



# the Anti-Apartheid Movement

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## MEMORANDUM TO H.M. GOVERNMENT

The South African racial conflict has world-wide repercussions. The United Nations has repeatedly condemned South Africa's apartheid policies and in response to the South African Government's persistent defiance of its obligations under the Charter, the United Nations has called upon all its member states to impose an embargo on the supply of arms and to cease all trading relations with South Africa. As a result, the greater majority of the nations of the world are now engaged in arms sanctions against that country. Further some 45 countries are actively boycotting trade with South Africa. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world are repelled by the doctrine of apartheid and have shown in various ways their active opposition to the organised system of race repression being maintained by the South African authorities.

The independent African states are sharply aligned in their opposition to apartheid and the South African Government. This is not only reflected in their actions and policies at the U.N., in the Commonwealth and in other international organisations, but in the support they are rendering to the South African resistance movements.

Despite these international repercussions, the South African Government relentlessly pursues its racial policies and extends apartheid to embrace every facet of African life and labour in the country. Further, the South African Government has accumulated immense arbitrary powers to suppress and crush all domestic opposition to its racial policies. The opportunities for peaceful change towards a just and multiracial society in South Africa have been drastically reduced. These developments have combined to intensify the determination of the African people, both inside South Africa and in the African continent, to oppose apartheid and to organise for its overthrow even if this involves an armed conflict. There can be no doubt that if the present situation is allowed to continue, the outcome will be a race war involving the whole of Southern Africa and beyond.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is deeply concerned that Britain's responsibilities in this threatening situation be properly understood and that Her Majesty's Government pursues policies which not only assist towards safeguarding the peace of Africa and Britain's good relations with the African and Asian states, but reflects in full measure the widespread hostility and repugnance felt by the British people towards apartheid. For these reasons we warmly welcome the arms embargo announced on November 25th last, despite its significant exceptions and omissions. However, this first British act of dissociation with apartheid requires to be actively followed-up with other measures. And it is with this in mind that we now propose the following courses of action for British policy on the South African question.

Measures available to the British Government.

### A) Through the United Nations

Throughout the nineteen years during which the South African question has been before the United Nations, Britain's record has generally been one of abstention, and sometimes obstruction and opposition to measures designed to coerce South Africa. It is essential that Britain should play a constructive and leading role in bringing the United Nations into action against apartheid. There are three main headings under which such action falls:

World-wide economic sanctions

The investigations by the U.N. Security Council and, earlier, by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, have shown that sanctions are feasible and that South Africa's economy is vulnerable to international action. The cost has been shown to be substantial but the cost of impending racial war will be far greater. This is the relevant comparison and the answer to those who complain of the difficulty and expense involved in sanctions.

ii) South West Africa

The British Government should commit itself to the objective of freedom for South West Africa in order that the object of the Mandate can be fulfilled. The practical steps to be taken to attain this objective will depend on the decision of the International Court of Justice.

iii) Financial assistance to Victims of Apartheid

The Government should implement the recent U.N. resolution on this subject by supporting the Defence and Aid Fund run by Christian Action. This fund is a British venture which has won international support and fame and has done much to restore the tarnished image of Britain in the eyes of the African people.

B) Other Measures

i) Armaments and Military Co-operation

The Government's decision to cease the supply of arms to South Africa is an important step forward but before Britain can say that she is complying with the U.N. resolution, and is not in any way helping to strengthen the armed forces of apartheid, the British Government should stop

- a) deliveries under existing arms contracts (e.g. Buccaneers)
- b) deliveries of spare parts
- c) training South African military personnel in Britain
- d) the supply of capital, technicians, know-how, etc. from Britain for the South African arms industry
- e) all military co-operation with South Africa.

The very existence of the Simonstown Agreement tends to suggest or convey the impression that Britain is militarily allied with the present South African regime. Such an impression should be publicly repudiated by Britain. Furthermore, the South African authorities have used this Agreement to give the impression of blackmailing this country into carrying out policies which would otherwise be unacceptable, as has appeared to be the case with the Buccaneer decision. Rather than be deterred by the threats of the South African Government to denounce the Agreement, the British Government should itself denounce the Agreement. If the Cape is regarded as important, then this must be an additional reason why a democratic government capable of living in peace with the rest of Africa and the world is needed in South Africa.

ii) South Africa Act, 1961

The South Africa Act, 1961, was based on a policy of minimum interference with existing arrangements. We welcome the decision not to renew the Sugar Agreement with South Africa but the Act should now be reviewed on the basis of a policy of abolition of all privileges and preferences in favour of South Africa.

iii) Policy in the High Commission Territories

The policies adopted by previous Governments towards Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland have left these territories in the position of hostages to apartheid rather than outposts of democracy in Southern Africa.

The following matters require urgent attention:-

- a) the economic dependence of the Territories upon South Africa must be reduced,
- b) their administrations and essential services must be made independent of South Africa,
- c) confidence must be restored in the will and the ability of the administration to protect residents of the Territories against intimidation by South Africa,
- d) the right of unconditional political asylum in the Territories should be fully recognised,
- e) the Territories should have their own broadcasting service: at present their inhabitants have little alternative but to listen to the apartheid propaganda of the S.A.B.C.

iv) General Review of Collaboration

All Government Departments should be instructed to undertake a review of their co-operation with the South African Government in order to eliminate anything which amounts to collaboration with apartheid. The following are some of the points which call for special attention:-

- a) British Council scholarships should not be awarded through the agency of the South African Government
  - b) no government grants or facilities should be available to any sporting or cultural organisations which can be directly or indirectly used for the purposes of visits to or from South Africa
  - c) Government policy should be designed to discourage all contact by British organisations with South African apartheid institutions
  - d) all official receptions held by Her Majesty's Government representatives abroad (including South Africa) should be completely non-racial.
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