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Netherlands mission

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Introduction

When the Nationalist Government banned the African National Congress (ANC) on 8 April 1960, the ANC began operating underground in South Africa. Outside the country the ANC started to establish itself as the official voice of South Africa's voteless masses. By the 1970s recognition of the ANC's legitimacy was growing, not only amongst the multiplicity of non-governmental anti-apartheid organizations, but also among foreign governments.

The first missions were opened in London, Accra, Cairo, and Dar-es-Salaam. By 1980, the ANC had offices and representatives in 32 countries. The external missions worked to win support for the overthrow of apartheid by promoting the cause of the ANC and urging international economic pressure against the South African government. The missions also provided assistance to South African exiles. Following the banning of the organisation, Oliver Tambo, President General of the ANC left South Africa to head of the ANC's external operations.

On 2 February 1990 the bans on the ANC and other political organisations were lifted. A process of negotiations between the unbanned organisations and the South African government ensued. In 1992 the ANC instructed its missions to collate and box their records for shipment to South Africa. These records were to form the basis of the official archives of the ANC, from which a true history of the ANC's role in the struggle against apartheid could be written.

History of the Netherlands Mission.

The Netherlands was an important centre to the ANC in the anti-apartheid struggle. There are historic ties with Holland, the country of the Dutch East India Company which bore Jan van Riebeeck to its shores in 1652 and turned South Africa into a haven for white settlers and later European imperialist expansion. A considerable number of Dutch people feel a debt is owed South Africa and were enthusiastic participants in anti-apartheid groups, aside from those who inherently opposed racism.

The headquarters of the Shell Corporation are based in Rotterdam and provided a focus for protest in the form of pickets and blockades. However the ANC mission was not immediately set up in Amsterdam, but until 1988 operated from Brussels where Godfrey Motsepe was the Chief Representative and Rose Motsepe was the women's co-ordinator organising and working towards a planned women's conference. They took up their posts in 1981, responsible for the Benelux countries of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. They forged strong links with Dutch organisations, South Africans and friends living in Holland.

A number of solidarity organisations were formed, with different political positions. The AABN (Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland) were more radical than the larger Labour-aligned Holland Committee on South Africa (KZA) while Kairos, a Christian organisation were mainly engaged in educational links and AWEPA (Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid) engaged in many projects for South African students and workers. All worked closely with the ANC members in Holland and with the mission based in Brussels.

Women's organisations were mobilised by full-time worker Bunie Sexwale. Together with Rose Motsepe stationed in Brussels they organised a highly successful 30th Anniversary Women's Day on August 9, 1986, commemorating the 1956 March to Pretoria of 20,000 women against the pass laws. A pioneering conference which brought to Amsterdam for the first time in the apartheid years, 100

women direct from South Africa in January 1990 was paid for by Dutch Anti-Apartheid (AABN). Women's organisations and the general anti-apartheid movement helped to make the Malibongwe Conference a great success attended by women internationally.

In September 1988, Kumar Sanjay was Head of the ANC Information Bureau in Amsterdam and was appointed Chief Representative of the new Mission in November. He proved to be an energetic worker, who initiated meetings with groups hitherto unsympathetic to the AAM. The atmosphere of change in the air, had Shell approaching the Mission for talks. Sanjay held the position until May 1991, when Zolile Magugu took over. The nature of conferences then changed to post-apartheid concerns such as pollution and regeneration of education. The Dutch had been keenly supportive, both with teachers and material needs of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania opened after the Soweto students' uprising. In the 90's that interest and support continued.

Scope and Content Note

The Netherlands Mission papers of the ANC are stored in 43 boxes.

The papers are divided into 6 series: **Subject, Correspondence, SA Embassy Newsletter, News Clippings, Publications, and Posters and Memorabilia.**

Additional material has been added. This is of material that came with the material but for one reason or another was not processed with the material. It was later processed and added to this record group. It has been divided into 4 series: **Correspondence, Discussion papers, reports and statements.**

The **Subject Series I** is consists of 25 boxes

Folders 1 – 19 contains ANC reports from commissions, conferences, missions and the CODESA negotiations. Folders 20 – 30 holds reports on projects, anti-apartheid movements, COSAWR and Bantustans, Folders 31 – 44 contains conferences, COSATU, Dutch delegations the economy, and education. Folders 45 – 55 has elections, SA incursions into Angola and Mozambique, faxes in and out, the Harare Conference and health material. Folders 56 – 71 holds information on Helen Joseph, Kairos, KZA, Land, Mandela's visit to Holland, the UDF and others. Folders 72 – 85 holds **inter alia** reports on Nelson Mandela, NGO's the post-apartheid constitution and RECSA. Folder 86 – 95 is on sanctions and the SA-Netherlands Cultural Centre. Folders 97 – 106 contains an interview with an ANC Rep, Tambo speeches, violence within the organisation, Sisulu Winnie Mandela, Women and Zambia. Folders 107 127 a mix of folders some of which are the same as earlier ones and these are indicated on the finding aids, e.g. CODESA, ANC policy and Women's Section, Dutch Government and correspondence.

The **Correspondence Series II** is in Boxes 23 and 24. It contains Incoming mail in folders 1 to 3 and Outgoing in folders 4 to 7. Correspondence dates from 1985 to 1993 and is mainly from Dutch anti-apartheid organisations and ANC Lusaka.

The **SA Embassy Newsletter Series III** is in Box 24 to 27 holds folders 1 to 13, dating from 1992-1994. The newsletter informed missions of the progress of the CODESA negotiations, **inter alia**.

The **News Clippings Series IV** is in Box 28 to 29 holding folders 1 to 7 and also contain some articles. They date from 1992-1994.

The **Publications Series V** are contained in Boxes 30 to 38. Removed some publications, especially ANC material and it's allies to be added to the special section

The **ANC Newsbriefings** removed

The **Posters and Memorabilia Series VI** are contained in Box 39 and consist **inter alia** of Dutch and anti-apartheid posters, flags, postcards and a diary of Kumar Sanjay.

The **additional material** is in boxes 40 to 43, and consists of correspondence, discussion documents, reports and statements.

Box 1

Series I – Subject Files

1. Abuja Declaration, 1991
2. ANC Camps (Motsuenyane Commission Report), n.d., 1990 – 1993
3. ANC Conferences/Workshops (1), 1981-1991
4. ANC Conferences/Workshops (2), 1981-1991
5. ANC Dept. of International Affairs, n.d., 1989, 1991 – 1992
6. ANC Denora Conference, Arusha, 1990 – 1991

Box 2

- 7. ANC Missions, 1992
- 8. ANC-NEC Matters, 1988
- 9. ANC Negotiations/CODESA (1), n.d., 1991
- 10. ANC Negotiations/CODESA (2), 1992
- 11. ANC Negotiations/CODESA (3), 1992-1993
- 12. ANC Policy Documents (1), 1991

Box 3

- 13. ANC Policy Documents (2), 1992 – 1994
- 14. ANC Press Releases/Statements (1), n.d., 1987-1989
- 15. ANC Press Releases/Statements (2), 1990
- 16. ANC Press Releases/Statements (3), 1991

Box 4

- 17. ANC Press Releases/Statements (4), 1992 – 1994
- 18. ANC Press Releases/Statements (5), 1992 – 1994
- 19. ANC Projects, 1986
- 20. Angola, n.d., 1992
- 21. Anti-Apartheid Movement, Netherlands, 1988-1993

Box 5

- 22. Anti-Apartheid Movements – European Community, n.d., 1987-1992
- 23. Arts and Culture, n.d., 1989-1993
- 24. AWEPA (1), n.d., 1987-1989
- 25. AWEPA (2), 1990-1994

Box 6

- 26. Bantustans/Townships, 1989-1992
- 27. Benelux, n.d., 1993
- 28. Cards, n.d., 1992
- 29. Chris Hani Assassination, 1993
- 30. Committee on South African War Resistance, 1989
- 31. Conferences (1), n.d., 1983, 1986

Box 7

- 32. Conferences (2), 1988 – 1989, 1991 – 1992
- 33. Conferences (3), 1992
- 34. Conferences (4), 1993

Box 8

- 35. Consultation on South African Debt Rescheduling, 1989
- 36. COSATU and Unions, n.d., 1993
- 37. Diplomatic Courses, n.d., 1992 – 1994
- 38. Discussion Papers, n.d., 1986, 1989, 1993
- 39. Dutch Delegations, n.d., 1993

Box 9

- 40. Dutch Government, n.d., 1990 – 1994
- 41. Economy (1), n.d., 1989 – 1990
- 42. Economy (2), 1991-1993

Box 10

- 43. Education (1), n.d., 1986
- 44. Education (2), 1989-1992
- 45. Elections (1), 1994

Box 11

- 46. Elections (2), 1994
- 47. Elections (3), 1994
- 48. Embassies/Missions, 1991-1994
- 49. European Campaign Against South African Aggression on Mozambique and Angola, n.d.
- 50. Faxes – Incoming, 1990-1993

Box 12

- 51. Faxes – Outgoing, 1990-1993
- 52. Forum Nelson Mandela – Report, 1994
- 53. Govan Mbeki and Winnie Mandela Fund, 1988-1990
- 54. Harare Conference, 1989
- 55. Health, 1989
- 56. Joseph, Helen, 1993
- 57. Kairos, 1989-1993
- 58. Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA), n.d., 1989-1993

Box 13

- 59. Land Issue, n.d., 1991-1994
- 60. Local Anti-Apartheid Groups, n.d., 1986-1993
- 61. Local City Councils, 1984, 1988-1990
- 62. Mandela Document, 1989
- 63. Mandela Visit to Netherlands (1), 1994

Box 14

- 64. Mandela Visit to Netherlands (2), 1994
- 65. Mangaung, n.d.
- 66. Mass Democratic Movement and UDF, n.d., 1987-1990
- 67. Military and Nuclear Affairs (1), n.d., 1984, 1986 – 1990
- 68. Military and Nuclear Affairs – SA Anti-Terrorist Manual (2), 1986

Box 15

- 69. Miscellaneous Forms, n.d.
- 70. Multinationals, 1990-1992
- 71. Namda, 1987-1990
- 72. National Party of South Africa, Bulletin, 1993
- 73. Nelson Mandela Newspaper Clippings, 1988 – 1989
- 74. Nelson Mandela Newspaper Clippings, 1990

Box 16

- 75. Nelson Mandela Reception Committee, Release, 1989-1990
- 76. NGO's, 1989-1993
- 77. Nkobi, T, 1990 Address at the International Donors' Conference 1991
- 78. Partij van die Arbeid (PVDA) – Harare Conference on Southern Africa, 1989
- 79. Philippines, n.d., 1991, 1993
- 80. Points from the Press, 1991-1992

Box 17

- 81. Platform Zuidelyk Afrika, 1988-1993
- 82. Post-Apartheid Debates and Discussions, n.d., 1988-1989

- 83. Post-Apartheid Debates and Discussions, 1990 – 1991
- 84. Reference Centre on Education and Religion in South Africa (RECSA), 1986, 1988 – 1990

Box 18

- 85. Religion, 1988-1991
- 86. Reports, 1990-1991
- 87. Sanctions and Investments , n.d., 1986 – 1988
- 88. Sanctions and Investments , 1988. Includes an Address by Dr. C.F Beyers Naude

Box 19

- 89. Sanctions and Investments , 1990
- 90. Sanctions and Investments, Newsletters on the Oil Embargo Against South Africa, 1985-1988
- 91. Sanctions and Investments, Newsletters on the Oil Embargo Against South Africa, 1989-1990
- 92. Sanctions and Investments, Newsletters on the Oil Embargo Against South Africa, 1991 – 1994

Box 20

- 93. South African Community Cultural Centre (SACCC), 1989
- 94. Slovo, Joe includes an interview with the Harare ZTV broadcasting, 1987
- 95. S. A.– Netherlands Chamber of Commerce 1993
- 96. Speech by Neo Mnumzana, Chief Rep of the ANC at the United Nations, n.d.,
- 97. Sports, 1990
- 98. State Affairs (1), 1989-1990
- 99. State Affairs (2), 1990-1992

Box 21

- 100. Tambo, Oliver/Speeches, 1985-19887, 1989 – 1993. Includes condolences to Mrs. Tambo and her family on O.R.Tambo's death, Also a statement by Nelson Mandela during the funeral.
- 101. Telexes. 1988-1991
- 102. Violence, 1992
- 103. Walter Sisulu, 1989
- 104. Winnie Mandela, 1989-1992

Box 22

- 105. Women, 1987-1992; 1998-1992
- 106. Zambia, 1989
- 107. ANC – NEC, 1990
- 108. ANC Policy
- 109. ANC Women's Section, 1990 – 1992
- 110. Arts and Culture, 1993 – 1994

Box 22A

- 111. Cards (greetings), n.d.,
- 112. CODESA debates and papers
- 113. Conferences, 1992
- 114. Correspondence, (Incoming), 1994
- 115. Dutch Government, 1990, 1992
- 116. Economics, 1992 – 1993
- 117. Faxes (Outgoing), 1994

Box 22B

- 118. Inkatha and other Right Wing Movement
- 119. Lubbers and Van den Broek, 1992
- 120. Niehaus, Carl, 1992
- 121. Papers,
- 122. Police Violence, 1988 – 1989

123. Police Violence, 1989 – 1992

Box 22C

124. Repatriation of Exiles, 1990 – 1993

125. Rudi Boon papers, 1989 – 1990

126. South African Communist Party, 1989 – 1992. Includes a paper by Joe Slovo entitled “Has Socialism Failed?” and a response by Pallo Jordan to that paper.

127. Socialisteise Partij, n.d.

Box 22D (check with Khanyi)

Series II – Correspondence

Box 23

1. Incoming (1), n.d., 1985-1988, 1992

2. Incoming (2) 1988 – 1991

3. Incoming (3) 1993

4. Outgoing (1) 1986 – 1990

5. Outgoing (2) 1991 – 1992

Box 24

6. Outgoing (3) 1992

7. Outgoing (4) 1992

Series III – South African Embassy Newsletter

Box 24

1. SA Embassy Newsletter (1), 1992

Box 25

2. SA Embassy Newsletter (2), 1992

3. SA Embassy Newsletter (3), 1992

4. SA Embassy Newsletter (4), 1992

5. SA Embassy Newsletter (1), 1993

Box 26

6. SA Embassy Newsletter (2), 1993

7. SA Embassy Newsletter (3), 1993

8. SA Embassy Newsletter (4), 1993

9. SA Embassy Newsletter (5), 1993

10. SA Embassy Newsletter (6), 1993

Box 27

11. SA Embassy Newsletter (7), 1993

12. SA Embassy Newsletter (1), 1994

13. SA Embassy Newsletter (2), 1994

Series IV – Newspaper Clippings

Box 27

1. Newspaper Clippings (1), 1992 – 1994

Box 28

2. Newspaper Clippings (2), 1993 – 1994

3. Newspaper Clippings (3), 1993 – 1994

4. Newspaper Clippings (4), 1992 – 1993

Box 29

- 5. Newspaper Clippings (5), 1993
- 6. Newspaper Clippings (6), 1993
- 7. Newspaper Clippings (7), 1993

Series V – Publications**Box 30**

Dutch Publications, 1989 – 1994

Box 31

Dutch Publications, 1989 – 1994

Box 32

Dutch Publications, 1989 – 1994

Box 33

Human Rights Commission, 1989 – 1992

Box 34

Human Rights Commission, 1989 – 1992

Box 35

PAC, 1988 – 1993

Box 36

Frontfile, 1988 – 1990

Box 37

Anti – Apartheid Movement

Box 38

- 1. Anti-Apartheid, [1988] – 1989
- 2. AWEPA News Bulletin, 1991
- 3. Challenge: Church and People, 1991 – 1993
- 4. International Mobilisation, 1990
- 5. Intelligence Newsletter, 1989
- 6. Mandela's Appeal, n.d., 1992
- 7. Prisma: World News, 1988 – 1989
- 8. Religion, 1989
- 9. Sanctions, 1988 – 1989
- 10. South Africa: ANC Interim Constitution, 1990
- 11. Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), 1989

Box 39**Series VI – Posters and Memorabilia**

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Additions

Series I – Correspondence**Box 40**

- 1. Between Frene Ginwala and the Shipping Research Bureau on the oil embargo over South Africa, 1981 – 1986

2. Date and time of election for South Africans in the Netherlands, April 1994
3. Expressing concern about the situation in South Africa, 1992
4. From NR Mandela to FW de Klerk, 9 July 1992
5. From the Treasurer General to Chief Reps, 1993
6. In Dutch, 1988
7. Statements sent to the ANC President's office 1984, 1988
8. With high commissioners/embassies, 1988
9. With ANC Secretary General's office, 1974 – 1975
10. With the ANC London office, 1988
11. President's office, OR Tambo, 1973, 1986 – 1990

Series II – Discussion Documents

Box 41

1. Assessment of the economy of South Africa, 1987
2. Department of Information and Publicity – the Situation in South Africa
3. Economy of a democratic South Africa, 1990
4. **Gender and Economic Policy in a Democratic South Africa** by Ginwala and others, 1991
5. Mobility and social change in South Africa, June 1975
6. On a mixed economy in South Africa, by Vella Pillay, ANC DEP discussions, 1989
7. On the oil embargo, 1982
8. Policy Guidelines for a democratic South Africa, April 1992
9. **Sent to Frene Ginwala re relations between Europe and South Africa, 1990**
10. South Africa's Foreign Debt, 1989
11. South Africa's Manufacturing Industry, 1987
12. South Africa's Transport Industry and Transport Policy, 1987
13. **The Oil Embargo 1989 – 1991: Secrecy still rules**
14. What is COSATU?

Series III – Reports

Box 42

1. Abductions by the Apartheid regime
2. A Matla Trust Project
3. ANC Development Centre Dakawa – Revised 1984 Development Plan, Volume I, August 1990
4. ANC Development Centre Dakawa – Revised 1984 Development Plan, Volume II, August 1990
5. ANC Development Centre Dakawa – Revised 1984 Development Plan, Volume III, August 1990
6. 1990 ANC National Consultative Conference
7. Malibongwe Conference on Women's Struggle in South Africa
8. **Meeting between the ANC and the Consultative Business Movement, March 1990**
9. Project for developing destitute youth
10. Stop Apartheid; Boycott Shell! Shadow Report

Series IV – Statements

Box 43

1. NEC Statement – 78th Anniversary of the ANC January 8, 1990
2. Notes on negotiations
3. On the Campaign for Peace and Democracy, issued by ANC/ SACP/ COSATU, July 1992
4. Speech – NR Mandela to the Finance Week Breakfast Club, 19 July 1991