

THE STORY OF OUTSPAN ORANGES IN THE NETHERLANDS (NL)

AND

THE CAMPAIGN OF
THE BOYCOTT OUTSPAN ACTION (BOA)

as told by Esau du Plessis

“Every time a South African product
is bought, it is another brick in
the wall of our continued existence.”

(J.B. Vorster, speaking at an Agricultural
Show in Pretoria, reported in the
Johannesburg Star of 26/8/1972)

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AND RACISM IN HOLLAND

Introduction

Jan van Riebeeck (1619 – 1677) a colonial pioneer was recalled to Holland on account of fraud by the Dutch East Indies Company. This man was sent in 1651 as chief salesman to found a refreshment station at the Cape. On 6 April 1652 he stepped ashore and laid the basis for a colony by building a fort. His main aim was to supply the Dutch travellers to and from their colonial possessions in the East Indies (Indonesia) with fresh water, vegetables, fruit and meat. To achieve this, he literally held the bible in one hand and a gun in the other. After all, in order to supply the refreshment station, he needed land and cheap labour. These were to become two major corner stones of the subsequent history of South Africa. It was later given a name: apartheid.

Jan van Riebeeck meticulously kept a diary which provides valuable information. The first orange trees, for example, arrived in the Cape on the ship ‘de Tulp’ from St. Helena on 11 June 1654 and by 1661 no fewer than 1662 orange and lemon trees decorated the private garden of van Riebeeck.

In 1657 a group of Dutch settlers broke away from his authority and started to live outside the boundary of the refreshment station. They called themselves ‘vrijburghers’ (free citizens). The original inhabitants the Kho-Khoi (abusively called Hottentots by Europeans) lost more and more land to the fast expanding white colonists. Slavery became officially introduced in 1657 and the supremacy of the whites and the subordination of blacks became a fact.

In 1648 five years prior to his settlement, Jan van Riebeeck already made acquaintance with the local people of the Cape. On his way back from the East Indies with his fleet of boats, he picked up a Dutch group who had suffered shipwreck a year earlier. They had enjoyed the hospitality of the Khoi-Khoi for a full year. However, the fleet of van Riebeeck was not impressed by this and they shot and stole a number of cows belonging to the Khoi-Khoi and disappeared without paying.

Most remarkably two other Dutchmen, Janssen and Proot, from the sunken 'Haarlem' who had enjoyed the hospitality of the Khoi-Khoi lodged a complaint at the powerful Dutch East Indies Company in Holland:

"Others would say that the natives are brutal and wild from whom no good can be expected... However, this is a mistake... We are convinced that the Dutch farmers, if their livestock had been shot down or stolen, without any pay, would not have behaved any better than these natives"

The Dutch East Indies Company disregarded this letter of protest and instructed Jan van Riebeeck to proceed with producing vegetables and meat. For that it was necessary to trade with the Khoi people. He even suggested that a solution could be found by making the Khoi-Khoi intoxicated and then deported. Their uncared-for animals would thereby automatically fall into the hands of the Dutch. It should be noted that Jan van Riebeeck went to South Africa steeped in the racial prejudice of Holland.

The settlers continued to grab more land and to acquire more livestock by means of barter and theft, aided by cheap labour and slavery. Driven by the racism of the Old Testament and the belief that it was their God-given right to feel superior to the local people, they continued to increase their stranglehold on the Cape. The Dutch journalist and writer Ben van Kaam referred to the Shem Theology derived from the Old Testament as 'one of the most despicable tenets of the Christian world'. This horrible belief was reinforced by the harsh and uncompromising Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. In their simple minds they predestined themselves to be the chosen ones.

They further distinguished themselves by a keen sense of entrepreneurial spirit to such an extreme extent that it is often jokingly said that if one wants to sell a toothbrush to a dentist or a loaf of bread to a baker then one is at the right address at a Dutch Calvinist. This close relationship between a salesman and a Dutch minister of the gospel is still in evidence to this day in Holland. This is in fact a confirmation of Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

To those who claim that the Dutch were not racists in the Dutch East Indies, it should be pointed out that professor W.F. Wertheim, by all accounts an expert on Indonesia and Dutch racism, wrote in his *Koloniaal Racisme in Indonesië – ons onverwerkt verleden* (Colonial racism in Indonesia – our past with which we have not come to terms):

"Whoever imagines that the Dutch in the past were free from racist feelings and prejudices, did never fully account for the behaviour of our fellow countrymen in a colonial environment."

What then was the connection between apartheid in South Africa and racism in Holland? Cedric Mayson put it very aptly:

"Apartheid is not a different type of civilization from the West but is the hard refined cutting edge of it. Apartheid is not a blot on Western civilization but the heart of it. Apartheid is the eye-piece through which you can see the whole, a microcosm, a revelation of what Western civilization is really about!" (A Certain Sound, page 137, Epworth Press, London 1984)

We were struck by the similarity of the many pro-apartheid books and articles in Holland which were almost identical to the apartheid books in South Africa. In some cases the Dutch publications were even more racist than the South African ones. One suspects that it is because the eyes of the world were not focussed on Holland as much as on South Africa. School books in general use contained the telling statement: "The history of South Africa began in 1652".

It was in the terminology invariably used that the blatant racism becomes so glaringly clear. Thus often highly offensive terms like 'neger', 'Kaffer', 'Bantu', 'coloured', 'hottentots', 'coolie', 'native' etc. were commonly used. It is not so much the use of one of these terms, but rather the suggestion thereby made. For example, to call a Nigerian or a South African a 'neger' tells one very little about the person concerned. Where does he come from? What language does he speak? etc. To use the word neger instead of Nigerian is such a gross generalization that the suggestion is made to other potential racists that they are dealing with a sub-human object or thing which cannot be elevated to being called a person who is actually a Nigerian. Clearly stereotypes will perish ever so slowly in Holland. Significantly Karel Roskam, who has done more than most people in Holland against apartheid declared:

"It is clear that South African racism did not grow out of German Nazism, because both are rooted in the same line of thought. From an historical point of view South African racism has actually preceded German Nazism. However, it is also true that white South Africans, insofar as Afrikaners are concerned, have received new impulses out of Nazism."

(Manuscript Apartheid made in Europe, 1987)

It is in this context that we launched the boycott of Outspan oranges in a serious effort to educate and create awareness in a whole people. We were at all times fully aware of the indivisibility of the struggle against racism. We were aware that those people in all walks of life in Holland who called for more investment in South Africa, more trade with and more emigration to South Africa were in reality doing so to confirm and reinforce their own racism, whether explicit or implicit. We actually stated in one of BOA's booklets in 1974: "It is racism in Holland that we are fighting!"

In the 1980's when we saw racism in Holland growing and manifesting itself more openly, we also more explicitly made comparisons and pointed to the similarities between the two countries. Historians will have to judge whether we were right or whether organizations which looked upon apartheid as an isolated and a separate matter in fact promoted the growth of racism in Holland.

In this respect, we fully agree with John Lilipaly, Member of Parliament of the Dutch labour Party (PvdA) when he said:

"The Netherlands pretend always to play a leading role, but if you look carefully at the Dutch situation then you are shocked. We should not only focus our attention on South Africa. That is important, but I would say: Look also at yourself. The problem of South Africa is not determined geographically. No, South Africa is everywhere. Also in The Netherlands."(Elsevier Magazine, 10 July 1987)

Therefore I wish to consider my Open Letter and the two responses that it evoked as integral parts of this introduction and the following article on the Boycott Outspan Action (BOA).

The other campaigns and the extensive work of the BOA will shortly be forthcoming.

Esau du Plessis
Rydsgård, Sweden, July 2009

HANDS OFF

A POEM BY BARRY OLIVER HIGGS.

Black hands had picked this orange, sent express,
The juice still sparkling in the golden fruit –
While those dry fingers continents away:
Could they still pick, or had they faded out?

For, standing on a barren London street,
I thought: “Black hands have picked this fruit for me,
But a grasping hand has whipped the effort on
and white fists with steel guns guard the tree.”

So guilt lay in my hands that day, like blood,
and from the grocer’s stall the gruesome load
Of bloody, battered cheaper – by-the-dozen
Dripped bright and dying to the London road.

But no one seemed to notice, hurrying by,
The thousand corpses on the grocer’s stall;
wrapped in the lies of evening fivepence news
the English turned their faces to the wall.

And the innocent greengrocer, hands in his pocket,
smiling, surrounded by fruit in packets.

From: *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*; Alex La Guma, Editor Seven Seas Books, Berlin, 1971

DON'T SQUEEZE A SOUTH AFRICAN DRY

In the summer of 1973 an extensive consumer boycott against the South African Outspan oranges was conducted in Holland. What is more, the campaign succeeded and can be counted among the most effective campaigns ever launched in a European country against apartheid.

This is the story of how the campaign was run in the hope that other people may be able to benefit from our experience, the action models used, the positive achievements reached, the difficulties encountered and the mistakes made, and above all to give some impression of exactly what inspired such an extensive campaign.

At the beginning of 1972, several people in Holland, some of whom had been active in the struggle against apartheid since the 60's, came together with the avowed aim of planning a boycott of Outspan oranges.

A separate organization, the Boycott Outspan Action -- for short BOA – was formed consisting of people living mostly in the Leiden and Rotterdam areas of Holland. Since that time the members of the BOA came together in weekly meetings at which the campaign was planned and the preparations were made. For some of us it soon became a full-time activity.

Since Outspan oranges are on the European markets from about June until November, it was soon decided that if the campaign were to be well-prepared then the BOA had to divide it into two phases, namely an educational campaign during the Outspan season of 1972 and a complete boycott in 1973.

The first phase for 1972 consisted of producing a booklet on the citrus plantations in South Africa, information on farm and seasonal labour as well as the motives for the campaign. The booklet is called: Outspan: Bouwstenen voor apartheid (Outspan: Building Bricks for Apartheid). The title has been inspired by the words of Vorster, the then Prime Minister of the apartheid government, who said:

“Every time a South African product is bought, it is another brick in the wall of our continued existence.” (Vorster, speaking at an Agricultural show in Pretoria, reported in the Johannesburg Star of 26/8/72).

This booklet was well received by the press and has since been translated into French and German.

Thus, the campaign in 1972 consisted largely of producing information about the plight of the farm and seasonal labourers engaged in picking the oranges in South Africa under extremely difficult and bad labour conditions.

The publicity during the autumn of 1972 was also restricted to giving detailed background information. Research was done about alternative oranges which could replace Outspan from June until November. Furthermore, the exclusively white team of South African girls, known as Outspan girls, who toured practically all West European countries during the Outspan season in order to promote the sale of Outspan oranges, also received the attention of the BOA.

These Outspan girls were invariably selected in South Africa according to the method of the “Miss World Contests” and they then travelled to Britain where they received a thorough training on the Outspan farm of the Outspan organization, the latter having its headquarters in London.

These Outspan girls received explicit instructions from their employers to avoid at all costs getting involved in political discussions, but to concentrate instead on the promotion of Outspan and to present gifts to customers. These Outspan girls visited shops, supermarkets and weekly markets – all to promote the sale of Outspan. They were conspicuously dressed and were driven around in orange-coloured motorcars carrying giant-size Outspan oranges.

INSPAN-GIRLS VERSUS OUTSPAN GIRLS

The BOA then decided in response to the propaganda activities of the Outspan girls, to introduce the concept of Inspan girls. The Inspan girls were really only harnessed by the end of 1972, but in the newspaper reports during the autumn of 1972, it was already made clear what they would be expected to do. These Inspan girls were first of all selected from a multi-racial group so as to serve as a contrast to the exclusively racist set-up of the Outspan girls. Thus not only South African girls were used, but also British, Dutch, North American, Indonesian and girls from the Dutch Antilles and Surinam.

These girls were also to be dressed in a rather conspicuous way and, unlike the Outspan girls, they were expected to indulge deliberately in political discussions. They were thus required to acquaint themselves with all aspects of apartheid. Therefore they could hardly fail to impress the Outspan Organization and to make an impact on the public. In short, we hoped for a direct confrontation during the 1973 season between the Outspan and the Inspan girls. During the autumn of 1972 the importers of Outspan oranges and the giant supermarkets received a letter from the BOA explaining to them that a complete boycott of Outspan was planned for 1973 and whether they would start looking out for other oranges during the Outspan season.

In the meantime, the preparations were made for the real boycott of 1973. The BOA contacted well-known Dutch journalists from the press, radio and television. Monthly meetings were held under the chairmanship of Karel Roskam, a prominent and tireless campaigner and writer against apartheid. Carefully selected and reliable journalists together with the BOA discussed the strategy and tactics of the envisaged boycott. These meetings took place from November 1972 until March 1973. No publicity whatsoever was given to these meetings and they were kept strictly confidential.

One member of the BOA, Rob van der Aa, was a professional graphic designer. This largely accounted for the originality and outstanding quality of the posters, slogans, vignettes and cover-designs of all the BOA-publications. Apart from this, the BOA was at all times ably assisted by professional journalists. Most notable among these was Ben van Kaam, a journalist of the daily Trouw (Fidelity) and of VU-Magazine, the monthly of the Free University in Amsterdam. Also Gerard van Dijk and Herman Moscoviter of the GPD deserve special mention.

A further task which had then to be done by the BOA was to inform the local groups all over Holland about the planned national campaign.

For people who do not know much about Holland, here follows a brief description of the then existing groups.

There were to start with about 40 Southern Africa working groups scattered all over the country. These groups concerned themselves with the whole of Southern Africa and they invariably supported national campaigns conducted against one or all of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa.

Secondly, there were at that time about 200 Third World Stores in Holland. These were stores run by volunteers who were disillusioned with and disappointed in the unfair exploiting trade relations which existed between the rich Northern industrialized countries and the poor Southern or developing countries of the world. These Third World Stores supplied information to the public about conditions in the Third World and tried to promote products from the developing countries. Thus, they would, for instance, sell coffee from Tanzania and

cane-sugar from Cuba. At the same time they would issue leaflets to the buyers or visitors to their stores about Tanzania and the development projects of Julius Nyerere and similarly about Cuba and other developing countries.

Very few national campaigns in Holland could succeed without the co-operation of these Third World Stores. Unlike some of the Southern Africa groups which consisted mostly of students and were therefore not free from the danger of becoming elite groups, the Third World Stores were by definition in close contact with the ordinary man and woman. In most cases, however, they worked closely with the Southern Africa working groups in their area and sometimes some individuals were members of both, which was to the advantage of both groups concerned.

There were also about 200 progressive, mostly Catholic but Ecumenical, churches called the base (grassroots) critical congregations. They provided valuable support. BOA's first two chairmen Dolf Coppes and Jan Ruijter were pastors of such congregations.

Then there were the local branches of the progressive political parties which were rather similar in most West European countries. The BOA received support from the local branches of the following three parties: the Political Party Radicals (PPR), the Pacifistic Socialistic Party (PSP) and the Labour Party (PvdA). The PvdA and PPR formed part of the coalition government at the time. The Communist Party (CPN) refused to support the campaign.

Furthermore, there were the Peace Working Groups which attempted to make the churches more politically aware of the situation in the world. They organized annually in September a so-called "Peace Week" during which a specific theme was chosen and meetings held all over the country in most churches about that specific theme. They were also very much concerned with and involved in the plight of the Third World. The churches also played a significant part in the success of the campaign.

At the height of our Outspan Boycott campaign during the summer of 1973, some 800 local groups drawn from the various groups described briefly above were actively involved in the campaign. Most significantly unorganized and ordinary consumers enthusiastically supported the campaign by refusing to buy Outspan oranges.

WHY A BOYCOTT OUTSPAN CAMPAIGN?

During this preparatory phase, it was vital for the BOA to explain the reasons why such a boycott campaign should be launched. We produced leaflets explaining the motivation of the proposed boycott which were extensively circulated among the potential participants in the campaign.

A consumer boycott could be conducted because of three reasons:

1. On personal grounds, prompted by one's own conscience, without worrying about the consequences;

2. With the objective, by inflicting economic injury, of exercising influence in the desired direction:

3. To use the product as a symbol and to seize it as a starting point for influencing public opinion in the European countries and in South Africa itself.

As far as points 1 and 3 are concerned, it was obvious that a boycott Outspan campaign would satisfy these requirements. As far as point 2, however, was concerned, a boycott Outspan campaign could only hit the South African economy which was heavily dependent on export, if it were to become a general European boycott.

Somebody who wanted to campaign against apartheid from a European country could inter alia:

agitate against foreign investments in South Africa;

agitate against emigration to South Africa;

boycott South Africa products and persuade others to do the same.

The latter was an attempt to disrupt the extensive trade relations between South Africa and most European countries.

In all these cases, one struck at a pillar of the support which South Africa had received from Europe. South Africa itself repeatedly claimed that this support consisted of European emigration, foreign investments and her own export to the West.

In our opinion a consumer boycott had certain definite advantages. These were: the tangibility of the envisaged result for everybody; to ask for a personal deed; the possibility of mobilising public opinion (and making the public aware).

On account of the recognisability of Outspan and the goodwill which existed for a boycott of Outspan, the choice of Outspan was then obvious.

With this, we did not want to create the slightest impression that we were against an anti-investments campaign or an anti-emigration campaign, for example.

On the contrary, most people in the BOA had already for years participated in these other campaigns as well. Undoubtedly, a complete boycott of foreign investments would have hit the South African economy much more than an Outspan boycott or even an emigration- or sports boycott. Any realistic person, however, had to admit that a total investment boycott, considering public opinion in all West European countries, did not stand a chance of success. In order to influence public opinion in the desired direction, a multiple strategy was called for. Because Outspan was so concrete and tangible, it could admirably be used in exposing the Western collaboration with apartheid and in increasing the public awareness.

The scene was thus set during the first phase during the autumn of 1972 for effecting a complete boycott of Outspan oranges in 1973.

A BOYCOTT OUTSPAN CONGRESS

Bearing in mind that the Outspan season would start again in June of 1973, the BOA decided to organize a big National Boycott Outspan Congress on the 16, 17 and 18 of March. That the aim of the congress had been to focus attention on practically all aspects of apartheid, was evident from the programme.

In order to secure maximal publicity for the Boycott Outspan Congress, a press conference was held at the International Press Centre “Nieuwspoord”, in The Hague on the 7 of March.

At this conference the new chairman of the BOA, Dolf Coppes, Member of Parliament of the Political Party Radicals (PPR) was introduced. Joel Carlson, a well-known South African lawyer who fled the country in 1971, was present as a guest of the BOA. This was significant in that Joel Carlson was largely responsible for exposing the infamous farm labour scandals in South Africa in the 1950's. He could thus give an account of his first-hand experience. His autobiography entitled: No Neutral Ground, David Poyntner, London, 1973, speaks for itself.

Besides, the Inspan girls who were to confront the South African Outspan girls were for the first time presented to the press in living flesh and thus to the wider public.

Dolf Coppes, the BOA-chairman, pointed out in unmistakable terms that the purpose of the Boycott Outspan campaign was to convince the Dutch public and all those who enjoy South Africa's wines, oranges and fruits on their tables that the black labour that produced these delicious wines, grapes, oranges and fruit was forced, prison labour employed under inhuman conditions and to show that even the picking and packing of oranges took place according to the totalitarian laws of apartheid. The campaign was to be launched under the slogan: PERS GEEN ZUIDAFRIKAAN UIT! (DON'T SQUEEZE A SOUTH AFRICAN DRY!)

The spokesperson of the Inspan girls, Rita Isaacs-Jonathan, herself a South African, explained that the most important thing was to make sure that the word OUTSPAN became identified with South Africa and apartheid. The whole campaign, of which the Inspan girls constituted an integral part, should be seen as a beginning. It should develop into a total boycott of all other South African products.

Joel Carlson, in answer to questions from some journalists whether the black labourers would not suffer more than the whites, said: “The blacks want their freedom and they want that quickly and in a peaceful manner. A boycott could contribute to this. To claim that the blacks would suffer first from a boycott, is white propaganda.” He also declared: “The blacks in South Africa had to live on starvation wages for more than 300 years. They would rather suffer in a situation which still offers hope than in a situation without perspective.”

This press conference was the following day reported in literally all Dutch newspapers, in which the congress was at the same time announced. The poster, with a white hand squeezing the head of a black dry on a citrus squeezer, was also presented at the press conference. This poster received a great deal of publicity on its own account. Since then, this poster had invariably become closely identified with the Boycott Outspan Campaign. Moreover, it became the best known anti-apartheid poster world-wide. (We return to this matter further on.)

Ruth First, prominent in the resistance movement against apartheid and an expert on the question of foreign investments, was asked to open the congress. She spoke on the question of foreign investments in South Africa. Her speech was followed by a panel discussion consisting of five Members of the Dutch Parliament, all from different political parties.

The following congress day was taken up by speeches by Peter Hain of the Stop the Seventy Cricket Tour in Britain (see his book Don't play with apartheid, London, 1971) and Sietse

Bosgra of the Dutch Angola Committee, which had already successfully conducted campaigns, no matter how different they were.

The third speaker on that same day was James Phillips of the banned South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

This day was concluded with a discussion of the action models which were to be used during the actual campaign.

The Sunday was devoted to a church service, in which the Rev. R.J. van der Veen, Executive member of the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) of the World Council of Churches (WCC), was the preacher. The service was followed by a panel discussion consisting of the said Van der Veen, Jan ter Laak, a Roman Catholic priest and secretary of the Interchurch Peace Council, and R. Wijkstra, of the major Dutch Reformed Church (Hervormd).

Clearly BOA was concerned to get practically all organizations in Dutch society as well as the public involved in the boycott campaign.

The publicity in the Dutch press, on radio and television preceding, accompanying and following the congress was overwhelming. The IKOR radio (Interchurch Broadcasting Company) gave a 90-minute summary of the salient features of the congress on the Sunday of the 18 March. The congress proceedings have since been published in Dutch as an information folder.

THE STRATEGY AND ACTION MODELS OF THE CAMPAIGN

This Boycott Outspan Congress was organized about three months before the Outspan season commenced for two reasons.

Firstly, it was important to make clear to the importers of Outspan and the large chains of supermarkets, as well as to the public that the BOA was serious about all the talk about a boycott. The letters written to the importers and supermarkets by the autumn of 1972 were not even acknowledged, let alone answered.

Soon after the congress, however, we received replies from practically all of them. In the meantime, second letters were sent to them about two weeks before the congress asking them once more in clear terms to desist from the trade in Outspan. Their replies, which were in some cases so similar that one almost suspected some prior consultation, did not even hint at a willingness to stop with Outspan, but they all invariably pointed out that as soon as the consumers themselves showed that they did not want any Outspan then they would promptly stop selling them.

Secondly, it was important to get representatives of practically all the action groups together in order to discuss the strategy to be adopted and the action models to be used.

The disadvantage of having held the congress so early was, however, that it proved difficult to keep the publicity going until the Outspan season which was still three months away.

During the discussion of the strategy and the action models, which were carefully prepared beforehand, the following points were emphasized: the BOA made it clear that work had to be done on two fronts: the 'top' (importers, grocers, supermarkets and shops) and the 'base' (consumers). The local working and action groups were to concentrate in the first place on the base, but were at the same time to support the campaigns directed at the top.

Campaigns against the importers proved very unproductive, but those against the giant supermarkets looked more promising. The BOA insisted on a meeting with the directors of the supermarkets. Two of these eventually agreed to such a meeting. At the same time the BOA requested all local action groups to send letters to the directors of all the supermarkets asking them to desist from Outspan. The following draft letter served as a model:

“Group X (the name of the group concerned to be filled in here) supports the objectives of the Boycott Outspan Action (BOA) and demands therefore a stop in the trade with Outspan citrus fruit.

If you were to continue with the trade in Outspan, then we will consider ourselves forced to proceed with campaigns.

Yours faithfully,
Group X.”

It later appeared that these supermarkets were literally flooded by letters from the local groups and they could not have failed to impress the directors.

If this pressure on the directors were to prove unsuccessful, then it could be followed with the picketing of the branches of these supermarkets all over the country. On this occasion pamphlets and stencils could be distributed and discussions initiated with the consumers.

The campaign directed against the shopkeepers could start with the application of pressure on the grocers; then the consumers could become the focus of the campaign. Each small shopkeeper who thereby decided not to sell Outspan any more was required to confirm that in writing.

This part of the campaign was to be conducted during the period preceding the Outspan season (March – June). The arrival of the Outspan oranges to Holland in June were to be the signal for campaigns directed at the base, the consumers, while the activities directed at the top were, if necessary, to continue.

The consumers' campaign could support the pressure put on the supermarkets, especially in the light of the sensitivity of their concerns to “freedom of choice of the consumer”.

For the consumers' campaign the following proposals were made:

Dissemination of information at annual markets, during festival weeks and at ordinary weekly markets;

Application of stickers to shops and onto the Outspan oranges themselves;

To jump in on advertising made by the Outspan organization itself as soon as the South African Outspan girls were due for a visit somewhere then all local groups in the vicinity were to be alerted. The shopkeeper should be asked to cancel the visit, but if he refused then a campaign directed at the consumers should be prepared and the Inspan girls called in for assistance.

Additional campaign possibilities were: picketing of shops, organizing information evenings, distribution of information material by means of all possible ways, making use of newspapers etc., and to ask the canteens of big concerns to refuse Outspan.

During the discussion, the following suggestions were made:

- To ask the advertising office working for Outspan to boycott Outspan.
- Alternative oranges to replace Outspan (oranges from Australia, Cuba, Chile and Surinam) should be pressed more openly.

These action models were worked out in greater detail during the course of the season, adapted to the most recent developments and new ideas and action models were introduced.

It was decided to start a monthly BOA-Bulletin in which an exchange of action models and information was published. Furthermore, this BOA-Bulletin could also provide additional information to that already published in leaflets, booklets and information folders. In this way, this bulletin became a means of communication for the hundreds of action groups in Holland which were engaged in the nation-wide campaign.

All in all, the Boycott Outspan Congress proved to be a great success and it increased the morale of the BOA, as well as the local groups and individuals who sympathized with the campaign.

Since the congress, the BOA was inundated by orders for material from local groups and individuals. Furthermore, it was soon decided that the group of Inspan girls would not be able to cope with their tasks on their own. Besides, the Outspan girls were salaried and concentrated only on the promotion of Outspan. They thus had enough time and capital at their disposal. The BOA then decided to start with T-shirts which could be used by males and females and everybody supporting the aims of the campaign. Thus orange-coloured T-shirts were bought and the well-known emblem (a white hand squeezing a black head dry on a citrus squeezer) was printed on the front side of these T-shirts. These T-shirts were enthusiastically received. They were also more practical and easier to wear and more universal than the original uniform of the Inspan girls. Thus the demonstrators were sure of being easily recognized wherever they went or whenever they were to come into action. Also jute shopping bags containing the BOA-emblem were produced.

The already famous poster had suddenly become controversial. A certain Mr. Riemslag, who lived in Amstelveen, wrote a letter of complaint to the Reclame Code Commissie (RCC), an advertising body that safeguarded that the norms of decency were not exceeded by advertisements in the written press. He asked the RCC to ban the BOA poster. This news was massively reported by newspapers, radio and all TV channels. They invariably all reproduced the poster so that the readers and viewers could read and see what all the fuss was about. We secured a young lawyer, Jit Peters, from the newly founded NJCM (Nederlands Juristen Comité voor de Mensenrechten) – Dutch Lawyers' Human Rights Committee. However, the RCC agreed with Mr. Riemslag and banned the poster. The BOA thought that the RCC had no competence to make such a decision. The BOA did not have any products to sell. Instead, our poster carried a political message, just as a political cartoon. We then secured a prominent professional lawyer, Mr. Willem van Manen, who took the matter to a proper court of law. Despite the well-founded arguments of our lawyer, the court in Amsterdam confirmed the unacceptable decision by the RCC. BOA and Mr. van Manen immediately appealed to the

High Court. In the meantime as the excitement and sense of expectancy mounted, the poster was regularly reproduced by the press. The High Court rejected the decision of the RCC thereby supporting our claim that our poster portrayed a political message. This was a major victory for freedom of expression. Whatever the motives of Mr. Riemslag were, his action and the subsequent decisions by the RCC and the lower Court provided the BOA with enormous free publicity. Jit Peters of the NJCM proceeded to write his PhD thesis on this matter.

PRELIMINARY CAMPAIGNS

During this phase thousands of the orange-coloured BOA leaflets were distributed all over the country.

The BOA tried to keep the publicity going. One of the ways was to organize some preliminary campaigns round about April, in other words, just before the Outspan season was to start in June. Such preliminary campaigns were planned against some branches of two supermarket giants, namely Albert Heijn and De Gruyter. The date chosen was 23 May and the actions were to be restricted to Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

The BOA was, however, pleasantly surprised, whilst busy preparing these preliminary campaigns, by the Third World Store in Veenendaal, a town located in central Holland. On 15 May, we read in the newspapers that the Local Council had banned an announced action against Outspan oranges by the Third World Store. The people of the Third World Store wanted to erect a map of South Africa at the town square. Passers-by could pay 25 Dutch cents for throwing a rotten orange, trade-mark Outspan, against the map of South Africa. In exchange for this, they would get a wholesome orange from another country.

The mayor of Veenendaal, Mr Bode, declared that he would not allow the demonstration because: "The norms of decency have to be observed and I cannot permit garbage to be made at the square in front of the Town Hall."

In response to this, the organizers of the demonstration decided to ignore the ban by the mayor and to proceed with the demonstration. Members of Parliament and other prominent Dutch public figures were asked for their support. As it turned out, six Members of Parliament, including Dolf Coppes, the BOA-chairman, turned up on the Saturday for the demonstration. The Inspan girls together with other BOA-people also went to Veenendaal. The press was well represented and no less than four television companies, including one from Britain, were there. The demonstration took place without a hitch. The publicity was, however, enormous and the journalists were quick to link the ludicrous elements in the demonstration with the absurdity of the system of apartheid in South Africa. Whilst throwing the first rotten orange, Dolf Coppes declared: "I do not throw at people or a country, but at a system", thus echoing the wishes of the BOA and the other Members of Parliament who had participated in the demonstration in defiance of the ban by the mayor.

As far as publicity was concerned, this action in Veenendaal was undoubtedly a huge success. This action took place on the Saturday, 19 May, thus preceding the campaigns planned for 23 May by the national BOA.

On 23 May, the T-shirts, newly arrived from the printer, were worn for the first time in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The press, radio and TV were well represented and good reports

appeared in practically all Dutch media the following day. The photos of demonstrators wearing the beautiful T-shirts really did it.

Albert Heijn, the giant chain of supermarkets, against which the preliminary campaigns were held, declared that they were not to stop with Outspan. By this time not a single major supermarket had yet declared a willingness to stop with Outspan. However, several smaller shop-keepers had already publicly assured some local groups all over the country that they would not be selling Outspan any more.

The month of June arrived inexorably and with it the Outspan oranges. The BOA was undeterred by this and determined to make a success of the boycott. The very fact that such massive publicity had preceded the actual Outspan season was of great significance. The local groups came into action all over the country and individual housewives refused to buy Outspan.

Dolf Coppes discovered Outspan oranges in the canteen and dining rooms of the Dutch Parliament and he immediately approached the Speaker of the House, Dr. A. Vondeling, who promptly banned Outspan oranges from the dining rooms of Parliament. This was a great success, for the publicity given to the issue made a tremendous impact.

The BOA entered a very difficult period as the holiday season was about to coincide with the Dutch market being flooded by Outspan oranges. Precautions were being taken against this happening.

The BOA organized a demonstration on the 30 June in Culemborg, the birth place of Jan van Riebeeck, the beginning of the misery in South Africa. New information about the plight of the farm labourers in South Africa was made available by the BOA. The book by Rosalynde Ainslie Masters and serfs: Farm Labour in South Africa (IDAF) was published in Dutch by the BOA.

It should be pointed out at this point that BOA had produced a great deal of information just for the Outspan Campaign. Thus apart from the two books on farm labour, there were two information folders, five posters, stickers, T-shirts, jute shopping bags and leaflets. Especially appreciated was the comprehensive and detailed article by Roland Stanbridge entitled Men who Work for Nothing: The grim Face of Fear and Hunger on the Farms. A Sunday Tribune Inquiry into Farm Labour in Natal, South Africa 15 July, 1973.

A very useful BOA booklet entitled Worden de zwarten niet de dupe van een boycott? (Do not the black people suffer from a boycott?) was very much appreciated by the public.

OUTSPAN GIRLS SKIP HOLLAND

By the beginning of July, the BOA was approached by the London correspondent of the South African Afrikaans weekly Rapport with the news that the Outspan girls were to skip Holland. He asked for comments. At the head office of the European Outspan Organization in London, they denied that it was because of the boycott campaign, merely saying that they did not have enough girls. This was, however, quickly dismissed, especially since there were more than enough white South African girls only too ready to enjoy such a free trip to Europe. Also there were evidently enough girls for other European countries.

This was a major success for the BOA. It also meant the Outspan Organization in Holland could, for the first time, forget about their extensive advertising campaign. It had already appeared by then that no advertising whatsoever was to be made for Outspan in Holland. This, by itself, did not augur well for Outspan, and they have thereby in fact already implicitly admitted defeat. Clearly, they did not want to risk a direct confrontation between Outspan girls and the BOA's Inspan girls.

This decision by the Outspan organization inevitably had some repercussions for the Inspan girls. It was difficult to let them continue, as was initially intended. They were thus requested to assist the BOA in all the other activities. Besides, the T-shirts and the Jute bags together with other material had caught on and the need for special Inspan girls had disappeared. Moreover, if the Outspan girls were to turn up then they could always be confronted by groups all over the country, simply wearing the T-shirts.

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN PLANNED

Apart from the local groups all over the country campaigning regularly and hard in their areas, the BOA decided to isolate one giant supermarket for a national campaign. Albert Heijn (a Ahold concern) was chosen and the date was set Saturday, 25 August. There were several reasons for doing this: firstly, the holiday season was over by then, and all attention could be given to all the branches at national level of one supermarket. The campaign against Albert Heijn was announced a month in advance in the monthly BOA-Bulletin. In this issue a request was made to practically all action groups in Holland to prepare for the campaign and to enlist as many people as possible. Clearly the BOA had provided the public with sufficient information and the giant supermarkets were fully acquainted with our objectives. The BOA could in the light of that permit itself to undertake hard and carefully directed actions against those subsidiaries which continued with the trade in Outspan. Albert Heijn also received a copy of this BOA-Bulletin and various newspapers announced the planned national campaign.

What was not at that time publicised by the BOA, was the idea to run a surprise campaign on the following Saturday, i.e. on 1 September, if that of the previous Saturday had failed. It was essential to run a second surprise campaign not only because care had to be taken that the campaign did not only become restricted to one day, but that it was to continue until Holland was free from Outspan. More importantly, however, the BOA was during earlier campaigns and demonstrations confronted with a development for which we had no answer. In essence this amounted to the following: during the BOA-demonstrations, the supporters of apartheid, sometimes white South Africans, bought deliberately all the Outspan supplies. This was of course possible because with about ten Dutch guilders, one could buy quite a number of oranges.

The BOA then set about finding an answer to this problem. It was found soon enough. It was to be a complete consumers' boycott of Albert Heijn, in other words, the public was expected not only to refuse to buy Outspan, but to buy nothing at Albert Heijn at all. The supporters of apartheid could afford to buy all the Outspan oranges, but they certainly could not afford to buy Albert Heijn itself.

For this surprise campaign, no publicity whatsoever was made in advance, except for the day before and on the day of the consumers' boycott itself. To that effect, a room for a Press Conference in The Hague was already reserved.

Special material was made for the Albert Heijn campaign. Thus the well-known BOA-poster (white hand squeezing a black head dry on a citrus squeezer) was adapted so that white hand squeezed a black head dry on the well-known emblem of Albert Heijn. In this way Albert Heijn was to be identified with apartheid.

Special hand-out leaflets were printed. On the one side, the words: "Are you also against apartheid?" were printed in bold black capital letters. This was followed by: "Then don't do your shopping today at Albert Heijn". It further continued: "Countless shops and dining rooms (parliament) have already decided not to sell oranges from South Africa (mark Outspan) any more. They are fruits of apartheid. Albert Heijn also knows this; but until now Albet Heijn refused to stop selling Outspan. Albert Heijn is thereby hiding behind you, the consumer.

It would be your wish that Outspan oranges are also offered for sale!!!

Let it appear today that it is NOT so; that you don't appreciate the fruits of apartheid.

Use your freedom as a consumer!

Do your shopping elsewhere today.

Against apartheid? Then today not to Albert Heijn".

On the other side of the leaflet, more detailed and carefully reasoned words were used. Thus it was, amongst other things, stated:

"For Albert Heijn evidently only commercial considerations count. Thus the Boycott Outspan Action is now forced, after months of fruitless attempts to achieve something at Albert Heijn with arguments of human and moral nature, to call upon you to avoid the shops of Albert Heijn, as long as Outspan products are sold there. Probably strictly commercial considerations will induce Albert Heijn to remove Outspan oranges from its assortment. Perhaps already today. That is up to you. Albert Heijn needs you more than you Albert Heijn."

Everything thus ready, the excitement and the tension mounted. The local groups were beaming with enthusiasm. The press became interested.

The BOA strove from the very beginning to use a strategy of gradual escalation, in other words, the aim was to make the campaign progressively harder. Thus a great deal of care was taken not to alienate the public and the press. Also massive information about South Africa was provided. Thus, it was rather difficult for anybody to accuse the BOA of not having done enough or that the BOA did not show enough patience.

Things were clearly beginning to happen and at an accelerated tempo.

GIANT SUPERMARKETS STOP WITH OUTSPAN

However, on 17 August, news was broken that Albert Heijn had stopped with Outspan. Albert Heijn declared that they had stopped with Outspan for "commercial reasons". At first the BOA hardly believed it and insisted on a statement in black on white by Albert Heijn, but

that was not necessary because no Outspan oranges could be found in any of its branches. We were of course delighted, but all the work involved and the special material produced were practically useless.

A few days later De Spar also stopped with Outspan and as it appeared later De Gruyter had also stopped earlier with Outspan.

Reactionary forces in Holland were rudely awakened from their sleep. The counter offensive broke loose. Right-wing and ultra conservative Dutch organizations accused Albert Heijn of weakness. The BOA was attacked by two reactionary dailies, namely De Telegraaf and Algemeen Dagblad. These papers used various tactics which were by no means unfamiliar to reactionary forces in the West. Besides, South Africa had a very powerful lobby in The Netherlands. Thus, these papers tried to create the impression that the BOA was responsible for terror in the streets and preventing consumers forcibly from buying. Far from it.

But all this talk about terror etc. influenced the director of A&O to such an extent that he instituted legal action against the BOA in an attempt to get a legal injunction against demonstrations in front of any of its branches. The BOA quickly secured a lawyer for itself.

Meanwhile, also the CO-OP and EDAH decided to stop with Outspan. Only A&O and Centra of Schuitema remained.

However, the lawyer of A&O did not impress the judge in the court of law about their allegations against the BOA. The judge gave the BOA the green-lights for going ahead, provided no illegalities were perpetrated.

Gerard van Dijk, then working for the VPRO Radio, asked the director of A&O immediately after the court case what he was going to do. He replied "I don't think so quickly". Gerard van Dijk then turned to the BOA Co-ordinator who announced emphatically: "Next Saturday we'll campaign at all branches of A&O!"

Several factors then combined in quick succession which delayed the Outspan campaign. The injunction of A&O had wasted a great deal of our energies and time, let alone the increased financial burden which it caused the BOA but the publicity which ensued proved to be positive for the BOA.

But a more serious problem for the BOA was posed by the fact that Albert Heijn again introduced some coffee from Angola. In 1972, as is well known, the Dutch Angola Committee conducted a highly successful campaign against coffee from Angola. Albert Heijn undermined this boycott. Action was immediately taken by the Angola Committee. However, the strain on the local groups would have been too great to have the two campaigns, namely the one against Angola Coffee and against Outspan oranges, to run simultaneously. Furthermore, if Albert Heijn were to get away with it, then a significant precedent would have been established. Then the others would have followed suit and the market could conceivably have become flooded by Outspan oranges too. The BOA then quickly, out of solidarity with the Angola Committee, decided to initiate no national campaigns, whilst the boycott campaign against Albert Heijn was on. Local groups were advised to support the Angola Committee. Only those who had exclusively concerned themselves with apartheid issues and South Africa continued with the Outspan campaign.

Albert Heijn only gave way by the middle of October. The peak of the Outspan season was then already behind us.

No doubt the campaign was a success. The monopoly of Outspan was for the first time broken. What remained to be done was to prepare a campaign for the following year during which the remains of Outspan could be eliminated. These preparations were well underway.

In retrospect and with the wisdom of hind sight, it would have been better not to suspend the BOA campaign. Our method and strategy were vastly different from the Angola Committee. Besides, the BOA concentrated on the grassroots. There is therefore no evidence that the two campaigns could not have occurred simultaneously.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF ALBERT HEIJN

Albert Heijn has the largest chain of supermarkets in Holland. In 1972, Albert Heijn was the first to stop with Angola coffee under pressure from the Angola Committee. In 1973 Albert Heijn was again the first to announce publicly that it had stopped with Outspan oranges for commercial reasons at the height of the campaign of the BOA. Albert Heijn also declared that the “Outspan oranges are not even nice to consume” – which makes one wonder about the sense of taste of the so-called ‘sophisticated’ British who were not even offered a choice during the Outspan season. However, we were not concerned with the taste of Outspan oranges. We knew that South African fruit and wine were among the best in the world.

What has, however, clearly appeared is that a highly prosperous and sensitive concern like Albert Heijn immediately reacts to fluctuations in the number of consumers, whereas a less prosperous concern like A&O, for example, does not easily perceive and register the differences in the buying habits of the public. A&O and other smaller insignificant grocers would therefore appear to be less likely to respond quickly to the pressure of a boycott campaign.

The president-director of Albert Heijn, Mr. J. van der Meer, who received his training about marketing in United States, wrote in *Intermediair* of 3 September 1973, “that supermarkets will have to concern themselves with a totally new aspect, namely an increasingly critical awareness of the consumer especially with regard to pollution aspects”. It was difficult to assume that van der Meer, strongly attuned to developments in the United States, did not realize that the consumers’ movements in that country did not concern themselves only with questions of pollution, but also with certain fascist and racist regimes, for example, the consumer campaigns by Ralf Nader.

Ariadne, a Dutch professional advertising weekly, described the BOA in an article on 13 September, 1973, as a “professional set-up campaign”. Clearly Albert Heijn must have known this.

Mr J. van der Meer also wrote in its own newly started paper *Idé* “It is my conviction that we are only at the beginning of a new awareness of the consumer. New ideas, now still propagated by a relatively small vanguard, will eventually become generally public property.”

What Albert Heijn did not realize is that the majority of the consumers did not want to have anything to do with colonialism and racism. To be without coffee from Angola or Outspan oranges would have made no appreciable difference to them, provided they were afforded

alternative ones. The 'minority groups' of Van der Meer did not exist, for the consumers have themselves become politically conscious.

Albert Heijn thus stopped with Angola coffee only two months after it had withdrawn from Outspan. Albert Heijn was clearly concerned not to have its good name associated with apartheid.

It should be pointed out that Portugal and Angola did not evoke such deep emotions as apartheid in South Africa. After all, The Netherlands has a common history and culture with the Afrikaners of South Africa. Thus the kith and kin argument did not apply to Portugal at all. Thus dubious and questionable claims were often made by those involved against Portugal, for example, that the situation was much worse in Angola than under apartheid, and that there would eventually be a domino effect i.e. Angola and Mozambique should first be free then South Africa would follow. However, we countered these arguments in our publications, for example, the BOA booklet *Apartheid in Exportverpakking* (*Apartheid in Export Wrapping*) an analysis of the apartheid regime's foreign policy. Developments have shown that no country in Southern Africa could be free without South Africa also being free.

THE QUESTION OF ALTERNATIVE ORANGES

The BOA has consistently declared that its primary task was to boycott Outspan oranges and not to provide other oranges.

But, with regard to alternative oranges which can replace Outspan oranges, it is important to realize that South Africa lies in the Southern hemisphere. South African oranges therefore ripen from about May until October.

Alternative countries producing oranges must therefore be sought from the long list of countries lying, like South Africa, in the Southern hemisphere. The list includes countries like Australia, Argentina, Cuba, Chile, British Honduras, Trinidad, the USA (California), Mexico, New Zealand, Paraguay, Uruguay and practically all other countries of Latin America.

It was impossible to propagate oranges from Chile since the fascist military coup which overthrew the democratically elected Allende government in 1973.

Clearly, the BOA was convinced that South Africa should be boycotted because of apartheid.

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE BOYCOTT OUTSPAN ACTION (BOA)

Quite clearly if a boycott action succeeds in one European country then the products would simply be diverted to the rest. The four largest consumers of Outspan oranges were at that time, in order of importance: Great Britain, France the Federal Republic of Germany and Holland, but all other countries in Europe consumed Outspan oranges.

During the height of the BOA campaign in The Netherlands, the AVRO radio, a rather conservative company, broadcast reports from their correspondents in Britain, France, Belgium and Germany in order to demonstrate to the Dutch public that Outspan oranges were not being boycotted in these countries. They were unfortunately right, but their reports did not impress the BOA, considering what happened in France, Germany, Belgium and the world-wide ripple effect of the BOA.

Perhaps we can best illustrate the international ramifications of such a campaign in the light of two concrete examples:

During the summer of 1973 the attention of the BOA was drawn to the fact that the Outspan organization in Britain and the Dutch Dairy Bureau also in Britain, conducted a joint advertising campaign involving Outspan oranges and Dutch Edam and Gouda cheese. The campaign was devised to aid British women in slimming. No less than one million leaflets and menu's were printed.

Miss Hilbers, responsible for publicity at the head office of the Dutch Dairy Bureau in Rijswijk (Holland), declared to a correspondent of the Dutch weekly *Vrij Nederland* that "in England this orange is still popular; over there, the public opinion which has led to boycotts in Holland lives to a far less extent."

This led the influential Dutch daily *de Volkskrant* to comment wryly: "Outspan girls (not so beautifully clad as the Dutch dairy-girls in 'klompen') also still distribute ball point pens in England, that is no little gift because such a ball point pen costs just as much as a smiling black earns per day. Even without cheese, he remains nice and slim".

BOA-chairman Dolf Coppes then contacted Mr. Van Dam, chairman of the Dutch Dairy Bureau in Holland. The result was that the Dutch Dairy Bureau in Britain was forced to withdraw from this foolish joint venture with Outspan. Mr. Van Dam declared: "If it's up to me then it would never happen again".

The chain of supermarkets of the West German multi-millionaire Albrecht also have some branches in Holland. In October, these supermarkets known as Combi supermarkets were forced to stop with Outspan as a direct result of the BOA-campaigns. There was, however, no sign that they have followed suit in West Germany.

Apart from the success of the boycott of Outspan oranges in The Netherlands, the ripple effect could clearly be felt outside the borders of that country. In France – as a direct result of the BOA campaign – the *Campagne Anti- Outspan (CAO)* was formed, largely according to the same method and strategy. Campaigns conducted in France were based directly on the method and experience in Holland, for example, the Outspan boycott, the campaign against French banks following the action against the AMRO bank in Holland, the National Bus Tours through French cities modelled on BOA's bus tours in 1978 and 1979. The French CAO rightly changed its name then into MAA (Movement Anti Apartheid) thus forming the first national movement concerned exclusively with apartheid in South Africa and racism in France. Most significantly the MAA, like the BOA, considered the struggle against racism as indivisible. Furthermore, the MAA was also in essence a grassroots (base) organization.

The newly formed AAB (Anti-Apartheid Bewegung) in Germany with its head office in Bonn also conducted its first national campaign against Outspan oranges. BOA's booklet:

Outspan Building Bricks for Apartheid was published in the German language and the famous poster Don't squeeze a South African dry was also rendered into German.

In the Flemish (Dutch) section of Belgium practically all the material of the BOA was used. There the BOA Belgium became the only national organization to concern itself only with apartheid. BOA campaigns and the other ones mentioned caught the attention of the media in many other western countries and undoubtedly raised the level of awareness.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OUTSPAN BOYCOTT

The boycott of Outspan oranges in Holland was the very first national campaign ever conducted in that country. It was also the first campaign that received such massive publicity and that managed to engage such huge numbers of people from all walks of life.

The threshold was kept deliberately as low as possible by the BOA. The information supplied by the BOA was enormous. An opinion poll conducted at the time showed that 71% of Dutch people were aware of the BOA.

The BOA's strength was its superiority in knowledge of apartheid. We managed to counter most convincingly the propaganda of the South African Embassy, as well as the pro-apartheid lobby in Holland. We drew our strength from developments in South Africa itself.

If there is any single other organization in the world to which the BOA is greatly indebted then that is the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) in London for its continued publication of well-researched and documented books on apartheid. The BOA translated most of these into Dutch and distributed them in a joint venture by the NOVIB and BOA. Since then it would have been difficult for people in Holland to say "We did not know!"

We are also convinced that the various other groups which were involved with anti-apartheid and those that were subsequently formed benefited greatly from the new wave of awareness shown by the public and the greater interest by the media. History will confirm this, no doubt.

For further information on the BOA, see

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The Archive of the BOA, the Mayibuye Centre, University of Western Cape (UWC), Bellville, South Africa.