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ISOLATION

To boycott or not to boycott? As the arguments continue to rage over the moral standpoint of Paul Simon's 'Graceland' **STUART COSGROVE** puts the case for the complete isolation of South Africa — culturally and economically, white and black. On the facing page **DONALD McRAE** and **LEN BROWN** argue against a complete cultural boycott.

ROTTEN FRUIT OF APARTHEID?

THEY ARE 75 years old. They are committed to a life of harassment, imprisonment, institutionalised state violence and possible death in the historical struggle to destroy apartheid in a country that is rightfully their own. As members of the African National Congress (ANC) they face the daily threat of arrest and physical brutality, and in return, they have asked us to stop eating Del Monte Sliced Peaches (In Light Syrup). That's the bottom line. Members of the ANC have pitted themselves against one of the most entrenched and inhuman military powers in the world, and to help them out, they have asked white liberals in Britain to stop eating Libby's Pear Halves (No Sugar Added). It's no big deal, a modest request from the bravest and most morally defensible organization of the century.

As the South African economy lurches further into depression, the ANC has not altered its policy, it is still convinced that a total economic and cultural boycott, irrespective of the hardship that blacks might suffer, is a fundamental strategy in the campaign to end apartheid. There can be no disputing their right to that policy. With the support of 70 per cent of the suppressed blacks in South Africa, they are the undisputed voice of the anti-apartheid movement. Facts: In 1960, 67 unarmed civilians died at Sharpeville; Nelson Mandela has spent most of his adult life in jail; Steve Biko died in police custody; 250,000 blacks in Sebokong were daubed with red paint by the security forces as part of the state's attempt to contain township protest; Soweto's calendar revolves round funerals. The ANC have paid the highest possible price for their right to determine policy, and all they want us to do is stop buying John West's Pineapple Rings (In Heavy Syrup).

Anyone living in Britain who takes issue with the policy of a total boycott — including economic, cultural and sporting sanctions — surrenders their right to be taken seriously as opponents of apartheid simply because the ANC are the primary force opposing the Botha regime. The idea that South Africa will respond to 'critical engagement', and will clean up its act by persuasion, has been shown up as a ludicrous dream. We are dealing with the great Boers of today, and when the minutiae of visiting theatre companies and African compilation albums is blown away, a striking reality rears its head. If South Africa is totally isolated, it will not be able to operate in the international communities of culture and capitalism, and apartheid will be forced to surrender. Therein lies the crux of the cultural boycott. It is simply the cultural arm of an overall policy of isolation that involves economic sanctions, the breaking of diplomatic links and the removal of financial co-operation.

In many ways, the cultural boycott is a simple thing, it means severing all cultural, musical, theatrical and cinematic links with South Africa irrespective of the content and intention of the material in question. It's a simple thing. But strangely Rod Stewart, Kim Wilde and Queen feel that performing in Bophuthatswana and accepting a hefty Sun City cheque, is a greater thrill than supporting the boycott. And strangely, Paul Simon — a songwriter whose career has been built on bridging troubled waters — should feel he has the moral privilege to ignore the wishes of the ANC and establish cultural and economic links with South Africa, by recording part of his 'Graceland' album there.

The act of going to South Africa and performing either on stage or in the studio is unjustifiable. There can be no ideological nor musical contention that allows us to ridicule Queen and justify Paul Simon.

'Graceland' gets to the broken heart of the boycott issue. It is possibly the most arrogant record made this decade because it assumes that white, liberal-humanism knows better than the ANC. Irrespective of its musical merits, 'Graceland' is a scab album, a Del Monte peach of a record, that should never have been made. It used South African musicians. They were well paid. And if Paul Simon had not employed them they would have been denied a chance to earn money, so to would the entire servicing staff of Sun City if the boycott closed the door to international performance there. The ANC has admitted that financial suffering is a small and necessary price to pay for ultimate victory. They must decide.

Paul Simon could have used musicians who are political exiles and paid them well and he'd never have had to set foot in South Africa. And the Botha government wouldn't have been able to exploit 'Graceland' for their own ends. Posters for the album are visible in record shops in Durban and Johannesburg, and if rumours are true, on the flimsy walls of the townships. Paul Simon's face and the public image of a major pop hit that was 'Born In The RSA' have acted on behalf of the apartheid state. Every poster and every copy sold in South Africa helps to liberalise the image of the government, reminding onlookers that the Botha regime has permitted multi-racial pop music. 'Graceland' colludes in the deception that things are changing, when reality proves that apartheid is very much in tact, and in doing so it offers no significant critique of apartheid. Nor does it explain its behaviour to black workers, the people who work in near slave conditions in the paper-mills that made the poster and the men who are separated from their families and working under unjustifiable conditions in the oil-refineries to produce the oil by-products that made the



Paul Simon — at the centre of the controversy

vinyl. Nor does it explain itself to the cleaners who worked in the hotel Paul Simon stayed in.

Every record made in South Africa — whether it's 'Graceland' or a Rough Trade compilation of Township music — is a product, a meeting of culture and industry, and the idea that music can be separated from the fiscal and industrial processes of South Africa is a dangerous romance. If a record is made, manufactured or permitted by South Africa, we are under a moral mandate to boycott it, unless the ANC give dispensation or decide to alter a policy that has served them well for decades. The events of the last ten years, from the Soweto uprisings to the passage of the new security legislation, have shown that the ANC has more urgent and important business to attend to than inspecting LPs and theatre companies in order to establish their credentials. It is impossible to apply the boycott selectively. No matter how laudable a project might seem, and sadly that sometimes means strong anti-apartheid statements the end objectives is the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

Sanctions are essential if the ANC is to win the struggle for majority rule, but no one is naive enough to think sanctions are easily achieved. The international structure of capitalism, with its tangled forest of holding companies and clearing houses, makes boycotting a confused and

contradictory business. The Communards are currently negotiating with London Records to prevent their records being sold in South Africa, but the label is part of the multi-national Polygram empire, and it would be almost impossible to verify if the group's wishes are likely to be honoured. Many other groups including Elvis Costello, The Style Council, Spandau Ballet and The Mighty Lemon Drops have already 'withdrawn' from the South African market and others, predictably, haven't bothered. For

ANTI-APARTHEID boycotts do work. If the inspiring experience of 11 Dublin shopworkers is anything to go by. The Irish Government has banned the import of all South African fruit and vegetables as a direct result of the two-and-a-half-year-long strike by workers at Dunnes Stores. Their refusal to handle produce from Botha-land won public support and international acclaim, and forced the Irish Government to adopt at least partial sanctions.

The strike at Dunnes — Ireland's answer to Marks & Spencer — began in July 1984 when one employee, Mary Manning, refused to check out two Outspan grapefruits. She was

example, Paul Simon's label WEA has an inclusion clause which permits its artists to individually withdraw from the South African market. Has Paul Simon? It seems not. His records are on open sale and either he doesn't care or he has not applied enough pressure on his label. The relevance becomes immediate when you think where the taxes from record sales go: to the government and then possibly to the military.

Individuals have applied personal sanctions by refusing to buy South African produce and some like the Dunnes Shop workers in Dublin (see below) have made their work-place the site of anti-apartheid activity, which brings us to the NME.

The paper you are holding in your hand is sold in South Africa. The South African authorities regularly censor the NME either in whole or in part, but the main point is the very fact that it is sold there. Despite brickwall disagreements with the paper's owners, IPC, and the parent company Reed International, there is every likelihood that NME will continue to be exported to South Africa. As an advocate of the total boycott, this leaves me in a massive contradiction, berating Paul Simon whilst accepting a good wage from a company with South African links. I am not alone. The entire staff of British Leyland, ICI, Trafalgar House, ICL, GEC, Ferranti, Lonhro, BP and Shell are caught in the same contradiction. And you are too. In a country under the control of corporate capitalism, it is virtually impossible to be pristine clean. Major industrial organizations are probably more culpable than musicians, but that doesn't mean that musicians can opt out of their responsibilities. And sadly there are some levels of muckiness that are patently unacceptable: I was christened Paul, but you can call me AJ.

On December 2 1968, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 2396 which requested 'all states and organisations to suspend cultural, educational sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with other organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid'. Paul Simon somehow believed that his talent and sensitivity exist above and beyond the mere wishes of the UN. The week his album returned to Number One in the NME charts and the ANC were celebrating 75 years of political resistance to apartheid. Over the years they have tried every method of protest, from peaceful resistance to civil disobedience and ultimately armed struggle. In the process they have been incarcerated, maimed and killed. All they asked of us was to stop eating Del Monte Sliced peaches, and Paul Simon's appetite told them to go fuck.

STRIKE POWER

carrying out an official instruction from her union not to handle any South African goods. Management suspended her and many of her colleagues walked out in support.

The brave and principled stand by the strikers — 10 women and one man — has not ended in total success, however. When they returned to work earlier this month, soon after the ban had come into effect, they were told to sign new contracts committing them to handle goods from all countries. They refused, and are now suing Dunnes for constructive dismissal.

Dehlis Campbell

MANIFESTO!

FORWARD UNITED

WHILE SUPPORT of a complete cultural boycott is an ideal, in reality such a measure is impractical and could potentially hinder the struggle against apartheid.

If you are asked, as has been suggested, to reject all art forms "manufactured and permitted" under apartheid then you must stop listening to South African resistance music, stop consuming theatre and film and literature, even though these products may be critical of the South African regime. And, given the current news-blackout, surely the flow of information concerning events in South Africa will be even more restricted and the great British public will be allowed to forget the injustices of apartheid.

For example, three weeks ago in NME you were urged to watch Sharon Sopher's *Witness To Apartheid*, which was filmed in South Africa. If the cultural boycott is taken to a ridiculous extreme this programme would not have been shown on television.

Of course there is a distinction between political art (such as Percy Mtwe's *Bophal*) and that created by the likes of Ladysmith Black Mambazo (who are featured on Paul Simon's 'Graceland' LP) whose opposition to apartheid is expressed in spiritual rather than polemical terms. But Hugh Masekela — who has been in political exile for 27 years and was campaigning against apartheid long before it became a fashionable ideological bandwagon — emphasizes the common aspirations uniting these disparate types of artists. Masekela also has no qualms about sharing a stage with Paul Simon in April.

"There are a lot of zealous people who are not really in touch with South Africa. For example they stopped the Malopoets from performing here but the Malopoets are heroes in Soweto. As for Paul Simon's songs, although they may not be saying down with South Africa at least they're not supportive of apartheid. And I feel they praise the spirit of the oppressed South African people."

Masekela also affirms his support for the Africa National Congress: he recently shared a stage with ANC President, Oliver Tambo.

"I played with many fellow South African musicians at an event in Zimbabwe. Oliver Tambo attended and spoke in support of all South African artists, calling for us 'To go forward united'."

Precisely because they will lead South Africa into the post-apartheid state of Azania, the ANC have created an organisational structure which nurtures every facet of opposition to white minority rule.

Culture — whether in the form of song, dance or dramatic gesture — has been at the very root of resistance to racism. The ANC have, therefore, always chosen to encourage and emphasize the significance of indigenous South African art as a way of expressing dissent to apartheid.

This stress of culture's political pertinence continues with the ANC's support for a boycott of all South African-related art which does not make a tangible contribution towards the destruction of apartheid. But as M.D. Naidoo — the ANC's chief press officer — explains, the movement currently rejects the call for a "blanket" cultural boycott.

There is, after all, a cataclysmic difference between a box of Cape apples and the South African play *Bophal*...

As far as the ANC is concerned, does culture have a significant role to play in the continuing struggle against apartheid?

ANC: "Yes! In fact we are aware that with the intensification of the struggle against the apartheid regime at home there has been a sudden upsurge and blooming of cultural activity by our own people at all levels, throughout all parts of the country. Culture is an integral part of our struggle for liberation and expresses, in a highly emotive and inspiring way, the meaning of that struggle."

Is it therefore possible for an artist living inside South Africa to create work which subverts apartheid and which aligns itself totally with the ANC's political ideals?

ANC: "There are two things that I think I should say about this. First of all, the ANC's ideals, which are contained in The Freedom Charter, are today accepted by the overwhelming majority of people in South Africa. It would be fair to say that they represent the ideals of the democratically-minded people of South Africa."

"Secondly, the struggle against apartheid is carried on in two parts. One part is outside South Africa and the struggle is directed primarily towards depriving the apartheid regime of the kind of sustenance — political, moral, material, military, economic — which it derives from outside the country. And of course artists outside South Africa can play a part in that struggle. But the decisive area of struggle is within South Africa."

"The artists inside South Africa are a part of the people and they have a different kind of role to play compared to the exiled artists. And the artists within South Africa are fulfilling that role. They are!!!... they are amongst the foremost inspirers of the people in South Africa — let us not underestimate their role. The battle cannot be won if it is not won within South Africa."

There seems to be some confusion in the UK surrounding the distinction between a call to isolate "racist South Africa" and a desire to support the country's oppressed majority.

ANC: "I think it is necessary for me to emphasize — with all the weight

that I can bring to bear on the issue — that the ANC does not call for a boycott of South Africa. The ANC is determined that the apartheid regime must be boycotted and totally isolated. Side by side with that, the ANC wants to see the maximum possible support for and the building of relationships with that part of South Africa which represents the people who are fighting for the overthrow of the apartheid regime and for the subsequent replacement of the apartheid system with a system of non-racial democracy."

"Anything that makes a positive contribution towards the exposure and overthrow of apartheid, and which expresses support for a non-racial democracy must be supported. I hope that this distinction has been clarified because I've read very often the tendency to identify the apartheid system with South Africa as a whole and then move on mechanically to a position of boycotting automatically anything from South Africa."

So what is the ANC's exact perspective on the proposed "blanket" cultural boycott?

ANC: "It is clearly not enough for a production to be merely critical of the apartheid system without contributing anything further to its ultimate overthrow. But I'm not prepared to say that there must be a blanket boycott. I am saying that the boycott must be seen in terms of the changing political reality. By that, I'm saying that there might still be artistic productions where we may say 'No! In terms of present-day political reality, we do not want to see that production boycotted'. We dislike the idea of a blanket boycott. We would say that there must be a boycott of anything which does not clearly contribute to the struggle against apartheid."

"They didn't sell records in Europe when the Nazis were there which is why I won't sell my records in South Africa. It's exactly the same thing but people don't think that way because of the propaganda."

Jerry Dammers

Last year before the release of our last LP, 'Home and Abroad', we negotiated to have our records not sold in South Africa. Hopefully, this is still the case."

Paul Weller

"The solution of giving bands royalties to the ANC while the Record Company rakes in their share from South African sales is no solution at all. The boycott is indivisible and RCA will not be selling any Hot House records in South Africa."

Mark Pringle and Heather Small (Hot House)

THE ICICLE WORKS

Evangeline

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february

14	Colchester
15	Cambridge
16	Norwich
17	Nottingham
18	Bristol
19	Manchester
20	Leeds
21	Coventry
22	Sheffield
23	Blackburn
24	Cardiff

Essex University
Goldsmiths University of East London
Rock City
Blackletter International
Polytechnic
Polytechnic
Polytechnic
Polytechnic
Polytechnic
Polytechnic

20	Edinburgh
21	Aberdeen
22	Glasgow
23	Redcar
24	Huddersfield
25	Southampton
26	London
27	Edinburgh
28	Glasgow

Coasters
Venue
Strathclyde University
The Bowl
Polytechnic
University
Town and Country Club
Polytechnic
Polytechnic

produced by Ian Houldie **STICKERS AVAILABLE**



by Lerato Molodi

TIME TO SORT OUT THE BOYCOTT TANGLE

The issue of the cultural boycott against South African artists was brought sharply into focus for Botswana this week with the Government ruling that no South African artists are to appear at the Independence Music Festival.

So far, the messages Botswana has been giving about cultural and sporting boycotts have been confused. South African sportsmen are not welcome here. But Botswana participated in the Commonwealth Games, from which other black nations stayed aloof. South African pop stars who have given exploitative, poor-value shows have been warned to improve their behaviour - but still they experience no difficulty in coming here to work.

The Ministry of Home Affairs has been holding meetings with local musicians and organisers. Their conclusion so far is that the issue of the boycott is a complex one and must be seen in the context of an overall national cultural policy; they recommend no

action until investigations are complete. That was where things stood until last week's bombshell. And, irony of ironies, in that same week singing star Blondie played Botswana - the same Blondie who has lined himself up directly with the Pretoria regime by being the only black artist to record on that government's "Operation Optimism" propaganda disc.

So confusion still reigns: there's no consistent policy, just one apparently arbitrary ruling. It looks even more arbitrary if you examine the particular circumstances of the TAIC Fest. Who are the artists concerned? Not the rip-off popstars but veterans like the Jazz Pioneers, cultural artists like Amapondo and others. Many of those concerned have spent lifetimes fighting injustice and the exploitative apartheid music scene. All volunteered to come to Botswana to play for free, in solidarity with our Independence celebrations. That gift has now been thrown back in their faces.

In musical terms, the exclu-

sion particularly of the Jazz Pioneers weakens the programming badly, if the Festival is aiming to represent the broad span of Setswana musical culture. It means there will be no marabi music - and marabi, as the histories of the music remind us, grew out of the Batswana-dominated stokvel society of the townships. A whole segment of local musical culture has been excluded by a stroke of the pen. (Meanwhile, of course, RB will no doubt be thumping out the South African pop sounds incessantly during Independence week).

That's one side of the picture. The other is that there is much to be said for the consistent application of a cultural boycott policy. It would clearly hit the morale of the apartheid regime hard. Unlike economic sanctions, it would cost Botswana nothing - indeed, it might even have spin-offs in fostering local cultural development.

And, let's be honest, most South African music stars inside the country have paid little more than lip-service opposi-

tion to apartheid. Very few have used their fame and their music to join actively in the struggle. Instead, they live comfortably as paid lackeys of the white music business, singing of "luurve" in Americanised tones. Why, then, should they be exempt from the boycotts?

There's a bitter war of words raging in the British music press at the moment over precisely that issue. The subject is the recording Paul Simon has done in the US with SA artists including Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Simon sees this as helping oppressed black artists by providing them with work. But record producer Jerry Dammers (ex-Specials and with "Free Nelson Mandela" and "Free Namibia" records to his credit) argues that such efforts merely provide a sneaky back door round the cultural boycott and actually give indirect credibility to the existing South African cultural arrangements.

What seems to be happening at present is that artists who don't come out openly against apartheid win both ways. Their

commercialised soft pap gets played and promoted within the country, while abroad, witness Brenda Fassie in London recently - they are feted as representatives of an oppressed nation.

On the other hand, progressive artists are losing out. Like the Pioneers, they find gigs within South Africa limited, because commercially-oriented promoters can't force them to compromise their principles and play trash. And when they try to take their music elsewhere - for example to Botswana's TAIC Fest - they find the door slammed in their faces because they are South African. Heads, Botha wins; tails, the people lose.

There has to be a way out of this tangle. But it has to be a consistent way, derived from investigation and discussion and logic. What we don't need is the present uneasy combination of public-occasion face-saving and private enterprise laissez-faire.

No-one, except the get-rich-quick South African promoters and their collaborators here, is benefitting from the present confusion.

FROM: CULTURAL BOYCOTT; ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS & ALTERNATIVES.

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- a) The blacklist of foreign artists who have performed in SA has grown so large that even its publication would be counter-productive - it would simply show that the campaign is not making much headway. Is it not time to concentrate efforts in highlighting the numbers of those who have refused to go to perform in SA? In this respect it would appear more dynamic if we were to encourage such artists to come to the Southern African countries and consciously and demonstratively to bypass South Africa.
- b) Such a tactic would also help to meet the other crying need for cultural exchange by our people. The struggle would be able to continue in a more dramatic form and still afford cultural representatives of our people to visit neighbouring states and gain insight into other cultures.
- c) The next step follows logically. Our artists have also been sending ~~pleas~~ for international exposure. These requests coincide with a growing demands by our own supporters particularly in Europe. Their point is that they are aware that there are progressive artists, mainly among the blacks, who have powerful anti-apartheid scenarios which they think could assist them in their efforts of mobilising support for our struggle.

This means that we must evolve a machinery whereby we are able to monitor the various cultural groups and individual artists in order to give guidance to our supporters as to which artists may be invited or at least not be exposed, to condemnatory demonstrations if they do visit their respective countries.

Those are the 3 options I would like to put forward for consideration and discussion by this Symposium. To terminate I would like to refer to the words of our beloved President Tambo when he addressed the UN General Assembly in 1982:

editorial

forms with which migrant workers are familiar, as well as a drama-form that is participatory in both its production and its performance. At the same time, the validation of non-literate forms of culture are not seen as justifying any downplaying of the importance of developing useful literary skills. A related debate arising in the context of a preoccupation with the democratization of culture is that around the question of language: what weight to give, in matters of cultural production, to English, to the various African languages, to Afrikaans (not merely the language of the Afrikaners but also of a substantial percentage of the black population in the western Cape)? Should there be one central language to unite the future South Africa as in the Portuguese-speaking ex-colonies, or should a multi-lingual situation prevail?

In this regard, the overview of Mozambican culture provided by Albie Sachs in this issue addresses, at least implicitly, the question of the role of culture in providing a basis for political unity in a post-liberation society. Just as this was a hotly debated issue in Mozambique before and after the achievement of independence, so it is today in South Africa. How to create a unitary "people's culture" that accommodates, embraces and validates the multiplicity of cultural traditions, forms and languages in South Africa – while simultaneously drawing out their full progressive potential? In his discussions with SAR, Dangor emphasized the complexity of the project of renewed cultural creativity on this and other fronts. But he also emphasized, over and over again, its crucial importance. He ar-

gued that the political victory which will bring an end to the apartheid regime will be both superficial and unstable unless there is a concomitant "cultural revolution", a cultural revolution not in the accelerated Maoist sense but in the sense of laying a firm cultural basis for the new political order. Unity amidst diversity, popular empowerment wedded to artistic integrity: such, he believes, will be the cultural components of the new South Africa.

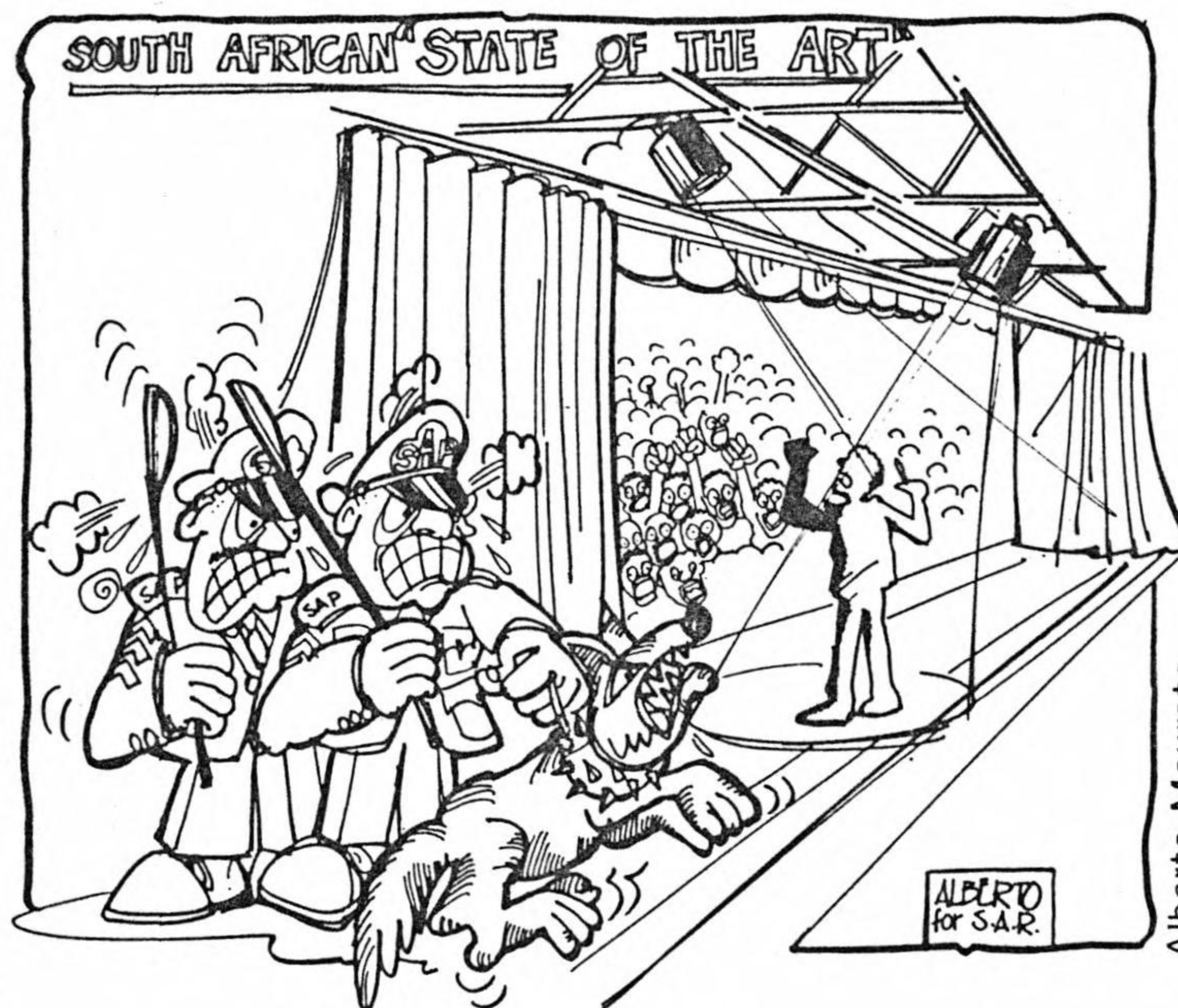
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Some field reports from the front-line of cultural struggle in

seen) a "definable, alternative democratic culture – a people's culture that gives expression to the aspirations of our people in struggle", said Wally Serote, ANC cultural representative in London at the time. A resolution of the UDF soon thereafter reflected a similar position but went further to outline criteria for selection. The essential premise: that cultural tours both to and from South Africa would be exempt from the boycott if they are supported by the democratic movement and "contribute to the advancement of the national democratic struggle and the building of a future South Africa."

In short, the basic principle of the continuing boycott (a principle which was also reaffirmed at CASA) is to intensify the isolation and undermining of apartheid culture while, at the same time, supporting and promoting the development of a progressive, democratic culture. Needless to say, this new flexibility by no means resolves the question of how the boycott is to be effected, and, indeed, adds a few new complexities to the matter. We hope, in future issues of SAR, to return to some

of these complexities for further discussion. In this issue readers must be satisfied with approaching them by indirection, through an exploration, in one of our articles, of some closely related considerations which have sprung up in Canada, around the question of the academic boycott. One thing, at least, this latter article does make clear: that the novel dimensions of the developing struggle in South Africa require as much hard thinking and as creative a response from the anti-apartheid forces in western countries as they do from those struggling on the ground inside South Africa.



Alberto Mourato

Southern Africa: this is the main thrust of our current issue. But, of course, such struggles are not merely taking place so many miles away from Canada. For they are brought home to us most directly around the issue of the cultural boycott. The international debate on this issue was thrown open in a new way by Oliver Tambo in mid-1987 when, in the Canon Collins Memorial Lecture, he signalled an ANC reassessment of its previous blanket boycott position and the favouring of a selective and more flexible boycott. This shift in position was prompted by the development of (as we have



The United Nations policy on the cultural isolation of apartheid South Africa seeks to:

- Persuade the artistic community not to engage in any cultural activity with South Africa (recording, film-making, participation in cultural events)
- Engage, support and promote the efforts of artists, entertainers and others to express in a positive and effective manner their opposition to apartheid

The Special Committee against Apartheid, which maintains contacts with the national liberation movements and the anti-apartheid opposition in South Africa, is responsible for monitoring and implementing this policy. In this context, it plans to keep open channels with personalities from the world of culture, both inside and outside South Africa, and with anti-apartheid non-governmental organizations around the world, to ensure the most appropriate and effective implementation of this policy.

Symposium on **Culture against *Apartheid***

Organized by the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*
in co-operation with the Ministry of Culture of Greece
and the Hellenic Association for the United Nations

Athens, 2-4 September 1988

OBJECTIVES OF THE SYMPOSIUM

- . To provide artists and others with an occasion to reaffirm their opposition to apartheid
- . To inform public opinion, particularly in Western countries, about the situation in South Africa
- . To discuss the premises and implications of the cultural isolation of apartheid South Africa
- . To develop proposals for positive action by artists and others against apartheid

AGENDA

1. The current situation in Southern Africa and the international response to apartheid, particularly:

- (a) Internal developments in South Africa; destabilization of the front-line States and the illegal occupation of Namibia.
- (b) International response: action by the United Nations, governments, organizations and individuals.

2. The response of the world of culture against apartheid; the cultural isolation of South Africa: its premises, effectiveness and implications.

3. Towards a renewed commitment: discussion of proposals for positive action by artists and others in the international campaign against apartheid South Africa.

Artists, writers and other men and women from the cultural world have for years now expressed their opposition to apartheid. Many have refused to perform in South Africa, others have participated in anti-apartheid activities and still others have donated their works or the proceeds from their performances to anti-apartheid organizations.

The General Assembly of the United Nations in 1968 first requested "all States and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sports and other exchanges with the racist régime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid" (Resolution 2396/XXIII). Entertainers, actors and other artists were requested subsequently by the Assembly to isolate South Africa.

The cultural boycott of South Africa is an integral component of the international efforts to isolate Pretoria and to persuade it, through peaceful means, to bring about the abolition of apartheid.

The policy of the cultural isolation of South Africa intrinsically denies Pretoria's claim to be a bearer of Western culture and a participant in world cultural, artistic and entertainment activities. The policy also recognizes that a culture of liberation exists in South Africa. Specific activities which, in the view of the Special Committee, have the intent and effect of enriching this culture, expressing opposition to apartheid and furthering the liberation struggle, are not within the scope of the cultural isolation of South Africa.