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END APARTHEID: A PROGRAMME FOR SANCTIONS

Contents

Preface

Regime in Crisis, Region at War

Britain's Responsibility

Part One: Campaigning for Sanctions: Priorities and Imperatives

Part Two: Campaigning for Sanctions in Different Sectors of the Community



Preface

On 27 June 1987, nearly 500 delegates from many parts of Britain and from a wide range of organisations came together in the Westminster Central Hall, London, to take part in the Anti-Apartheid Movement's NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR SANCTIONS. In a spirit of active solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia fighting for their freedom, and with the peoples of the Front Line States, the delegates charted an alternative path to Mrs Thatcher's policy of alliance with apartheid, in the form of a '**Programme of Action for Sanctions'**.

This pamphlet contains that Programme. Two themes run throughout its range of policy proposals and action issues. One relates to the actions that government should take. Many of them are actions already taken by numerous other governments, but for the time being they remain blocked by the stubborn hostility of the Thatcher government to sanctions. The other relates to 'People's Sanctions' — the many and varied actions that people can take in their own walks of life to break the links that bind Britain in to its shameful role of ally of apartheid. Both themes are important, and they complement each other. Pursued with vigour, imagination and determination, they can transform Britain from an ally of apartheid into a friend of freedom.

The '**Programme of Action for Sanctions**' is *not* a comprehensive manual for solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. It does not address, for example, such issues as the need for the British government to avoid recognising in any way the puppet administration installed by Pretoria in Namibia, and to deal in good faith with the liberation movements in Namibia (SWAPO) and South Africa (the ANC) as the authentic representatives of their peoples. It does not address the development of solidarity relations between, for example, the trade union movement in this country and the fast growing trade unions in South Africa and Namibia — an increasingly important area of solidarity work, in which the guidance of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), is indispensable.

Nor does the document touch the equally important area of action against repression in South Africa and Namibia, to secure the release of all detainees and political prisoners and an end to political executions. These issues are no less worthy of urgent attention than the others referred to. But the fact remains that in Britain, with its long-established and extensive relations with South Africa, the issue of sanctions is of fundamental importance. In Britain, to fight apartheid effectively means to fight for sanctions. This '**Programme of Action for Sanctions'** is offered as a new resource in this vital struggle.

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, invading schools and even churches, and dealing out beatings and death indiscriminately. Gaols are filled with thousands of detainees, many of them children. Torture and terror are everywhere. The renewed State of Emergency has enlarged the scope of state violence, whilst the increasing use of vigilantes has brought it into the black communities in a dangerous new form.

In Namibia, the Pretoria regime is taking advantage of the lack of international action for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 to attempt to promote the Multi-Party Conference as the de facto administration, in preparation for a Namibian 'UDI', at the same time resorting to more brutal repression in response to the growth of the liberation movement and the armed struggle.

In South Africa, the results of the whites-only elections on 6 May 1987 showed that it is vain to hope for fundamental change, or even major reforms, from within the racist white minority. The Botha regime did not scruple to tighten the media bans, launch raids into the Front Line states, and increase repression at home in order to secure its survival and improve its electoral prospects among the racist white minority. It then launched into a vicious onslaught on the trade union movement and proceeded with the implementation of its Bantustan policy. Even the early 1980s cosmetic reform programme has been discarded.

The continuted destabilisation of independent states in Southern Africa through invasion, the deployment of surrogate forces, and diverse forms of economic pressure, whilst it has failed to reduce them to Bantustan status, continues to impose intolerable burdens on their peoples. It causes widespread loss of life and massive displacement of rural peoples, and is setting back development by decades.

In short, events of the past year fully bear out the warning of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group that if the South African government came to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from effective economic measures against it:

"the process of change in South Africa is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence would be accelerated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions."

Britain's Responsibility

No government through its actions has done more to encourage Pretoria to reach that conclusion than the British government. It is Britain that has impaired unity of action by the Commonwealth; it is Britain that retards the development of joint European Community action against apartheid; and it is Britain that, through the abuse of its veto power as a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council, has repeatedly protected South Africa from mandatory UN sanctions.

A change of British policy towards South Africa will have a big and direct impact on the situation in Southern Africa, and enhance considerably the prospects of achieving comprehensive mandatory sanctions through the United Nations.

For the British government to commit itself to confronting the apartheid system by striving for its complete isolation would be a grave blow to the Botha regime, an act of real solidarity with those fighting it in South Africa and Namibia, and a welcome assertion of moral leadership both within the Commonwealth and the European Community, as well as in the United Nations itself.

The following programme of action is aimed at achieving such a result. It represents a clear, practical alternative to the shameful policies of recent years that have made Britain an ally of apartheid. And it provides the basis for mobilising the people of Britain to take action against apartheid.



End Britain's shameful alliance with apartheid. Sanctions now!

Isolate Apartheid South Africa

The priority aim is to secure 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. Therefore:

The British government should:

Initiate and support the adoption by the UN Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter;

Pending the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the UN Security Council, introduce legislation to enforce the following:

- the UN arms embargo
- a total embargo on the supply, marketing and delivery of all oil and petroleum products to South Africa and Namibia, and
- a ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa

Introduce the following specific measures, including where necessary the creation of appropriate statutory and other instruments:

- a ban on all air links with South Africa and Namibia;
- a comprehensive ban on all agricultural imports from South Africa and Namibia;
- a ban on all new bank loans, credit facilities and correspondent banking relations together with a ban on new investment and on the reinvestment of profits in South Africa and Namibia;
- a ban on the import of coal, uranium, iron and steel from South Africa and Namibia;
- an end to all government procurement from South Africa and Namibia and the termination of assistance in any form for trade with these countries, including Export Credit Guarantees;
- a ban on the import of South African gold bullion, bars and coins.

At the same time the British government shall actively seek to ensure that all these measures are also applied collectively by the members of the European Community. Make mandatory, including if necessary by legislation, and applicable to Namibia as well as to South Africa, the existing voluntary measures including the Gleneagles sports agreement, the measures affecting scientific and cultural relations with South Africa and the promotion of tourism to South Africa, and shall strengthen them by the creation of machinery for their monitoring and enforcement;

Cancel the no-visa agreement currently operating, and introduce immediate and strict controls on the activities of such South African government personnel as may be present from time to time in the United Kingdom.

We appeal to the British people to:

Strive to secure the adoption of these measures by the British government, by campaigning activity aimed at raising public awareness, generating wider support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, and exposing both the British government's failure to implement existing sanctions measures effectively, and its refusal to implement the sanctions measures agreed by other members of the Commonwealth.



Sanctions and Namibia

The British government should:

- declare its acceptance of the 1966 UN General Assembly decision terminating South Africa's mandate in respect of the territory of Namibia, and of the 1971 Advisory Opinion on Namibia of the International Court of Justice which would require Britain to cease to have any dealings with South Africa which would imply recognition of its illegal administration of Namibia.
- introduce legislation to give effect in domestic law to UN Decree Number One for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.
- initiate in the UN Security Council proceedings under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to impose mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa aimed at securing its agreement to the immediate implementation of UN Resolution 435 of September 1978.
- condemn and oppose any attempt by the US to link Namibian independence to the presence of Cuban forces in Angola.
- ensure that all measures applied against South Africa also extend to and include Namibia.

We appeal to the British people to:

- campaign to secure government action along the lines indicated,
- to expose the role of British companies in exploiting the human and material resources of Namibia and their complicity in South Africa's illegal administration,
- to press for the closure of any offices and agencies of the puppet administration located in Britain.



SWAPO calls for sanctions, Windhoek, 1986

Support the Front Line States

Acknowledging that there can be no peace, stability, or lasting development in Southern Africa whilst apartheid lasts, and that to be fully effective a programme of comprehensive mandatory sanctions must be accompanied by aid to the Front Line States and the SADCC,

The British government should:

adopt an emergency programme of bilateral and multilateral aid to the Front Line States to assist them to survive South African aggression, destabilisation and counter-sanctions, such aid being intended not as a substitute for the sanctions measures outlined above, but as a vital complement to a programme of effective sanctions.

contribute to the Non-Aligned Movement's AFRICA Fund in recognition of its unique role as a symbol and practical means of support for the peoples suffering from the apartheid regime's depredations throughout Southern Africa.

make aid to the Southern African Development Coordination Conference a high priority in recognition of SADCC's important long-term role in promoting the development of the region, strengthening cooperation between its member states, and reducing their dependence on South Africa.

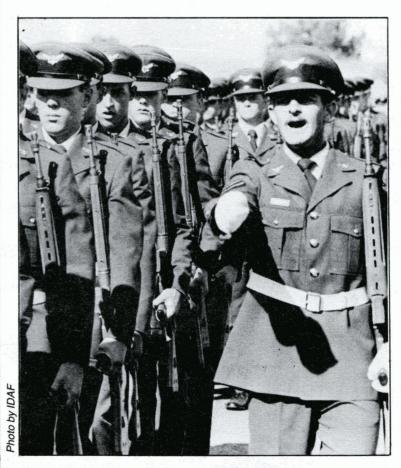
vigorously condemn and oppose South Africa's use of the territory of Namibia as a base for launching attacks on the People's Republic of Angola, along with South African and US support for the terroristic activities of the UNITA puppet forces. Support for Angola, including assistance for the reopening of the Benguela railway line, should not be linked to political demands constituting interference in Angola's internal affairs and failure to respect its sovereignty and independence.

pledge that British military and economic assistance to Mozambique, Zimbabwe or any other Front Line State should be based upon the recipient's needs and not made conditional on acceptance by the country concerned of prior political conditions such as for example the terms laid down by the International Monetary Fund.

encourage British companies and institutions to develop trading and other relations with the independent countries of the region as an alternative to economic links with apartheid South Africa.

We appeal to the people of Britain to:

 campaign for government action along the lines indicated above;
take action to mobilise moral and material support for the Front Line and neighbouring states in their resistance to South African aggression and destabilisation, and in their efforts to promote development and the well-being of their peoples.



South African Airforce conscripts. The regime's air supremacy, already challenged in its attacks into Angola, could be seriously eroded if the arms embargo were properly enforced.

End Military & Nuclear Collaboration

The British government should:

support action in the UN Security Council to strengthen the monitoring and enforcement, and widen the scope, of the UN arms embargo established by UN Security Council Resolution 418 of 1977.

enact special legislation giving full force and effect to the arms embargo, preventing both the import (including for purposes of re-export) of arms and military components from South Africa and the supply to South Africa of all forms of armaments, components, technology and other items capable of enhancing South Africa's military capacity. In particular, the present policy of allowing the export of 'dual purpose' (military/civilian) equipment to South Africa such as radar and computers should be terminated.

introduce measures to prevent South African-based subsidiaries or associates of British companies from supplying arms or related material to the South African military or police or their procurement agencies.

ban the recruitment of mercenaries by South Africa and its agents.

terminate all security and intelligence cooperation with South Africa, including in relation to the personnel and activities of the liberation movements, and to the exchange of naval intelligence data.

prohibit the recruitment of nuclear scientists and engineers for South Africa's naval programme, and end all training, exchanges of personnel and other related forms of collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field, both at government level and in the private sector.

stop imports of uranium from Namibia and South Africa, and prohibit the delivery of any enriched uranium to South Africa. Companies involved in the uranium industry in Namibia and South Africa, especially Rio Tinto Zinc, should be required to withdraw.

We appeal to the people of Britain to:

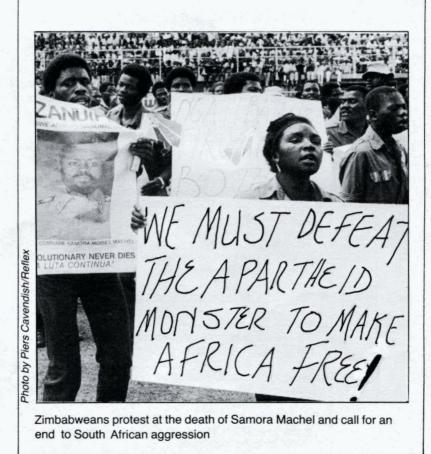
campaign to expose companies involved in breaches of the arms embargo, and take action wherever possible to frustrate any activity liable to benefit South Africa's mlitary/nuclear capability.

denounce the continued existence of the apartheid regime as a threat to international peace and security, and reject the enormous

PRIORITIES AND IMPERATIVES

dangers of nuclear collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

defend the right of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and of the Front Line States to defend themselves against the attacks made on them by the armed forces of the Pretoria regime and its surrogate forces.



End Economic Collaboration

Whilst pressing for government action along the lines indicated in the foregoing sections, the British people are faced with the challenge and opportunity of taking joint action to reduce and eliminate the numerous economic links that tie Britain to the apartheid economy. More and more individuals and institutions are committed to boycotting products of South African and Namibian origin. This process needs to be generalised and matched by similarly targetted and sustained campaigns against all exports to South Africa and Namibia, especially in relation to products and technology of strategic significance to the apartheid regime and economy. Therefore:

We appeal to the British people to:

Boycott South African and Namibian imports

- persuade all retail distributors, and especially the major chains that dominate the market, to stop handling the produce of apartheid
- encourage all bulk buyers to boycott the produce of apartheid
- support all employees who take action to implement the boycott
- intensify joint action between different sectors of the community in order to expose, reduce and stop the import from South Africa or Namibia of:
 - coal
 - * fresh fruit, vegetables, dried fruit, wines and spirits
 - * wool, woollen products, textiles, furs and pelts
 - diamonds and precious/semi-precious stones
 - * minerals, metals and ores

South African or allied propaganda about the alleged dependence of Britain on any of these imports shall be countered, including by disseminating information about alternative sources of supply.

End trade with apartheid

■ All action to terminate commercial relations with South Africa and Namibia until apartheid is dismantled shall be encouraged and promoted. Organisations, groups, institutions and individuals taking action to achieve this end shall be supported and publicised.

- Specific campaigns shall be mounted to halt the sale to Sout Africa of:
 - computers, software and other elements of information technology
 - vehicles, parts and assembly kits

All trade promotional activity whether by government or the private sector should be opposed.

Stop fuelling apartheid

■ Action to halt the delivery of oil and other petroleum products to South Africa and Namibia represents a key priority of campaigning for sanctions in Britain and internationally. British oil companies, and in particular Shell and BP, dominate the oil industry in South Africa and Namibia, whilst British shipping companies have been identified as being directly involved in the delivery of oil to South Africa. Public campaigns should be intensified in order to secure British government legislation to enforce the oil embargo and to expose the role of British companies.

■ The role of Shell in particular shall be highlighted and exposed, and pressure on Shell to withdraw completely from South Africa and Namibia shall be intensified through shareholder action, disinvestment, and public protest including the boycott by individuals and institutions of Shell products and Shell sponsorship.

End all banking and financial links with apartheid

Following the historic success of the Boycott Barclays campaign in securing the withdrawal of the British bank most heavily involved in South Africa and Namibia, campaigns shall be mounted to end all banking links with South Africa and Namibia, and in particular to:

secure firm undertakings from all banks that they will give no new loans or credits either to the state or private sector in South Africa and Namibia;

 induce those banks with outstanding loans to South Africa to declare South Africa in default and to seize South African assets abroad;

end all correspondent bank relations, trade-related credits with companies selling to South Africa or Namibia, and other financial relations with South Africa and Namibia. abroad;

end all correspondent bank relations, trade-related credits with companies selling to South Africa or Namibia, and other financial relations with South Africa and Namibia.

End investment in apartheid

British investment is the cornerstone of the apartheid economy and every effort is required to expose the role of British investment in South Africa and Namibia, to halt all new investment and loans, and to secure the withdrawal of all British companies.

■ A major objective is to secure government action to prohibit all new investment in South Africa and Namibia, both direct and indirect, and including the reinvestment in South Africa of the profits made by British companies and their subsidiaries and associates.

■ Disinvestment campaigns should be intensified to secure the withdrawal of all British companies from South Africa and Namibia. Priority shall be given in campaigning to those companies which play a role of strategic importance in the apartheid system, and whose withdrawal will have the most political impact.

■ Targetted campaigns against British companies playing a key role in the apartheid military-industrial complex such as Racal, Shell, BP, RTZ, Plessey, GEC, ICL, ICI, Consolidated Goldfields etc. should be intensified with the aim of exposing the role which such companies are playing and bringing about their withdrawal.

End travel, tourism and advertising links with apartheid

Campaigns shall be intensified to:

secure the closure of South African Airways offices and the refusal of landing rights to S.A.A.;

stop all operations by shipping companies and by national and commercial airlines relating to South Africa and Namibia;

halt use by the publishing and broadcasting media of all advertising relating to

- * travel to or tourist activity in South Africa and Namibia
- propaganda on behalf of the South African state or its agencies including the Bantustans;
- recruitment of personnel by South African companies or promotion of their image or their sales of goods or services;

stop tourist agencies promoting tourism to South Africa and Namibia.

Support the Cultural & Other Boycotts

End all cultural and academic links with apartheid

In conformity with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly,

■ Cultural workers in the performing and visual arts and in the entertainment industry shall be encouraged to refuse to visit South Africa and Namibia, or to allow their works to be performed or exhibited in South Africa and Namibia.

Academics shall be encouraged to decline to visit South Africa and Namibia for purposes of taking part in academic activities, or take up employment there.

Authors, painters, sculptors and film-makers shall be encouraged to refuse to allow their works to be exhibited or sold in South Africa and Namibia, and their stand in support of the boycott shall be publicised.

■ Protests shall be organised against and performing/working facilities denied to cultural groups and performers, and academics, from South Africa and Namibia, seeking to perform or otherwise pursue their professional interests abroad in breach of the cultural boycott.

■ Cooperation shall be promoted with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in compiling and publicising the register of those who collaborate with South Africa in the cultural field.

* In the light of recent developments the practical operation of the cultural boycott is being reviewed, and as part of this process the AAM is involved in an on-going process of consultation with all concerned. This also entails working out ways of assisting genuine anti-apartheid forces inside South Africa.



ARTISTS AGAINST APARTHEID

No sporting links with apartheid

Government should take steps to enforce the sports boycott, including the cancellation of visas to South African sportsmen and women. In addition, campaigns should be organised to:

secure the expulsion of South Africa from the remaining international sporting federations in which it still has membership.

mobilise opposition to all sporting tours to and from South Africa and Namibia;

encourage individual sportsmen and women to refrain from participating in 'pirate' tours and other sporting events in South Africa and Namibia, and give wide publicity to those who support the boycott;

■ support effective measures against individual sporting organisations which defy the international boycott, and publicise the actions of sporting bodies, local authorities and others taking such measures;

 oppose publicity and financial support for sporting events staged in South Africa and Namibia;

maintain and publicise the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa published by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

Sever diplomatic relations

Campaigns should be intensified to mobilise support for United Nations resolutions seeking the diplomatic isolation of South Africa, including

exposure of the abuse by South Africa of its diplomatic missions involving illegal and improper activities;

protests outside South African missions;

the expulsion of South Africa from international governmental organisations;

the closure of South Africa's diplomatic, consular and trade missions and other forms of representation, including those of the so-called independent Bantustans, and the expulsion of their personnel. The people of Britain have the responsibility through individual and collective action to act themselves to isolate apartheid South Africa as well as to compel a fundamental change in British policy. In the campaign to secure effective sanctions against South Africa, particular sectors of the community have special tasks and responsibilities, examples of which are set out as follows:

Trade Unions

The trade union movement represents the cutting edge of the campaign for sanctions against apartheid South Africa. It is uniquely placed to play a number of key roles. Priorities include:

 educational campaigns amongst the membership to win understanding of and support for the case against sanctions;

■ mobilisation of trade unionists employed by companies with subsidiaries or associates in South Africa or Namibia to press for the withdrawal of such companies and a severance of all links with the apartheid economy;

■ use of trade union research facilities to collect information on collaboration with apartheid South Africa, and related matters, to assist the solidarity movement;

exposure of any collaboration between their employers and apartheid South Africa and action to terminate it;

participation in consumer boycott campaigns including action to exclude South African and Namibian products from works canteens and cafeterias;

 refusal to work on any military or nuclear project for South Africa or Namibia;

 ensuring that trade union funds, pension funds etc are not invested in companies with subsidaries or associates in South Africa or Namibia;
take steps to discourage their members from emigrating to South

Africa or Namibia, including the withdrawal of membership cards from members who do emigrate in breach of union policy.

Corporations and Employers

Corporations and employers should:

 terminate any commercial dealing with South Africa or Namibia;
withdraw from any holdings in South Africa and Namibia including subsidiaries and associates:

persuade employers organisations to work for a policy of sanctions against South Africa;

implement the ILO Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

Political Parties

All political parties which support an effective policy of sanctions have a number of specific responsibilities. These include:

■ to contest and expose the current anti-sanctions policy of the British government;

 to educate their members and supporters and mobilise them into action to isolate apartheid South Africa;

■ to ensure that the case for sanctions is pursued actively and effectively in all elected bodies in which they are represented, including local government, parliament and the European Parliament.

Local Authorities

Local authorities should:

adopt the Local Authority Declaration on South Africa, cooperate with the National Steering Committee (NSC) on Local Authority Action against Apartheid, and support the NSC's Unit;

refrain from purchasing South African and Namibian goods;

 withdraw investments held in companies with interests in South Africa or Namibia;

■ withhold the use of recreational facilities or other support from any sporting or cultural event with South African or Namibian participation that is in breach of the sports or cultural boycott or involves participation of any person who appears on the Registers of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid;

■ sever all official relations with South Africa, discourage economic links with South Africa and Namibia, and promote economic relations with the SADCC nations;

wherever possible, avoid purchasing Shell products until such time as that company withdraws completely from South Africa and Namibia.

Youth and Student Organisations

Youth and student organisations should:

 campaign to break all ties between their educational institutions and apartheid South Africa and Namibia, including disinvestment from companies with subsidiaries or associates in these countries;
campaign to maintain and strengthen the sports, academic and cultural boycotts.

Women's Organisations

Women's organisations should:

highlight the exploitation of the oppressed women of South Africa and Namibia, and the role of women in the struggle against apartheid and colonialism, in order to win support for and understanding amongst women of the case for sanctions;

■ intensify efforts to secure the participation of women in the full range of campaigns for sanctions, as well as in specific campaigns in which women can play a special role such as campaigns against the importation from South Africa or Namibia of textiles, furs, shoes for women.

Black and Ethnic Minority Organisations

Black and ethnic minority organisations, with their own experience of racism and discrimination, have a special role to play in the campaign for sanctions and are in a position to be in the forefront of it, as for example is the case as regards the promotion of apartheid-free zones and other community-based campaigns. Amongst the priorities are:

■ consolidating existing and establishing new apartheid-free zones, ensuring that all distributors serving such communities fully support and observe the boycott of goods of South African and Namibian origin, and seek sources of supply from the SADCC countries;

maintaining and intensifying the sports and cultural boycotts and publicising the example of black sportsmen and women and performers who make a public commitment to these boycotts;

■ promoting support for and participation in all other sanctions campaigns, including the Shell boycott, and the development of autonomous activity within the black community aimed at isolating apartheid South Africa and widening the involvement of members of the community in the movement for sanctions.

Every effort should be made to ensure that campaigning material on sanctions is available in all ethnic minority languages.

Religious Organisations

Religious organisations have a special role to play not only because of the inhuman and immoral character of the apartheid system but also because of the key role being played by the religious communities in South Africa and Namibia. Amongst the priorities are to:

secure a commitment to comprehensive mandatory sanctions by all Christian and other religious bodies in Britain;

 ensure that all religious institutions and organisations disinvest from any company with a subsidiary or associate in South Africa or Namibia;
educate and mobilise adherents of all religions to support the case for sanctions and to participate in campaigns such as the consumer and Shell boycotts.

Professional Organisations

The professional organisations of persons involved in education, the law, health, architecture, engineering etc should:

 ensure that all links with corresponding organisations in South Africa and Namibia are severed, including exchange visits etc, and that the participation of such South African or Namibian professional bodies in international organisations and events is terminated;
support and implement the boycott of goods of South African and

Namibian origin both in their own activities and in their places of work; disinvest from all British companies with subsidiaries and associates in South Africa or Namibia, and support the Shell boycott; support and implement the sports, academic and cultural boycotts.

Peace Organisations

Peace organisations should in particular:

highlight the threat apartheid South Africa poses to international peace and security;

 campaign against South Africa's nuclear plans and capability and for the enforcement and strengthening of the arms embargo;
support the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

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