netherlands and South Africa'[123]. It's membership came primarily from people with relatives in South Africa (who were about 10 per cent of the Dutch population) and from right-wing orthodox Protestant churches and their political parties. 'As communicant Christians we feel connected with our co-religionists in South Africa. For that reason we want to tell the truth against the many lies about South Africa.[124] In 1968 these NZAW supporters sent a letter entitled 'Apartheid in Sorica. South Africa a blessing' to the Reformed Ecumenical Synod in Lunteren, the Netherlands.

The NZAW had branches in a number of Dutch towns and it's own youth organisation. it's South African sister organisation, NSAW, had groups in Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Johannesburg and Cape Town. It had close relations with the South African embassy in the Netherlands; the South African ambassador was present at it's founding meeting. There were also close relations with the South African government, especially with the Department of Information that financed the NZAW, as 'in the counter-campaign we take advantage of the support of front organisations like the NZAW'.[125]

About 10 per cent of the Dutch parliamentarians were members of the NZAW, but they were isolated in parliament. Often their parties did not allow them to speak

[120] Vrij Nederland, 13 April 1985.
[121] Van der Watt, 'Die opsegging', 49, 66 and 125.
[122] Amandla, 4 (1984), 17.
[123] Trouw, 3 September 1963; NZAW Kroniek, 1 (September 1964).
[124] Revd G.J.H. Gijmink, a founder of the NZAW, in de Boer, Sharpeville, 231.
[125] de Boer, Sharpeville, 117.

about South Africa. When the chairman of the NZAW, the Christian Democrat MP, Tolman, offered €14 000 to the Zuiderkruisfonds/Southern Cross Fund for support to South African soldiers, his party forced him to resign as chairman of the NZAW. The Dutch government had little interest in the NZAW and similar organisations as their opinion was completely out of line with mainstream public opinion. Only the largest Dutch daily, the popular *De Telegraaf*, and the radio/TV broadcasting organisation Evangelische Omroep reported in line with the aims of the NZAW.

7.3 Muldergate in the Netherlands

In 1978/9 South Africa was intrigued by the so-called information scandal, also known as Muldergate. Public funds were misused for secret propaganda activities and the minister of information, Mulder, and eventually, Vorster, the state president, had to step down. It appears that the whole idea emerged in the Netherlands, where Eschel Rhoodie was working as press officer at the South African embassy in 1968–1971. He surmised that the outside world saw the Afrikaners as Dutch colonialists, who could simply return to their homeland at will. In his opinion this meant that the Dutch policy towards South Africa was influential in other Western nations. During his stay in the Netherlands Rhoodie described his plans in a book *The Paper Curtain*.[126] When Mulder paid a visit to the Netherlands in 1971 Rhoodie convinced him of his vision. The annual reports of the Ministry of Information show that thereafter many Dutch MPs, TV crews and journalists were invited to South Africa, especially those from *De Telegraaf*, described by Rhoodie as an influential newspaper 'that continuously supports us in our fight against the terrorists'.[127]

From the start three Dutchmen played a part in the information scandal through their role in the *To the Point* propaganda weekly. They were Jussen, Duyzings and Hoogendijk, director, chief editor and editor respectively of the Dutch right-wing weekly *Elsevier*. It was also in *Elsevier* that Rhoodie chose to divulge details of his secret propaganda activities. He had planned to buy two Dutch daily newspapers, *Trouw* and *Het Parool* and admitted that he paid journalist Carl Breyer,[128] who was the South African correspondent of 14 Dutch regional dailies with a circulation of one million copies. Rhoodie established and funded a number of dubious Dutch organisations. Plural Societies received R100 000 each year plus an annual grant for it's chairman. Five volumes of *Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, 500 pages each on Bantustan propaganda, were produced and sent free of charge to 4 000 universities and libraries all over the world. The Beheerscentrum admitted that it received R80 000, but, according to the Information Department, it received R250 000. According to Rhoodie, the NZAW[129] received R72 000 between 1974 and 1978. It is not known what amounts were paid to the many other Dutch pro-apartheid organisations such as Geen Kerkgeld voor Geweld; the Oud Strijders Legioen; the Foundation West-Europe–Southern Africa; the Jan van Riebeeck Foundation; the Stichting tot Herstel van Kulturele Betrekkingen Nederland–Zuid Afrika; the Federatie Nederland–Zuid-Afrika; the

[126] E. Rhoodie, The Paper Curtain (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1969). The book has been withdrawn from circulation.
[127] National Archives, Pretoria, MNL: nr 95, Rhoodie to Mulder, 26 March 1973.
[128] E. Rhoodie, The Real Information Scandal (Pretoria: Orbis, 1983), 61.
[129] For Rhoodie NZAW was project G.26B, the NZAV G.26N, Carl Breyer was registered as project G.9.

Interkerkelijk Verzoeningscomite; the Comite Overleg Zuid- Afrika (COZA); and the Europees Zuid-Afrikaans Verbond.

Often the South Africa Foundation was another donor for some of these pro-apartheid organisations. But all covert funding was in vain. After Steve Biko's murder, the South African Information Department said of the Netherlands in it's annual report for 1977: 'These events provided the background for what was surely the most severe media onslaught against South Africa ever, both in volume and intensity.'[130]

7.4 The Dutch ambassadors in Pretoria

Over the years, Dutch ambassadors in South Africa have been staunch supporters of the apartheid regime. Perhaps they were selected on that basis in order to promote the continuation of friendly relations with the South African government. It is also possible that after their arrival in Pretoria they were won over by the white Afrikaner community. They saw South Africa as a white nation. In their reports to the Dutch government the black majority simply did not exist.

After the Sharpeville massacre Ambassador van de Berg criticised the Dutch government. The Netherlands, he said, should not create the impression that it had a monopoly on what was right and wrong. South Africa was not waiting for chaos, as had happened in the Congo; the Netherlands would do well to adopt a friendly attitude towards South Africa.[131]

When Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, a man hated by the black majority of South Africans, was killed, Ambassador Baron Lewe van Aduard informed his government that 'South Africa is deeply shocked by the passing away of what they see as one of the greatest leaders of the South African people.'[132] And when his successor, Hasselman warned the Dutch government in 1972 that for 'the great majority of the South Africans one-man-one-vote or a federation with the black homelands will be unacceptable ... Such a delegation of power is considered here simply as suicide.'[133]

After the Soweto revolt the Dutch government was concerned about the large number of 'suicides' in South African jails. But the chargé d'affaires Westerouwen van Meeteren assured them all was well. The 18 'suicides' of black youth leaders were, he said, a consequence of the intense interrogation 'without any use of physical violence'. Only after the murder of Steve Biko did the ambassador and the Dutch government begin to doubt the reliability of the information they received from the apartheid government.

Ambassador Froger was at Steve Biko's funeral, and was impressed by the black mourners. Most were well dressed, well fed and healthy looking. He saw fit to warn the Dutch government of the disaster that would ensue if apartheid was abandoned: 'If the blacks get their way, the acquired equality of positions and rights will without doubt involve a quick decline of economic activity and of the

[130] Cited in de Boer, Sharpeville, 290.
[131] IISG: BZ GS II, 912.1, file 1687, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 April 1960.
[132] Trouw, 14 September 1994.
[133] Ministry of Foreign Affairs: code 9, III, 912.1 file 2324, file 2325, 28 September 1971.

living standard of all, White and Black.' In the margin of this report the minister wrote 'nou nou', indicating that he was astonished.[134]

When the Dutch government supported the UN arms embargo in 1985, Ambassador Carsten explained on South African TV that in the Netherlands 'there are many misunderstandings that are mainly the result of the many thousand kilometres that separate both countries. Despite these misunderstandings the Dutch still feel strong ties of kinship with South Africa".[135].

To the extent that the South African press reported about the Dutch diplomats, it referred more often to their presence at government receptions than at political trials – which they seldom attended. Many ambassadors of Western countries (in 1984 those of Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Canada) refused to attend the annual opening of the new parliamentary session, but the Dutch ambassador always found time to attend, along with his colleagues from Britain, West Germany, France and the USA. Only at the end of the 1980s were the ambassadors more positive about the liberation struggle in South Africa. An exception among the Dutch ambassadors was Helb, who was visibly of Dutch-Indonesian descent. He often experienced discrimination in Pretoria.

7.5 The Dutch Foreign Information Service

In the 1970s and 1980s there was yet another government agency that supported the cause of white South Africa – the Dutch Foreign Information Service (Inlichtingendienst Buitenland or IDB). This secret service worked in close co-operation with it's South African counterpart, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS),[136] for which the IDB used the code name 'Hendrik'. Reports on the discussions held between Den Uyl (and later van Agt) and the leaders of ANC and the other southern African liberation movements were passed on to the South African secret service. Moreover, it provided them with names and addresses of SWAPO members in London. In exchange, the IDB received information from BOSS on the activities of the ANC and SWAPO in southern Africa and reports on the movements of ships from East European countries near South Africa. As contacts with BOSS were not permitted, these activities were concealed from the government and the information was not shared with any other Dutch agency. When van Agt heard about illegal contacts of the IDB with BOSS concerning SWAPO he asked for more information. The IDB admitted that they had two files labelled SWAPO, but they were silent about the 165 files about the same movement filed under Namibia.

7.6 The role of Dutch World Broadcasting

Radio Netherlands World Broadcasting (Radio Nederland Wereldomroep) began it's Afrikaans broadcasts to South Africa in 1949. A gentlemen's agreement with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) meant that two SABC employees working at Wereldomroep in the Netherlands produced the programmes in Afrikaans. However, KZA proved in 1978 that the SABC employees manipulated the news sent to South Africa. All reports on the South African invasion in Angola

[134] Ministry of Foreign Affairs: code 9, IV, 911.30 file 1110, 25 September 1979.
[135] Rozenburg, De Bloedbond, 118.
[136] See Bob de Graaf and Cees Wiebes, Villa Maarheeze (The Hague: SDU, 1998).

were omitted. This was in line with the South African government's denial that it had invaded Angola. The gentlemen's agreement with the SABC was immediately terminated.

After some years, one of these SABC employees, Du Plooy, returned to the Netherlands, now as secretary of the South African branch of the NZAW. His task was to report on the different southern African organisations in the Netherlands. His conclusion about the Netherlands was that, 'The anti-South Africa feelings have grown in depth. I have hardly heard or seen ten per cent positive or balanced information.'[137] To be fair, in later years the Wereldomroep trained broadcasters for the ANC station 'Radio Freedom' (see the section on material aid to the liberation movements).

7.7 KLM

Some large Dutch companies, such as KLM and Philips, had economic relations with apartheid South Africa as well as ideological links through the 'blood ties' between the two countries. The Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij KLM (Royal Dutch Airlines) has always been a symbol of Dutch nationalism and self-esteem. As a seafaring nation, the Netherlands also wanted to play a role in civil aviation. Initially KLM grew, thanks to it's monopoly on flights to it's largest colony, the Dutch Indies (now Indonesia). After the independence of that country in 1949, KLM set all hopes on South Africa. There the kinsmen of the Dutch had taken over power from the British-oriented white people; their aim was also to shake free of British economic dominance. KLM's hopes to receive preferential treatment in South Africa were fully supported by the Dutch government. During visit's by prominent representatives of the Netherlands to South Africa the matter of additional airlink ties was high on the agenda. But the South African government had other interests. It wanted to promote it's own airline, Suid Afrikaanse Lugdiens (SAL), and was wary of countering British influence by replacing it with dependence on one small European nation.

It was probably kinship ties that motivated KLM to become involved in South Africa's information scandal. KLM served as the central post office for the distribution of 40 000 copies of the quarterly *Vox Africana*, a publication aimed at undermining the World Council of Churches in religious circles in Europe. KLM was also responsible for the European distribution of *To the Point* and *Encounter*. These three pro-apartheid publications were part of the Muldergate propaganda offensive and in these publications KLM presented itself proudly as having historic links with white South Africa.

KLM played a significant role in breaking the international sports boycott of South Africa. In 1981 it distributed a brochure in South Africa issuing invitations to sports organisations to make discreet contact with Western teams. KLM organised tours in Western Europe without any publicity. The Works Council of KLM unanimously condemned this activity and SANROC and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid sent protests to the Dutch government.

In 1984 golf and tennis matches to be held at Sun City were announced in the

[137] Amandla, 6 (1982), 12.

periodical for KLM employees. KLM's reaction to protests was that the events did not take place in South Africa, but in Bophuthatswana, supposedly an 'independent' homeland. The FNV Transport Workers Union objected, as did SANROC and church leaders like Allan Boesak and Beyers Naudé, who pleaded for a boycott of KLM. Most of the parliamentary parties sent a joint appeal to KLM to cancel the event. But KLM flatly refused.

In 1977 it was leaked that KLM had a list of it's 40 non-white air hostesses who were not used on flights to Johannesburg; the list was promptly withdrawn. A new voluntary list was drafted of employees who refused to fly to South Africa, with which KLM complied. KLM distributed the magazine *Nederlandse Post* in Europe free of charge, a publication financed by the ZASM, the financial backer of the NZAV. Rhoodie collaborator Jussen was a member of it's board. Moreover, the airline supported the NZAV financially, and KLM senior executive A.M. de Paauw was a member of the NZAV board. In 1978 the Works Council of KLM declared it's 'solidarity with the black workers in South Africa against apartheid'. However, the KLM board refused a request by the council to inform the South African government of this position.

7.8 Philips

The biggest Dutch investor in South Africa was the electronic company Philips. The company was criticised for investing in the so-called border area industries that formed part of the South African government's scheme to relocate black people in 'homelands'. Frits Philips had warm sympathy for apartheid South Africa. 'In the South African nation I see the tribal relationship with my own people. They are of my tribe. I back them, even when I do not fully agree with their policies.' [138] As early as 1955 Frits Philips was discussing nuclear co-operation with the apartheid authorities. Dutch ambassador Helb later proudly reported that Philips had been an important role player in the development of a nuclear reactor in South Africa. Frits Philips was enthusiastic about the presidents of two of the early 'independent' homelands: the Transkei and Bophuthatswana, saying that they were 'the only leaders in Africa that were democratically elected by their people'.[139] At his request the Dutch government received representatives of both homelands in 1973. Philips sent a protest to the Dutch government when it contributed €45 000 to IDAF in 1965, and also criticised Queen Juliana's donation to the Programme to Combat Racism. Together with other Dutch firms, Philips campaigned for the construction of submarines and the Koeberg nuclear reactor for South Africa. Frits Philips also tried to convince the Dutch government not to support any resolutions regarding the South West African case that were directed against South Africa.

[138] F.J.Philips, 45 Jaar met Philips (Rotterdam: Donker, 1976), 301.
[139] Ibid., 303.

Chapter 8 - The last years (1989-1994)

President Nelson Mandela: "The Dutch people have mobilised themselves in a strong anti-apartheid movement. I use this occasion to say: thank you for your continuing engagement with justice, liberty and peace."[140]

The resignation of P.W. Botha and the transfer of power to De Klerk in 1989 signalled a turn in apartheid South Africa's history. The willingness to accept the independence of Namibia was a first indication of a new policy. The lifting of the ban on the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and his visit to Amsterdam in June 1990 increased hope in the Netherlands of a speedy end to apartheid. A large, enthusiastic crowd welcomed him.

A few months later De Klerk and his wife Marike visited the country of their ancestors. Marike's visit to the village where her grandfather had a bakery received much attention in the Dutch and South African media and brought the old kinship issue to life again. De Klerk invited all Dutch southern African organisations for lunch, but only those that were pro-apartheid accepted the invitation. The AABN, KZA and Kairos organised a protest meeting with Zarina Maharaj, the wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Mac Maharaj.

Reacting to the invitation of De Klerk for a return visit, the Dutch government decided in early 1992 that the prime minister, Lubbers, and the minister of foreign affairs, van den Broek, would visit South Africa. Lubbers said in parliament: 'We must aim at a certain equilibrium. We should not damage the position of one of the two parties.' And at a meeting of his Christian Democratic Party, Lubbers toasted the courage and success of De Klerk and his wife, adding: 'They speak our language, yes, we belong together.'[141] The Dutch government had discussed the visit with the South African government, but not with the ANC. Mandela said that he was opposed to the idea before there was an interim government, and COSATU and the South African Council of Churches supported this opinion. After months of deliberations the return visit was cancelled.

The anti-apartheid organisations realised that their opponents would use the new optimism to plead for the lifting of the Dutch and EC sanctions. They agreed that it was much too early to lift the pressure on the apartheid regime, and that only the ANC could decide on the right moment to end the boycott. The FNV trade union federation contacted the retail shops that had stopped selling South African products in 1985, and all confirmed that they would continue the boycott. But by late 1991 the cultural and academic boycott were eased, sporting sanctions had virtually ended, and the EC discussed lifting the sanctions on iron, steel and the Krugerrand. The Dutch government eased the granting of visas, and many Dutch anti-apartheid activists were granted visas to visit South Africa for the first time.

This was a confusing time for the many organisations and individuals that had been involved in anti-apartheid activities. Was it still necessary to campaign for

[140] President Mandela (in Afrikaans) at the State Banquet for Queen Beatrix, 30 September 1996. See Algemeen Dagblad, 1 October 1996.

[141] Parliamentary debates, 21 January 1992, in Amandla, February 1992.

sanctions against South Africa, or did more urgent matters need their attention? Since the release of Mandela Shell had supported the reform process in South Africa with large advertisements in the South African press. Should the campaign for the withdrawal of Shell from South Africa still continue under these circumstances? SuZA (Shell out of South Africa) that had organised the large three-day blockade of the Shell laboratory in Amsterdam in 1989 planned a new large-scale boycott activity in 1990. But the plans were dropped when it became clear at preparatory meetings that there was no longer enough support among the activists.

8.1 Changing South Africa, challenge for Europe

To prevent the commitment of groups and organisations that had campaigned for a free South Africa from slowly disappearing, KZA decided to bring them all together in a large conference. There, together with delegates from the ANC, COSATU and other South African organisations, new forms of solidarity with South Africa were discussed. As the Standing Committee of NGOs,[142] of which KZA was a member, had plans for a similar meeting to discuss future EC policy towards southern Africa, the two plans were combined into a three-day conference: Changing South Africa, Challenge for Europe. The conference was financed by the Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation, the European Union, the City of Rotterdam, Novib and HIVOS, and was held from 22 to 24 January 1992 in the World Trade Centre in Rotterdam. It was opened by Jan Pronk, the Dutch minister of development cooperation; Manuel Marin, the vice-president of the EC, and Gaosit'swe Chiepe, the minister for external affairs of Botswana. Six Dutch government departments were represented, which indicated a willingness to co-operate with the anti-apartheid organisations and the other NGOs.

The representatives of Dutch civil society were divided into seven working groups, where views were exchanged with the South African delegates on how to move from sanctions to support for the reconstruction of a new South Africa. The discussions stimulated many organisations to engage in new activities. There was substantial interest among universities and other educational establishments for contacts and co-operation with South African colleagues. Many anti-apartheid cities decided to support a civic, the new structures in the townships, with training, housing and other projects. The Dutch trade unions would continue their assistance to the South African unions, but they warned that soon it would become just one out of many countries that needed their support. The three Dutch anti-apartheid organisations, ICCO and the Lenten Campaign all supported the South African Domestic Workers Union – SADWU. Kairos and the churches converted the campaign against deportations which they had started in 1981 into a campaign for the return of the land to the rural communities, with a focus on Elandskloof.

The AABN supported the organisation People opposing Woman Abuse (POWA) by inviting two representatives to visit the Netherlands in 1992. After more than ten years of co-operation between KZA, the Ministry of Sports and the umbrella sport organisation, NSF, on the sports boycott, a working group was started to assist nonracial sport in South Africa. The AABN and Dutch environmental organisations organised an Ilima Consultation in March 1992 to promote co-operation between

[142] The Standing Committee was the NGO's coordinating body. that participated in the Special Programme for theVictims of Apartheid of the EC. See chapter on material aid.

the Dutch and the South African environmental organisations. This meeting was opened by the minister of environment, Hans Alders, and financed by his ministry.

8.2 The ANC representative and future economic relations

In October 1991 Zolile Magugu, a new ANC chief representative for the Netherlands arrived. In the November 1991 issue of Amandla he was clear about his aims:

> *"I hope that the Netherlands in the future will play a decisive role in the development of our country. I think of investments, trade and culture. It is my task to meet representatives of the different political parties, development organisations, the anti-apartheid movements, churches, the business community and the trade unions. I want to explain the economic policy of the ANC for the future of South Africa. The aim is not a socialist planned economy but an economy that functions according to the free market system."*

Magugu arrived some months before the planned three-day conference in Rotterdam. He immediately showed much interest in the conference and particularly in the working group on business. During the weekly preparatory meetings with KZA he explained that he was in close contact with Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, and that they supported his approach of co-operation with the Dutch business community. If he was successful, his strategy would also be applied in other countries. Magugu wanted to convince the two Dutch employers' organisations, VNO and CNW, to participate in the Rotterdam conference. But when he mentioned the name of KZA in his first meeting on the 6 February 1991 to Klooster of VNO, his facial expression changed. KZA had caused much damage to the Dutch business community: more than half of all Dutch firms had withdrawn from South Africa. But on the condition that no reproaches about the past would be voiced, both employer organisations agreed to come to Rotterdam. Magugu also arranged that a large ANC delegation would attend the conference, which included Thabo Mbeki, Frene Ginwala, Mamphela Ramphele, Eric Molobi, and a COSATU delegation led by it's secretary general, Jay Naidoo.

At the Rotterdam conference VNO and NCW organised a fruitful first discussion between Dutch business and ANC and COSATU, followed by a press conference with Frene Ginwala and Jay Naidoo. This meeting was the beginning of two years of close co-operation between Magugu and KZA to bring the Dutch business community in contact with the ANC and COSATU, as well as with South African black small and medium business:

- March 1992: Magugu arranged a meeting with Thabo Mbeki and Walter Sisulu at the ANC headquarters for the Dutch business delegation to the Johannesburg Trade Fair.
- December 1992: on the initiative of Magugu KZA organized a trip to the Netherlands for a representative of the Foundation for the African Informal Business Sector (FAIBS).
- 1992/93: as a result of the Rotterdam conference, the universities of Rotterdam, Groningen and Twente all organised trips to South Africa to study the economy. Seminars about South Africa were organised at these universities.
- June 1993: two business seminars were held with Tito Mboweni (ANC). Archie

Nkonyeni (president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry – NAFCOC) and Bob Tucker. One was in Rotterdam organised by the municipality and the Chamber of Commerce of Rotterdam, the other in Amsterdam by the World Trade Centre, Amsterdam, and the District Council of Amsterdam-South.

- September 1993: Magugu and the anti-apartheid organisations protested against an all-white business delegation from South Africa, invited by the South Africa–Netherlands Chamber of Commerce (SANEC). At the last moment SANEC had asked NAFCOC to nominate two black delegates, but NAFCOC refused.
- December 1993: on the advice of Magugu, the AABN, KZA and Kairos issued a joint statement that they had terminated the economic boycott of South Africa.
- February 1994: the Seminar Doing Business in South Africa was held with speeches by Nelson Mandela and Trevor Manuel (chief economic department of ANC) in the World Trade Centre of Amsterdam.
- November 1994: the first visit to the Netherlands of a South African delegation of mainly black small and medium business, organised by SANEC and KZA, financed by the EC.
- November 1994: seminar on Black Women in Bussiness in South Africa held in the city of Delft, organised by KZA and the Royal Dutch Employers Association.

Albert Heijn, the largest retailer with 25 per cent of the Dutch market, in consultation with KZA, twice sent a delegation to South Africa in 1992 to study working conditions of the farm labourers on the different fruit plantations. KZA and Kairos campaigned in support of the agricultural labourers; Kairos concentrated on wine, KZA on fruit. Discussions were held with the Dutch trade unions, with the Christian Farmers Union, with rural organisations.

While Magugu and KZA worked closely together, the relations between the chief representative of the ANC in the Netherlands and the AABN were tense from the start. Probably the AABN and it's contacts in the ANC were opposed to the liberal economic policy of Magugu. At the weekly meetings with KZA Magugu complained about his relationship with the AABN: ‘We are in conflict with the AABN.’ ‘They started a war against me, I will not forgive.’ Magugu suspected the AABN of agitating for his removal as the ANC representative.[143] On 14 June 1992 the South African Sunday Times published an article on the conflict between the ANC representative and the AABN. ‘As an ANC officer I will not be dictated to, spoon fed, told who to contact and whom to avoid,’ Magugu said, according to the journalist. ‘The problem with the AABN is that it is strongly against change.’ According to Magugu, as a result of this article the conflict was discussed at a strategy conference of the ANC. It was decided that a planned conference with the international solidarity movements should be organised at short notice.

8.3 Monitoring of violence and elections

During 1990–1994 the AABN focused it's activities on monitoring the violence in South Africa and support to the South African Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU). This was an unrecognised trade union comprising mainly black

[143] IISG, KZA archive: Reports of the consultations, 27 April 1992, 25 May 1992 and 30 July 1992.

policemen and prison wardens who were campaigning against discrimination. The AABN worked closely with the three Dutch police trade unions ACP, NPB and VMHP.[144]

In May 1990, half a year after the foundation of POPCRU, two of it's board members visited the Netherlands at the invitation of the AABN. During a return visit the next year the three Dutch police unions were given a list of the material and non-material needs of POPCRU. This visit laid the foundation for the assistance of the Dutch police to the South African police union. In 1992 a South African MP, Jan van Eck, pleaded for a Dutch mission to observe the growing violence during a visit to the Netherlands. As a result of these contacts the Dutch police unions in cooperation with AABN sent the first Violence Observation Mission to South Africa in March 1993. While other international monitoring groups moved from one place to the next, this group lived for four weeks in two townships near Johannesburg. The intention was to study the growing violence that could become a threat to the democratisation process over a longer period. The final report on public violence, 'Violence in the Vaal', was presented to the South African Goldstone Commission and to the Dutch development minister, Pronk.[145] When the organisations in South Africa requested a new mission, the three Dutch police unions received a grant from Pronk for a second Violence Observer Mission for the period just before the elections (February–May, 1994). Moreover the Ministry started a substantial programme to support POPCRU. The report of the mission: 'Shocking Morals: The Vaal Revisited', indicated that the presence of the Dutch police officers led to a clear mitigation of the violence.[146]

During this period Kairos co-ordinated the Dutch contribution to the long-term violence and election-monitoring project of the churches, the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme South Africa (EMPSA) that was established by the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the World Council of Churches. In 1993 two Dutch monitors participated in the project for six weeks.

8.4 Fundraising for the first free elections in South Africa

The ANC organised an International Solidarity Conference in Johannesburg in February 1993 in an effort to involve the Western anti-apartheid movements in fundraising for it's election fund. It was decided that the Swedish organisation AGIS would co-ordinate fundraising in Scandinavia and KZA in the other West European countries. One of the problems discussed during the meeting was that most European governments and many other organisations might not be willing to support the ANC as it was now a political party. To overcome this problem KZA selected seven voter education projects by bodies that were co-operating with the ANC and informed the other participants of the conference of the results. 'The ANC agreed with this strategy and with the selected projects.'[147]

In the Netherlands, KZA, AABN and Kairos decided to organise a joint campaign.

[144] Algemene Christelijke Politie Bond (ACP), Nederlandse Politie Bond (NPB) and Vereniging voor Middelbare en Hogere Politieambtenaren (VMHP).
[145] IISG, AABN archive.
[146] Ibid.
[147] IISG, KZA archive: letter KZA to the other European anti-apartheid organisations, 26 March 1993.

KZA organised the fundraising, as it had done for SWAPO in 1989. AABN would continue it's violence observer missions and organise a festive evening on election day. Kairos would approach the church organisations. For the fundraising, KZA requested the political parties, the trade unions, the development NGOs and progressive magazines to send mailings to their members and subscribers. A broad committee of prominent persons from the left to the right recommended the fundraising campaign. Moreover, KZA contacted the broadcasting organisation VARA to organise a fundraising evening on TV. Long and difficult negotiations with VARA and the other participants began on the institutions that would receive the funds and about the slogan: Give South Africa a Fair Chance. The stated aim was to collect funds for voter education for the black South Africans who had not been allowed to vote in previous elections. In order to obtain the co-operation of the FNV trade union, voter education by COSATU was included in the projects; and for the churches, there was voter education by the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT), founded by Allan Boesak. The fundraising involved seven projects: the ANC, the ANC Women's League, the ANC Youth League, COSATU, ICT, the Voter Education and Election Training Unit (VEETU) and Thetha Theatre.

VARA agreed to a two-hour fundraising drive on TV in prime time on the evening of 17 February 1994. KZA agreed to pay €180 000 for the cost of the programme. But a condition of VARA was that Mandela would come over to the Netherlands to participate in the TV evening. Finally Mandela agreed to fly to the Netherlands for a short, one-night visit. Formally he was the guest of the Dutch government. In addition to the TV evening he met with the government, parliament and addressed a meeting of businessmen. Zolile Magugu was more than enthusiastic:"The decision by Mandela to visit the Netherlands is based on emotional feelings. He cancelled his visit's to the United States and Great Britain, but he took the time to come to the Netherlands. That means a lot.".[148]

The TV evening was supported by other programmes on the radio and TV, bank transfer forms in the radio/TV magazines, advertisements, etc. From the proceeds of the campaign €600 000 went to the ANC, €450 000 to COSATU, €250 000 to VEETU, and €100 000 to ICT. In addition to these amounts, several Dutch organisations sent their contributions directly to the South African organisations.

One of the aims of the campaign was to receive government assistance for the ANC's election fund. KZA discussed the possibilities with the minister of development cooperation, Pronk and his party, the Dutch Labour Party. When Pronk visited South Africa in May 1993, Mandela informed him that during his recent visit's to Great Britain and Germany the governments of those countries had promised him that he would not return with empty hands. Pronk assured Mandela that his aim was a 'common support operation' for the ANC by several countries. After his return to the Netherlands, Pronk contacted the governments of Germany, Britain and the Scandinavian countries with a proposal to co-ordinate their assistance to the ANC. When no positive reaction was forthcoming, Pronk decided to donate Dutch government assistance to the election fund of the ANC. But since a majority in the Dutch parliament was opposed to unilateral support for the ANC only, Pronk proposed a formula that had been used before to support political parties in the East European countries: each Dutch political party could apply for government funds to support friendly parties in South Africa. From the

[148] Amandla, April 1994.

start Pronk excluded any support for Buthelezi. The outcome was that the ANC was given $2.5 m for building up the party, the National Party received $200 000 and the Democratic Party $100 000. Moreover, Pronk had €450 000 donated to the KZA campaign for the ANC and €225 000 for VEETU.

A few days before the elections the large Dutch right-wing daily De Telegraaf, which had always supported apartheid South Africa, sent a reporter to the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, most probably in the hope of revealing some scandal about the Dutch fundraising campaign. Dawn Zaan, head of fundraising, gave him a printout of the donations. With monthly donations by KZA of €70 000 the Netherlands was in fact at the top of the list of donors. The total donations from the Dutch government and KZA to the ANC and related organisations for the election campaign was nearly €3 m. Thomas Nkobi, head of the ANC finance department, said to the Telegraaf journalist: 'You are from Holland? I must embrace you. Your country has done so much for the ANC and our people.'[149] The journalist was overwhelmed and wrote a highly positive article.

8.5 Conclusion: Finally one solidarity organisation?

Throughout the anti-apartheid struggle in the Netherlands there were suggestions and a few discussions about a possible merger between the different Dutch solidarity organisations for southern Africa. With the changing situation in South Africa all agreed that it was now or never. Four organisations were involved in the discussions: AABN, KZA, Kairos and the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation (EMS).[150] Kairos indicated from the start that it preferred to stay outside a merger, because otherwise the financial support of the churches would be lost. The EMS was interested, but it was a less attractive candidate as it was burdened with debt. It tried to survive by decreasing it's staff at it's Maputo office from 13 to five employees. Defence and Aid Fund Netherlands (DAFN) was dissolved in 1991 and Boycot Outspan Actie (BOA) in 1992. So AABN and KZA were the principal partners in the discussions about close co-operation or a merger.

But there were significant differences between the two movements. The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AABN) was in the first place a solidarity and friendship organisation for the ANC, so it concluded that the free elections would effectively end it's reason to continue. KZA was an organisation that was involved throughout southern Africa. It was also, together with a Norwegian organisation, active in mine clearing in Mozambique; in an emergency food operation with Dutch government funds in Angola; it had teachers and HIV/Aids-prevention doctors in Zimbabwe, and it had signed a contract with the Namibian government for a similar operation. It's assistance programme in South Africa had shifted from support to the liberation struggle to the funding of development projects. It could continue it's activities after the end of apartheid, just as it had done in the past after the liberation of the other states in southern Africa.

The difficult discussions began on a cold winter day in December 1989. The records of the meeting show that before any talk of a merger was possible, a fundamental disagreement had to be solved. During the entire 1989, KZA and

[149] De Telegraaf, 23 April 1994 .

[150] The EMS was originally founded in 1969 by the Angola Comité for the material support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, and after their independence, to the new states.

Kairos had campaigned to support SWAPO during the first free elections in Namibia. A broad coalition had been formed, but after revelations about atrocities in the SWAPO camps, Novib suddenly attacked SWAPO and left the campaign in the midst of much media attention. All South African organisations that were supported by Novib reacted by breaking off their relationship with Novib. KZA and Kairos were able to keep the other (mostly religious) organisations in the Namibia campaign. But suddenly the AABN attacked not only SWAPO, but also the Dutch organisations that campaigned in support of SWAPO. KZA and Kairos contacted the ANC in London and Lusaka in the hope that they could stop the AABN and save the campaign. AABN staff member Luirink reported:

> *The criticism of the AABN was considered by some in the ANC as treachery of the 'good cause'. It would damage SWAPO in the vehement election campaign. And this really happened. A South African, who was involved in the anti-SWAPO campaign, told me that he translated the AABN article into English and distributed it among foreign journalists. At a Christmas party in London AABN chairperson Connie Braam in particular was severely criticised by some prominent ANC leaders."*[151]

The discussion between KZA and AABN did not bring any rapprochement: the AABN maintained that a strong public condemnation of SWAPO was necessary; KZA was of the opinion that in this decisive election year all support should be given to SWAPO. Moreover the AABN strongly condemned the material support of KZA to the UDF; all support should go to the ANC. Moreover, the AABN did not want a merger with the KZA department for material aid. KZA declared that a large majority amongst it's staff was in favour of a merger. The AABN concluded that these fundamental disagreements should first be resolved before any talks could be initiated on a possible merger.

At the next meeting in June 1990, most of the time was again spent on a similar fundamental point of disagreement. The AABN magazine had published an interview with the ambassador of apartheid South Africa in the Netherlands. Luirink reported: 'When after the interview I left the South African embassy in the presence of a group of demonstrators, a feeling of collaboration struck me.'[152] The KZA was of the opinion that only the ANC could decide when the policy of international isolation of the apartheid regime should be ended, and that solidarity organisations should follow the ANC policy. Moreover, a few months earlier AABN, KZA and Kairos had decided to continue the boycott. For that reason, KZA and Kairos had several times refused invitations by newspapers, radio and TV for a discussion with the ambassador.

The AABN magazine published an analysis of the political differences that separated AABN en KZA/Kairos in it's September–October 1990 issue. 'It is not accidental that the AABN has a magazine that criticised the SWAPO tortures and interviewed the South African ambassador.' The AABN 'with it's predominant communist background' has more suppleness than the two other movements. KZA and Kairos lack the 'Leninist flexibility' of the AABN and are more inclined to doctrinal purity 'based on their orientation on and loyalty to the ANC, whose political culture they have for a large part adopted.' It seemed that during the last years the attitudes of the AABN towards the liberation movements had changed considerably. The coordinator of the AABN stated in the press: 'We are not

[151] AABN magazine Anti-Apartheidskrant, October-November 1994.
[152] De Anti-Apartheidskrant, AABN, October-November 1994, 6.

following the ANC blindly.'[153]

In early 1992 there was a new round of discussions on future co-operation between the different organisations. However, in April 1992 the AABN suddenly announced that it had decided to disband. It saw no future in a merger with KZA and Kairos. In a joint letter KZA, Kairos and the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation wrote to the AABN that they were shocked. On the eve of the difficult CODESA-2 negotiations in South Africa the publicity around the closing of the AABN was an unfortunate signal to the public, who might well deduce from this that the anti-apartheid struggle was over. The three organisations insisted that the ANC had appealed explicitly to the anti-apartheid movements at it's last congress to continue their activities.

The decision of the AABN to disband shelved the possibility of a merger between KZA and AABN. However, the AABN had no answer to where the extensive archives and documentation of the movement would be placed. Part of the AABN staff decided to found an information and documentation centre, Instituut voor Zuidelijk Afrika (IZA). Finally it was decided that a merger between IZA, KZA and Mondlane Foundation was the most realistic option for the future. In 1997 the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA) was born. Kairos still refrained from joining. NIZA became a professional organisation with market-led salaries. It was able to tap the most important sources of money from the past: the Dutch government and the EC, now the European Union. In 2006 it had nearly 50 paid staff. It was and is not only an information and documentation centre, but also an organisation with projects in southern Africa in the field of human rights and press freedom. In the Netherlands it was unique that the former liberation struggle solidarity organisations were able to transform themselves into such an impressive new institution.

[153] Haagsche Courant, 9 March 1991.