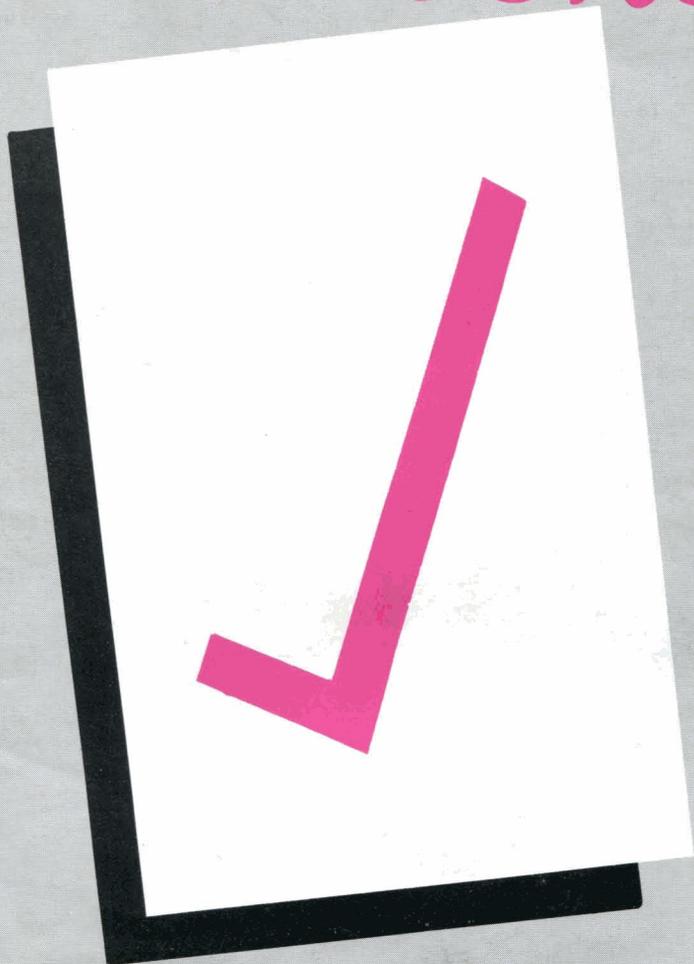


# MANIFESTO FOR SANCTIONS



ANTI APARTHEID MOVEMENT

# SANCTIONS - THE CHALLENGE TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN

The world's attention is focused on Southern Africa. The courage and determination of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia in their fight to end apartheid rule have inspired a worldwide movement of solidarity. It is a movement which is gaining momentum rapidly, united around the call for 'sanctions now'.

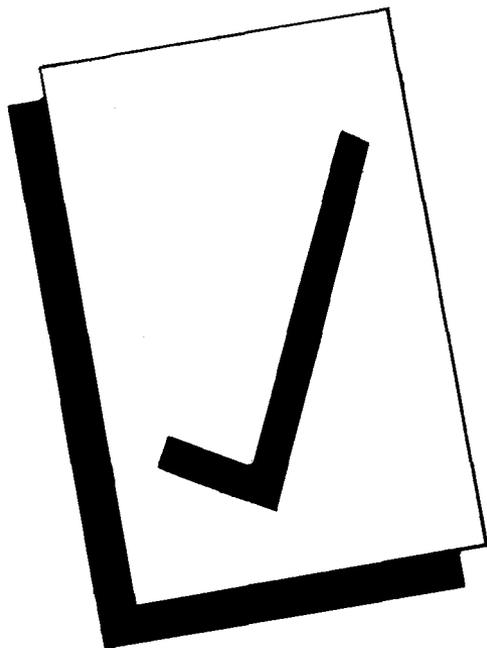
In 1987, the international campaign for the complete isolation of apartheid South Africa, and for the ending of the illegal occupation of Namibia, is poised for a great stride forward, following the breakthroughs achieved in 1986.

With every prospect of a general election in 1987, the major advance needed in Britain can be defined in one clear and simple goal: the election of a majority of MPs firmly committed to effective sanctions against the Pretoria regime. Achieving this requires a wide and informed debate about the purpose, nature and effects of sanctions, and intensified activity to win understanding of the case for comprehensive mandatory sanctions. It requires also that the people of Britain seize every opportunity to adopt their own measures to isolate apartheid, building a network of **'People's Sanctions'** that will lay the basis for decisive government action, and also ensure that such action is effectively implemented.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement offers this Manifesto as a starting point for such debate and activity. We believe, in the words of Nelson Mandela, that

*'every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to our struggle'*, as it does also for the people of Namibia.

Britain needs a government that will side unequivocally with freedom in Southern Africa. Britain must confront the racist regime, not collaborate with it. Instead of blocking sanctions, the next British government must embrace sanctions with firmness of purpose, confident of the support of the majority of the British people. The struggles and sacrifices of our sisters and brothers in Namibia and South Africa require no less of us.



# SOUTHERN AFRICA:

## A REGIME IN CRISIS, A REGION AT WAR

Today the Botha regime is at war with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. In the Republic itself, troops occupy the black townships and even the schools and churches, dealing out death indiscriminately. Gaols are filled with tens of thousands of detainees, exposed to the inhuman brutalities of a police force that enjoys free licence to torture under the state of emergency – now becoming a permanent feature of the garrison state.

Pretoria has set its face against a negotiated solution, crudely rebuffing the attempt by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to mediate and Sir Geoffrey Howe's forlorn mission. Even the cosmetic reform programme of the early 1980s has been discarded. Pretoria's hopeless search for black collaborators to draw into the structures of apartheid in South Africa is matched only by the equally futile attempt in Namibia to cobble together a plausible pre-independence administration out of the discredited factions comprising the 'Multi-Party Conference'. Both manoeuvres fail to mask the cruel reality that Pretoria's rule rests solely on brute force.

These changes can be traced back to the remarkable transformation witnessed since 1984 in the forces arrayed against the apartheid regime – their bravery, their ceaseless building of organised strength in breadth and depth, their mounting confidence in their own power and in the achievement of victory. Under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa, this year celebrating three-quarters of a century of struggle for national liberation, and of SWAPO of Namibia, whose breadth of popular support is admitted even by its



opponents, the peoples of the two countries have shown the world that they will no longer tolerate the oppression of the apartheid system.

Unable to quell the people over which it rules directly, the Botha regime seeks to secure its future by subordinating the independent countries of the region, using invasion, destabilisation, economic warfare, assassination and blackmail in its attempt to reduce the people of Southern Africa to bantustan status in client states. Tens of thousands have died, and many more been rendered homeless by the prosecution of this undeclared war. Sixty million people will enjoy no peace or security, no prospect of developing their own resources without let or hindrance, until the apartheid system has been abolished, and racism and colonialism have been eradicated from the sub-continent.

# THE CALL FOR SANCTIONS -

## WHERE DOES IT COME FROM, AND WHY?

When the Commonwealth EPG warned in June 1986 of the danger in Southern Africa of *'the worst bloodbath since the World War II'*, it brought home to many people for the first time the truth of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's perception of apartheid as a threat to world peace. The EPG pointed out that if Pretoria came to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from effective economic measures, *'the descent into violence would be escalated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions.'*

The case for an effective international policy of sanctions derives from the nature of the apartheid regime itself. Growing out of centuries of British and Boer colonialism, the white minority regime has only survived for so long because it has, from its inception in 1910, enjoyed the patronage of some of the most powerful countries in the world. Until recently, Pretoria could guarantee a combination of apparent political stability, steady supplies of minerals and an expanding market for manufactures that was unique on the African continent, if not in the world.

The oppressed people of South Africa were the first to recognise that the isolation of the apartheid regime would make a fundamental contribution to their freedom struggle. When in 1959 Chief Albert Luthuli, Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize winner, launched the appeal for an international boycott of South African goods, the role of South Africa's main trading and financial partners, especially Britain and the USA, was brought into clear focus. Since its foundation in 1960, SWAPO, speaking for the people of Namibia, has echoed this call for sanctions.

The first summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 declared sanctions to be a collective policy for the African continent. The call for sanctions was taken up by the Non-Aligned Movement and generalised through the organs of the United Nations, to the point where today the great majority of states in the world impose effective sanctions.

The few states who have not are, tragically, precisely those which, if they were to adopt sanctions, would have the most impact. They have, until recently, moved steadily in the opposite direction. South Africa's key economic partners are Britain, the USA, Federal Germany, Japan, France, Switzerland, Italy and the Benelux countries. They have played a crucial role in developing and sustaining South Africa's military-industrial complex, which in turn enables South Africa to enforce and modernise its apartheid system. They have financed, fuelled and tacitly condoned the apartheid war machine in its murderous role in Namibia, against the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique, and on the streets of Soweto.

Sanctions are therefore about cutting the lifelines of the apartheid system to the outside world. Never seen or projected by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia as an alternative to their own struggles, but recognised as complementary to them, sanctions are truly a vital front of the fight against apartheid.

**Today it is not enough to condemn apartheid verbally. The acid test of opposition to apartheid is the issue of sanctions. To fight for sanctions is the touchstone of genuine solidarity with the liberation struggle. To resist sanctions is to support apartheid.**

# WHAT SANCTIONS ARE NOT ABOUT

Opponents distort the case for sanctions in at least two key respects. They claim that sanctions are intended to be 'punitive'. But 'punishing' the apartheid regime has never been the prime aim. This implies a wholly mistaken conception of the nature of apartheid as a set of policies which the regime can be persuaded or cajoled into abandoning. The reality is that apartheid is the very socio-political structure of modern South Africa, incapable of reform (as recent events have shown again) or of being democratised, and needing to be eliminated and replaced by a non-racial democratic unitary state.

Nor are sanctions intended, as some who oppose them argue, to cause black unemployment (of which apartheid itself is actually the principal cause) and thereby deepen the suffering of the oppressed in order to inflame revolt. The people of South Africa and Namibia have not waited for the West to impose sanctions before launching an all-out assault on the regime. The spirit of revolt burns strong even in the absence of effective sanctions by the key countries. Indeed, **all organised and genuine anti-apartheid opinion in South Africa insists with increasing vigour – and despite the penalties for advocating sanctions – on the need for sanctions to be imposed.**

Similarly, the growing conviction in the Front Line States that sanctions are an urgent necessity, grows out of the reality that apartheid is inherently aggressive and destabilising. They recognise that peaceful coexistence with the apartheid regime is a pipe-dream, and that their future lies in reduced dependence on the apartheid economy, and mutual self-reliance through the programmes of the SADCC (Southern African Develop-

ment Coordination Conference). Dire threats by sanctions opponents that the SADCC countries will be devastated by sanctions only serve to reinforce South African blackmail, whilst condoning the prime cause of the existing devastation, which is South African aggression and destabilisation.

Attempts to demonstrate that South African blacks oppose sanctions rest on a few dubious opinion polls (ignoring others which show the growing strength of black opinion for sanctions). Or they rest on certain collaborators who owe their prominence to Pretoria's bantustan structures and who devote all their efforts to criticising the liberation movement, its methods of struggle and its international campaign to isolate South Africa. If Chief Buthelezi, the chief minister of KwaZulu bantustan, were really the principled opponent of apartheid that he claims to be, he would long have shared the fate of all its real opponents: gaol, banishment or exile.

Some recent converts to sanctions argue that they are designed to 'send signals' to Pretoria. This superficial view of the purpose of sanctions is also ultimately based on the assumption that apartheid is a policy that Pretoria can be persuaded to abandon.

In truth, whilst the Botha regime has sought to bury the embarrassing label of apartheid, all its actions have served to adapt and entrench the racist system of white supremacy. Pretoria has shown itself impervious to such token 'signals'. Verbal condemnation of apartheid, and opposition in practice to effective sanctions measures, actually signals to Pretoria the determination of its key allies to maintain business as usual. They are therefore the wrong signals telling Pretoria that it is still regarded as a strategic ally,

even if an increasingly embarrassing one. And such signals send a message to the peoples of South Africa and

Namibia that their sufferings and sacrifices are of no account in the corridors of western power.



*A quarter of a million people demand sanctions — London, June 1986*

# SANCTIONS NOW: WHERE DOES BRITAIN STAND?

The crisis in Southern Africa is now so deep, so inflamed and protracted, that gradualist responses to it are quite inadequate. Selective sanctions can only be countenanced as building blocks for comprehensive sanctions.

They risk protracting the life of the apartheid regime by allowing it time and space to develop sanctions-busting techniques, and to impose counter-sanctions on the front line states by way of reprisal. The enforcement of partial measures poses far greater practical problems than that of a total rupture and cessation of South Africa's international links. **Sanctions must be comprehensive if their ineffectiveness is not to become a self-fulfilling prophecy of those who oppose them.**

By the same token, and for similar reasons, comprehensive measures must also be mandatory, binding on one and all, so that no one country's enforcement of them gives advantage to its commercial competitors. Indeed, only if sanctions are comprehensive and mandatory will all the key economic partners of the regime have an equal and joint motivation for ensuring their enforcement.

Britain has a shameful record, second to none, of seeking to protect South Africa from effective international sanctions. The few measures that have been adopted in reluctant concessions to immense domestic and international pressure fit the classic pattern of too little, too late.

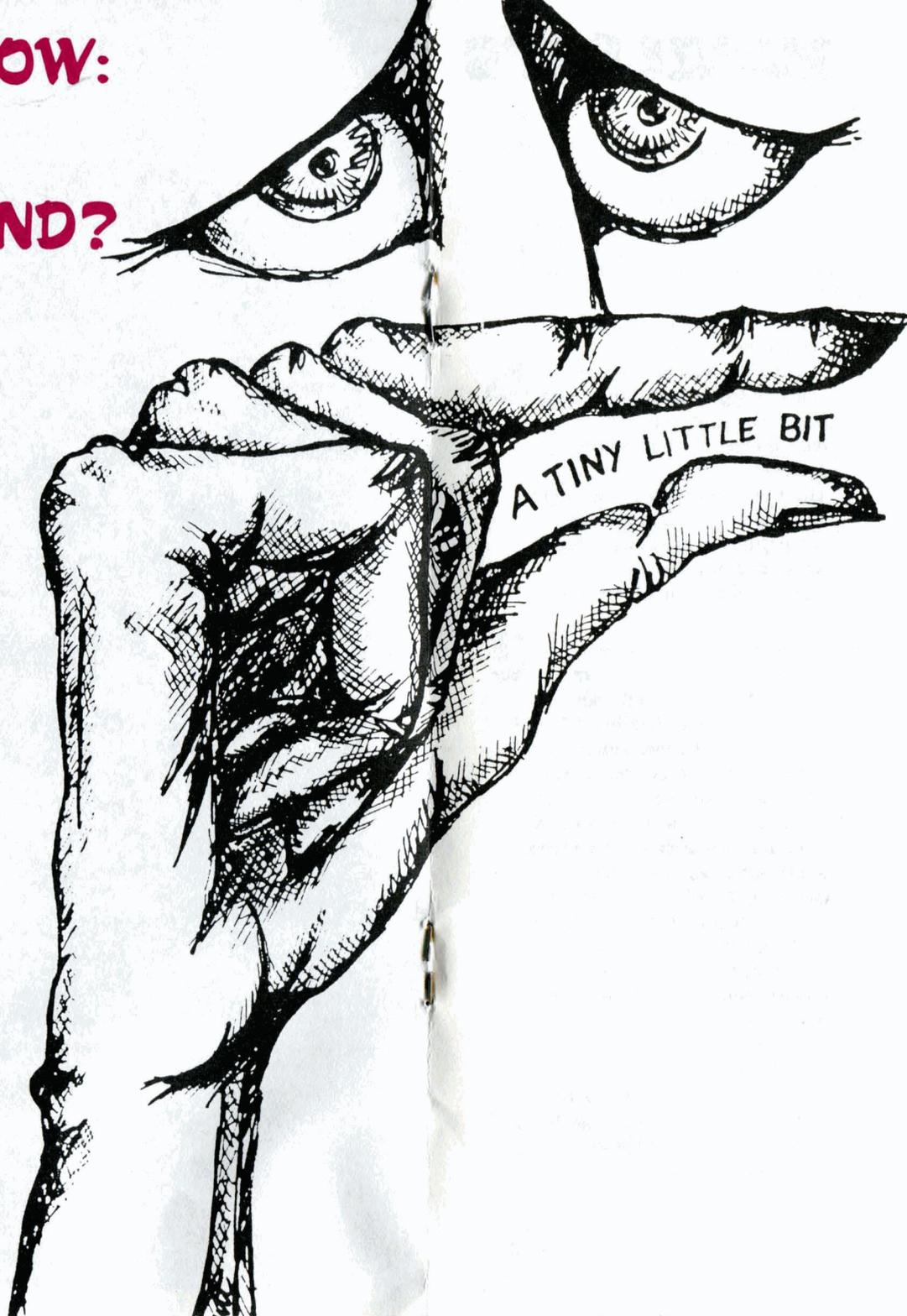
Britain is formally committed to five major agreements on measures against South Africa:

1. The Gleneagles Agreement on Sporting Links with South Africa (June 1977)
2. The UN Security Council Mandatory Arms Embargo against South Africa (November 1977)
3. The EEC Foreign Ministers Package of Restricted Measures (September 1985)
4. The Nassau Accord, including a 'Programme of Common Action' (October 1985)
5. The EEC Foreign Ministers Further Package of Restrictive Measures (September 1986).

Close examination shows that in nearly every case these measures are not being implemented fully in either letter or spirit. Worse, even, than the non-implementation of these partial and limited measures is Britain's long record of blocking or vetoing the adoption of effective measures by the EEC, the Commonwealth and the United Nations — not to speak of Britain's negative role in countless other international forums and institutions.

This contrasts, painfully, with the major strides towards cutting links with apartheid made by the countries of the 'old' Commonwealth over the past two years (Australia, New Zealand, Canada), as also by Denmark (which has imposed a total trade ban), and other EEC and Nordic states. Today Britain lags behind even the USA, following the Congress's overriding of a presidential veto on legislation banning imports of coal, steel, textiles and agricultural products from South Africa and Namibia, and banning flights to South Africa.

All these governmental and legislative measures have resulted from unprecedented levels of public campaigning. These serve to underline both the **backwardness of Britain's position, and the urgency of changing it.**



# MANIFESTO

The proposals outlined in this Manifesto for Sanctions present the framework for a fundamental change in British policy. The Anti-Apartheid Movement is campaigning for the election of a British government and a parliamentary majority committed to these proposals. The objective of these proposals is to secure the adoption of collective international sanctions and the total isolation of apartheid South Africa, including the severance of cultural, academic, sporting and diplomatic links, as a contribution towards the struggle for an independent Namibia and a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement seeks the election of a majority of MPs and a government committed to:

**1** initiate actively and urgently the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa by the United Nations Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN Charter because of the threat the apartheid regime poses to international peace and security. As a measure of its firm intent, the government should present to parliament enabling legislation to provide for the enforcement and monitoring of any sanctions measures adopted by the UN Security Council.

**2** sever all British links with the apartheid regime. The government would, pending the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the UN Security Council, adopt as a minimum the following unilateral measures:

- (a) the introduction in parliament of legislation to enforce:
  - (i) the UN mandatory arms embargo (such legislation would also cover imports or arms and related material from South Africa)
  - (ii) a total embargo on the supply, delivery and marketing of all oil and petroleum products to South Africa and Namibia
  - (iii) a total ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration
- (b) the implementation of the following specific measures:
  - (i) a ban on all air links with South Africa and Namibia
  - (ii) a comprehensive ban on all agricultural imports from South Africa and Namibia
  - (iii) a strict ban on all imports of coal, uranium, iron and steel from South Africa and Namibia
  - (iv) a ban on all new bank loans, credit facilities, and correspondent banking relations together with a ban on new investment and reinvestment of profits in South Africa and Namibia
  - (v) an end to all government procurement from South Africa and Namibia and the termination of assistance in any form for trade with or investment in South Africa and Namibia.

# PROPOSALS

**3** end all British support for South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia including the extension of existing and future sanctions measures to cover Namibia, and the enactment into British law of UN Decree No 1 on Namibia.

**4** take further action, through Parliament if necessary, to strengthen, enforce and monitor existing British measures, including the sporting, tourist, cultural and scientific boycotts, by the adoption of appropriate measures such as the cancellation of the no-visa agreement with South Africa.

**5** adopt an emergency programme of bilateral and multilateral aid to the Front Line States afflicted by South African aggression, destabilisation and counter-sanctions, working with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to accelerate the realisation of its priority programmes in the region. At the same time, the government should explore with British aid agencies and other non-governmental organisations all avenues that could lead to increased material support for the independent states of Southern Africa.

**6** abolish the legal constraint on anti-apartheid activity, such as those contained in the Public Order Act of 1986, the 1980/82 Employment Acts, and the proposed local authority legislation.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is seeking the widest possible endorsement of the proposals set out in this **Manifesto for Sanctions**, in particular from Members of Parliament, parliamentary candidates and political parties standing parliamentary candidates, with the objective of securing a majority in the House of Commons for the programme outlined. At the same time, it is renewing its appeal to the people of Britain to take action themselves to isolate the apartheid regime through the imposition of **'People's Sanctions'** and urges all opponents of apartheid to respond to the **'Appeal for People's Sanctions'** published with this Manifesto.

SWAPO supporters in Windhoek call for sanctions - July 1986



# BREAK THE LINKS

An appeal for People's Sanctions in 1987

*'The masses of the British people can and must impose sanctions. You have the power to stop all trade with apartheid South Africa.'*

ANC President Oliver Tambo – October 1985

Britain's links with apartheid South Africa have to be broken – as quickly as possible. Only by doing this can the British people expunge the shameful historical record of British collaboration with apartheid.

**People's Sanctions** – developed through united action in diverse walks of life – will cut the British end of apartheid's lifelines.

**People's Sanctions** will help to create a climate in which a future British government will be obliged to embrace comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

## \* Apartheid-free zones on your doorstep

Help your local authority to create an apartheid-free zone in your area:

- No commercial, financial, political, cultural or sporting links with South Africa/Namibia
- No South African propaganda in local libraries
- No South African diplomatic/consular activities or presence – end diplomatic links.

## \* Make the consumer boycott bite!

Let's make 1987 the year when supermarkets and shops buy the boycott and stop selling apartheid products.

- Press management and owners to stop stocking goods of South African/Namibian origin
- Make sure your local council and Regional Health Authority end bulk buying of apartheid products
- Stop the sale of South African textile products.

## \* Stop the import/movement of South African coal and Namibian uranium!

### No fuel for apartheid!

- Boycott Shell – Shell out of Namibia and South Africa!

## \* Time to stop emigration and tourism!

- No recruitment for jobs in South Africa/Namibia – don't work for apartheid!
- The government's ban on promotion of tourism to South Africa is voluntary and toothless – let's give it teeth through local action.

## \* Don't play with apartheid!

- Let every sports club and association sever links with South Africa/Namibia, and every sportsman and woman refuse to compete with or against South African teams and individuals – here or there.

### \*Don't bank on apartheid...

- Act to stop your bank making loans to South Africa/Namibia, operating there, or maintaining investments or other links
- Get Barclays fully out of the apartheid economy – and boycott them until their hands are clean.

### \*...and don't invest in apartheid!

- Make sure your church/trade union/pension fund/student union/college or university has no funds in the apartheid economy – or in its major British allies

### \*No to apartheid links in education...

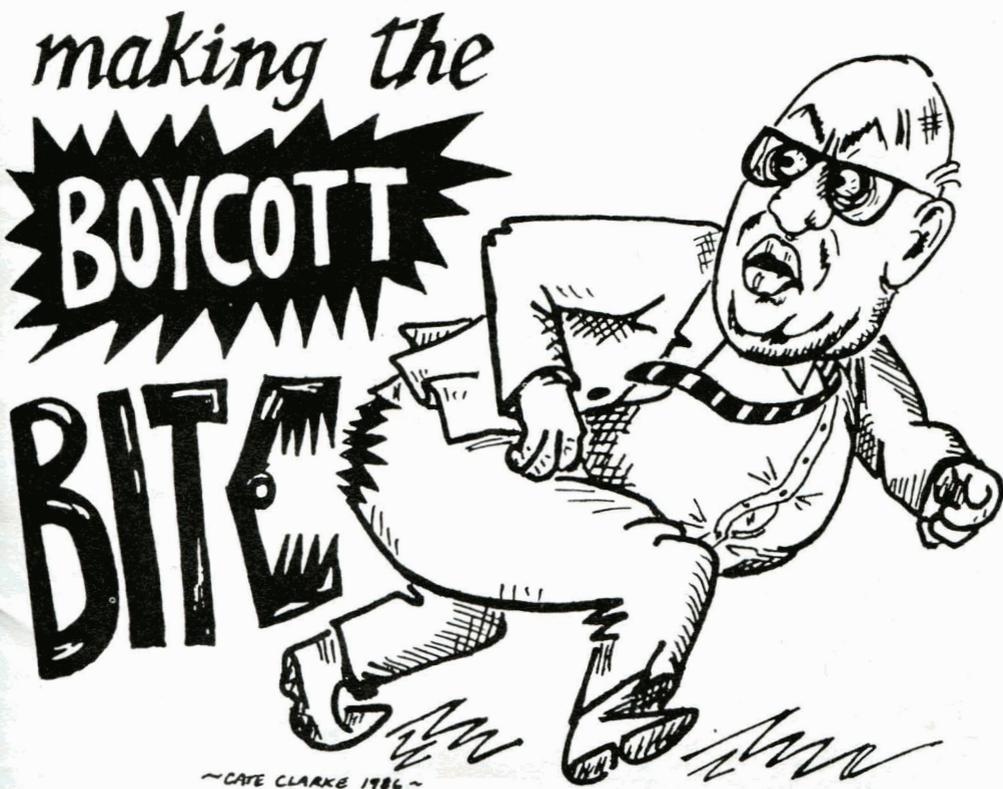
- Make sure your educational institution is free of all apartheid links – no funding, exchanges, sabbaticals, etc.

### \*...and in music, theatre and all the arts

- No trips to 'Sun City', no groups from South Africa and Namibia
- Boycott artistes who are on the UN's Register of Performers – and support Artists Against Apartheid.

*'I am no longer prepared to wait and wait and wait for government action.'*

Bishop Trevor Huddleston – June 1986



# JOIN US!

## THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT For Freedom in Southern Africa

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has been mobilising for over a quarter of a century in solidarity with those struggling for freedom in Southern Africa.

Its campaigns:

- ★ for full-scale sanctions against South Africa
- ★ for People's Sanctions through a range of boycott actions
- ★ for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in Namibia and South Africa
- ★ for solidarity with the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is a campaigning organisation with some 30,000 individual and national members and over 140 local groups in most large towns and cities throughout Britain, plus about 150 student groups. A Scottish Committee of the AAM coordinates activity in Scotland, whilst activity in Wales is organised by Welsh AAM.

### MEMBERSHIP FORM

As a member you will receive:

- ★ *Anti-Apartheid News*, the newspaper of the Movement, 10 times a year
- ★ a Members Newsletter giving up-to-date information on local and national action against apartheid
- ★ briefing documents detailing developments in Southern Africa
- ★ lists of campaigning material, audio-visual resources, etc.

#### Membership rates

Joint membership (2 people living at the same address) . . . . .	£12.00
Individuals . . . . .	£9.00
Students . . . . .	£5.50
Pensioners/unwaged . . . . .	£3.50
School students . . . . .	£3.50

NAME . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . .

I enclose £..... for membership plus a donation of £.....

**PEOPLE'S SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN:** I would like to know more about this. Please

- send me a list of campaigning materials
- put me in touch with my nearest local group

I would like to order more copies of this Manifesto @ **£15** per 100

Please send ..... copies. I enclose £.....

Total amount enclosed £.....

Cheques should be made payable to the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Please return to: **Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Mandela Street, London NW1 0DW**

# MANIFESTO FOR SANCTIONS PLEDGE FORM

**I/We want to see a majority of MPs in the new Parliament and a government committed to effective sanctions against South Africa.**

**I/We declare my/our support for the proposed sanctions programme set out in the Anti-Apartheid Movement's 1987 "Manifesto for Sanctions".**

Signed by: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: *(in blocks please)* \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Signing in an individual capacity *(if so please tick box)*

or for the following organisation  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Representing *(no.)* \_\_\_\_\_ members / persons  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please return a.s.a.p. to:

Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Mandela St, London NW1 0DW

Or to the nearest local AA group: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
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