

*“We call for  
sanctions  
because  
we are  
realists”*

**SOUTHERN AFRICA: APARTHEID & SANCTIONS**

**The SADCC View**

*by Simba Makoni*

Executive Secretary of the

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE – SADCC

**Southern Africa:**  
**APARTHEID & SANCTIONS**

**The SADCC view**

*by*

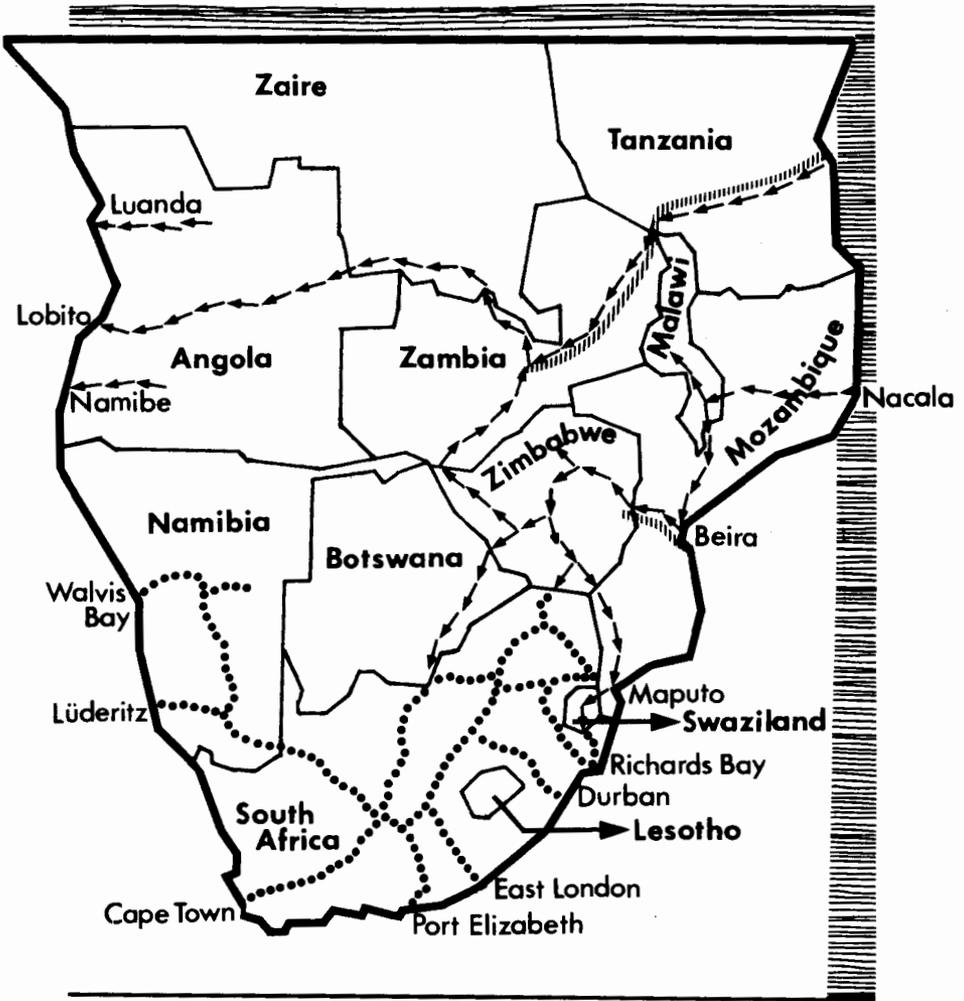
*Simba Makoni*

Foreword by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR  
President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

**Address given by Simba Makoni, the Executive Secretary of  
the Southern African Development Coordination Conference  
to the Annual General Meeting of the Anti-Apartheid  
Movement, in Sheffield, November 1987.**

Published by the Anti-Apartheid Movement,  
with sub-heads and additional information added, London August 1988

# SOUTHERN AFRICA



## **PORTS & RAILWAY**

→→ SADCC railways    ▨▨▨▨▨ Pipeline    ..... SA & Namibian railways

## **FOREWORD**

**No one has more valid credentials to speak on behalf of the Front Line States of Southern Africa than Mr Simba Makoni.**

**As Executive Secretary of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), he has the most detailed knowledge and the most far-reaching experience of the economic, political, social and cultural aspects of the region.**

**In this address he is dealing with the present historical situation of the whole of Southern Africa and in particular the challenge to its future posed by Apartheid.**

**In this country, enthusiasm and support for anti-apartheid activities are not enough. They must be based on a wider knowledge and understanding of the realities of the Southern African region. Above all this is the case with regard to campaigning effectively for a mandatory sanctions policy.**

**For too long the governments of the Western powers and Japan have been allowed to condemn apartheid with words but to prolong its life and sustain its evil philosophy by refusing action. Mr Makoni here speaks for the majority population of Southern Africa in exposing the hypocrisy of those leaders who claim that sanctions will only hurt the African people themselves, or will achieve nothing. It is time that the specious, repetitive, boring arguments of Mrs Thatcher, Dr Kohl and President Reagan were answered once and for all.**

**In this outstanding address to the Anti-Apartheid Movement Mr Makoni has given us an invaluable weapon – let us use it and conquer!**

**† Trevor Huddleston CR**

President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

*Address to the Annual General Meeting of the  
Anti- Apartheid Movement by Simba Makoni,  
Executive Secretary of the Southern African  
Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)*

**INTRODUCTION**

It is a great pleasure for me to address this Annual General Meeting of the Anti-Apartheid Movement; particularly as I am not new to the Movement. During the latter years of Zimbabwe's struggle for independence, I had the honour to work closely with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, as the representative of ZANU in Western Europe. I am, therefore, very happy to be among you friends again today.

This time, not as the representative of a so-called communist, terrorist organisation, but as the emissary of the nine sovereign and independent states of Southern Africa—as the Executive Secretary of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). An organisation which provides a framework for economic cooperation between, and mutual support for its members.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has played a major role, within the UK and indeed globally:

- In exposing the evils of racism and apartheid in Southern Africa, both in their theory and practice;
- In bringing to light the international web of economic, military and diplomatic relationships which succour and help maintain minority rule;
- In awakening the conscience of humanity to act in concert to destroy this evil; and
- In mobilising moral, material and diplomatic support for those struggling for liberation.

The people of Africa, and in particular of Southern Africa, salute the Anti-Apartheid Movement and call upon all its members to redouble their efforts in support of the just struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa.

I salute, in particular, your president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, for his unwavering commitment to this noble cause. Archbishop Huddleston's life has been an eloquent testimony to the supremacy of human values over evil; of justice over injustice; of principle and morality over expediency. Ultimately, it is the invincibility of this morality which will bring freedom and justice to all of Southern Africa – whatever the cost, and whatever the time-scale.

### **INDEPENDENCE – POLITICAL & ECONOMIC**

Our people, Mr Chairman, struggled for political independence and today, still struggle for economic development and self-reliance – an objective which has deep roots:

“As early as 1974, we could foresee the coming of such a momentous occasion when free states in Southern Africa could meet to discuss liberation – no longer liberation from political oppression, but liberation from poverty. Yes, we want to be free not only from foreign rule, but free to develop our economies, to integrate them without let or hindrance, and in the interests of the peoples of the region ... I call for the establishment of a trans-continental belt of independent and economically powerful nations from Dar-es-Salaam and Maputo on the Indian Ocean to Luanda on the Atlantic.”

These were the words of President Kenneth Kaunda, addressing the Summit of Heads of State and Government of Independent States of Southern Africa, on the occasion of the founding of SADCC. The quest for the freedom to develop our economies and to integrate them in our best interests, is the essence and the *raison d'être* of SADCC.

SADCC is, therefore, the continuation of the struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa for total liberation. As the late President Seretse Khama, the founding Chairman of SADCC said:

"For many years we have struggled for political independence, for the right to rule ourselves and determine our future. Some of us in this region have demonstrated that it is possible to achieve common objectives through collective effort. We have, as Frontline States ... successfully demonstrated solidarity and collective responsibility in the search for political liberation in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Whilst in pursuit of this objective, we realised the urgent need to extend the struggle from the political to the economic sphere."

Thus SADCC is the product of the Frontline States, it represents the extension and translation of the methods and strategies of cooperation in the struggle for political independence, into the struggle for economic liberation.

The formal launching of SADCC was preceded by a process of careful, intensive and extensive consultations among the leaders of the region, at various levels. Between 1978 and 1980, the late President Seretse Khama, assisted by his then Foreign Minister, Archie Mogwe, and senior government officials crisscrossed the region in a mission which culminated in the adoption of the Lusaka Declaration, **Southern**

### **THE FRONT LINE STATES & SADCC**

The Front Line States are: Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. They are united in their opposition to colonialism and apartheid. In 1979-80 they teamed up with three other independent countries – Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi – to form a regional grouping to help each other's development, mobilise foreign aid for mutual projects and to reduce dependence on South Africa. This association, SADCC (the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference), is a prime target of South African destabilisation – especially its transport and communications projects aimed at breaking South Africa's grip on the region's railway network.

**Africa: Toward Economic Liberation.** Although the need for regional cooperation was obvious, and even the commitment of the countries of the region to it unquestionable, it was, however, important that the cooperative structures and organisation, if not the objectives and principles, be tailored to suit the specific conditions of Southern Africa. In the words of the late President Samora Machel:

“... Our economic plans have to be conceived and prepared by ourselves. There is no one who knows our needs and our priorities better than ourselves. We must not accept the habit of plans made outside our region.”

This careful and deliberate process was necessary, since all SADCC member states had, prior to the formation of SADCC, been involved in other cooperative ventures whose results were considered not so successful. Thus,

- Angola and Mozambique had been members of the so-called Lusophone Union, dominated by Portugal;
- Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe had been members of the Central African Federation, designed and imposed by Britain and dominated by Rhodesia;
- Tanzania had been a member of the East African Community, dominated by Kenya; and
- Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland remain, today, members of the Southern African Customs Union, dominated by South Africa.

These experiences led the architects and founding fathers of SADCC to define its objectives and operational modalities very clearly and precisely. Here is President Quett Masire:

“Our determination to seek a peaceful, non-racial and prosperous region in which our people can have hope for the future develops naturally into a commitment to work together. It was out of this solidarity that SADCC was born. SADCC was not conceived as a platform for rhetoric nor a plaything for those who desire a larger canvass on which to experiment with their patent solutions for Africa's problems. Rather, SADCC has grown out of a common awareness of common interests. Its immediate objectives are well defined and limited. SADCC exists only to the extent that the member states breathe life into its common programmes and projects. It, does not have an autonomous existence, separate from the priorities of its member states.”

Thus SADCC's objectives were defined as:

- **The reduction of dependence, particularly but not only on South Africa;**
- **The forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration;**
- **The mobilisation of our own resources to promote the implementation of national, inter-state and regional policies; and**
- **Concerted action to secure international understanding and support.**



*Cooperative endeavor is the keynote of the SADCC's development work. Agriculture is one of the region's greatest potential strengths. But South Africa's destructive role in the area has compelled some SADCC countries to import foodstuffs to fend off starvation. (Photo: Keith Bernstein - IDAF)*

Its organisational structures and operational procedures were designed to enable the member states to breathe life into it, and for it to reflect and represent their interests and priorities, at all times. The allocation to various member states of the responsibilities for coordinating SADCC programmes in the different sectors, therefore, ensures the equitable sharing of both the costs and the benefits of cooperation. It is also designed to ensure, and has, so far, largely succeeded in ensuring that the programmes and projects undertaken address directly the concerns, and needs of member states, rather than the theoretical conceptions of a distant autonomous bureaucracy.

### **SADCC & ITS INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS**

However, even as the SADCC member states were making a commitment to work together in search of freedom from hunger and poverty, they realised that such a task could not be accomplished without the support of the international community. Thus as they made a call to their own peoples, they extended a similar appeal to the international community, to the governments and international agencies who share the same objectives, for human dignity and welfare and justice. And they stipulated, as one of their objectives, to mobilise international understanding and support for SADCC's strategy for economic liberation. In calling for international support, they realised that this support had to be based on common interest and mutual benefit:

"... There is neither help nor charity, and we do not want them. What exists are interests. Therefore, we should not talk about help but rather cooperation. It is economic interests which move different countries. They are going to Angola because they want oil, diamonds and coffee. In Zimbabwe they want chrome and gold. In Swaziland they want coal and iron. Our natural resources are targets, and therefore also tools for cooperation."

These are the words of the late President Samora Machel. And here is Prime Minister Mugabe on the same theme:

"Ours is not a begging bowl. We know that the region is rich in resources which the industrialised world needs. We are willing to come to an agreement by which our resources can be made available provided that this happens in a way that is consistent with our development objectives. The

attitude of SADCC states to international cooperation is based on the recognition of overlapping interests."

SADCC has, therefore, developed and consolidated her relations with the international community on the basis of this mutuality of interests and benefits. Even though, in quantitative terms, these benefits are not equal, there is acceptance of the principle of equity and reciprocity. This view is represented even by SADCC's insistence that her friends in the international community are not donors but cooperating partners; and by the provision of consultative arrangements which recognise that in a partnership there is need for a full exchange of views on matters of policy, on programmes and on operational procedures.

Even so, we are not naive about the difficulties which confront us. As the late Seretse Khama predicted in 1980:

"What we recognise as opportunities arising from political advance in this region, are seen by others as threats to their self interest. Make no mistake, therefore, the struggle for economic liberation will be a bitterly contested one as has been the struggle for political liberation. We have come here today to pledge our solidarity in the search for a better economic future for all our peoples. The most potent weapon we have is our unity of purpose. In the months and years that lie ahead there will be many false friends whispering in our ears that the road we have chosen is too difficult, that the company we keep is not trustworthy, that the struggle is not worth the effort. Their purpose is to destroy our solidarity and to return us, one by one, to bondage."

It may be asked, what, in seven years has SADCC achieved? Whereas it is true generally, that one is not the best judge of oneself, I think we can say, with some degree of objectivity, that SADCC had made significant progress. The first, and I dare say most important achievement of SADCC so far is the creation of a regional identity, and a oneness among the peoples of the the region. It is now common place, and almost second nature, for people to think and talk about their country in the regional context; seeing themselves as part of a family.

SADCC is no longer regarded as a club of Heads of States and government and their ministers, but as a cooperative effort by the people of the region as a whole. Thus, for instance, trade unionists, accountants, scholars, bankers, financiers, the youth and women of the region have all established regional formations for addressing their interests and concerns; and, above all, they are searching for a role in

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*Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops cooperate in keeping open the 'Beira corridor' – Zimbabwe's only outlet to the sea that does not run through South Africa. (Photo: Keith Bernstein – IDAF)*



the movement towards economic liberation. This is consistent with the preamble to the Lusaka Declaration which seeks the full support and involvement of the peoples of the region.

Although intangible, or non-physical, the inculcation of a regional identity, a sense of unity and common purpose, is a pre-requisite for successful cooperation; for how else can people cooperate unless they can identify common concerns, common needs and common interests; and then agree on common strategies and practical measures for addressing these concerns?

Our programme of action now spans thirteen economic sectors covering food, agriculture and natural resources; energy, industry, mining and trade; manpower development and tourism. In each of our member states we have teams of regional experts, augmented by outside specialists, working to develop these programmes, and I am happy to be able to report that significant progress is being achieved. Our member states, with their differing histories and resources endowments, and with their various approaches to economic management, are working together cohesively and with great seriousness.

### THE SADCC DIVISION OF LABOUR

The sectors assigned to each country are:

**Angola** – energy

**Botswana** – agricultural research, animal disease control

**Lesotho** – water conservation, tourism

**Malawi** – fisheries, forestry, wildlife

**Mozambique** – transport and communications

**Swaziland** – manpower training

**Tanzania** – industry

**Zambia** – mining, Southern Africa Development Fund

**Zimbabwe** – agriculture, food security

The SADCC programme is made up of some 500 individual projects, costing at about \$US6.4 billion; of which, more than \$US2 billion has been secured. Although this is a significant achievement, there is a major shortfall which must be met if our countries are to achieve their objectives, especially to wean themselves away from the excessive and debilitating dependence on South Africa.

### **SADCC & THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM**

SADCC's primary contribution to the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia is the creation, sustenance and defence of viable and dynamic economies in all our member states. In this context, our main objectives are:

- To strengthen the economies of our countries, so that they can resist blackmail and manipulation by South Africa;
- To undermine the propaganda of the South African regime, by showing that non-racialism is not only morally right, but practicable;
- To help liberate white South Africans from the bondage of racial prejudice and bigotry, and to reassure them that they have a secure future in South Africa and on the continent as a whole – once they are rid of the disease of apartheid and racial superiority; and,
- To provide moral, political, diplomatic and material support to the liberation movements, in the context of the OAU's Liberation Committee.

It is axiomatic that liberation in South Africa is primarily the responsibility of the people of that country. This does not mean, however, that the struggle is a purely internal matter, of no concern to outsiders. Quite the contrary. Almost twenty years ago, at a summit meeting in Lusaka, our countries adopted a Manifesto on Southern Africa, which spelt out our approach:

"The actions of the South African government are such that the rest of the world has a responsibility to take action in defence of humanity. There is one thing about South African oppression which distinguishes it from other oppressive regimes. The apartheid policy adopted by its government, and supported to a greater or lesser extent by almost all its white citizens, is based on a rejection of man's humanity."

The Manifesto goes on to argue that South Africa:

"... should be ostracised by the world community. It should be isolated from world trade patterns ... The South African government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity, and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations. And certainly Africa cannot acquiesce in the maintenance of the present policies against people of African descent."

I have blown the cobwebs off this Manifesto to indicate the consistent line of policy which the independent states of the region have adopted over the years. But also to recall our victories, and to highlight our continuing problems. Who now will question, publicly at least, the responsibility of the international community to act against apartheid? Even those who oppose sanctions accept that they have a responsibility to act. It should be recalled that, when the Lusaka Manifesto was adopted, three of our nine member states were still struggling for their independence. Mutual support and solidarity among our countries played a decisive part in the success of these struggles. Even now the wounds of war have not yet healed. Mozambique and Angola have not been allowed to enjoy the peace and tranquillity expected at independence.

### **SANCTIONS ARE BEGINNING TO BITE**

The 1969 Manifesto, which was reasserting earlier demands for sanctions, calls for South Africa's isolation. Some victories have been achieved, but problems remain. An arms embargo has been in place since 1963 and – over the years – the application of economic, diplomatic and cultural sanctions has been tightened. Sanctions are now beginning to bite. According to some recent assessments, South Africa now makes fewer manufactured goods than in 1982. It produces less cement, less gold and coal, and much less of some key farm products such as maize. There are half as many new motor cars sold in South Africa today as there were five years ago. Emigrants from, out number immigrants to South Africa two to one.

Even those countries, like the United Kingdom, whose leaders publicly deride the effectiveness of sanctions, and who oppose the policy 'on principle', are in fact applying sanctions. The comprehensive anti-apartheid bill, passed by the United States Congress, in the face of vehement opposition from the Reagan Administration; the sanctions legislation passed by the Nordic countries; the Commonwealth package; and even the weak EEC measures, are all positive developments which reinforce each other and have helped to create an unstoppable movement toward South Africa's isolation.

Economic development in Southern Africa, including regional cooperation, cannot be viewed in isolation of the struggle to rid our region of apartheid and colonialism. The mounting crisis in Southern Africa, caused by South Africa's intransigence, provides the sombre back-drop for our joint efforts.

"We all know that the SADCC economies are, to a very large extent, albeit to varying degrees, dependent on the economy of South Africa. We may be proud of our political independence; but until we manage to increase significantly our economic independence, our task is not complete. The inevitability, and indeed the desirability, of inter-dependence as a world economic order is fully recognised and accepted by our member states. Unfortunately, this is not the situation with regard to our relationship with South Africa. What, therefore, we are trying to achieve is the ability to exercise some degree of choice which insures us against domination by one powerful partner."

These are the words of the late President Seretse Khama.

**We are grateful to the international community as a whole, for providing tangible support for our development programmes. It makes little sense, however, for our partners to assist us develop our infrastructure and other economic assets, but then fail to bring effective pressure on the South African regime to desist from destroying, directly or indirectly, the same facilities they have helped us to develop. We want our partners to take effective action to support change in South Africa and Namibia and, at the same time, to help strengthen our economies.**

**Countries should not see support for SADCC as an alternative to action against apartheid. The best support we can receive is that which brings us peace and stability, through the abolition of apartheid. We will, therefore, continue to urge our cooperating partners to take effective action both against the apartheid regime, and in support of our countries.**

### **WHY SOUTH AFRICA DESTABILISES SADCC**

The South African regime has considered SADCC as a direct threat to its interests, and has therefore, taken measures seeking to render our efforts ineffective. In the eyes of the regime, the development and

consolidation of stable, democratic, non-racial societies in our countries represents the most potent weapon against apartheid. For this would undermine their spurious justification for apartheid, based on the so-called chaos to the north of them; as in the words of the late President Machel:

"It is the civilisation which we are creating in this part of the continent which leads South Africa to employ all the means at its disposal to prevent our success. It is the truth which the racist regime attempts to hide from its people and from the international community. The threat which we represent is in the example of the anti-racist, free, democratic and just society, without discrimination ... The basis of which will be developed more quickly and will become more solid, thanks to SADCC."



*In Southern Africa there are now at least 3 million people displaced from their homes. Nearly a million Mozambicans have taken refuge in neighbouring countries, and more than a million are displaced within the country. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that in Angola over 500 000 have been displaced. In addition, some 160 – 170 000 South African and Namibian refugees are dispersed around the region.*  
(Photo: Jenny Matthews – Format)

Furthermore, the development of diversified and modern economies in our countries would remove not only one of their most lucrative, and captive markets, but also deny the regime one of its most effective weapons of blackmail, coercion and domination. Hence South Africa has designed and effected the strategy of aggression and destabilisation against our countries, spanning the political, military and economic fields. Thus, the destruction of strategic economic assets, such as transport routes, power lines and oil refineries, and the disruption of agricultural production, are the chosen weapons of apartheid.

It has been argued that the blacks within South Africa and in the neighbouring states will suffer most from the effective application of sanctions by the international community.

The main cause of suffering to our member states and to the people of the SADCC region, and the primary source of violence in Southern Africa, is apartheid. Our countries are suffering enormous damage at the hands of the South African government; both directly and by proxy. Physical infrastructure, both economic and social, is being wantonly destroyed and our countries are the subject of a continuous policy of harassment and destabilisation. In many of our countries we have seen the living standards of our people decline significantly; and the ability of our countries to weather economic storms has been substantially reduced. South African aggression is not the only cause of our economic malaise, but it is a major factor. Certainly, we will suffer from the application of sanctions by the international community, but it is a cost we are willing to bear; in the conviction that the only alternative is to prolong our current agony for ever.

### **SADCC & SANCTIONS**

The 1986 SADCC Summit, spelled out the position of the SADCC member states on this question:

- Although individual SADCC member states may not themselves be in a position to impose sanctions, SADCC member states' vulnerability should not be used as an excuse by others for not imposing sanctions;

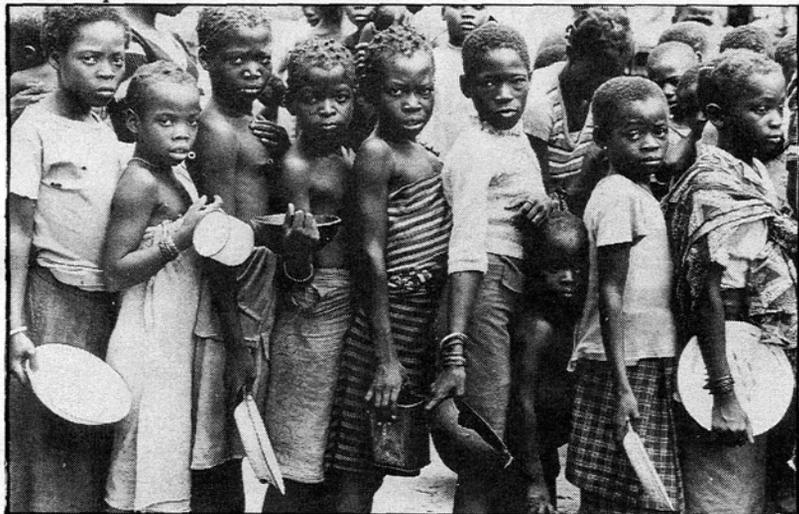
- SADCC member states will do nothing to undermine the effectiveness of sanctions imposed on South Africa by the international community;
- SADCC member states will cooperate closely with each other to lessen the adverse impact of sanctions on their own economies, and in this respect, will expect the international community to render them maximum assistance.

**SADCC: THE COSTS OF APARTHEID**  
**& THE DECLINE IN UK AID**

Between 1980 and 1987, South African aggression and destabilisation is estimated to have cost the SADCC countries \$27.5 billion – and possibly as many as 750,000 lives through the combined effects of war and drought. Yet during the same period net bilateral aid from Britain to the SADCC countries declined from \$243.3m in 1980 to \$105m in 1984. Indeed, by 1986, gross British aid was only at 53% of the 1980 level. Virtually no British aid went to Angola until 1987/88.

It must also be remembered that dependence in Southern Africa is not all in one direction. South Africa is significantly dependent on our member states which provide a market for its goods and services amounting to an average \$US1.5 billion per year over the last four years. Our citizens, skilled and highly experienced, account for the bulk of the production in the mining sector, especially gold, without whom production would be much lower. The tariffs we pay to the South African Transport System, averaging at least \$US350 million per year are not only important sources of revenue for the system, but more importantly, provide a subsidy for the internal traffic; thereby enabling

*Children are the main victims of South Africa's undeclared war against the independent states of Southern Africa. UNICEF estimates that in 1985/6 there were 140 000 war-related deaths of children under 5 in Angola and Mozambique. (Photo: Keith Bernstein - IDAF)*



their exporters to maintain a competitive edge. As international sanctions become more effective, the significance of these factors to South Africa will increase; and thus our leverage will be enhanced. We do not doubt that South Africa will continue to use its economic and military power to try and pick us off, one-by-one; but the economic and diplomatic costs to itself will be very considerable.

Questions about black South African attitudes to sanctions are, I believe, largely rhetorical. To the extent that they can express themselves, and, indeed have expressed themselves, on this issue, the black people of that country individually and through their political, social and religious organisations have called overwhelmingly for sanctions. Their primary aim is political and economic freedom; and sanctions are seen as an essential weapon in the struggle to achieve that objective. Who has the right to gainsay them?

Secondly, it has been asked why should Europe and North America apply sanctions, when the neighbouring states continue to trade with South Africa.

There is a great deal of self-serving nonsense in the suggestion that sanctions should not be applied because our countries are not themselves applying sanctions, and most of them are continuing to trade with South Africa. This is an argument which makes the blood of the people of Southern Africa boil. All our countries have made, and are continuing to make incalculable sacrifices. Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe have all suffered from direct aggression by South Africa. Angola and Mozambique have seen the hopes which came with their independence dashed on the rock of South African intransigence; a whole generation have been pauperised because South Africa refuses to acknowledge the right of black people to have an equal say in how they are governed. Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are expending blood and treasure to assist Mozambique defend itself against South African-backed bandits.

**Our economic growth has been prejudiced, our living standards reduced and our efforts distracted from development to defence and security. Our refusal to acquiesce with South Africa in its still-born constellations of states, our determination not to recognise the Bantustans, have cost us dear. The costs to Europe and North America in lost exports, or profits, arising from applying sanctions are small in comparison with the sacrifices being made by the people of our region; sacrifices accounted for not in dividends not declared, or contracts lost, but in life, limb and livelihood.**

The third argument proffered against sanctions is, why apply sanctions, since they will not work.

The effectiveness of sanctions depends, to a large extent, on the seriousness of intent behind them, and on the effectiveness of the enforcement and monitoring measures instituted. Sanctions will work, if applied seriously by the international community and, in particular, by South Africa's five main trading partners. Sanctions which are not seriously applied, will not work. It must also be remembered, however, that the policy of sanctions is not the only weapon in the armoury of

the struggle for freedom. The primary weapon is, of course, the direct action of the oppressed themselves, including the armed struggle. Also of importance, however, is the diplomatic, political and moral pressures being applied by the international community.

There is only so much that we can do. The primary responsibility for applying sanctions rests with those who have the power to make an effective impact by their actions. Those in the international community who oppose sanctions have not offered an alternative policy. What benefits have we seen from 'constructive engagement' and so-called 'quiet diplomacy'. None. Are the people of South Africa to wait forever for their freedom? Must we postpone indefinitely our development? Are our children, and their children, to be brought up in an atmosphere of conflict and carnage. Should peace and tranquillity never come to Southern Africa? The political and business leaders in Europe and North America, in particular, must ask themselves, and answer, these questions.

It is galling, therefore, on the one hand, to be told that sanctions cannot be applied because they will hurt us; and then, in the next breath, that they cannot be applied because we ourselves are not in a position to take such action ourselves; or finally, if we do not fancy those arguments, that they cannot be applied, because they will not work. I fear there are too many excuses against sanctions. This reminds me of the man who failed to turn-up for an appointment because he had broken a leg, and his child was sick, and his car had failed to start ... he does protest too much!

What is the next stage in the process? Although there is now, as we have seen, a panoply of sanctions legislation in place, the international community still lacks a credible overall strategy. To achieve this, there must be agreement about the need for and the object of sanctions; and then about the time-scale and nature of their tightening. The most important challenge is to convince Europe, North America and Japan that sanctions are the only effective non-violent policy open to the international community; and that they must be applied with great seriousness of purpose. Once this psychological barrier has been breached, and there is no further doubt about the good faith of the main actors in this drama, it will be possible to discuss tactics.

*People in the Front Line States frequently demonstrate their support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. This demonstration took place in Dar es Salaam, capital of Tanzania.*

*(Photo: Andrew Wiard - Report)*



**We do not call for sanctions because we are masochists, but because we are realists. We know that the longer this situation goes on, and the more acute the internal conflict becomes, greater will be the damage we suffer.** We have no desire to see the economy of South Africa brought to its knees, or the physical infrastructure of that country – on which many of us depend – destroyed. Once South Africa places itself firmly and irreversibly on the path of negotiations, there will be no lack of pragmatism and accommodation on the part of black South Africans, and ourselves in the neighbouring countries.

The opening up of consultations between the African National Congress (ANC) and the representatives of white extra-parliamentary opposition is a positive sign. Certainly, the independent states of Southern Africa encourage any process which leads to a dispensation acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole.

The truth is, however, that in South Africa there is an open and continued denial of the principles of human equality and national self determination. South Africa is not struggling towards these difficult goals, it is fighting actively against them.

The evil of apartheid does damage to both its perpetrators and its victims. One of the worst indictments of apartheid was highlighted during a recent traffic accident in South Africa. Black nurses travelling in a passing ambulance, offered assistance to a white man injured in the accident. The white policeman attending to the accident declined the assistance because a white ambulance had already been called. The man died before he reached hospital.

Nelson Mandela, in his response to the conditional offer of freedom made by PW Botha, points clearly to the direction which must be followed. He says:

"I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

"It was only then, when other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them ... only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts."

Mandela is not prepared to sell the birthright of the people for his own freedom. What are the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany willing to do to support him

in this struggle to defend the very principles of human equality and dignity?

### **CONCLUSION**

Economic cooperation in Southern Africa is not based on our abhorrence of apartheid. It is firmly rooted in the realisation of the inadequacies of small, under-developed and truncated national economies; unable separately and individually to sustain a viable modern industrial base. It also recognises the benefits to be derived from an equitable, balanced regional integration based on the natural resource endowments of the different countries. It is based on the acceptance of collective self-reliance, inter-dependence and equity, rather than dependence and domination.

On this basis, SADCC and its member states have stated right from the beginning that an independent Namibia and a democratic South Africa will automatically be admitted into the organisation. A democratic South Africa, conducting its affairs according to the will of the people, and in accordance with regional and international norms; and accepting the rules of cooperation and equitable inter-dependence, holds enormous potential for the development of our region. We cannot wait for the day when we can welcome into SADCC, the true representatives of that country, bearing the mandate of their people.

I thank you.

*Cover picture: Mozambican soldier with child.  
(Photo: Jenny Matthews - IDAF)*

