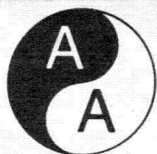


# Southern Africa '83

## A Manifesto for Action



This Manifesto is addressed to the people of Britain:

- it examines the serious issues of peace and war in Southern Africa today
- it considers the implications for Britain of the crisis in Southern Africa and the challenges it poses
- it argues for a decisive change in British government policy towards Southern Africa in the 1980s.

Above all this Manifesto is a call to action to the people of Britain to end Britain's shameful record of collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

## WAR OR PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

In Southern Africa today there is a build-up to an all-out war. Within the past 12 months every one of the independent African states in the region has been a target of South African aggression. South African refugees, including young children, were slaughtered in their beds on the eve of Human Rights Day 1982 in Maseru, capital of Lesotho; South African troops have illegally infiltrated Zimbabwe; and have attacked and murdered civilians in Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. It is above all in Angola where South Africa has created most havoc and devastation. Large areas of southern Angola are occupied by South African forces and have inflicted economic damage estimated at \$10 billion. The cost in human suffering is inestimable.

South Africa's war against independent Africa is not limited to these acts of open aggression. It has pursued deliberate policies aimed at destabilising the region, economically and politically. It arms and finances 'opposition' groups with the object of overthrowing the governments of the neighbouring states.

South Africa illegally occupies Namibia in defiance of the International Court of Justice and the United Nations Security Council. With an army of occupation of some 100,000 (approximately one South African soldier for every four Namibian adults) seeking to crush all forms of resistance, and repeatedly committing atrocities against the civilian population, war has become a daily horror for the Namibian people. The Pretoria regime has persistently blocked the implementation of the UN Plan for Namibia, and has now even abandoned its own plans for an 'internal settlement' which it had sought to impose on the model of the Muzorewa/Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia.

In South Africa itself, the Pretoria regime is relentlessly implementing its apartheid policies. The cornerstone of 'Grand Apartheid' is the bantustan policy by which South Africa's African population are to be granted 'independence' in 10 barren rural 'homelands' comprising a mere 13 per cent of the territory of South Africa. Already eight million Africans have been arbitrarily stripped of citizenship of the land of their birth as their 'homeland' has been declared 'independent'. Millions of Africans are being forcibly removed from 'white areas' into the bantustans which are little more than huge reserves of cheap black labour.

Within the 'white areas' racial segregation is enforced through the 'Group Areas' Act; entire Asian and Coloured communities are being uprooted as the areas in which they were living are deemed to be 'white'.

In the face of unprecedented mounting and nationwide resistance in urban and rural areas involving black workers, students, the churches, and women, as well as increasingly effective armed resistance, the Pretoria regime has embarked on a programme of policies which it presents to the outside world as 'reforms'. In practice these so-called reforms are designed to modernise and strengthen the system of white supremacy and to entice collaborators, like the bantustan leaders and those from the Indian and Coloured populations, into the structure of the apartheid system.

South Africa is able to pursue these policies because it has a sophisticated military machine equipped with some of the most up-to-date western military technology. A greater threat to international peace and security is posed by South Africa's nuclear weapons programme. The South African Deputy Defence Minister himself confirmed this threat when in September 1980 he said, 'it would be very stupid not to use it if nuclear weapons were needed as a last resort to defend oneself'.

South Africa makes no secret of its aim to dominate the entire region. Any country which it considers refuses to comply with this aim becomes a target of South Africa's aggression and destabilisation. While the governments and peoples of independent Africa, many of whom won their freedom after years of struggle and sacrifice, will never accept the dictat of the apartheid regime, their hard-won independence now stands in greater risk than at any time in the past decade.

South Africa's escalating pattern of aggression, destabilisation and international terrorism has even reached thousands of miles out to the Indian Ocean islands of the Seychelles and to our capital city, London, where in March 1982 the offices of the London mission of the African National Congress were bombed. The South African embassy has been shown in cases before the courts to be a nest of spies and agents.

South Africa's ability to sustain this war against independent Africa depends on external military and economic collaboration. The major western countries—in particular the USA, Britain, West Germany and France — have protected South Africa at the United Nations again and again. They have given South Africa the green light to continue and indeed intensify its war against Africa.

## **CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR BRITAIN**

Despite western support and protection the apartheid regime stands relatively alone and isolated. Its old allies in Salisbury and Lisbon have been consigned to the history books, and in Namibia and South Africa resistance to apartheid is widespread and effective. What is clear, however, is that the South African regime remains determined to employ its formidable resources of aggression and armed violence to regain its dominant position in the region. Are we going to allow this or are we to assist in every way possible the achievement of the final stages of the struggle for freedom on the African continent?

This is the crisis facing Southern Africa and all people who are affronted by racial tyranny. It is a crisis for which we in Britain cannot escape our responsibilities. It is not to be forgotten that it was Britain that was responsible for the imperial conquest of Southern Africa: the British parliament ceded power to the white minority in 1910. Only in 1975, after years of sustained anti-apartheid campaigning, did Britain terminate its *official* military cooperation with South Africa with the cancellation of the Simonstown agreement. Today Britain is the largest single investor in the apartheid economy, and a major trading partner. Moreover, it has been the British Foreign Office which has largely influenced western policy as a whole towards Southern Africa, nullifying every international effort to resolve the crisis in terms of freedom and democracy for the people of South Africa and Namibia.

This explains why the people of Southern Africa, and of the third world, repeatedly focus their attention on Britain and its relations with the Pretoria regime. This we cannot ignore. As the crisis deepens there is every prospect that international action against apartheid may no longer be confined to South Africa alone. It could be directed at the collaborators who sustain the apartheid regime – and Britain is already seen as the chief culprit. As the Vice-President of Nigeria, Britain's major trading partner in Africa, warned an Anti-Apartheid Movement conference in 1982:

We in Africa feel that the time has come when we shall no longer tolerate the disregard which some western nations display at issues that affect us seriously, and when we can no longer continue to ignore the action of these western nations in the Southern Africa region in our respective bilateral relations with them. In other words, there must be a clear linkage between what is happening in Southern Africa and our relations with these western nations.

Despite these warnings, the British government has shown no sign of changing the course of its policy. Britain's collaboration with South Africa is not only morally indefensible and politically unacceptable to all who cherish freedom and justice; it is a shortsighted and dangerous policy which can do no good for the people of Britain.

## **SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE CHALLENGE TO BRITAIN**

The challenge facing the people of Britain must be confronted. What is required is a decisive change: a break with the tradition of collaboration with apartheid. We must pursue new policies which will help to advance the cause of freedom for all the people of Southern Africa. This may be no easy task. Current British policy remains two-faced: verbal condemnation of apartheid accompanied by increasing trade, investment and other forms of collaboration. As Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement stated in 1982 in an address to the UN General Assembly:

Great Britain, my own country, has led the world in...hypocrisy. For years it has declared its abhorrence of apartheid: for years it has used its veto to prevent any effective action against it. 'Sanctions do not work' – yet, when it is a matter of a war in the south Atlantic, the first act of the British government is to call upon its allies...sometimes very reluctant allies...the US, the EEC, the Commonwealth to impose immediate and comprehensive sanctions against Argentina.

British policy is best illustrated in the case of Namibia. Following growing international pressure in the mid-1970s for sanctions against South Africa to compel the latter to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, Britain proved to be a prime mover in the creation of the western 'Contact Group', based on the claim that such a 'Contact Group' could, through diplomacy and negotiations, achieve Namibian independence. This is now seen to have been a charade.

In 1978 the UN Security Council under Resolution 435 resolved to institute free elections in Namibia as the first step to independence. Although agreeing to the UN Plan, South Africa prevaricated and ultimately blocked the implementation of this resolution. This blocking manoeuvre has proceeded over five years now, the latest obstacle being the US and South African efforts to 'link' progress on Resolution 435 with the withdrawal of Cuban forces stationed in Angola: a proposition which has been rejected by nearly all the parties to the negotiations.

While throughout this period the British government has claimed that it seeks a peaceful settlement in Namibia, it has in practice sustained and protected South Africa's obdurance and illegal occupation of Namibia, leaving SWAPO with little alternative but to advance its armed struggle for freedom.

The formal steps taken by successive British governments as a result of international pressures and anti-apartheid campaigning — namely the arms embargo the Gleneagles Agreement on sport, and the non-recognition of the bantustans — have all too often been implemented with equivocation and reservations. The essence of British policy was expressed by Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher's statement in December 1979 when, having referred to the 'prospect that the conflicts on South Africa's borders, in Rhodesia and Namibia, will shortly be ended', she enthused about the chance of making progress 'towards an ending of the isolation of South Africa in world affairs'.

Mrs Thatcher's statement reflects a consistent line in British policy against isolation and sanctions on the official explanation that ostracising the South African regime would drive it into even more dangerous policies. But such dangerous policies have been precisely the outcome of Britain's and other western countries' expanding links with the Pretoria regime. The past two decades have seen the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto, the deaths in detention of Steve Biko and Neil Aggett and dozens of other opponents of apartheid, the banning of African nationalist and other anti-apartheid organisations, and the imprisonment and detention of leaders such as Nelson Mandela of the ANC and Herman Toivo ja Toivo of SWAPO.

Since 1960 South Africa has increased its trade with Britain from £350 million to £1,800 million; British investment has soared from £1,000 million to £11,000 million; and South African military expenditure has rocketed from R40 million to over R2,000 million.

## **SOUTHERN AFRICA: A POLICY FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN THE 1980s**

Britain has time and again failed to take up the challenges posed by the apartheid regime. If the British people and government do not face up to this challenge *now* the consequences could well be disastrous. With the current US administration openly regarding South Africa as an 'ally', the rulers in Pretoria have become increasingly confident of the support of both the United States and Britain for their open and expanding war against the Commonwealth and other African states in the region.

The government elected at the next general election must choose between:

- continued collaboration with the apartheid regime with all its menacing consequences for peace in Africa and the world; or
- confronting the regime with the necessary political will and determination in order to advance the cause of freedom and peace in Southern Africa.

How the government responds to this critical challenge will certainly have a profound effect on events in Southern Africa.

We are confident that wide sections of public opinion in Britain will choose a policy of confronting apartheid South Africa and the pursuit of corresponding policies at the United Nations and other international forums, as well as in Britain's bilateral relations with the Pretoria regime, including the following crucial areas:

**Namibia:** The most urgent issue is Namibian independence. The government must:

1. affirm its commitment to the UN Decolonisation Plan and UN Security Council Resolution 435
2. totally reject any 'linkage' of Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from the People's Republic of Angola
3. press for the adoption of *effective* measures by the UN, including mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, to compel South Africa to allow the implementation of Resolution 435
4. stop all imports of Namibian uranium
5. end all British economic relations with South Africa's illegal administration in Namibia.

**Aid to the front line states:** The front line states are victims of South African aggression and destabilisation. The British government must:

1. provide generous aid and solidarity to the front line and other independent states in the region
2. increase its support for the projects of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and its efforts to reduce the economic dependence of its member states on South Africa
3. take all appropriate measures to stop South Africa's aggression and destabilisation.

**An end to military and nuclear collaboration:** South Africa is continuing its military and nuclear build-up in defiance of the UN mandatory arms embargo. The British government must:

1. withdraw its opposition to UN proposals to strengthen and strictly implement the embargo
2. enact strict and comprehensive legislation to enforce the arms embargo, including effective penalties

3. extend the arms embargo to include all forms of nuclear collaboration
4. ban the recruitment of mercenaries to work in Namibia or South Africa
5. end the exchange of military attaches with South Africa.

**Implementation of economic sanctions:** The British government should pursue a fundamental change in policy by ending British economic collaboration with South Africa. It must:

1. actively work for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions by the UN Security Council
2. enforce the oil embargo of South Africa by banning the export of North Sea oil to South Africa and making it illegal for British oil companies to supply oil to South Africa
3. reduce trade with South Africa by withdrawing government finance for promotion of such trade, including the financing of trade missions and the provision of export credit guarantees
4. ban new investment in South Africa and Namibia, including bank loans

**Sports boycott:** Whilst the government is attempting to implement the Commonwealth Gleneagles Agreement on sporting relations with South Africa, it could do so more effectively by:

1. cancelling the no-visa agreement with South Africa
2. refusing entry to sportsmen and women into the United Kingdom to compete in sporting events.

**Bantustans:** The government's policy of non-recognition of the bantustans should be seen to be effective. It must:

1. close 'Bophuthatswana House'
2. stop all representative and official visits, including sporting and cultural visits, from the bantustans to Britain
3. sever all economic and other relations between Britain and the illegal administrations of the bantustans.

**Repression:** The government should join international efforts to halt the systematic repression of opponents of the apartheid regime. It must:

1. act decisively in all cases involving the denial of basic human rights and the imprisonment, detention, torture and murder of political opponents
2. accept its responsibilities as a signatory to the Geneva Conventions to ensure that captured freedom fighters are treated as prisoners of war
3. intervene to secure the release of all African nationalist leaders, including Namibian leader Herman Toivo ja Toivo and Nelson Mandela.

**Aid to opponents of apartheid:** The government should actively support the Southern African liberation movements. For example:

1. aid for SWAPO of Namibia, presently only granted through international agencies, should be increased and provided directly
2. the example of other western governments, such as the Netherlands and the Nordic countries, should be followed by the provision of aid to the African National Congress.

This Manifesto for Action is a call for a fundamental change in Britain's policy. That change can only come through the translation of these proposals into effective action. This will require the widest possible mobilisation of the people of Britain. It is vital that committed people join in the work and campaigns of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in order to promote united and organised action against apartheid.

## A PROGRAMME OF ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

### WHAT YOU CAN DO:

- Take any opportunity to make Southern Africa an issue in the General Election
- Bring this Manifesto for Action and its policies to the attention of political parties, parliamentary candidates and other organisations involved in the General Election
- Act now by refusing to purchase South African and Namibian products
- Encourage your local authority to declare itself an apartheid-free zone
- Urge the government to support UN measures to compel South Africa to implement the UN Plan for Namibia
- Help publicise apartheid's war against Africa
- Press in any organisation that you are active in for their support for UN mandatory sanctions against South Africa
- Work for the release of Nelson Mandela and Herman Toivo ja Toivo, and all South Africa's political prisoners
- Try and find out about any collaboration with South Africa in your area, expose it and seek to end it
- Participate in special campaigns, like End Loans to South Africa, the Boycott Barclays Campaign, the Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contract, etc
- Help make the sports boycott effective
- Try and persuade any friends, relatives or acquaintances tempted to emigrate to South Africa not to do so
- Support the material aid campaigns of the Southern African liberation movements; contribute to the International Defence and Aid Fund.
- Above all support the work of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, become a member, join a local Anti-Apartheid Group and help secure a wider readership of our monthly newspaper *Anti-Apartheid News*.

*For more information write now to:*

**Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Selous Street, London NW1 0DW, Tel 01-387 7966**