

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT  
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### INTRODUCTION

The Anti-Apartheid Movement deeply regrets the decision to invite the South African Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, to visit Britain during his tour of Western Europe. He is reported to have said that he is trying "to find a place for South Africa in the international community of nations". We do not believe that South Africa can be accepted into the international community until the system of apartheid has been eliminated. We are particularly concerned about the implications of the visit and the effect it may have on the future of British policy towards Southern Africa.

### NAMIBIA

Britain has voted for a series of Security Council Resolutions on Namibia, in particular 385 (1976), 35 (1978), and 539 (1983). In supporting these resolutions Britain has accepted a special responsibility for the situation in Namibia. Furthermore, the communique of the Commonwealth Heads of Government New Delhi summit stated:

"In support of Security Council Resolution 539 (1983), Heads of Government urged members of the Contact Group to exercise their influence to secure the speedy and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). If South Africa continues to obstruct the implementation of Resolution 435 the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations will have to be considered."

In the period since November 1983, although there have been important developments in the region, South Africa has continued to obstruct the implementation of Resolution 435. There is widespread concern that South Africa may seek to impose its own settlement on the people of Namibia. The British Government needs to reaffirm explicitly that it supports the "speedy and unconditional implementation of SCR 435" and moreover, that it is prepared to apply effective pressure on South Africa to secure its implementation.

### THE ARMS EMBARGO

Britain is obliged, under international law, to implement the UN Mandatory Arms Embargo against South Africa. Indeed, the British Government has gone further. At the New Delhi Commonwealth summit:

"Heads of Government called for a stricter enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo so as to ensure that there are no loopholes in the implementation of Security Council Resolution 418 of 1977"

We have been particularly concerned that the UK has not strictly enforced this embargo and that export licences have been granted for items of strategic use to South Africa. In this context we are particularly concerned about reports that British Aerospace and South Africa are discussing the possible delivery of Coastguard aircraft as a replacement for the South African Air Force Shackleton fleet. We would welcome an assurance that export licences will not be granted for any replacement aircraft for the Shackleton fleet, and that the Government will ensure that the arms embargo is strengthened and strictly implemented.

### GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT

A major breach of the Gleneagles Agreement is occurring at this time, with the Rugby Football Union's English rugby tour of South Africa. We regret that the Prime Minister felt unable to follow her earlier example when she intervened personally last summer to oppose the proposed MCC tour of South Africa. It is regrettable that the meeting between the British and South African Prime Ministers which coincides with the first Test Match, will clearly give rise to widespread scepticism with regard to the seriousness of the British Government's commitment to the Gleneagles Agreement.

#### SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

The South African regime openly proclaims that its recent "accords and agreements" with some African states are a direct result of its military aggression. It is no basis for peace.

To support this process is both short-sighted and dangerous because it will only encourage those elements in South Africa which are determined to impose a "Pax Pretoria" over the entire region. Britain and the Western countries should restrain South Africa in its aggressive role and therefore support those African States which are resisting powerful pressure to succumb to it.

#### ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID

We are particularly concerned about the attitude of the British Government towards developments within South Africa itself. Certain recent statements by Government Ministers have caused us anxiety since they convey the impression that the position adopted at the Commonwealth summit in New Delhi in November 1983, is no longer held. The Commonwealth communique stated:

"Heads of Government were of the view that only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in Southern Africa."

We would welcome an assurance that the British Government policy remains unchanged and that it is committed to the eradication of apartheid and the adoption of "universal adult suffrage" for a "united and non-fragmented South Africa". We totally reject the so-called constitutional reforms being introduced by the South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha. They are designed to strengthen and entrench both the system of apartheid and the policy of bantustanisation.

The African majority are excluded from the political process and are being denied citizenship of the land of their birth. We are aware of widespread opposition to these proposals amongst the Indian and Coloured communities and we believe it is significant that referenda were not held amongst these communities, but only among the whites.

#### CONCLUSION

The visit by the South African Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, to Britain on June 2nd will be the first such visit to Britain since South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth in 1961. Prior to 1961 Britain enjoyed the most cordial relations with South Africa and it was during this period that South Africa's unique system of racial tyranny was being imposed on the people of South Africa. Britain has taken a few important measures - though limited - to put pressure on South Africa. We want Britain to strengthen this aspect of its policy and work towards a programme of sanctions, as a peaceful instrument of change in order to prevent an impending racial catastrophe.

The Arusha meeting of the Heads of State and Governments of the Front Line States and the Presidents of SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa, on 29th April 1984, provides the basis for a peaceful solution to the problem of apartheid:

"The Leaders present again reiterated their strong preference for apartheid to be brought to an end by peaceful means. This can be achieved only through a process agreed upon in free discussions between the present South African regime and genuine representatives of the people of South Africa who are unrepresented in the present government structure of that country. A prerequisite for any such discussions would be the unconditional release from prison, detention, house arrest or 'banning' of Nelson Mandela and all other political leaders. Difficult as this step may be in the eyes of the present South African Government, there is no way to peace in Southern Africa except through discussions between the South African Government and the African people of South Africa."

The Botha regime has so far taken no steps in this direction and there is no indication that it will voluntarily do so in the future. This is why international action against apartheid should be stepped up: the present tour of P.W. Botha is intended to rehabilitate the apartheid system rather than destroy it.