

THE MEASURE OF YOUR VICTORY - On the 30th. anniversary of  
the British A.A.M.

Now at its most powerful, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement is celebrating its 30th. Anniversary with Isitwalandhwe Archbishop Trevor Huddleston as its President. The people of South Africa acclaim its achievements and its signal contribution to our liberation struggle.

The formation of the AAM, coincided with the ANC's plans to set up an external mission, convinced that the Pretoria regime which had already effectively outlawed all forms of even peaceful opposition, was preparing to ban the African National Congress.

In those very early days ~~of the external mission~~ we found a core of people in Britain committed and organised to oppose apartheid and support our struggle. In them we gained a much needed source of support and strength. The AAM had responded with alacrity to Chief Luthuli's call to the international community, thereby providing an initial and very significant thrust to the campaign for the isolation of apartheid South Africa.

For many years, the AAM remained the international focal point for mobilisation of solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. Its example encouraged the mushrooming of Anti-Apartheid groups throughout the world, which have stood together as the conscience of the best of ~~humanity~~ humanity, demanding international action against the criminal apartheid regime.

Tirelessly and systematically, the AAM has sought to mobilise the people of Britain, and has drawn in trade unions, youth and students organisations, local authorities and the womens movement into the struggle against apartheid. When PW Botha was invited to Britain, he was unable to visit his Embassy in Trafalgar Square as thousands turned out in the streets of London in protest. The nation-wide celebrations marking Nelson Mandela's 70th. birthday with demands for his release, culminating in the Wembley concert was a strong political statement by the British people, as well as a deeply moving and exhilarating experience.

In exposing the continuing collaboration by its government, calling for sanctions, and demanding an end to Britain's alliance with apartheid, we know the AAM speaks for the British people.



It is a matter of regret, that the British government continues to fly in the face of its <sup>own</sup> public opinion and stands isolated in the international community as the self-righteous -professed and staunchest ally of the Pretoria regime. Speaking in Harare on March 30 Mrs Thatcher ~~boasted~~ proclaimed with pride : "I have, in fact, if I might put it this way, fought off sanctions at three Commonwealth Conferences, one in Nassau, one smaller one in London and one in Vancouver, and I think I fought them off successfully.... I think there is so much hope now that I think it would be absurd to impose sanctions now, to start to impose them at a time when South Africa has also been helpful in negotiating for the independence of Namibia! " Such self-satisfaction and self-righteousness --- and so blind to reality! Sanctions imposed despite British opposition, were an important and vital component of the combination of military, political and economic pressures that forced the apartheid regime to negotiate its retreat from Angola and agree to the implementation of Res.435 in Namibia. Events since then have shown just how reluctant and half-hearted Pretoria's agreement was - and we cannot doubt that every attempt will be made to ensure that the genuine independence of Namibia is thwarted.

The suggestion of a new dawn in South Africa is a mirage created by a regime desperate to maintain itself in power. With the economy in decline, the unilaterally imposed moratorium on loan repayments due to expire, and ~~its~~ supporters increasingly questioning its capacity/ability to provide a secure future, the National Party regime is ever more anxious to regain political credibility, break out of isolation and re-enter the international community with access to new financial resources.

Hence it has clothed its brutal fist of repression in a velvet glove of sweet reasonableness. Thus the sacrifice and courage of detainees on hunger strike forced their much-publicised release from prison cells, but Minister Vlok immediately restrained their every activity and movement. Death sentences continue to be imposed and executions carried out, while the peoples leaders remain imprisoned, albeit that their cells <sup>may be</sup> are wardens houses, ~~with swimming pools~~.

Intense and brutal repression has <sup>only served to heighten the determination</sup> failed to induce a mood of defeat <sup>to rid the country of the apartheid system.</sup> much less acquiescence in apartheid. Pretoria has found no takers for its invitation to blacks to help negotiate the entrenchment of racist domination. Only the very naive or ignorant could be taken in by P. W. Botha's claims that peace and negotiations are at hand in South Africa.



~~Throwing open doors to / Laying out the welcome mat for Pretoria's~~  
~~representatives and echoing the regime's claims that a new era is~~  
~~imminent dawning in South Africa~~ <sup>cannot, alter the stark reality of the</sup>  
~~can only prolong the bloodshed and delay~~ <sup>the day when apartheid's supporters have to come to terms with reality</sup>  
~~the day when apartheid's supporters have to come to terms with reality~~  
~~and will not alter or hide the stark reality of the continuing apartheid~~  
~~and recognise that peace and security in South Africa can only follow~~  
~~the eradication of the evil system of apartheid.~~ <sup>crime against humanity.</sup>

Pretoria has tried to capitalise on the steps it has been forced to take in Angola and Namibia, as well as the faction fighting over the succession to P W Botha. It has found a ready friend-in-need / public relations agent in the British Prime Minister.

All British citizens, whether they originate from Cornwall, Cyprus, Yorkshire, the <sup>a</sup>Cribean, Scotland, Bangla Desh, ~~or~~ Wales, Germany or Kent, vote together for one legislature which prides itself on being the mother of Parliaments. Yet the Prime Minister of this United Kingdom argues that the people of South Africa are entitled only to something less than universal suffrage as understood the world over. If ethnic whites :Italians, Afrikaners, Greeks, Portuguese, English and other Europeans can protect their diverse cultures ~~and vote~~ and vote together, why must blacks remain forcibly divided, separated from each other and from white South Africans?

The ANC has stood, ~~historically~~, for the unity of all South Africans. We are committed to a non-racial society and we put our beliefs into practice now. Our membership is open to all South Africans regardless of race or ethnicity. In contrast, the National Party has throughout its history advocated racism and practised it. It continues to confine its membership to whites. Yet this Party, under a "new generation of leaders" but with its policies intact, is currently being promoted (by whitehall?) as the agent on whom we must pin our hopes and to whom we must entrust the task of bringing into being a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

For decades, our people have lived and suffered under the heel of this National Party. Such changes as have occurred in this period have not come because ~~we~~ of goodwill or any change of policy; but because we resisted and were prepared to give our lives, and because we fought and died in the course of struggle. This we know from our living experience. Struggle in South Africa has gone through 77 hard years. We have endured deprivation and suffering for too long to allow ourselves to be now misled (pulled by the nose?) by people who claim a monopoly of knowledge/wisdom and experience.



some of  
 south Africans of all political persuasions, including those who have hitherto voted for the National Party, are engaging in dialogue with the ANC to find a way forward together. There is a universal recognition, though as yet not a public acknowledgement in London or Pretoria, that the ANC is central to any resolution of our country's problems.

There is no need for intermediaries, "contact groups" or honest brokers between South Africans, when there is a genuine commitment to dismantle apartheid. Self-appointed brokers are particularly objectionable when they ~~are~~ <sup>have been</sup> notorious for having allied themselves with our oppressors.

~~It is open to Pretoria to ~~create~~ establish~~  
 What is required in South Africa, in the first instance, is a climate in which all South Africans can engage in free and open political debate about the future of our country. The creation of this climate lies in Pretoria's dispensation. It holds the keys to the prisons - let it use them and open the doors. The regime has the power to unilaterally recall the troops from the townships, restrain its police and vigilantes, lift censorship and the myriad restrictions and bans on people and organisations. It has the ~~legislative~~ majority to repeal legislation and begin to dismantle apartheid. Why does it not use its power to ~~create this climate~~ <sup>take these steps?</sup>

Quite simply, because it is not interested in a democratic resolution of conflict, nor in negotiations nor in ~~ending~~ <sup>dismantling</sup> apartheid. It will only move towards ending apartheid, when it is pressured into doing so. This, ~~the~~ people of South Africa are resolved to do with the assistance of the British people.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement recognised 30 years ago, that the most effective assistance the international community can render our struggle is through the application of sanctions and the total isolation of apartheid South Africa. As we have seen, even the weak sanctions already applied have had an effect. The regime's frenzied attempts to show the "acceptable face" of apartheid testify to their genuine fear at the prospect of additional sanctions. Recently Pik Botha ~~drew~~ warned of this possibility when he urged the Boksburg Council ~~to~~ against introducing petty apartheid.

<sup>necessary and</sup>  
 Sanctions are more/important now than they have ever been. The task of the AAM therefore remains to be completed. It is a herculean one - for you need to bring change in apartheid's closest friend and ally.

But that will be the measure of your victory, and one, the people of a free South Africa will publicly acclaim.

ends



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Negotiations — who should negotiate  
The role of UK

Sanctions

"violence"

We know each other's positions.

1st Dump 1st A

Namibia — SARCO

1986 — EPG

Release prisoners

what to negotiate about

1. Group rights and individual rights guaranteed in a Bill of Rights

2. Italians, Germans, British, Portuguese, French, Poles, Greeks

No groups

3. Apartheid as one of its main features, has set up up and groups artificial separated & kept apart by legislation. There can be no end of apartheid as long as this structure remains.

4. One person one vote. Whites universal adult suffrage through out the decider. No vote for blacks. This — central to the objective of our struggle — recognition of blacks as being human, not sub-human.

5. The consensus = majority rule: same as among whites — its majority rule. N.P. no complaint about Italians not being represented. There are English speaking whites in the N.P. Number determines its policies. Membership of the H.C. — open to all.

6. No contact group; ANC central. Hound broken:

Our experience with the C.G. why it failed

Hound broken — not necessary. Self-appointed broken objectionable, especially where they are notoriously allied. Struggle in SA has gone through 27-70 hard years. We have endured deprivation & suffering for too long to be pulled by the nose by people who claim a monopoly to knowledge & experience.

P.T.O.



Negotiations: They will come at the objectively correct moment. They will not be artificially switched on by someone.

Pressures — sanctions for ending apartheid, not for starting negotiations. What is certain is that SA has treated international opinion with contempt: "Do your damndest," shouted P. W. Botha last year. ~~and~~ In reality, ~~the~~ behind this bombast, the regime is terrified of sanctions. During the

debates in the US congress which resulted in the adoption of a package of sanctions against ~~the~~ apartheid South Africa, the US ambassador in Pretoria sent ~~the following~~ <sup>a startling</sup> message to his government:

lies, to congress, hints <sup>at</sup> corruption & bribery — all this to avoid sanctions. It was not the ~~poor~~ blacks effect of possible sanctions on "poor" black ~~Botha~~ children that Botha was bothered about.

It was, inter alia, fear of more sanctions that kept Pretoria at the negotiating ~~table~~ <sup>over</sup> Namibia — any other negotiating table.