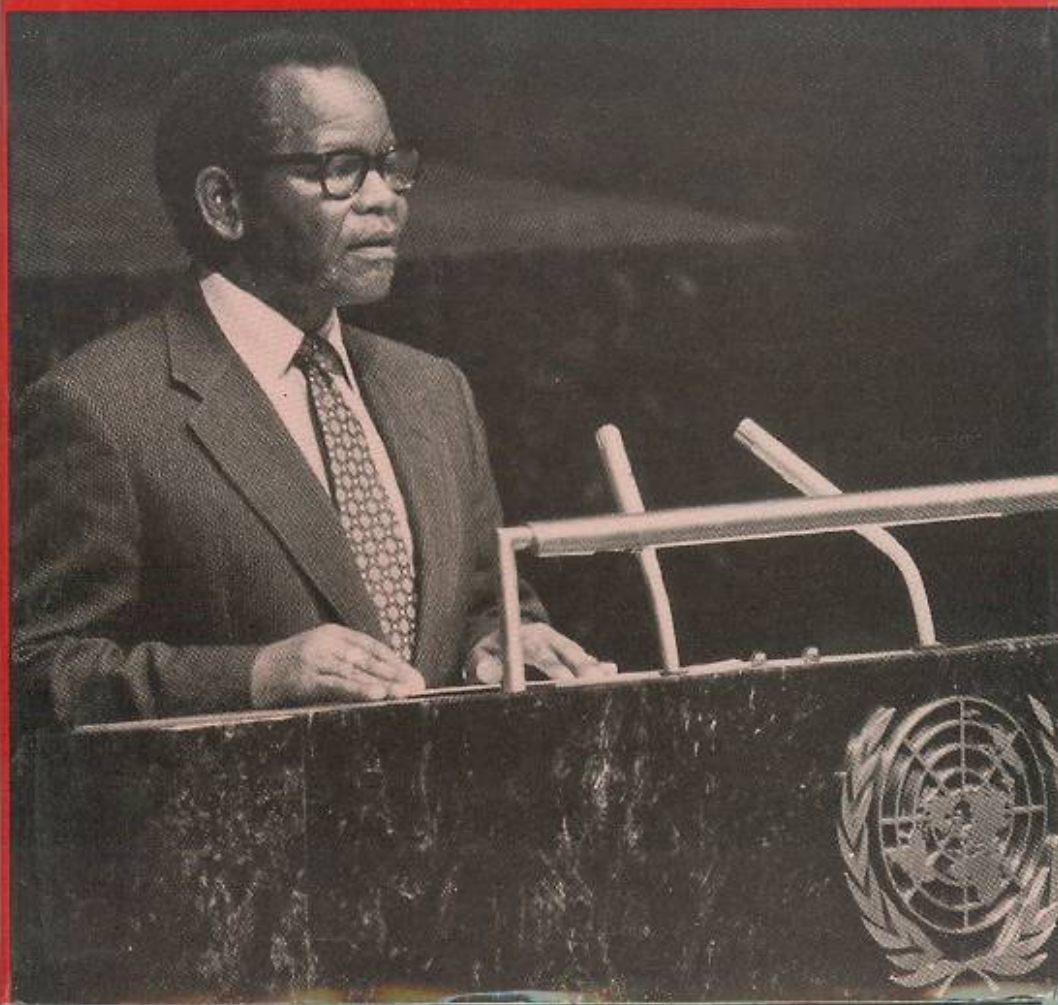


OLIVER TAMBO

**APARTHEID AND
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

EDITED BY E.S. REDDY



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AND THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

*Addresses to United Nations Committees and
Conferences*

Edited by

E. S. REDDY

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PREFACE

It is an honour and a privilege to write this brief preface to a book of historic significance. For it is quite certain that when the full story of the liberation struggle in South Africa comes to be written the name of Oliver Tambo will be joined with that of his friend and partner, Nelson Mandela, as deserving of the highest honour. It will never be forgotten, for without Oliver Tambo, it is true to say, the African National Congress could not have survived the years and years of repression and exile as it has done. His presidency of the ANC began in exile, but was the fruit of years of experience as student, schoolmaster and lawyer within the country. He knew at first hand the meaning of apartheid and its destructive power. When he was given the task of leaving South Africa in order to sustain the struggle against that massive evil he had no hesitation in doing so. In those thirty years of exile for himself and his family he achieved recognition from the international community by the sheer integrity and intelligence of his commitment to liberation itself. But it was a colossal and immensely costly process. I have personal knowledge, through my friendship with him of over nearly fifty years, of how colossal and how costly that process was.

In these addresses - each one so carefully prepared for a different occasion at the U.N. - we have a historical record of the first importance. It is difficult to think of any more significant presentation to the world community of the true meaning of peace and justice, within the context of the U.N. Charter, of the struggle against apartheid.

In my view the greatest need for all of us who wish to see a free democratic South Africa with a constitution which will guarantee human rights to all its citizens regardless of colour, race or creed, is a thorough *historical* understanding of the process which has led to the present moment. Indeed, it is the abject failure of the Western Powers in the past to have had such a perspective - a strictly *historical* perspective - of the struggle for freedom, which has delayed the achievement for so long. This book should be read by everyone who truly cares about the future of South Africa, for it is the essential explanation, by one of its greatest Presidents, of what the ANC has stood for since its foundation in 1912 to the present day. The words of each address, so carefully chosen and so beautifully linked together, express the greatness of the cause and the greatness of the writer himself. The history of South Africa in this century is in the large part the history of the ANC and its leadership. The future of South Africa will depend in equal measure on the response of the world community to what is here recorded in the words of Oliver Tambo.

Fr. Trevor Huddleston

INTRODUCTION

This collection of addresses of Oliver Tambo to the United Nations General Assembly and its Committees, and at international conferences organised by the United Nations on the problem of apartheid, is a record of the efforts of the African National Congress to inform the world of the struggle of the South African people against an extremely brutal system of racist oppression and to urge the international community to lend its support to them in destroying apartheid and building a non-racial democratic society. It is indispensable for a study of the role of the United Nations in dealing with a problem of which it was seized almost since its inception.

The addresses span a period of over two decades during which the racist regime in South Africa resorted to ever increasing repression and inhumanity in its desperate efforts to suppress the spirit of freedom and impose its "final solution" to perpetuate racist domination in the country and establish its hegemony over the region. Millions of people were imprisoned; a million families were forcibly removed from their homes and their communities; ten million African people were deprived of their citizenship through the sham "independence" of bantustans; thousands of students and children were massacred, maimed and tortured. Numerous patriots were killed by the police or the death squads of the regime, or tortured to death in detention.

In later years, the regime resorted such acts of aggression and destabilisation against neighbouring States as to cause enormous death and destruction which has been compared to a holocaust.

Yet powerful governments and vested interests continued to block all moves for effective international action against the racist regime. While condemning apartheid verbally, they increased their economic involvement in South Africa, and provided the regime with arms, military and nuclear technology and intelligence.

The brutality of the racist regime and the complicity of external forces could be countered only by enormous sacrifices and heroism of the South African people, supplemented by persistent efforts to mobilise governments and peoples to isolate that regime, force its allies to disengage from apartheid, and assist the liberation struggle.

The addresses of Oliver Tambo before the United Nations are a reflection of his efforts - first as head of the external mission of the ANC and later as its President-General - to mobilise world opinion against apartheid and in favour of the struggle of his people. They are, in fact, landmarks in international action against apartheid.

The first address was delivered on the eve of the trial of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other leaders in which they faced the likelihood of death sentences, and the second during the course of that trial. Their lives were saved by a world campaign

promoted by the ANC and the United Nations.

The next was at a meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid in Stockholm. The consultations of Mr. Tambo during that visit to Stockholm were instrumental in persuading the Swedish Government to take a lead in the West by giving direct assistance to the African liberation movements.

He then addressed the UN-OAU Conference in Oslo in 1973 which led to the recognition of the status of African liberation movements as the authentic representatives of their peoples and promoted increased assistance to them.

The next address was to the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on the day when the South African regime proclaimed the so-called "independence" of the Transkei. The resolution adopted by the Assembly, soon after his address, helped prevent any international recognition of such bantustans.

The Lagos Conference of 1977 served, as Mr. Tambo suggested, to promote an international mobilisation in support of the United Nations programme of action against apartheid.

The next three addresses in 1981-82 were during a difficult period when the Reagan administration in the United States moved closer to the Pretoria regime, protecting it as it undertook blatant intervention and destabilisation in neighbouring States, and tried to reverse the progress in international action against apartheid. The hopes of the Botha regime to subdue the frontline States and overcome international isolation were frustrated by an unprecedented upsurge of the people in South Africa and solidarity by anti-apartheid forces around the world, including the United States, encouraged by the United Nations.

The last address of Mr. Tambo was before a United Nations Conference in Paris 1986. In the midst of growing confrontation between the regime and the people, and even as the regime proceeded in its desperation to impose a nation-wide State of Emergency, he could declare that "victory is thin our sight".

I was privileged to meet Oliver Tambo when he first visited the United Nations in 1960 to persuade delegations of member States to support international sanctions against South Africa. Since 1963, when the Special Committee against Apartheid began its work and I became its Principal Secretary, I have helped arrange his visits to the United Nations in New York and to conferences in Europe and Africa. I sought and benefited in my work from his counsel on many occasions. I was constantly inspired by his modesty and integrity, statesmanship and vision which reflected the greatness of the liberation movement of which he was a leader.

He was deeply attached to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The contribution he made to enabling the United Nations to play a significant role in the struggle against apartheid

can hardly be exaggerated.

I present this collection - partly taken from the United Nations documents and partly transcribed from tapes - as a record as well as a personal tribute to one who was a source of inspiration to me for the past three decades.

E. S. Reddy

OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO: A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Oliver Reginald Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress from 1967 to 1978 and President-General since 1978, has devoted his life to the struggle of his people for liberation.

Born on October 27, 1917, in Bizana District of Eastern Cape, he studied at the Anglican Boarding School, near Flagstaff, and later at St. Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg where he set academic records, completing his matriculation with a first class pass in 1938. Awarded a scholarship, he studied at Fort Hare College, graduating with a B.Sc. degree in 1941. He remained at Fort Hare to qualify for a Diploma in Education but was expelled in 1942 for his involvement in a student strike. He returned to Johannesburg and taught science and mathematics at St. Peter's from 1943 to 1947.

He began studying law in 1948 and, in December 1952, established, with Nelson Mandela, the first African legal partnership in South Africa.

He was one of the founders of the ANC Youth League in 1944 - along with Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others - and successively its National Secretary and National Vice-President.

He was elected a member of the Transvaal Executive Committee of the ANC in 1946 and, in December 1949, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

When the regime's banning orders forced Sisulu to resign from the ANC leadership, Tambo took over as Acting Secretary-General in 1954 and was elected to that office from 1955 to 1958. Though banned in 1954 and restricted from leaving the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Benoni, he was not ordered to resign from the ANC. He managed to continue to guide the ANC in its campaigns against the forced removal of African communities and the introduction of "Bantu education."

In December 1956, Tambo was arrested together with 155 other leaders, and charged with treason. He was acquitted for lack of evidence.

In 1958, when Chief Albert Luthuli, the President-General of the ANC, was restricted, he was appointed to the newly-created office of Deputy President-General. Next year, he himself was served with orders prohibiting him from attending any gatherings for a period of five years.

The ANC leaders soon became convinced that a ban on the ANC, followed by mass arrests, was imminent. The National Executive Committee decided that Tambo should go abroad to set up an external mission and campaign for international

sanctions against the apartheid regime. He left South Africa secretly a few days after the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Provided with travel documents by the Indian Government, he proceeded to London where he set up an external mission of the ANC soon after the organisation was banned in South Africa. He attended the Conference of Independent African States in June 1960 which called for sanctions against South Africa and later in the year visited the United Nations in New York to consult with delegations on proposals for sanctions.

In 1961, when Nelson Mandela and other leaders founded the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* for an armed struggle, he was requested to take charge of military training of the freedom fighters. With the arrest of Mandela and other leaders of the ANC and *Umkhonto* in 1963-64, and the imposition of severe restrictions on Chief Luthuli, he had to assume responsibility for guiding the struggle of his people in South Africa, as well as redoubling efforts for international action in support of the struggle.

He was elected Acting President of the ANC after the death of Chief Luthuli in 1967, and President-General of ANC and Chairman of its Revolutionary Command in 1978.

Tambo's role in arousing world consciousness has had an immense impact on international opinion on South Africa. His leadership was crucial in maintaining and strengthening the unity of the liberation movement through difficult times, ensuring the revival of resistance with an ever stronger force and promoting a powerful international campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

APPEAL FOR ACTION TO STOP REPRESSION AND TRIALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Statement at the meeting of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly, New York, October 8, 1963²

I wish to express my deep gratitude for the privilege accorded to me to address this important body. It was with considerable reluctance that I applied for leave to appear before this Committee, recognising, as I did, the supreme effort which the United Nations is making to induce the South African Government to abolish and abandon policies which are a cruel scourge on the conscience of every civilised being and an unequalled example of man's inhumanity to man. But we feel we cannot too frequently appeal to the nations of the world to call South Africa to sanity, nor do we feel we can be too emphatic in pointing out what a great deal of the damage which the Government of South Africa and its White supporters are doing daily, consistently and with arrogance may prove impossible to repair and thus remain an enduring source of anguish for future generations.

The readiness with which my request was granted by your Committee, Mr. Chairman, confirms and is consistent with the declared desire of the nations and peoples of the world to see the end of apartheid and white domination, and the emergence of a South Africa loyal to the United Nations and to the high principles set forth in the Charter - a South Africa governed by its people as fellow citizens of equal worth whatever the colour, race or creed of any one of them. This kind of South Africa is the precise goal of our political struggle.

In thanking you and your Committee, therefore, Mr. Chairman, I wish to emphasise that I do so not on my own behalf, but also on behalf of my organisation, the African National Congress, and its sister organisations in South Africa, on behalf of the African people and all the other victims of racial discrimination, together with that courageous handful of white South Africans who have fully identified themselves with the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

I should also like to take this opportunity to place on record the deep appreciation of my people for the steps which have been taken by various governments against South Africa, which alone can give any meaning to condemnation of the policies practised by the Government of South Africa. On the other hand, I cannot exaggerate

² Mr. Tambo was the first representative of the South African liberation movement to appear before a main committee of the General Assembly. A hearing for him was proposed by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid which had been established earlier that year to follow developments in South Africa.

The Special Committee held a reception at the United Nations Headquarters in honour of Mr. Tambo - the first leader of a liberation movement to be so honoured.

the sense of grievance - to put it mildly - which we feel towards those countries which have done and are even now doing so much to make apartheid the monstrous and ghastly reality which it is, and which have thereby created in our country the conditions which, if nothing else happens, will ensure an unparalleled bloodbath. Assured of the support of these countries the South African rulers, who boast openly of this support, are not only showing open defiance for the United Nations and treating its resolutions with calculated contempt, they are liquidating the opponents of their policies, confident that the big Powers will not act against them.

This brings me to the special matter which, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I beg leave to submit to the distinguished members of this Committee for their urgent consideration. It arises out of news of the latest developments in the South African situation.

Trials of Mandela and Other Leaders

By a significant coincidence, this, the first day of this Committee's discussion of the policy of apartheid happens also to be the first day of a trial in South Africa which constitutes yet another challenge to the authority of the United Nations and which has as its primary aim the punishment by death of people who are among South Africa's most outstanding opponents of the very policies which the General Assembly and the Security Council have in numerous resolutions called upon the South African Government to abandon.

Today some thirty persons are appearing before a Supreme Court Judge in South Africa in a trial which will be conducted in circumstances that have no parallel in South African history, and which, if the Government has its way, will seal the doom of that country and entrench the feelings of bitterness which years of sustained persecution have already engendered among the African people.³

The persons standing trial include Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, which are household names throughout South Africa, Nelson Mandela being known personally to a number of African Heads of State; Govan Mbeki, a top-ranking African political leader and an accomplished economist who has borne the burdens of his oppressed fellow men ever since he left the university; Ahmed Kathrada, a South African of Indian extraction who started politics as a passive resister in 1946 at the age of seventeen, since when he has been consistently a leading participant in the struggle of the Indian and other Asian South Africans against the Group Areas Act and other forms of racial discrimination, and has, with other Indian leaders, joined the Africans

³ Nelson Mandela and ten others were charged on 9 October 1963, with sabotage and other offences, and a number of others were named as co-conspirators. The trial came to be known as the "Rivonia trial" since several of the accused had been arrested in a farm in Rivonia. Eight of the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964.

Mr. Tambo was referring to press reports on the eve of the trial which were not fully accurate.

in the liberation struggle; Dennis Goldberg, a white South African, whose home in the Western Cape was the scene of a bomb explosion in 1962, when Government supporters sought to demonstrate their disapproval of his identifying himself with the African cause; Ruth Slovo (alias Ruth First), a South African white mother of three minor children, author of a recently published book on South West Africa, and one of South Africa's leading journalists. I could enumerate several others, and as I have shown, they consist of outstanding African nationalist leaders as well as others who have for long been associated with every conceivable form of protest against injustices perpetrated in the name of Christian civilisation and white supremacy. Trials against well over a hundred others are due to start at other centres in different parts of the country.

The charge against the accused is said to be "sabotage." This means in fact that they have contravened a law, or a group of laws which have been enacted for the express purpose of forcibly suppressing the aspirations of the victims of apartheid laws which no active opponent of the policies of the South African Government can evade. A study of the statutory definition of "sabotage," which distinguished delegates will find in official documents which I believe have been circulated to members, will show that a person accused of sabotage can be sentenced to death for one of the least effective and most peaceful forms of protest against apartheid.

Genocide Masquerading under Guise of Justice

The relations between the government and those it rules by force in South Africa have never been worse. The law of the country has since the 1956 Treason Trial been altered so as to make it practically impossible for an accused person to escape a conviction. Lawyers who accepted briefs in political trials have been subjected to increasing intimidation and it has now become difficult to find counsel to appear in such trials. This has been particularly true in the case of the accused who are now facing trial. The law of procedure has also been altered with the result that whereas the State allows itself any amount of time to prepare its case against accused persons, the accused, held in solitary confinement, are kept ignorant of the charge against them until they appear in court. The time allowed them to prepare their defence is subject to the discretion of the court, and in the majority of cases the State insists on proceeding with the trial with as little delay as possible. Preparing a defence from a prison cell hardly enables an accused person to make any proper preparation.

An atmosphere of crisis has been whipped up and its effects have been reflected in the severity of sentences passed by the judges and, not infrequently, in the statements they make in the course of pronouncing sentence. Of special significance in this regard is the judgement passed last week by a Pretoria judge on seven Africans whom he found guilty of allegedly receiving training in the use of firearms in a country outside South Africa. In sentencing each of the accused to twenty years' imprisonment, the judge stated that he had seriously considered passing the death sentence, but had decided not to do so because he felt the accused had been misled.

This judgement and these remarks are a sufficient - and deliberate - hint as to what sentences the South African public and the world are to expect in the new trials where leaders of the political struggle against the apartheid policies of the South African Government are the accused. It is known that the State will demand the death sentence.

Already more than 5,000 political prisoners are languishing in South Africa's jails. Even as recently as the month of September of this year and after the Security Council, in its resolution of 7 August, had called for the release of "all persons imprisoned, interned, or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid," three detainees have died in jail in circumstances strongly suggesting deliberate killing. All these are the direct victims of a situation which would never have arisen had the South African Government taken heed of the many appeals which have been addressed to it by the world public and expressed in resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Call for Immediate Action

I cannot believe that this world body, the United Nations, could stand by, calmly watching what I submit is genocide masquerading under the guise of a civilised dispensation of justice. The African and other South Africans who are being dragged to the slaughter house face death, or life imprisonment, because they fearlessly resisted South Africa's violations of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because they fought against a Government armed to the teeth and relying on armed force, to end inhumanity, to secure the liberation of the African people, to end racial discrimination, and to replace racial intolerance and tyranny with democracy and equality, irrespective of colour, race or creed.

If you, Mr. Chairman, and the distinguished delegates here assembled, consider, as I urge you to accept, that the developments I have referred to are of a nature which calls for immediate action by the United Nations, then I am content to leave it to you and your distinguished Committee, Sir, to decide on the action which it deems appropriate.⁴

For our part, I wish to observe that every single day spent in jail by any of our people, every drop of blood drawn from any of them, and every life taken - each of these represents a unit of human worth lost to us. This loss we can no longer afford.

⁴ Soon after the statement of Mr. Tambo, the Special Political Committee decided to recommend a resolution on the Rivonia trial to the General Assembly.

The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on 11 October 1963, as resolution 1881 (XVIII), by 106 votes, with only South Africa voting against. In that resolution, the Assembly condemned the South African Government for its failure to comply with repeated resolutions calling for an end to the repression of persons opposing apartheid; requested it to abandon the Rivonia trial and forthwith grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid.

It is surely not in the interests of South Africa or even of the South African Government that this loss should be increased any further.

Thank you, Sir.

UNITED NATIONS MUST TAKE ACTION TO DESTROY APARTHEID

Statement at the meeting of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly, New York, October 29, 1963

Mr. Chairman, I wish once again to thank you and this Committee for this opportunity.

In South Africa, since the earliest days of white rule, our people have not had the opportunity of being heard by the tribunals of State, by the people who formulate the policies of that country, by the people who make laws determining the nature and character of the lives we are expected to live in that country.

This year, and this occasion, is the first time, therefore, that we are being heard directly. Its significance is that this distinguished and august audience is not one of a group of people in South Africa, representatives of organs of State, it is the Governments of the world - all of them. It is all the more a pity that I am the only one who is taking advantage of this great offer. There are others who in many respects could have more appropriately represented my people, and all the oppressed people of South Africa, but who are languishing in jail, serving long sentences or facing trial.

Some of them, who were the subject of resolutions adopted by this Committee and the General Assembly three weeks ago, are at this very moment facing trial in the Supreme Court in Pretoria, charged with offences allegedly committed over a period of eighteen months, involving acts of sabotage in 221 or 222 instances, and alleged violations of South Africa's Suppression of Communism Act. Not only are they facing trial, but they are doing so in circumstances which make that trial largely farcical. Hence the significance and the importance of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly. They come before trial after going through a phase of persecution, ill-treatment and torture that is new in the South African situation, a fact which is an element of the tensions and the crisis that now characterise the life of the people of South Africa of all races.

Here is an extract from a letter written by a person who sat in the courtroom when these accused appeared three weeks ago. It says:

"The atmosphere in court was chilling, almost terrifying. Iron gates barred the way. Police - hundreds of them, uniformed and armed - and Special Branch men - masses and masses of them - amongst the spectators in the courtroom, watching every move we made, and stationed between us, listening to every word spoken on the spectators' benches."

In that kind of atmosphere, even for the best of judges, for the most impartial among them, it must be extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to be impartial, to remain immune to the effects of that type of atmosphere. And that will be the atmosphere that will characterise the trial throughout. This is a description of the atmosphere inside a courtroom; it is also an accurate description of the atmosphere in the entire country.

In this letter the writer says:

"Some of the African accused amongst the eleven maintained most definitely that they had been tortured in different ways - suffocated with wet bags, given electrical and other treatment";

and a letter smuggled out of jail makes special reference to Nelson Mandela. It says:

"He is graded 'Category D,' the worst for privileges and rights, although the police state: 'He is a very well-disciplined prisoner.' He spends twenty-three hours a day in a cell twelve feet by seven feet. He is prohibited from talking to any other prisoner. He is allowed no reading matter whatsoever, neither books nor newspapers, except such textbooks as are prescribed for the course of study which he has been permitted to embark on by correspondence at his own expense. He is allowed one thirty-minute visit from his wife every six months and may write and receive one letter every six months. He may not purchase or receive any food other than prison rations, which are: breakfast - mealie meal, plus the option of sugar or pea soup, no milk; lunch - mealie meal and a few cubes of meat on top; supper - mealie meal. He sleeps on a concrete floor, on a mat approximately three-eighths of an inch thick."

I mention these facts not for the purpose of inducing any pity for any of these accused. They believe in the cause they are fighting for; they are prepared to suffer for it, even to be tortured for it. I mention them simply because the condition of these men, who are leaders and for whom representations are now being made in the court, is perhaps an indication of the fate of thousands of others, also detained, to whom there is no access of any kind. It will take a long time before the world knows what has been the fate of these people, why some of them have died and what is even at this moment happening to them. In the meantime the trial against these eleven is proceeding, and there are other trials also due to proceed.

Unanimity against Apartheid

All this is happening in spite of the resolution that has been adopted. What the United Nations does about any further acts of defiance by the South African Government is part of the issues to which representatives are addressing themselves at this gathering. For us in South Africa it is a matter of great interest exactly for how long the United Nations can entertain this type of conduct by a Member State. We are grateful for what has been done by the various groups represented here and for the

unity that has been expressed in their condemnation of this system. You have here the African States, which form a group of their own, the Asian nations, the East European countries, the Latin American nations, Western Europe, the Nordic countries, the Commonwealth, the Western Powers - all bound together variously by one circumstance or another and perhaps differing among themselves on one ground or another. But they all have declared, as one man, their condemnation of the policy of apartheid. It is common cause that there has been no change in spite of this unprecedented unanimity of the world on this one issue; it is common cause also that in spite of this persistent attack on their policy, the perpetrators of it have gone ahead heaping misery upon misery on those whom they hold in subjugation, this also in defiance of world opinion and despite the efforts of the people directly affected by their policy.

The question that arises in our minds is: How far is the United Nations able to watch this happening? We have in the past suggested a possible answer. We have furnished facts indicating the nature of apartheid but also giving a hint of what the ultimate results are going to be if apartheid is allowed to continue. We have had occasion to listen to statements made by representatives which expressed this fear, statements not drawn from the imagination but based on facts. This year in particular this Organisation has established the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid, which has done a tremendous amount of work in placing at the disposal of the delegations and of the whole world an accurately detailed documentation of these facts so as to ensure that any statements made, any decisions taken, are based on an objective examination of the situation in South Africa. This has made it unnecessary for us to bring facts to be considered afresh by this body; but it has raised the question of what our attitude might be to possible solutions that this Committee or the United Nations as a whole might decide upon - because we are part of this situation and some of the delegations here have indicated, perfectly rightly, that a great deal of attention, even of care, must be taken in the steps contemplated for the solution of this problem.

Appeals for Sanctions

As early as 1958, we in South Africa, convinced then that if nothing was done to bring pressure to bear upon South Africa in addition to what we were doing, so as to compel abandonment of this policy, the stage would be reached which is contemplated in a paragraph of the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I quote from that paragraph:

"... it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law..."

We were aware that the rule of law in South Africa was fast becoming a dead letter, that our own pressures internally were not bringing about the peaceful changes in which we believed, and that it had become necessary to supplement these pressures

with what could be done from outside. So, in 1958, at the first meeting of the All-African People's Conference the South African delegation tabled a resolution for an international boycott of South African goods. That resolution was adopted and picked up in a number of countries by various organisations.

In 1960, at the Addis Ababa Conference, another delegation of South African political leaders submitted a memorandum to that conference of African Independent States. In that memorandum, they asked for sanctions and for the isolation of South Africa from Africa and the rest of the world. Their appeal was received by the African States there assembled. A resolution to that effect was adopted, and this was subsequently tabled for discussion at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. In 1959, the Secretary-General of the United Nations was sent a memorandum by the African National Congress in South Africa, which asked, amongst other things, for sanctions against South Africa.

We did all these things because we felt that the world and the United Nations had a distinct role to play in South Africa. We knew that what we were asking for would involve suffering on our part, but we also knew that apartheid would never be abandoned, that racial discrimination in South Africa would never cease to be the official policy of that country, until and unless there were sacrifices, and the sacrifice of going hungry, of going without jobs because factories had been closed was a very elementary kind of sacrifice in the situation in which we were. It could hardly be compared with the ravages of apartheid on our people, who even then were being treated like unwanted animals in their own country.

We also knew that a boycott of South African goods through sanctions imposed from outside would also involve sacrifices for others outside South Africa, but we believed that it would be a minor sacrifice, negligible in comparison with the ultimate sacrifice which the whole world, we felt, would have to give and to make if apartheid was allowed to stay in South Africa.

We have been reproached, perhaps indirectly, with being so childish as to invite the world to inflict pain on us. It has been said that sanctions will hurt us first and foremost. I have given this historical background in the hope that we will not again have the discomfort of this kind of pity and paternalism, because it is a type of pity and paternalism which hurts us even more than sanctions would hurt us.

There was another reason why we thought of sanctions. We do not believe in violence; we do not think that anybody believes in it. We do not want it; nobody wants it. We did not think of invoking the world to invade South Africa. We were convinced, living in South Africa and having lived there all our lives, that if South Africa were effectively isolated through economic and diplomatic measures, and others which have been mentioned in these debates, it would be impossible for the South African Government to operate apartheid. Apartheid would then have to be abandoned. We also believed, and knew, that it is impossible to separate racial discrimination in South Africa from the economic structure of that country. Racial

discrimination, South Africa's economic power, its oppression and exploitation of all the black peoples, are part and parcel of the same thing. Sanctions would attack the economy, which could only be attacked from outside through sanctions. We know of nothing else. We can attack it from the inside, but the only method, as the representatives are aware, which has been allowed us and left open to us is the type of method which is a last resort. By that method, we could destroy the economy of the country. In the process, we would destroy life as well, our own life included, but in the end, however tragic it may have been, there would be no apartheid.

We believe that the world, too, can destroy apartheid, firstly by striking at the economy of South Africa. But if that failed, then the world would have to sacrifice, as I have indicated, in a more elaborate and more costly way. The mere possibility of the peoples of the world having less to eat, less to clothe themselves with because of a boycott has led to various problems being raised in regard to the implementation of sanctions. Fears have been expressed that it would not work because the main trading partners of South Africa are involved and are unwilling to support sanctions. They have said so. But we do not think that this is any reason why there should be no sanctions.

First of all, very correctly, the African States, and perhaps before them other States as well, such as India, have decided to have no economic relations with South Africa, and no trade or diplomatic relations. This has its own effect, except that it is being undermined to a greater or lesser degree by those countries which persist in having trade relations with South Africa. But they have decided to make this sacrifice. Last year a resolution was adopted which, if it were implemented only by those countries which supported it, would be most effective.

Attitude of South Africa's Trading Partners

In the final analysis, it may be that apartheid brings such stupendous economic advantages to countries that they would sooner have apartheid than permit its destruction. It may be that some countries are faced with this cruel choice. This is still no reason why those who are prepared to make the sacrifice should not do so. However, we are worried about the difficulties voiced by South Africa's trading partners as regards severing their trade relations with South Africa. One of the sources of worry is that we owe racial discrimination in South Africa, in so far as it is supported by the constitution of that country, to an act passed by the United Kingdom Government, the South Africa Act of 1909, which legalised racial discrimination. Today the United Kingdom is South Africa's greatest trading partner. Because it is South Africa's trading partner, it is, therefore, the greatest source of strength for apartheid. I do not think that this position should be defended. We should be happy if we knew that the United Kingdom was at least doing something about it, trying to extricate itself from its complicity in the practices and policies of apartheid. What we have instead is a boast by British firms that in 1962, of all countries trading with Britain, South Africa was the source of its greatest profits. I shall quote from a

pamphlet called *The British Stake in South Africa*, issued in 1962. It says:

"Of all individual countries in which we hold private direct investment, South Africa last year was the one from which we drew the biggest returns."

It is an uncomfortable feeling that the United Kingdom should have to depend on apartheid for its biggest returns, particularly when one comes across a statement such as that made by Basil Davidson in his book, *Black Mother*, in which he says that by the end of the eighteenth century

"the value of British incomes derived from trade with the West Indies was said to be four times greater than the value of British income derived from trade with the rest of the world."

At that time, it will be recalled, there was a very heavy concentration of slaves in the West Indies, and trade with the West Indies was the lucrative enterprise it was because there was available this large mass of people who worked without pay. There is some similarity between that situation and what we find in South Africa, where millions of people, as Dr. Verwoerd has so eloquently said, cannot rise above the level of certain forms of labour and are held in conditions which we describe as conditions of slavery, and which, if we wanted to be modest, we would describe as semi-slavery.

Representatives will recall the report, which came through yesterday, of a large number of Africans being trapped in a mine in Johannesburg, with little hope that they could be saved. The first question which occurs in the mind of an African is: what were they doing in that mine? They were working. For how much and for whom? The answer is disturbing, if there is any likelihood that the laws and policies which compel them to work under those conditions and to face death for nothing are going to endure because the big Powers are living and thriving on that system.

There is another disturbing aspect which relates to the question of sanctions. South Africa is encouraging immigrants from countries with white populations - from Britain, from France, from Germany, from Italy, but a large number of these people come from Britain. Firms in Britain are also moving to South Africa. That might not be such a bad thing. If they like to live in South Africa, our attitude is: that is very reasonable. It is a beautiful country. But the country which invites these people is also deporting from South Africa what are described as foreign natives. Africans, some of whom have lived there for over thirty years, are being uprooted and deported to Tanganyika and other countries. Their place, as far as the population of the country is concerned, is being taken by the whites. Therefore this emigration to South Africa is of a racist character. It serves the interests of apartheid. One would have expected some attempt on the part of countries to discourage their citizens from going to South Africa - if for nothing else, at least because we say that it is an explosive situation and we cannot guarantee the safety of these families. Yet we should hate to do anything likely to alienate the rightful support which we have enjoyed from European peoples.

From our point of view, if sanctions are impracticable on any grounds, then nothing remains for anybody. I am using the term "sanctions" in a broad sense, covering all the various methods by which South Africa could be isolated. I should like to plead to this Committee to do the least that we expect of it, to work out how sanctions can be effectively employed - the details of it - how the trade which various countries are conducting with South Africa can be diverted and dispensed among the over one hundred countries that should be in a position to take it up. That would involve a sacrifice, but it is difficult to reconcile the powerful statements which are made here in condemnation of apartheid with the determination to sustain that same apartheid by giving it the means of survival.

No Change of Heart of South African Government

May I refer to other problems in which we are interested and which have arisen in the course of the debate on this question at this session. Reference has been made to, and we ourselves were very interested in, the statement made by the South African representative in the General Assembly. It has been felt that the statement offers some hope and that perhaps there is a re-thinking by South Africa of its policies. I should like to quote from an editorial in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 12 October, which refers to that statement:

"Mr. Jooste occupied the rostrum and a substantial audience heard him through.

"Carefully they listened, weighing up his words. But alas, there was no single, tiny indication of a change of heart. It was the same old South African line which everyone had heard before a dozen times. South Africa would use, Mr. Jooste declared, all available means to defend the policies and possessions of her white population."

The editorial goes on:

"For Britain, America and other important countries of the West, there is now no longer any adequate excuse for stalling. All have condemned apartheid roundly and publicly in the past - now they are being called upon to match their practices to their pronouncements. The bans on arms shipments to South Africa are the first responses to the mounting pressure on them.

"With the continued thawing in the cold war, the South African issue is moving steadily to the top of the world's immediate concern. No longer is it third, or fifth or eighth on the list of priorities. It is desperately close to being the world's number one preoccupation."

We could not agree more with these comments. If any further value would seem to attach to the statements made on behalf of the South African Government, I think it is

effectively disposed of by what Dr. Verwoerd himself has said. I shall quote his words, which are reported in the Hansard, House of Assembly Debates of the Republic of South Africa, Second Session. The statement was made on 25 January 1963. Dr. Verwoerd was replying to a vote of no-confidence moved by the Leader of the Opposition in South Africa:

"What does he mean" - that is, the Opposition Leader - "with 'control' when he says the United Party must retain control? The United Party wants to 'retain control over the entire South Africa'... What does he honestly mean the white man must do there under United Party policy? The word 'control' is a word which means nothing else than white supremacy or white domination. Control cannot have any other meaning than domination, supremacy. You can call it what you like. Control is domination, domination is supremacy, supremacy is domination, supremacy is domination. You cannot get away from that, Sir. Control means that the white man will remain the real controller."

Then he states later:

"I now want to deal with what seems to me the crucial point in respect of which this nation must say whether they have confidence in us or in the Opposition, whether they have confidence in the National Party or in the United Party.

"I maintain that judgement was given in 1961. Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white. The United Party also say they want to keep South Africa white. 'Keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not 'leadership,' not 'guidance,' but 'control,' 'supremacy.'"

Bantustans and Partition

Now, the bantustan theory or practice or policy has been referred to as a possible way out. The Transkei is cited as a glorious example of people marching happily to independence. What Dr. Verwoerd said in January of this year makes it clear that there is no independence contemplated. There cannot be. Happily the majority of delegations have seen through the trick and fraud of the bantustans.

But partition is also being worked up, mainly from outside the United Nations, and partition is a kind of bantustan policy because it is based on the trick, which has been resorted to, of talking about Bantu nations in South Africa and a white nation, of talking about homelands for the Africans in South Africa, but, also, about a white South Africa. These "homelands" are like the locations that we already have, patched outside cities where Africans are concentrated and kept in subjugation, available as labour. Whether it is called "homelands" or bantustans or countries in terms of partition it is still racial discrimination and apartheid - it is still white domination.

In fact, although it has not been stated in so many words, we are worried by any suggestion of partition. Just as we have rejected the bantustans, we reject partition even more, because that would be an acceptance of racism after all. It would be its entrenchment. You would then have established in Africa a system which propagates and is allowed to propagate racism. You would have a portion of the country, the greatest portion of South Africa, surrounded by little, isolated, poor, miserable patches of land called States, a strategy for keeping the African people in permanent servitude. That is no answer to apartheid. There is no answer to apartheid apart from striking directly at its head.

It is so evil and has been condemned so forcibly and so genuinely that the only way to handle it is by destroying it.

Freedom for All

Fears have been expressed, however, that if apartheid were destroyed, the lot of the white people in South Africa would become a doubtful one. We think it is right that the United Nations should concern itself with the welfare of all peoples, even groups of peoples. The Charter states that every individual, whatever his colour, shall be protected from victimisation on the basis of that colour. We ourselves have been worried about the fact that in South Africa there is a group of people, or individuals, or a racial group, which have been subjected to torture and indignity because of the colour of their skins or their origins. That is what we are fighting against.

I should like to refer to statements which have been made by South African leaders, other than myself, indicating our concern in ensuring that South Africa will be a happy country when apartheid has been abandoned. Chief Albert Luthuli made a statement recently from which I quote because it happens to be available. He said:

"The main thing is that the Government and the people should be democratic to the core. It is relatively unimportant who is in the Government. I am not opposed to the present Government because it is white; I am opposed to it only because it is undemocratic and repressive. My idea is a non-racial government chosen on the basis of merit rather than colour. Appeals to racialism at elections should be a legal offence."

Nelson Mandela said at his trial:

"I am no racist and I detest racialism because I regard it as a barbaric thing whether it comes from a black man or a white man."

May I say that these are leaders of people and are expressing the feelings of their people. The only way to ascertain the feelings of people is through what is said by those whom they have chosen to be their leaders and their spokesmen.

Walter Sisulu, who is among those who are facing trial today, has stated:

"The fundamental principle in our struggle is equal rights for all in our country, and that all people who have made South Africa their home, by birth or adoption, irrespective of colour or creed, are entitled to these rights."

Robert Sobukwe, who, after serving for a period of three years, is still in detention indefinitely - perhaps for the rest of his life unless we do something in the meantime, which we hope to be able to do - stated:

"Freedom of the Africans can only be established when the African group comes into its own. Freedom of the Africans means freedom for everyone, including Europeans in this country."

Any other leading personality in the South African liberation movement would have expressed himself in similar terms. The Committee may be aware of a document known as the Freedom Charter which was adopted at a conference to which political parties and all organisations from every racial group were invited. My recollection is that I had written the letters, one of which was addressed to the National Party of South Africa which was then in power.

The Freedom Charter purports to express the views of all South Africans of every race, and the gathering which was held in 1955 represented all races. Everyone was invited. The Freedom Charter begins with these words:

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

That statement, which declares South Africa to belong to all who live in it, is a drastic concession on the part of the African people, but it is a demonstration of the willingness of the African people to live in South Africa with everybody who wants to live there on the basis of absolute equality - no racism, no racial discrimination, no superior race, no inferior race. On that basis South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

It has been suggested by a group of Nordic countries, whose peoples have made great sacrifices for South Africa, that apart from any pressures, such as those which have been referred to in the past, the United Nations should give some attention to the question of what will replace apartheid. We welcome these suggestions, if it is felt that the time has come to work out the details. But the effort would be entirely wasted if it were not also recognised that unless the pressures which have been suggested by delegations and in resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly are intensified, in other words, unless the sanctions in the broadest sense are applied, or an act which is of the nature of sanctions in its effectiveness is undertaken, then it is irrelevant what kind of proposals we may have for the future. The Freedom Charter,

the document to which I have referred, and the other official statements made by prominent leaders in South Africa have been treated by the South African Government as not even worth the paper they are written on - an attitude South Africa will maintain until it finds itself unable to practise the policy of apartheid.

In my own view, we have not yet reached the stage at which we can go into details about what will supplant apartheid, over and above the statements which have been made in explanation of our official policies and over and above the provisions of the Charter itself, which are a protection of individuals. But, needless to say, whatever the United Nations and the countries which have supported us, and the delegations here which have attacked apartheid, feel should be done, we will co-operate with them. I cannot go into the question of when and by what machinery this should be done. I should merely like to say that if we have the opportunity of discussing this - that is, any of our people, any of our leaders - with either the Nordic countries or the African States, or any body which will be established, we will be willing to participate.

But may I repeat that it will be dangerous for the United Nations to get itself bogged down in the pursuit of solutions which are irrelevant to the present situation in South Africa, in concentrating on the details of how to protect the whites in the future and abandoning the more urgent modes of action in the interest of peace, in South Africa and externally; namely, the problem of how to intensify the pressures which have been mentioned in the debates that have been the subject of resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

Challenge to the United Nations

Finally, I should like to say that we have said in the past that the South African situation is approaching a crisis. We said so in 1960 in an unofficial memorandum that we distributed at the United Nations, and there can be no doubt now that South Africa is in a crisis. But this is not the end. That situation is deteriorating rapidly and is capable of any developments any day. The fact that in the last five weeks, or five months, or eight months, on the face of it things have been quiet and peaceful, that investments have been increasing and mounting, that investors have been drawing greater and greater profits, and super-profits, and that people have been flowing into the country - families from everywhere except from Africa - that fact should not blind the world to the realities of the situation.

We cannot be expected to sit side by side with it. We have come to the United Nations because of our belief in it. But if the United Nations finds any real difficulties, we are bound, most naturally, to explore every other avenue that is open to us, whatever that is, to strengthen ourselves in every way that is conceivable. There is no question from our point of view of postponing anything. Apartheid has outlived its time in the world and most certainly in Africa. What would encourage people who like to see changes come about in a peaceful way would be to feel that, now that the

question is in the capable hands of the world's governments, through the machinery of the United Nations, we shall begin to see dawn in South Africa. We thought we saw that dawn when 106 countries voted unanimously against South Africa. We saw so much of the dawn that cables were sent to President Kennedy congratulating the United States. Cables of that kind are not sent to President Kennedy every week or every year. This was a demonstration on the part of people who felt that the United Nations was at long last seizing the bull by the horns.

Cables were even sent to Lord Home, then Foreign Secretary. It was possibly the first cable he has received from any African people about British policy, certainly in South Africa. But this again was a reaction to what appeared to be a decision on the part of the big Powers in the West to join hands with the ordinary people and save the world from an approaching disaster.

But if we got too excited about that decision, and if in fact nothing still is going to be done, then may I repeat that that seems to us to indicate the need to seek other avenues, whatever those may be. Needless to say, in my view - and I may be entirely wrong, but I believe this faithfully - the United Nations cannot allow South Africa to continue acting in defiance of its expressed views, without undermining confidence on the part of the world in the ability of the United Nations to deal with the situation of which it is seized. I also believe that South Africa is imposing a severe strain on the United Nations. But that strain can increase with fatal results, even for a world organisation, unless action is taken immediately. Hence our appeal for action.

MAKE ACCOMPLICES OF APARTHEID ACCOUNT FOR THEIR CONDUCT

*Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, New York,
March 12, 1964*

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Committee:

We wish to thank you on behalf of the African National Congress and all the oppressed people of South Africa for giving us the opportunity once again to appear before you to furnish you with information which may assist the United Nations in taking a decision on the policies of the South African Government which are an increasing menace and threat to peace in Africa and the rest of the world.

With great interest we have read the reports compiled by your Committee, which have been distributed to different parts of the world. These reports, bearing the authority of the United Nations, have served to bring the facts of the South African situation to the immediate attention of the peoples of the world.

We know that this distinguished Committee, no less than ourselves and our people in South Africa, would wish to reduce the area of debate and discussion at the United Nations to the barest minimum, and to allow time for decisions and action aimed at the root of the evil of racialism which threatens to overflow its South African boundaries and engulf the rest of mankind. We shall therefore avoid inflicting you with a recitation of the sordid facts of apartheid rule in South Africa, and will rather address ourselves, by way of emphasis, to possible ways and means whereby the United Nations could interpose its authority in the interests of human life, of peace and of security. To this end we wish to recapitulate some of the observations made by our delegation when it appeared before your Committee in July 1963 and by myself in an address to the Special Political Committee during the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Claiming to act in the name of "Christian" civilisation and "Western" democracy, the South African Government has spared no energies in unleashing a most barbarous attack on the African people and other opponents of its policies. Documents circulated by this Committee abound in evidence of inhuman methods of torture perpetrated on a scale unprecedented in the history of South Africa. During the last year innocent people were arrested and cast into solitary prison cells, and there subjected to unrestrained savagery by these self-appointed representatives of so-called Christian civilisation and Western democracy.

We are grateful, Mr. Chairman, to note that in response to the appeals we made in the name of our people, when our delegation appeared before your Committee last

year, both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa and calling for the release of all persons detained or otherwise restricted because of their opposition to the policies of apartheid.⁵ It is common knowledge, however, that the South African Government has completely, and openly, ignored these resolutions. The behaviour of this Member State of the United Nations in persistently flouting well-considered decisions of this world body calls for immediate investigation.

Accomplices of Apartheid

In conformity with its disregard of world opinion, the South African Government has continued to press on with the enforcement of its apartheid policies which are invariably aimed at the black people of South Africa - I would include all who are not considered white - and pursued for the sole benefit of the white population. Giving added encouragement and strength to this sustained persecution of our people, foreign investments have continued to pour into South Africa in an unbroken stream.

Last year, we proposed that those countries which have economically involved themselves on the side of our oppressors "be called upon to withdraw forthwith from the arena of conflict in our country and that they should be specifically indicted in the forums of this Organisation." We went on:

"As a first step in the process of censuring those bodies and organisations which deliberately flout the decisions of this Organisation by giving support and aid to the white racists in South Africa, we propose that a blacklist of companies such as De Beers Limited, African Explosives and Chemical Industries and others which collaborate with the South African Government in the manufacture of ammunition in the country should be compiled. Members of this Organisation should be called upon to sever relations with these companies."

We are pleased to note that at its recent meeting in Lagos, the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity has decided to establish a Committee charged with the task of compiling a comprehensive report on the nature and extent of trade conducted by certain countries and companies with South Africa on the one hand, and with Member States of the Organisation of African Unity on the other hand. This report, we learn, will be submitted to the Conference of African Heads of State for decision and necessary action. It is our hope that such a report will be made available to Member States of the United Nations sympathetic to the cause of the African people in South Africa and wishing to join the African States in taking measures against the South African Government and all its active supporters.

⁵ Security Council resolutions 181 of 7 August 1963, and 182 of 4 December 1963; General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) of 11 October 1963.

White immigrants, mainly from Great Britain, have recently been entering South Africa in large batches, no doubt to share in the all-white looting of African labour, to render numerical support to the South African Government and to give physical expression to the solidarity which the home countries of these immigrants have with white domination in South Africa. Member States of the United Nations who have joined in the condemnation of racial discrimination in South Africa and who have either connived at or encouraged emigration to South Africa are helping to extend the area of racialism and racial conflict in the world to their own countries. We would urge this Committee to take steps to bring this practice to the notice of the United Nations.

Repeated reports indicate that South Africa is enjoying an economic boom. This is no doubt encouraged by a sense of security induced by the belief that with arms supplied by its friends, the South African Government is able to ensure stability in South Africa. In explanation of this stability, gleeful fingers are pointed at the leaders of the liberation movement and other opponents of apartheid who are either languishing in jail, subject to various restrictions, being tortured, or facing trial on charges carrying penalties which range from long terms of imprisonment to death by hanging.

While we do not feel the need to argue with those who regard this form of stability as real, we consider it pertinent to ask who, as between the white supremacist in South Africa and the profit-seeking foreign investor, is the happier to see the Africans and other opponents of racial discrimination hounded, harassed and herded into jails, tortured, sentenced and hanged? Who is the greater racist as between those who formulate and enforce theories and policies of racial superiority and those who furnish the capital, technical knowledge and manpower for the execution and maintenance of those policies?

In the past we have stated, and we repeat now, that the oppressed people in South Africa must and will settle accounts with their oppressors by any methods and means open to them, the determining consideration being whether they want to achieve their freedom at all costs or to live in bondage forever. But insofar as the South African situation is the immediate concern of the United Nations, then those outside South Africa who are accomplices in the perpetration of an acknowledged vice, must account for their conduct to world opinion.

We would strongly recommend that this Committee in its search for modes of action against apartheid should give a substantial share of its time and energies to a consideration of the means by which such accomplices can be made to reconcile their public protestations with their deeds. For, it would be dangerous, even if it were possible, to continue pretending that the joint condemnation of apartheid by its opponents and ardent supporters is sufficient to dislodge a system which draws strength from a combination of economic power, military strength and an unbridled zeal for the use of brute force.

For another reason it is important to be clear as to what makes apartheid possible and what guarantees its continuance. Reputed leaders of our people - men of unquestionable integrity and uncompromising enemies of any evil system practised by man on man - are today standing in danger of losing their lives, precisely because they are the men that they are. It is true that for many years the whole world has warned the South African Government of the unavoidable consequences of its conduct of affairs. But it is equally true that for many more years the South African Government has received all the financial and material encouragement it needed for continuing and persisting in its policies and practices. We cannot over-emphasise the urgency of identifying all those forces and influences which should be held answerable for any past, present or future loss of life in South Africa.

Trials of Opponents of Apartheid

Mr. Chairman, following a long list of political trials in various parts of South Africa, nineteen political leaders, including a girl of seventeen years, have recently been sentenced in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, to terms of imprisonment of from 5 to 20 years. Twenty-five other leaders are on trial in Ladysmith, Natal, and in Cape Town the case against eleven political leaders and trade unionists - among them there are four women - has been proceeding now for five months, the charge against the accused being incitement to acts of sabotage. There are many other similar trials.

But mention must be made once again of the Pretoria case against Nelson Mandela and others, which is now approaching its closing stages, the State having led all its evidence against the leaders. This case will be resumed on April 7th, when evidence on behalf of the leaders will be tendered. This is the case which was the subject of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in October last year. The fact that this trial has continued uninterrupted despite that resolution presents the United Nations with one of its most crucial tests. It is a case which is capable of giving rise to serious complications in South Africa and beyond its borders and one whose progress should be kept under the closest observation by this Committee.

We would urge the Committee, in its reports, to underline the importance of individual Member States of the United Nations, in their own spheres of influence, taking active steps to prevent the South African Government from embarking on acts and carrying on a policy so inescapably subversive of peace. In this connection, it is our feeling that not enough is being done at the international level to challenge the right of the South African Government to hold as criminals, to persecute and even kill men, women and young people, whose basic and sole offence is their opposition to inhuman practices.

Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

If there was any doubt in the minds of anyone that what the South African

Government is asking for its trouble in South Africa, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, now before the all-White South African Parliament, should completely remove that doubt. In this new instalment of apartheid the South African Government goes out of its way to push the African population deeper into the dungeons of slavery. In one of its key clauses the Bill establishes a network of what are euphemistically termed "Aid Centres." These are in fact slave labour detention camps which are intended to entrap all Africans out of the bantustan area.⁶ It will be recalled that the bantustan scheme seeks to confine some four million Africans in poverty-stricken cheap labour reservoirs presently known as reserves. Africans forced by hunger and starvation out of these reserves or bantustans will be caught up in this network. Those at present living outside the reserves will similarly be regimented into the scheme. The Africans ensnared in these "Aid Centres" will be distributed as black labour to white masters and farmers throughout the country. The end result will be a homeless, migrant, slave population of eleven million Africans. Even the practice of catching Africans in the streets and selling them to white farmers, which was stamped out by the courts a few years ago, is now being re-introduced and legalised in the Bill.

Thus, straight from listening to years of condemnation of the ruthless system by which the whites maintain themselves in power over Africans, and after hearing warnings that such a system endangers peace and security as much in South Africa as everywhere else in the world, this arrogant collection of power-drunk race maniacs have now produced an apartheid measure which deals with the African on the basis that he is purely and simply a thing - a chattel in the control and service of the white man. He is a labour unit, not a living human being with personal and civil rights; not a man entitled to freedom and the right to plan and run his own life, and determine his own destiny. To these men who boast of the strongest bonds of friendship between them and the British and Americans, the African is at best a slave in all but name. They own and possess him, and have now evolved a scheme for selling him.

No one can doubt any longer now that life for the African in South Africa is not life. If it is, it is worth nothing. But we promise that in that event no other life in South Africa is worth anything - white or not white.

Let the United Nations and the world, therefore, save what it can. What it cannot will either be destroyed or destroy itself. This, to us, seems inevitable enough.

⁶ The South African Government began in 1963 to consolidate scattered African reserves on a tribal basis and grant them "self-government", with a promise of possible "independence", in order to divide the Africans and dispossess them of rights in most of the country. These areas called "homelands" by the regime were denounced by the people as "bantustans".

GREETINGS TO OUR FRIENDS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

New Year Message to Mr. E. S. Reddy, Principal Secretary, United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, January 17, 1967

At the beginning of the New Year, I would like to send cordial seasonal greetings to all friends of our cause, and particularly to our friends in the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid.

Those of us who are engaged in the struggle for justice and for the destruction of racial oppression in our country are deeply grateful for all the help that is being given, both materially and morally, in our fight against a ruthless tyranny.

At this time of joy, there is much for us to sorrow over in our country, and unhappiness for many persons and families in South Africa who are bearing the brunt of apartheid oppression. But we are also conscious of the generous help which is being given by our friends, to alleviate hardship, to give legal assistance to those being persecuted for their resistance to apartheid, and to enable us to go on fighting in good heart.

For this we are especially grateful to the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid and all its devoted workers. The Special Committee on Apartheid has engaged in many worthy ventures on behalf of the struggling masses of South Africa and I would particularly like to commend support for the Campaign for the Release of Imprisoned Politicians in South Africa; this is one project which we can never abandon, and which we must continually be working on. There can be no letting up until the men who are condemned to spend their lives in prison because they fought injustice are free: this is the duty which we owe to them and which we cannot abandon, and so I am especially glad to commend this project to which Defence and Aid International are now giving a great deal of their support and attention.⁷

The fight for freedom must go on until it is won; until our country is free and happy and peaceful as part of the community of man, we cannot rest. And so, at the beginning of a New Year, I greet you all and wish you well and say: Thank you, and forward to the freedom of our country.

⁷ The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, led by the Reverend Canon L. John Collins, set up a World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners in South Africa - initiated earlier by the Anti-Apartheid Movement - with Mr. Dennis Brutus as Director. The Special Committee, which gave great attention to this matter since 1963, welcomed that Campaign as a means to promote greater public action.

PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Paper prepared at the request of the Special Committee against Apartheid, June 1968⁸

Twenty years ago last month, a minority of the white minority in South Africa, steeped in the doctrines Hitler sought to impose by force on mankind, seized political power from another section of the white minority and immediately embarked on a vicious offensive against basic human rights. Later that year, the accredited representatives of the world's Governments, filled with the horror of Nazism and fascism, assembled at the United Nations and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Thus the year 1948 witnessed the crystallisation of two opposing forces: the one, resting on an international base, seeking to advance human rights in all parts of the world and the other, aiming at a studied destruction of human rights for all black people, and spearheaded by a clique of white-skinned men and women in South Africa.

It is fair to say that both forces have made great strides since that eventful year. On the one hand, hundreds of millions of people spread over Africa, Asia and the Caribbean Islands have won their independence and regained their human dignity. A new Africa is being built on the ruins of a colonial era, and a once dominated, oppressed and humiliated two-thirds of the world now forms an integral and acknowledged part of the international community of peoples. This is an indisputable triumph of the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

On the other hand, the bonds of bondage that bound millions of black people in South Africa twenty years ago have since been tightened to the absolute limit, the screws of oppression and exploitation have been driven in without mercy and racial discrimination permeates every sphere of South African life. Basic freedoms, few and far between in 1948, have been ruthlessly whittled away until today there are none worth mentioning. This, also, is an indisputable achievement for the doctrines of *baaskap*, superiority of the white skin and colonial domination, and is the more sinister because victory for reactionary forces is by definition the defeat of the forces for progress.

These achievements of twenty years of effort in two opposite directions lend special significance to the International Year for Human Rights proclaimed by the

⁸ This paper was presented to the special session held by the Special Committee in Stockholm in June 1968.

General Assembly and underscore the historic importance which the African National Congress of South Africa, together with its allies and sister political organisations and all genuine opponents of Nazism, attach to General Assembly resolution 2307(XXII) adopted on 13 December 1967, authorising the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa⁹ "to intensify its efforts to promote the international campaign against apartheid."

In view of the oft-repeated claim by the fascist Government of South Africa that there is peace and calm in that country, and by the big Western Powers that the situation in South Africa in no way constitutes a threat to international peace and security - claims persisted in despite constant warnings not only by the liberation movement in South Africa but also by the vast majority of United Nations Member States - it might be useful to refer to some of the developments in and around South Africa during the past five years.

Recent Developments in South Africa

The South African delegate to the General Assembly in 1963 presented South Africa as an island of peace in a turbulent world, with great strides being made not only in the general welfare of what are contemptuously termed "Bantu" but also in the direction of "Bantu self-government," the Transkei being cited as an example of guided progress towards independence.

Since then, however, the racist regime has had to present the world with the barbarous 90-day and 180-day detention acts invoked to legalise police torture and secret murder, in a desperate bid to suppress the liberation movement; there have been more political hangings and life imprisonments, as well as the greatest number of long-term political prisoners than during any corresponding period in the twenty years of fascist rule in South Africa; the State of Emergency in the Transkei, first proclaimed in 1960, is still in force in this so-called self-governing territory; the much-publicised policy of creating more bantustans in South Africa has ground to a halt in the face of the stubborn resistance of the people; to the unprecedented collection of draconian laws that besmirch the South African statute book, and despite the notorious "Sabotage Act," there has now been added the infamous Terrorism Act.

These measures are not consistent with the prevalence of a state of cordial relations between a white master and his black servant. Nor are they adopted merely to maintain a *status quo ante* or destroy a subversive liberation movement. They seek to contain a swelling tide of revolution and revolt by the masses of the people against the entire system represented by white racist minority rule. These measures are as inevitable in the short term as they are valueless and even disastrous in the long term - inevitable because those who set out to reverse the course of human history and

⁹ The official name of the Committee at the time was "Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa". It was subsequently changed to "Special Committee against Apartheid".

change the basic nature of living man must need resort to methods that are increasingly offensive and intolerable to man; valueless because these methods must fail and are failing; disastrous because by their racialist orientation, purpose and brutality, their growing effect is to bedevil the future for the very white minority whose interests they purport to serve and protect.

Thus predictably, the logic of an economic policy founded on racial discrimination has forced the South African regime to further tighten the iniquitous Pass Laws by enacting legislation such as the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, more completely condemning the African population to the status of cheap migrant labour for white-owned industries. This law, the Suppression of Communism Act, the "Sabotage Act," the 90-day and 180-day detention laws, the Terrorism Act and numerous sections and sub-sections all combine to form a repressive umbrella under cover of which a reign of police terror has been unleashed and is sweeping through the towns and rural areas of South Africa. The people are being hunted and hounded out of their homes, from one segregated ghetto to another, deported from towns and cities to the countryside, and in the country subjected to house-to-house raids in the course of which weapons of every description are seized and confiscated. Intimidation and victimisation of opponents of apartheid has mounted.

In the meantime, the exploitation of people has become more ruthless as the economy flourishes in an unprecedented boom. While such diseases as tuberculosis are being eliminated among the whites in South Africa, they are taking a heavy toll of life among the Africans and other victims of white minority rule, and nowhere is this more evident than in the bantustan territory of the Transkei.

Armed Struggle for Freedom

It is these and similar conditions, *inter alia*, that are at once the cause and the effect of the escalating racial conflict between the ruling white minority and the ruled black majority in South Africa, and it is important to warn again and again that this escalation, born of a policy that is strictly inhuman, can only be accelerated, far from being slowed down, by lapse of time.

By the year 1961, it had reached a level which led the African National Congress and the oppressed population of South Africa to decide on armed struggle as the next phase of the fight for freedom. That decision which, it can now be said, will always constitute an important chapter in any analysis of the current political situation in the whole of southern Africa, was not taken lightly. The massive loss of life it entailed, the destruction of property, its implication for individual African independent States and for the peace and security of the whole of Africa and the world were not lost to the African National Congress and its leaders.

But no one familiar with the struggles of oppressed peoples against colonialism and racial discrimination, particularly in the period since World War II, no one conversant

with the long struggle of the South African people, and no one who believes wholeheartedly in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can seriously question the decision of the oppressed people of South Africa and their allies to embark on a national revolutionary armed struggle for freedom. For any who may still be in doubt, it is necessary only to refer to the countless resolutions condemning and demanding the abandonment of the policies of apartheid which have been adopted over a period of at least two decades by the United Nations, by its many committees and agencies, by individual Governments, organisations, conferences and groups of men and women in every quarter of the world; to the numerous times that the apartheid regime has ignored and defied these resolutions and appeals; to the mountains of documents and paperwork embodying studies revealing the horrors of white rule in South Africa, all of which make our freedom struggle one of the most thoroughly documented in history; finally, we need only refer to the sustained and mounting violence with which our peaceful and non-violent struggles were treated, including the series of massacres inflicted on our people when they sought, unarmed, the restoration of their human dignity.

Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of non-violence who founded and perfected his methods of struggle in South Africa, often said that he preferred violence to cowardice, and we may here recall the words of Chief Luthuli in 1964, from the isolation of Groutville, Natal, when he explained the new phase of the freedom struggle:

"However, in the face of an uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - FREEDOM - no one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor can they be blamed if they tried to create organised force in order ultimately to establish peace and racial harmony."

Conflict in Southern Africa

There have been other developments in the past few years bearing directly on the struggle against apartheid. The attainment of independence by Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho has occurred side by side with the implementation of an expansionist policy by the Pretoria regime, which has for its aim the establishment of an empire ruled over by the white master-race, and consisting of a large number of small black bantustans extending over the whole of southern Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Zambia refused to be part of this empire or to stoop to the status of a glorified bantustan. Instead she threw her weight behind the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa. This led the South African regime to strengthen its ties with the other members of the unholy alliance, particularly Rhodesia. Ian Smith¹⁰ admitted last year that if the South African Government had

¹⁰ Prime Minister of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia

not given him assurances of support, he would not have proceeded with UDI¹¹. In fact South Africa can be expected to have encouraged UDI to ensure the existence of a neighbouring white minority regime to which she is now in the process of exporting apartheid.

The rest of the independent African States bordering on South Africa are faced with a choice between supporting the racist regime and supporting the liberation movement and little evidence of neutrality. The masses of the people throughout southern Africa remain totally opposed to white minority rule and fully support the struggle of their brothers in South Africa. The attempts by the South African racist regime to blackmail and bully neighbouring African governments into allying themselves with it is a mean and selfish move to involve these governments in a bloody defence of its inhuman policies in the same manner that it has driven 200,000 whites in Zimbabwe into an unequal war with 4,000,000 Africans.

With the growing scope and intensity of the struggle against the apartheid regime and other members of the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Salazar,¹² the pressure on neighbouring States to become actively involved increases, and the conflict progressively takes on the character of a confrontation between colonial and white minority rule on the one side, and on the other, the combined numerical might of the supporters of majority rule in southern Africa. In this sense the armed struggle against apartheid is the struggle against white minority rule everywhere, and has become inseparable from the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe as well as being an essential part of the struggle for freedom from Portuguese colonialism.

It is these factors, among others, which explain the alliance that has been forged between the African National Congress of South Africa and the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

The armed struggle launched by these two liberation movements in Zimbabwe has exposed not only the deep involvement of the Pretoria regime in the internal affairs of Rhodesia, but also its sinister designs against African States. Already the South African Prime Minister has repeated wild threats against Zambia. These threats have been followed up by the derailment of trains in Zambia, the blowing up of a bus, the bombing of civilians and very recently the blowing up of an important bridge. The existence of an active unholy alliance of which Vorster is a key member makes it unimportant which member of the unholy alliance is responsible for the attacks.

It is clear therefore that even at this very early stage of the armed conflict the situation in southern Africa, precisely because it now directly involves South Africa, is beginning to have serious international repercussions. When the conflict springs up and spreads, as it soon must, over South African territory, the desperation of the

¹¹ Unilateral Declaration of Independence

¹² B. J. Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa; Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia; and Antonio de Oliviera Salazar, dictator of Portugal.

apartheid regime can be expected to make itself felt in the rest of Africa. But let it be emphasised that having started the armed struggle, we shall pursue it with increasing ferocity until the monster of racism and exploitation has been completely destroyed. The probability of an international crisis resulting from our struggle will not deter us.

Vorster's threats have been triggered off by the fact that already, the South African regime is paying heavily in blood for the crimes it has perpetrated against our people under its apartheid policies. Scores of South African troops have been killed by ZAPU-ANC guerillas in what are merely preliminary encounters in Rhodesia.

Isolate the South African Regime

So far we have omitted reference to the role of foreign capital and other financial interests of Western countries in the South African situation. This question, however, has been thoroughly canvassed in statements, memoranda and reports now in the possession of the United Nations. What remains to be considered is action which must be taken to induce these countries to withdraw their support for the apartheid regime.

We in the African National Congress have always believed that the honourable task of freeing South Africa rested firmly with the people of South Africa themselves. The task of international organisations was to assist the liberation movement. This still remains the fundamental position of principle from which all international action should be appraised.

We have in the past insisted on sanctions being imposed on South Africa. We believe this demand is more valid now when the armed struggle is in progress than at any previous time. We interpret United Nations resolutions acknowledging the legitimacy of our struggle and calling for moral and material support for it as meaning, *inter alia*, that member governments should honour and carry out United Nations decisions on South Africa, including termination of trade links with that country. The least the United Nations can do is to enforce compliance with its resolutions by all member States and to consider appropriate action against those countries which undermine these decisions.

Trade with South Africa by Britain, France, West Germany, United States of America, Italy and Japan is no moral and material support for the liberation movement but a deliberate act designed to perpetuate a racist regime in southern Africa. As such, it is a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Other international pressures have been enforced in the past. It would be absurd for these to be in any way reduced at a time the struggle of our people requires that they be considerably increased. The impression that South Africa has been totally unaffected by international pressures is one which the well-financed information

service of that Government has spent millions to induce. It is a massive international whistling in the dark which South Africa must not be allowed to get away with. The recent hullabaloo over the exclusion of South Africa from the Mexico Olympic Games is an indication of how much the advocates of white supremacy feel international pressure. Therefore the demands for political, military, social and cultural isolation of the present regime remain valid and must be pursued with greater effort, organisation and skill. Such pressures are now an important part of the armed struggle for the overthrow of apartheid by the people of South Africa and are a form of support for our people.

The South African Information Service has vast resources at its disposal and is supported by powerful lobbies in various key countries, through the radio, by means of glossy well-produced magazines distributed free, by means of films shown free whenever requested and, above all, by extolling an economy whose benefits are derived from the brutal exploitation of our people. It is essential that there should always be a world-wide campaign to win the masses of the people to the struggle for the complete eradication of racialism and apartheid.

Struggle will Grow until Victory

Any measures carried out by the international community are, however, only supplementary to the efforts of the oppressed people and their allies. The burden of conquering freedom is theirs. Our armed struggle begins, as always in such struggles, with the oppressed people weak materially, although powerful in the justice of their cause. But it will grow in strength like the triumphant struggle of the great and heroic people of Vietnam. Already in the armed clashes that have taken place, the white fascists have taken a severe beating from the ZAPU-ANC guerillas. A worse fate awaits them in the coming years. The price to be paid in South Africa and far beyond its borders will be enormously high, but final victory will go to the defenders of peace and human dignity.

NEED FOR NEW LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

*Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Stockholm,
June 18, 1968*¹³

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, distinguished representatives and guests:

Permit me first of all, Sir, to express the gratitude of the African National Congress for the invitation extended to me to submit a paper to this important, in many ways historic, session of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

Your Committee, Mr. Chairman,¹⁴ which has been entrusted with one of the most difficult tasks by the United Nations, has been an inspiring example of devotion to the cause of freedom for the people of South Africa. Your own inspired and capable leadership of this Committee, the resourcefulness of your Secretary¹⁵ and the devotion of the members of the Committee has made this organ of the United Nations in a way an important wing of the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa. It has helped to bring the United Nations closer to us than might have been the case otherwise and has served to make up for the loss of confidence in the ability of the United Nations to assist, to which we have sometimes fallen victim.

We know that you and your Committee, Sir, in turn draw inspiration and energy for your work not only from the unfailing support you enjoy from the vast majority of the United Nations members, but also from the devoted leadership of the United Nations Secretary-General, His Excellency U Thant, whose bitter opposition to the inhumanities of apartheid is for our people a source of encouragement and continued faith in the ability of the United Nations to intervene effectively in the South African situation, given the necessary will on the part of all its powerful members. I would ask you to convey to the Secretary-General the gratitude of the leaders of our liberation movement, both in and outside South African prisons, for his vigilance and concern over the South African situation.

It has been my special honour and privilege to be welcomed to Sweden by the Social Democratic Party as its guest and to have met His Excellency the Prime

¹³ The Special Committee held meetings in the Parliament building in Stockholm in June 1968, during the International Year of Human Rights, with the participation of public leaders from all Nordic countries.

¹⁴ Mr. Achkar Marof of Guinea

¹⁵ Mr. E. S. Reddy

Minister.¹⁶ The choice of Sweden as the venue for the session was from our point of view appropriate in a special sense because, of all the Western European countries, Sweden, with the rest of Scandinavia, has played a dominant role in the sphere of international pressures against apartheid and in giving moral and material support for the victims of apartheid.

Among the prominent citizens of this country, we have Her Excellency Mrs. Alva Myrdal, who is an expert on the South African situation.¹⁷ I had the honour to present to her, in the United Nations Group of Experts in 1964 our approach to the problems of the South African situation and the ways by which we thought that even at that late stage a solution might be found. We shall continue to regard her as an expert because I believe that a time will be coming when the world, and particularly ourselves, will feel the need to refer to the recommendations and findings of her Group¹⁸ and whensoever this happens, Mrs. Myrdal will be one of the persons that we shall have in mind.

I said yesterday that in her contribution she had raised a number of questions.¹⁹ Now, I want to say today that there is, in fact, at this stage no positive answer to the question of what preparations we are making for the time when we shall be taking over. These are too insignificant at this stage to deserve mention. They depend largely on the co-operation not only of the United Nations and its agencies but on a whole number of people who would place at our disposal their services and facilities. Our people cannot leave South Africa. We have no immediate means of doing anything with them, except put them behind the wheel of struggle in South Africa. They cannot come out and travel freely because international law requires that they should have documents to do so. South Africa will give them no documents. Therefore there is no impressive state at present, short of real assistance from friends and countries and Governments, on the basis of which we could make various preparations. But we have them in mind.

There is another reason, Mr. Chairman, why Sweden is in our view so appropriate as a venue for this session of your Committee. It was in Scandinavia, in Norway, and - but for the fears of the South African Government - might have been Sweden itself,

¹⁶ Tage Erlander

¹⁷ Mrs. Myrdal was Chairman of the Group of Experts on South Africa, established by the United Nations Secretary-General, at the request of the Security Council, in 1964 "to examine methods of resolving the present situation in South Africa through full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all inhabitants of the territory as a whole, regardless of race, colour or creed".

¹⁸ The Group recommended, in its report of April 1954, that all efforts should be urgently directed to the formation of a National Convention fully representative of all the people of South Africa, to set a new course for the future. It made a number of suggestions for promoting a peaceful solution.

¹⁹ Mrs. Myrdal had suggested on the previous day the need for planning on several aspects of the future of South Africa - e.g. the constitution, bill of rights, social problems, education - and enquired if such planning was being undertaken. She also suggested an urgent examination of the logistics of sanctions against South Africa.

that seven and a half years ago, our beloved leader, Chief Albert Luthuli, made what has turned out to have been his last public address to his people, to Africa and to mankind. He stated then, when he was in Scandinavia: "All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength have been given to the pursuance of the non-violent method of struggle in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa and I have bravely paid the penalties for it." Mr. Chairman, he paid the final penalty when he was killed in a mysterious train accident on July 21st last year. He was then in his place of restriction and confinement in Groutville, Natal. The African National Congress is working on plans to honour his memory, and when these are announced it is our hope that the world that knew and supported his leadership will participate in paying lasting tribute to his life and work.²⁰

May I mention another severe loss sustained by our people in the death recently of Professor Z.K. Matthews, a political colleague of Chief Luthuli for many years and an outstanding leader of our people, who was Botswana's Ambassador to Washington and the United Nations. Apartheid persecuted him until he left South Africa and he spent the rest of his life in the service of the people of newly independent Botswana.

These two great leaders of our people have not left a vacuum. They have left behind their colleagues in the leadership of that people. Many of these are on Robben Island, in Pretoria's gaols, in other gaols in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Bram Fischer, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, and countless others have their hearts where they were before they were incarcerated. We hear from them and their morale and spirit is an inspiration to us and a cause for us to more than double our efforts. Their resistance to the conditions of prison is a challenge to the people who stand with them in the determination that South Africa be free.

Mr. Chairman, the paper that I have presented deals in general terms with the present stage of the struggle in South Africa. I should like to emphasise a few aspects of what I have said in the paper.

Southern Africa - an Area of Common Struggle

First of all, it seems important to appreciate that apartheid, the worst form of racialism in the world, is confined not only to South Africa; the policy of the South African Government is confining its effects not only to the territory of South Africa. South Africa is the main base on which this evil will be conquered, but the evil extends its tentacles to areas beyond the borders of the South African State. South Africa is tied up intimately with the rest of southern Africa and the intimacy grows by the day. The African National Congress is confronted in South Africa with a powerful machinery which spreads itself out and is just about as effective outside

²⁰ The Luthuli Memorial Foundation was subsequently set up in London and received contributions from Nordic governments.

South Africa itself and therefore, with the progress of the struggle, the involvement of South Africa outside of its borders has been increasing and today what is happening outside South Africa is as important as what might be happening within South Africa itself.

In other words, progressively southern Africa is becoming an area of common struggle against a common enemy. The power of the South African State enables it to conduct a determined struggle in defence of its position in such territories as Zimbabwe. This explains why the people of South Africa have become involved in Zimbabwe. It is not that we are fighting Smith only or an illegal regime: we are also fighting apartheid itself, if you like, on the outskirts, although it is obviously not our strategy to conquer apartheid merely on the outskirts; but this has become inevitable precisely because there is an increasing degree of South African presence in Rhodesia and we in southern Africa have come to recognise that southern Africa will be conquered, as an area, when South Africa itself is conquered.

People are often concerned to know why there is silence, peace, quiet, in South Africa, as the South African Government claims, why the South Africans are fighting in Rhodesia? The reason is that South Africa is in a turbulent state under the surface, but the turbulence is approaching the surface and has been for some time. The clash that takes place in Zimbabwe, which involves South Africans, both supporters of apartheid and opponents of it, is an outgrowth of the conditions, the explosive conditions, within South Africa itself. Our supporters in the world should recognise that South Africa has an interest in maintaining a white minority government in Rhodesia and this is because it wants to defend and perpetuate the racist State in South Africa itself. I have said before, and I would like to repeat now, Mr. Chairman, that what we see happening in Rhodesia is the beginning of what we shall soon see happening inside South Africa itself and if today there is an explosion, an explosive situation, in Zimbabwe, which people can see, it is a matter of time before the same sort of explosion will be seen to take place in South Africa.

Withdraw Support to Apartheid Regime

Now there is an error which we make, which the world makes, of separating the evils of apartheid from the sources of power which maintain apartheid. Apartheid has continued to defy world opinion, even to resist our own determined efforts, not so much because it is in itself an evil and an unconquerable system, but simply because it is enabled to exist. It is enabled to exist by those who give support to it. Apartheid, like the African people of South Africa and all the oppressed people of southern Africa, can fight with support and the support which has made apartheid possible for so long is the financial support which it receives from outside South Africa, and in order to appreciate part of the determination of the racist regime in South Africa, one has to recognise that they have something to rely on, they have been given power.

It was in recognition of this that we have suggested to the international community

two forms in which they can assist, and I want to emphasise that what we are asking the world to do is not to solve our problems for us but to assist us solve those problems. We have tried to ask that assistance be given in such a way that we can solve the problems peacefully. That has not been forthcoming and we are continuing to try to solve the problems with the methods that are available to us and the stage that has been reached is that the methods apparently available to us now are those which we have tried to resist over a long period of time. They are the methods of violence.

We have asked the world to assist at two separate levels - the one is to withdraw assistance from apartheid. Instead, that assistance has been increased. The demand that no arms should be supplied, that there should be no trade with South Africa, that there should be economic sanctions against South Africa, was a demand for withdrawal of the assistance which makes apartheid so difficult to conquer.

Assist the Liberation Movement Directly

The other form was not of withdrawing assistance, but giving assistance to us directly. There are countries in the world which do assist us materially, directly. The whole world supports us morally. Some countries, some people and some institutions give us assistance materially. Part of this assistance goes to our people generally, to the victims of apartheid. It goes for the defence of those who are being persecuted under the apartheid laws, it assists the dependents of the victims of apartheid. Part of the assistance should come directly to the liberation movement. This is the other aspect of assistance which comes to us.

We have appealed for direct assistance to the liberation movement, precisely because in the final analysis it is the liberation movement, it is the people of South Africa, acting politically, that will destroy apartheid, and if the world is so concerned about the destruction of apartheid and the removal of that scourge from mankind, the task of doing that rests on the liberation movement and there is every reason why we should come to Sweden as an organisation, as a liberation movement, and ask to be directly assisted. We have asked the United Nations to authorise this so that individual governments and peoples and countries will have no excuse for refusing us direct assistance.²¹

Enforce Economic Sanctions against South Africa

There is another mistake we have made. Apartheid is like Hitlerism, Nazism. It will not be conquered by trying to talk to it, by only passing resolutions about it or by approaching it hesitatingly. It will not even be conquered by ordinary methods. It will be conquered by methods that are perhaps more drastic than in the ordinary case.

²¹ The Swedish government decided in 1969 to provide direct assistance to African liberation movements for humanitarian and social purposes.

When concern is expressed about the effectiveness of economic sanctions, I think that this reveals a failure to appreciate that nothing short of that will help to destroy apartheid. We have decided, and other people before us have decided, that we must sacrifice our lives, commit millions to massacre as the only method by which apartheid will be conquered. This is why we demand a willingness on the part of the world to make a similar sacrifice if it is true that apartheid is evil and a threat to international peace.

Some have said, and I do not want to say I agree with them, Mr. Chairman, that Vietnam is a horror of horrors, but a Vietnam in southern Africa would be an unprecedented horror of horrors. If this assessment is correct, the world is doing very little about it. This is what we are facing and have decided to face because the worst of all horrors in the world is to live forever as a slave, as a hated, despised, sub-human, and this we reject. Therefore, I would like to emphasise the call on the United Nations to enforce economic sanctions against South Africa. This would be effective even as against Rhodesia itself.

Sanctions against Rhodesia may be effective to a limit, but they are likely to be completely effective if, in the first instance, they were aimed at South Africa. Progressively, Rhodesia is going to depend, for its ability to resist the people, on the willingness of South Africa and its ability to support it. If there is a genuine determination to destroy Smith and to destroy colonial rule in Rhodesia, then that should express itself in determination to subject South Africa to economic sanctions.

Our own struggle has given a new meaning, I think, to the whole concept of pressures against apartheid. We feel that there should be an upgrading of the method of attack, that we should recognise that what is being done, which has been very good, Mr. Chairman, is not sufficient. It is totally inadequate. It helps to maintain an attitude of disapproval of apartheid, but it is not doing sufficient to destroy it. The armed struggle, which has been started, means that the rest of the world can participate in the fight against apartheid, by its sanctions, by increasing its own activities against apartheid in proportion to the sacrifices which we are making already.

Call for a New Level of Activity

A number of young people of Zimbabwe and African and Indian and Coloured people of South Africa, have died. Happily, they have not died alone. A war is starting and it has been costly in human lives, as much to us as to our enemies, but this is the beginning of a war which we said might develop into an international crisis of unpredictable proportions. It calls for new methods, new levels of activity at the international level. This is particularly so because this after all is Human Rights Year and as from last year we started preparing the ground for an upgraded attack and campaign against apartheid, by the armed struggle which opened in Zimbabwe a year ago. It provides a very good excuse for the United Nations adopting drastic action. It

provides a very good excuse for individual countries, for Sweden among others, for Scandinavia, for all those which have shown a genuine interest and concern for the situation in southern Africa.

Human Rights Year should be the beginning of a new and more vigorous campaign in support of the armed struggle which, although as I have said is being waged geographically in Zimbabwe, is in fact and in reality a struggle against racism, against the South African apartheid system.

Leadership of the Struggle

There is one fact I would like to add and that is that the liberation movement in South Africa is divided into a number of parties. This has either been an excuse or a problem, giving rise to pessimism about the extent of the assistance that should be given to the liberation movement. Despite this, let it be recognised, I ask, Mr. Chairman, that leaders like Chief Luthuli, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, might have been Presidents and Prime Ministers of independent States, but for the power of their enemy. The fact that they are not does not reduce their ability to tell the world what should be done about South Africa, even to lead the world on what should be done.

We attach a great deal of importance and we are very much appreciative of the statements such as you, Mr. Chairman, have made, emphasising that the leadership of the struggle against apartheid is in the hands of the African people themselves, of the liberation movement, and that the world should pay due regard to their opinions and their views and that they should be respected not as Heads of State but as heads and leaders of people. This has not always been our experience and we are grateful for the fact that you have made this point.

Support the Struggle

For the rest, Mr. Chairman, I might be required to answer questions arising from my paper, but I would like to take a little more of your time by making reference to an event in our history which has become central to our struggle. Chief Luthuli has told us over the course of his leadership over us, that what we need is courage that rises with danger. The Nationalist Party of South Africa, which came into power twenty years ago, came with a violence and viciousness that was new in many respects. We confronted them with a non-violent approach to the struggle. They killed freely, and Chief Luthuli led us, the African National Congress led the people, and now this non-violent approach became a militant form of struggle and we launched more campaigns. The more killings there were, the more pressure there was. This was courage rising with danger. When the killing took place in 1950 on a fairly massive scale, we decided to demonstrate against this, to intensify the struggle

against apartheid pressure.²² This was June 26th.

Since then, June 26th has been the centre, the peg on which we have hung many a campaign against racism in South Africa. It has come to symbolise the determination of our people to fight harder, the more severe and brutal the oppression. It is now the embodiment of our whole determination to carry on at all costs and we declared it a National Day which is now recognised and observed throughout the world. I hope that some day the United Nations will recognise the importance of our determined struggle, our ability to endure hardships in the fight for human justice, by recognising this particularly, because I think the emphasis must shift from sympathising with the victims of apartheid to supporting these victims in their struggle to conquer racism.

* * *

(Following are interventions by Mr. Tambo during the discussion)

United Nations Group of Experts

I am particularly attracted by the thought-provoking contribution and remarks made by Her Excellency Mrs. Alva Myrdal. She has referred in particular to the Group of Experts of which she was the distinguished Chairman and before which I had occasion to appear in 1964. I recall that the recommendations made by her Group of Experts were promptly rejected by the South African Government, promptly but I think also predictably. Much of what was recommended could very conceivably have saved the anxiety and the concern of the people of the world and, in particular, could have served to prevent the occurrence of events which are already beginning to be tragic in southern Africa. The refusal by South Africa to accept any of these recommendations was characteristic. It has been the fate for all time of all and any recommendations that have been made, not only by the people of South Africa, but by the rest of mankind.

There were recommendations, however, in the report of the Group of Experts which failed to be considered and implemented by other than the South African Government. The people of South Africa, including the liberation movement, have had a great deal of interest in some of these. Her Excellency raised the question, is anything being done for example in the way of preparing the people for a takeover? She raises the question of educational schemes in which the South African people are themselves involved. I should like to say, Mr. Chairman, that this is a question which I hope will receive close examination in the course of the discussions that will follow in this session.

Propaganda

²² A number of Africans were killed by the police in Johannesburg during a May Day strike in 1950 to protest apartheid and repression. The ANC, together with other bodies, organised a national stay-at-home on 26 June 1950.

Her Excellency referred to questions of propaganda. There are two important areas which call for propaganda and I would like to mention one which is never mentioned, and that is propaganda and information for the white people in South Africa, particularly the Afrikaner majority of the white population. Their Government keeps them in complete ignorance, not only of the situation in South Africa, but of the opinions of world public. They are discouraged from reading other than Afrikaans papers. What they know of the world and the United Nations, or international public opinion, is what is given to them by the politicians who think very little, for example, of the Afro-Asian nations or of the resolutions by the United Nations on South Africa. One of the methods by which world public opinion will be brought to the threshold of every white house in South Africa is, incidentally, sanctions because where sanctions are enforced, they hit every individual, Africans, non-whites, whites. It is one form of break-through to a public which is living on top of a volcano and is unaware of it.

The attitude of whites in South Africa, particularly supporters of the Nationalist Party, is one of contempt for international opinion and this attitude is causing a deterioration in the situation, not only in South Africa, but in the whole of southern Africa. It seems to me, however, that it is precisely because the partners of South Africa are unwilling to enforce sanctions, that no serious effort has been made to pursue the kind of studies to which Mrs. Myrdal refers, studies which would make sanctions at least appear less impracticable than they have been claimed to be.

Dialogue

Mr. Chairman, I will deal with the questions raised by the distinguished representative of Ghana as quickly as I possibly can.

I can find no present basis on which any dialogue could take place between the United Nations Secretary-General and the South African racist regime, having regard to the history of the relations between that Government and the United Nations. It has been a history of persistent defiance, the last defiance relating to the issues over South-West Africa. I do not even think personally that South Africa deserves the courtesy of a visit by the United Nations Secretary-General.

South Africa's whole attitude to the entire world is such that attention should be addressed not so much to the methods by which we can continue to seek to persuade and plead but to methods which are directed at compelling her, forcing her to comply. I would be readier to accept the idea of a dialogue between the United Nations Secretary-General and one of the major trading partners of South Africa. That, I think, is where a dialogue is called for, but not with the South African Government, and the attitude of the African National Congress would be one of opposition to any such dialogue.

Planning for a Non-racial South Africa

Next, Mr. Chairman, are the proposals put to the meeting by the Reverend

Helander.²³ They are not directed at us but they involve our objectives and the purposes of our struggle and it is difficult to comment on them. They are a matter which I would have preferred to discuss so as to understand what is involved. The spirit of it is good, but we do have our Freedom Charter which sets out the kind of South Africa that we are fighting for. It contains the principles on which South Africa should be governed. The task of converting these principles into a constitution in all its detail has not been embarked upon because we think they are clear enough to indicate what would happen if we gained our freedom. But this question, particularly because it involves the possibilities of an offer from a government which has given freely and liberally to our struggle, is one which I would need to discuss even before it is examined by the Special Committee on Apartheid. It is something which falls peculiarly within our sphere of concern, namely the future South African State of the kind we are fighting for.

Differences among Whites

Then the other question, Mr. Chairman, about the conflict between the English and Afrikaans-speaking members of the white South African community. How far can the Africans make use of the conflicts between these two groups? Mr. Chairman, we have tried to do this over the years and over the years the chances of our employing these conflicts in our favour diminished for various reasons. One of them is that the English section is a minority of the white community. They are not in power: the ruling power is ruthless with the opposition of the black people, even with the opposition of the white English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners themselves. I think what has happened is that the English have just decided to surrender to the regime and to serve it in terms of its dictates. At the moment, there is a unity in approach to the South African question, the apartheid question. There is unity between Afrikaners and non-Afrikaners on the white side.

As a liberation movement we must use all situations that are in our favour, but at the moment the chances in this field are limited. We expected them to be so limited. We expected that with the growth of an armed struggle, for quite some time there would be white unity ranged against black unity. This is why we fear that the conflict in South Africa is going to be of a racial character, although its objectives are non-racial.

The attitude of the masses towards the white rule cannot but be one of bitter opposition for natural reasons. We do not have to bring them into the struggle, they are in it. They are organised to participate under the leadership of the political party in various ways, most of which are unmentionable because we are an underground organisation and I could not explain what sort of organisation we have in the country. But opposition to apartheid is a mass opposition and a determined opposition. It is

²³ The Reverend Gunnar Helander, Chairman of Swedish Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, suggested assistance by Sweden for the employment of a person to prepare plans for a future non-racial South Africa in consultation with the liberation movement.

also a militant opposition in spite of the fact that the militancy does not show itself so that the whole world can know there is a struggle going on in South Africa.

Assistance to Zambia

Then there are the other questions by the distinguished representative of Nepal about the kind of assistance that should be given to the Republic of Zambia in the face of the developing situation there. I think that the best answer comes from the representatives of Zambia themselves. They realise what is happening and the problems and dangers that confront them - and I know that they have summed up the situation to the rest of the world, to the United Nations, to the African States - and I think it would be a little presumptuous on my part to say how they can be assisted.

But from the point of view of the liberation movement it is very important that the Zambian Government is assisted in the situation in which it finds itself, to step up the assault on the Smith regime and on apartheid, which the Zambian Government condemns daily. It is action along the lines of sanctions. Zambia can be assisted by assistance to the liberation movement which she supports. These are the forms of assistance which Zambia, I think, would appreciate.

Zambia is in danger precisely because there is a liberation war being fought south of it, and its danger increases the longer that struggle continues and the more serious it is, and the assistance to Zambia must take the form of defeating the enemies of Zambia along the lines which we have indicated - by assisting the liberation movement and also by sanctions and various forms of attack. Zambia prefers the use of force against Smith. This would help Zambia. It would remove the danger that Zambia is exposed to.

Fighting spirit

Finally, Mr. Chairman, His Excellency Mr. Hans Tabor²⁴ has touched on the need for the South African liberation movement to show a fighting spirit. I want to assure him that there is no lack of fighting spirit. Those who are close to the scene and have watched our activities must know that we have a history of militant struggle, even of war. We are essentially fighters. I recall the words of Chief Luthuli when he spoke in Oslo. He said, "our people have never been a docile people" - and he referred to the wars that have been fought with spears against guns and ammunition and bullets. That spirit survives today and if there is no evidence of it now, there will be ample evidence of it in the near future.

²⁴ Ambassador of Denmark and former Foreign Minister

TRIBUTE TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

*Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, New York,
April 2, 1973*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, distinguished representatives,

Today, we, black and white, peoples of many nationalities and continents, representatives of different social systems, are met here as one. For us, this is a wonderful occasion. It is wonderful for us who have grown up and matured in conditions which foster always and continuously to reckon in terms of race, colour and nationality, in terms of black jobs and, lately, Zulu jobs and Tswana jobs, and white jobs; black locations and white suburbs; the black oppressed and the white oppressor; and even unto death, black cemeteries and white cemeteries - always and continuously race, colour, nationality.

It is wonderful for us who live cheek by jowl, and under the iron heel of an all-pervading and consistent racist terror, shut up behind the iron curtain of apartheid South Africa, where every day we have to bury hundreds of black infants, black juveniles, and black adults, all normal, every day black victims of a stupendously anti-human and murderous machine. This one born dead, that one starved to death, the other shot dead by a policeman or whipped and clubbed to death by his employer, another his life knocked out of him in a prison dungeon, and yet another hanged by his neck until he is dead - exactly for proving human enough to succumb to the pressure of this society which could not but turn him into a criminal anyway. It is wonderful for us to be here because we draw strength from the knowledge that dark and hellish though our condition may be, in our strivings to change it, the great humanity is with us. For we are met here today as one because we all have identified a community of interests and aspirations and declared a coincidence of purpose, namely the destruction of racism, apartheid, and national oppression.

It was, Mr. Chairman, a measure of the importance of that purpose in man's many-sided struggle for a better world that this Committee, whose tenth anniversary we are marking today, was set up by the United Nations General Assembly, charged with the task of uninterruptedly pursuing the goal of the destruction of apartheid. It is equally, Mr. Chairman, a measure of the strength, the tenacity and seriousness of purpose of the racist forces in South Africa and abroad and, correspondingly, the relative weakness of the anti-racist forces in South Africa and abroad that we are meeting here, ten years after the establishment of your distinguished Committee, not to hail and celebrate a great international victory against the enemies of mankind, but rather and yet, to plan further, to prepare to fight, and to fight harder, for the victory which has thus far proved elusive.

That said, Mr. Chairman, we take this opportunity to express our unequivocal appreciation of the work done by this Committee in the critical period of the past ten years. Its record can only be described as outstanding, thanks to the militant combat spirit with which it has tackled its tasks and the support it has drawn from the overwhelming majority of the United Nations Member States and mankind as a whole. We particularly welcome the importance which the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, attaches to the work done by this Committee in pursuance of the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly and in the service of mankind. We recall that the Secretary-General's predecessor, His Excellency U Thant, an uncompromising opponent of the apartheid policies of the racist government of South Africa, consistently underscored the important role of the Special Committee on Apartheid in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

We would like, on this occasion, to pay tribute to the devotion and dedication with which successive Chairmen, Secretaries and distinguished members of the Special Committee have, individually and collectively, applied themselves to the fight against apartheid.

We note with deep satisfaction, Mr. Chairman, that the countries presently represented on this committee, and not the least of them your own country, the great Federal Republic of Nigeria, are each and all foremost opponents of apartheid and white minority rule. The task of planning and directing United Nations action against this apartheid regime and its international allies devolves worthily on this high-powered Committee. We of the African National Congress attach a special significance to the occasion which brings us here today, for we were privileged to play an active role in the deliberations which led to the formation of this Committee.

Our association with the Committee was further strengthened by the fact that three months after the establishment of the Committee, the historic Rivonia arrests took place in South Africa when the national leaders of the oppressed people, topmost fighters against apartheid and for social justice and human dignity, were brought to trial as so-called "criminals" and faced death at the hands of a regime that had been condemned as a notorious perpetrator of a heinous crime against humanity. The historic resolution adopted by the 18th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1963 demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners held by the apartheid government of South Africa was a great triumph for the Special Committee on Apartheid.²⁵ Today, the national leaders of Rivonia fame, saved from the gallows by their great courage and by the solid support they received from the entire world community, continue to serve their harsh imprisonment on Robben Island and elsewhere in South Africa but they remain strong in spirit, convinced as ever before that the just cause for which they and thousands of others have suffered, for which they are prepared to continue suffering, will yet triumph.

²⁵ General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) of 11 October 1963

As at Sharpeville, so at the time of Rivonia and since, apartheid South Africa has been facing increasing isolation from the vast millions of the world's peoples. The racists feel their isolation and the world's hostility to apartheid with so acute a level of desperation that they regard every inconsequential communication between them and the rest of the world as a significant breakthrough, but all their attempts to whitewash and sell apartheid to the world public through such agencies as the South Africa Foundation, have failed to break the isolation of the regime. Likewise, all attempts to use African independent States, members of the OAU, as agents and propagandists for apartheid, have failed. Attempts have been made to withdraw the issue of South Africa from international politics and to present it as a purely domestic matter. These attempts have also failed. But apartheid can be relied upon to go down fighting.

And so a new effort to break out of the isolation is now underway, conceived and jointly directed by racist South Africa and her Western allies. Leaders of African ethnic and regional communities in South Africa have been forced into the paradoxical and unenviable positions in which they seem to see the salvation of our people in the defeat or failure of the world anti-apartheid movement and in the further strengthening and perpetuation of the exploitative system which holds our people in virtual enslavement. From these positions, they set out to call for more international backing for apartheid. It is not that they are at fault; it is rather that in its desperation, apartheid is fighting for its own survival, with all the means, methods and persons at its disposal. But these new efforts will, like all others, fail. The world's forces ranged against apartheid and racism are continuously growing in number and strength.

Mr. Chairman, in spite of the undoubtedly notable achievements of the world movement against apartheid, this obnoxious system persists. Indeed, South Africa is today economically stronger than she was ten years ago, and as we have always known, that greater strength has meant the greater impoverishment of our people, a greater suffering, intensified destitution. It is a greater strength used with the aim of extracting even greater wealth from the pitiless toil of the great labouring black masses of our country.

This Committee, in countless valuable publications, notably the publications of the Unit on Apartheid, has documented this fact enough and more to show all honest men that even the economy is not a neutral social sphere affecting all either ill or well indiscriminately. Rather, it conforms to the social order and is indeed the base on which has been built the whole edifice of apartheid South Africa with its lying doctrine of racial supremacy and the brutal practice of extreme national oppression and the consistent dehumanisation of, especially, the African people.

South Africa has accumulated that strength, in no small part, as a result of her continuing and increasing investment - financial, trade and technological links - with certain countries which have chosen to defy not only the United Nations, but also the

mass of their own peoples. Today, South Africa's defence force, police, the intelligence agencies and the armaments industry are stronger than they were ten years ago. Coupled with this, the last ten years have seen an extension of that country's anti-democratic repressive legislation, and an intensification of its application, which already at the 22nd session of the General Assembly in 1967, was condemned by the United States delegation as constituting defiance of the United Nations and as being a brutality which was leading to violence in South Africa.

Again, Mr. Chairman, South Africa has accumulated this strength through her continued contact with certain countries which have chosen not only to provide South Africa with the material economic base to defeat the intentions of the United Nations, but also to defy the Security Council's arms embargo; countries which have sat down and counted the cost of observing that embargo and computed that there is profit in the continued misery of our people, that there is profit in arming the racists to gun us down in our countless thousands in future. It is on the basis of her accumulated strength that racist South Africa has in the last ten years become increasingly more defiant of the international community not only by intensifying the system of apartheid domination, but also by refusing to recognise the United Nations termination of their mandate over Namibia, and by building up and underpinning, in the words of the General Assembly, "the entente between the governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist regime of Rhodesia, the activities of which run counter to the interests of international peace and security."

With South Africa losing her international positions, Ian Smith and his clutch of rebels would never have dared their unilateral declaration of independence because then there would be nobody immediately at hand to give them aid and comfort and to serve as a conduit to the rest of the world. More, without South Africa's continuing support, Smith would not have dared embark on his aggressive policy of confrontation with the Republic of Zambia, which has resulted in the disruption of Zambia's economic life and continuing loss of Zambian lives. Without the backing of the South African racists, the will and the ability of the Portuguese colonialists to continue their wars of domination in Africa would be significantly reduced. South Africa's continuing intercourse with certain countries, Member States of the United Nations, has seen to it that the South African racist enemy we have to deal with today is stronger than the enemy that we had to deal with ten years ago.

Are we, then, Mr. Chairman, saying that the efforts of your esteemed Committee and the practical actions taken by the majority of the United Nations Member States against apartheid have all come to naught, that the declarations by the vast majority of mankind against the continuation of apartheid have all been to no avail? No. That we cannot say. To be sure, there has been, so far, failure to dislodge the apartheid regime, but the failure cannot be blamed on the Special Committee on Apartheid, but rather, and firstly, on the United Nations and its Member States. Some countries, permanent members of the Security Council, have in the last ten years, continuously and contemptuously betrayed the mandate vested in them as principal defenders of the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

They have done so, not merely by acts of omission, but more by deliberately promoting and encouraging the policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa. By refusing to break their ties with the apartheid regime, and hypocritically pretending to take action against the South African regime in Namibia and the other white minority regimes in Southern Africa, they have sought to annul the effectiveness of any action taken by the international community against these regimes.

Secondly, the blame must be placed on the failure of the international community to recognise that external pressures are of limited effectiveness if they do not go hand in hand with substantial and all-around practical material assistance to the liberation movement, the sole force capable of bringing liberation to an oppressed people. Finally, failure must be blamed on the liberation movement itself, and the masses of the oppressed people who carry the main burden and responsibility for the conquest of freedom and independence in South Africa.

We shall not, Mr. Chairman, attempt, at this session, an analysis of the forms which international action has taken against apartheid, and the lessons to be drawn from the successes and failures of that action. We propose to combine such analysis with a consideration, later in the course of these meetings, of the trends in the resistance against apartheid in South Africa. We have no doubt, however, that the main lesson to be gleaned from the experiences of the past ten years is the inevitability of the defeat of the forces of apartheid, racism, and colonialism in South Africa and in the rest of the African continent.

Thank you, sir.

MOBILISE WORLD SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

*Statement, on behalf of liberation movements, at the International Conference in Support of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, April 9, 1973*²⁶

(Mr. Oliver Tambo, speaking on behalf of all liberation movements, thanked the Government of Norway for its hospitality. He specially praised the Norwegian Government for its courageous stand in NATO, where it clearly expressed its opposition to Portuguese colonialism. He also praised the co-operation between the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations in the fight against apartheid and colonialism.

(The key word in the declared purpose of the Conference was "support," which should be interpreted as the practical measures and material assistance that the world community was prepared to give the liberation movements in their growing offensives against the racist regimes in southern Africa. Observing that the brutal assassination of Amilcar Cabral²⁷ was proof of desperation and panic in the camp of the oppressors, he said that there could no longer be any doubt that the liberation movements were winning. Mr. Tambo continued:)

Common Struggle

In Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, the PAIGC now exercises absolute control over two-thirds of the territory and is steadily closing in on that part of the country which is still held by the Portuguese colonialist forces.

In Mozambique, the patriotic forces led by FRELIMO continue to drive deeper into the enemy strongholds, recovering vast stretches of territory and liberating hundreds of thousands of people. This pattern is repeated in Angola, where the armed struggle has reached the more densely populated areas. In both territories, democratic power bases are being built in the liberated areas.

²⁶ The International Conference was organised by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity. Mr. Tambo addressed the opening plenary session on behalf of all the national liberation movements. The text is from the publication on the Conference by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies (Olav Stokke and Carl Widstrand, *Southern Africa: the UN-OAU Conference, Oslo, 9-14 April 1973*, Volume I, pages 44-47).

²⁷ Amilcar Cabral, leader of PAIGC, the national liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and a member of the preparatory committee of the conference, was assassinated in Conakry on 20 January 1973.

Combining highly organised political struggle with armed action, the people of Zimbabwe have created a new crisis for the Ian Smith regime and its British sponsors. The armed offensive by the ZANU-ZAPU patriotic forces have driven the regime into wild acts of desperation, in the course of which it attempted a suicidal economic blockade against Zambia, and in the process hurt itself very badly.

The South African regime, for long subjected to rigorous pressures by the oppressed peoples and sensing the imminence of a violent explosion in South Africa and Namibia, runs a defence budget in magnitude unequalled in Africa and unprecedented in the history of white rule in southern Africa. The recent events, both in Namibia under SWAPO's leadership and in South Africa, point to a sustained and growing struggle in which the racist regime is forced to yield ground or call up more troops. There can no longer be any doubt that a common struggle for transfer of power to the people is raging wherever the forces of colonialism and apartheid are to be found on the continent.

If I have given the impression that we are winning, it is because we *are* winning. But victory is not immediate. Imperialism is defending its positions with increased vigour and is determined to outlast the people's struggles. The need for support, for assistance, for solidarity in deeds and actions, is a real need. Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, united under the umbrella of world imperialism, and as its agents, are being strengthened and the suffering of the victims of colonialism and apartheid are being prolonged.

Targets for Mobilisation

What are the needs of our situation and what are the tasks of this Conference? The Conference should set out targets for total mobilisation of effective world support for the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle:

1. Firstly, the working basis or basic principles and realities of the struggle should be clearly defined and then vigorously put across to the international community.

We, the liberation movements, have launched the armed liberation struggle, as the inevitable instrument of our liberation, imposed on us by the violent systems of colonialism and apartheid, under which we suffer. The United Nations General Assembly has already acknowledged the legitimacy of our form of struggle. However, acknowledgement of this fact has still to be grounded among the masses of the world, among its workers, in order to offset reactionary or counter-revolutionary propaganda.

2. Secondly, the Conference should underscore the fact that all assistance to the victims of colonialism and apartheid - whether humanitarian or otherwise - should be towards the one single purpose of promoting the success of the

liberation struggle, the defeat of colonialism and apartheid, the liberation of the people from these evils.

3. The Conference should lay down as the link of success, direct, dynamic contact between governments and supporting non-governmental organisations on the one hand and the liberation movements on the other. This will hasten mutual exchange of information and ideas, heighten confidence and expedite the quality and quantity of assistance, thereby ensuring the speedy attainment of the goals of our struggle.

4. To keep the people of the world abreast with the advance and necessities of the liberation struggle, governments and supporting non-governmental organisations should have at their disposal all propaganda media.

5. The Conference should analyse carefully those international forces which, under the cover of trade, give logistic support to the fascist racists in southern Africa, and to the Portuguese regime. These should be exposed and be identified as the enemies of the people and the allies of colonialism and apartheid.

6. This Conference has served to demonstrate that liberation movements are the only authentic representatives of their people. This fact should be legitimised and universalised in all international activities. Already a step in this direction has been taken by the new status accorded to the liberation movements by the OAU, and the admission to observer status of some of the liberation movements at the United Nations. All assistance to victims of colonialism and apartheid should be channelled through or with reference to the liberation movements. This is to ensure that all assistance goes to promote the quick success of the liberation struggle.

In conclusion we wish to express our hope that the deliberations and conclusions drawn from this Conference, representing a wide range of experiences in the struggle against colonialism and racism, will be an important landmark in the world-wide mobilisation of all freedom-loving and humanitarian forces for the complete liquidation of colonialism and racism.

INCREASE ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

*Statement at the International Conference in Support of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, April 11, 1973*²⁸

We should like to endorse and associate ourselves with every detail of the case that has been made out for the support of the liberation movement in the various divisions of action in southern Africa, in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. We believe that the needs of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid are the same. There is need for specialisation, but there is a greater need to recognise that it is one struggle, against one enemy. In supporting the statement that has just been put before the Committee, we will limit our contribution to a statement of how much more assistance should be given to the South African liberation movement.

There is so much hostility to the doctrines and practices of apartheid that the world needs hardly to be convinced of the need to destroy this system. But it does not seem to be equally convinced at the present time of the need to increase what assistance has been given so far. On the contrary, the trends are in the opposite direction; less and less assistance for various reasons.

May I, therefore, direct myself to the position of South Africa, as we see it in the whole southern African complex. Experts and speakers over a period of 20 years now, have repeatedly said that apartheid is a threat to world peace and security. Only ten days ago, this same statement came from the Secretary for Justice of the United States²⁹, who described apartheid as the biggest threat to world peace. This theme persists in all references to apartheid. It is a crime against humanity and South Africa is armed to enable it to continue perpetrating that crime.

Central Role of South Africa

In his paper, Professor Solodovnikov³⁰ goes to great length in spelling out the military might and elaborate preparations of the South African regime which, he says, are aimed first and foremost at repressing internal insurrection. Last night, over the radio, the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, was reported to have said that South

²⁸ The main address by Mr. Tambo on behalf of the African National Congress, which was delivered in the Political Committee of the Conference.

²⁹ Elliot L. Richardson, Attorney-General of the United States

³⁰ Professor Vasily G. Solodovnikov, Director of the Africa Institute in Moscow

Africa is now self-sufficient in armaments production for internal purposes. There has been a statement by the Chairman of the African Liberation Committee, who also elaborated on some of the problems of South African liberation movement, including the facts that the liberation movement is separated from South Africa by independent and hostile territories and that the South African economy is powerful. He posed the situation in South Africa as being a difficult one.

I would like to go further and say that these are not the problems only of the South African liberation movement, but everybody's problems. South Africa, as we see it, is at the centre of all this. There is no area of struggle against colonialism or white minority rule in Africa which can be discussed without reference to the role of the South African regime.

The validity of the case for sanctions rests on a recognition of the fact that South Africa must be tackled. The flow of materiel, personnel and equipment into Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia comes from South African sources. Even if South Africa were lacking in such commodities, she could always get them from the NATO countries with which, with certain exceptions, she has the best relations. Any discussion of relations with NATO or Western countries must involve a discussion of South Africa which is the nerve centre.

Get Away from the Defensive Approach

I would like to urge also that we get away from the invasion-oriented approach to the South African situation, in which we see progress as coming from outside - as being the only condition under which there will be any changes in the country.

There is already a vast population who reject apartheid and are ready to fight it. They are, admittedly, in material terms and in terms of the very power of the enemy, in real need of assistance. For us, therefore, the statement that South Africa is a threat to world peace and powerful is not a case for playing a defensive game, but rather a case for more assistance and the form that this assistance should take.

Like occupied Europe during World War II, our country is militarily occupied. We are an illegal underground movement in occupied territory. The assistance we need is the type of assistance that the resistance movements of Europe needed, for example, a clandestine radio station which beams information to the fighting people, encourages them, and counters the powerful propaganda of the South African radio. The oppressed people occasionally hear sanity and encouragement from Tanzania, Cairo, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and we are grateful to these countries. In addition, leaflets are distributed and we are now trying to start a clandestine newspaper in South Africa to counter the South African propaganda.

But this is a small drop in the ocean. Therefore, we say, Sir, that there should be a recognition that a defensive approach to the South African situation is wasting the

forces for change, which are ready to go into action. There is no need for this postponement.

If we proceed from the assumptions that there is a powerful enemy who must be destroyed because he is a criminal, that the world is threatened so long as apartheid exists, that there are people in physical contact with this state of affairs and who are ready to tackle it, then there can possibly be no problem about granting of assistance. We have suffered from a feeling that because South Africa is so powerful, we should wait until all the enemies around South Africa have been eliminated. In the meantime, South Africa is using precisely that period of waiting to consolidate the internal position to build up their armaments to a degree of self-sufficiency, to break the population up into tribes and races so as to reduce a majority into minorities and to consolidate its position in Namibia while consultations are going on between the Secretary-General and the South African Government.³¹ This is not the fault of the Secretary-General at all; he is only carrying out a mandate. But while that is happening, South Africa has the time she needs to strengthen her defences and become ever more powerful than she was twenty years ago.

Similarly, the misconception that by increasing wages here and there, apartheid will be destroyed, must be attacked. Apartheid is not just low wages. The answer lies with the liberation movement that fights for fundamental transformations - not for slight improvements which can always be arranged to suit the convenience of the South African regime and to ensure its permanence.

Need for New Level of Joint Action

I do not wish, however, to be understood to have said that the world has been totally blind to the question of our needs. This is the moment to acknowledge the assistance which we have been given and which now needs to be increased. I am absolutely convinced that the increase in that assistance will serve the interest of the whole struggle in southern Africa.

We are here without representation of some of the big powers of the world - the United Kingdom, the United States and France. The USSR and the People's Republic of China are present. Also present and represented in strength are the governments of the Scandinavian countries. These are old and permanent friends. We have had regular support from these countries. When African States became independent in 1960, their closest friends at the United Nations were the Scandinavian countries. African-Asian countries and Socialist countries used the strong positions of the Scandinavian countries to influence the rest of the world, including Commonwealth

³¹ The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, initiated talks with the South African Government, SWAPO and others in February 1972, at the request of the Security Council, "in order to enable the people of Namibia... to exercise their right to self-determination and independence". He held final discussions with the South African Foreign Minister in Geneva from 9 to 13 April 1973, and they proved fruitless.

countries and Western European countries and countries in other parts of the world, to support decisions aimed at decolonisation and the destruction of apartheid. The Scandinavian countries played a prominent role.

Socialist countries too, have always been behind us. In terms of denouncing apartheid, they have never been wanting and this never had to be organised. In terms of material assistance, they have paid as if they were part and parcel of the struggle.

It is this aspect that we would like to emphasise. This difference between support and participation was spelled out to us in 1965 by President Nyerere when he said that Tanzania was not supporting the peoples of southern Africa but participating in what was their own struggle.

I think this concept is what we as liberation movements are trying to convey to this meeting. We should rise above the relationship of victim and supporter and combine at a new level of joint action against a common foe. This kind of participation which involves people, public organisations, as is the case in this country and in the Socialist countries, is the kind of support which we should encourage elsewhere in the world.

There have been organisations like the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Amnesty International, which have sustained us in various forms. And generally, we would like to acknowledge that the African National Congress has survived this far, because when South Africa mobilised in the hopes of crushing us, we were able to fall back on sources of assistance which have ever been available.

Greatly Increase Assistance

But I think if this meeting means anything, it means that we are now trying to get the world to saturate the liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, the liberated territories, with so much material assistance that there should be no problem of how much will go to Angola and how much will go to South Africa. The world is rich in materials. What we don't have is the means of collecting this assistance and mobilising it.

In Tashkent, not so long ago, the whole city was reduced to rubble. A new city rose on the ruins of that earthquake almost immediately. Why cannot the liberated territories in Mozambique and Angola and Guinea-Bissau be treated as if they were another Tashkent? What are we waiting for? The waiting is only prolonging the sufferings of these peoples. Experts know that what we need is the conviction that Portugal can be defeated by the combined material power of its enemies and that South Africa is weak as against the whole world. We must recognise that with proper organisation, this can be done.

In the parcelling out of assistance, the liberation movements must not merely be

recipients, but must take part in the decisions at the policy-making level. If the assistance is distributed without our participation, then, of course, we might well find that the least beneficiaries of this are the liberation movements and the liberation struggle. We must correct the situation whereby deserters from the struggle, who have presented themselves to charitable institutions which were raising money for refugees, received assistance while freedom fighters did not. As far as passports are concerned, many of us are here because some countries have given passports to freedom fighters enabling them to travel, as if they were their nationals. The idea of a free university might be taken into account, as far as South Africa is concerned, to combat the problem of Bantu education. These are some of the many things that could be done. We will be able to furnish interested parties with a complete list of things that might be done which are aimed at defeating apartheid.

Leading role of Liberation Movements

The methods being used today as a substitution for the activities of the liberation movement are methods which do not attack apartheid, but accommodate it. They are reformist: they presuppose that apartheid is there to stay and that all we need to do is to make slight improvements in it. We think that the answer to apartheid is the power of the liberation movement, and unless that power is strengthened, then all else amounts to assistance to apartheid itself.

Problems that have been with us for almost a decade appear to be reaching a solution because of bilateral discussions with Scandinavian countries. They have been crucial in our struggle, and will now be solved.

We are opposed to any policy which denies us access to governments of countries, political organisations, either in Africa or outside it, as leaders and representatives of people. The liberation movements must be lifted from the status of petitioner to the status of fellow practitioners in the struggle against colonialism and racism. They should guide and learn from the experience of people who are taking decisions at the national and international level. They should be part of the United Nations system at various levels, because the United Nations has recognised the legitimacy of their struggle and is involved in the struggle against colonialism and racism.

It is only proper and natural that those who are in the forefront of this struggle should be able to bring their experiences direct to the levels of decision-making. If that is observed, we are satisfied that the support and assistance that we are discussing here, will very rapidly change the scene in southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, and in Africa, and the threat to peace will be brought to an immediate end.

MOVE FROM CONDEMNATION TO CONFRONTATION OF APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Statement in Committee II of the International Conference in Support of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, Oslo, April 11, 1973

... I should like to say that in discussing political and diplomatic action against apartheid, and against Portuguese colonialism, we should press for a shift in emphasis from what has been world condemnation of these systems to world confrontation of these systems, and with those countries and bodies and agencies which support apartheid and Portuguese colonialism. We have been condemning now at least for over a decade, with little results. It is difficult to think of any system that has been described with stronger terms of condemnation than the policies and practices of Portugal, of the Ian Smith regime and of the South African regime. What I think has been missing is how to confront them effectively at the international level.

Internally, the evidence of confrontation by the liberation movement, particularly against Portugal, is abundant. Against Ian Smith, the evidence is mounting. Inside South Africa, too, there is confrontation. It is important that there should be internal confrontation. It is important that confrontation should be stepped up. It is insufficient to embark on external pressures if there is a weakness in internal pressures. Indeed, the effort of the world's solidarity movement can go largely wasted if they do not complement and if they are not based on strong internal action. If the internal action is weak, it needs to be strengthened.

Participate in Joint Action with Liberation Movements

A second approach to the question we would like to urge is a movement from the concept of supporting the liberation movement to one of participating with it, in a joint and simultaneous operation in which the activities of the liberation movements within the territories under domination and oppression are seen as a necessary part of international pressures. We think this idea of partnership and joint action has been missing for much of the time. It has been particularly missing in those areas of the struggle, like South Africa, where the extent of support to the liberation movement has, for various reasons I should say, fallen short of minimum requirements if one has regard to the power of the enemy there and the objective problems confronting the liberation movement. We urge that action against South Africa, Portugal and Ian Smith should be intensified externally; in the same breath we would also urge that the possibilities of intensified action within should be opened through appropriate means.

Mr. Chairman,³² in your contribution as Chairman of the United Nations Special

³² H.E. Mr. Salim Ahmad Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania

Committee on Decolonisation, you dwelt on the theme of the integration of the liberation movements into the United Nations system. That is implementation of the policy that we are pressing for, of participation with the liberation movement. What you have said must have been taken very seriously by the United Nations, as I know it is being taken seriously by the OAU, and it is for the purposes of emphasis that I raise the point.

South Africa - the Bastion of Reaction

Our aim in emphasising these realities is to show categorically that the bastion of reaction today in southern Africa is South Africa, and that unless this monster is subdued and ultimately destroyed, the struggle will be unnecessarily prolonged.

Consequently we ask the international community to effectively assist the liberation movement in South Africa to accelerate and develop the armed struggle. We ask that effective financial and material assistance be channelled to the liberation movement. We say this because we are convinced that the only viable solution to the problems of southern Africa is to break the backbone of reaction.

On the diplomatic front, we ask them to fight for the recognition of the liberation movements by the United Nations and all its agencies. In this direction some steps have already been taken and we suggest that this be pursued further. Recognition of us by the United Nations will constitute a proof that the world body is serious about its opposition to apartheid and colonialism, because it cannot seriously claim to oppose colonialism and apartheid if it does not recognise and support fully those fighting this evil system.

Given the necessary financial and material support by the international community, we will end this den of inequities in southern Africa. About our ultimate victory we have no doubt. But while giving this support, we urge some countries which have pledged to our struggle not to divide us. There has been a tendency on the part of some countries to discriminate against the liberation movements. Such a practice, in our opinion, only helps to further perpetuate our oppression and exploitation. All the liberation movements recognised by the Organisation of African Unity should be equally treated and supported.

SUPPORT OUR PEOPLE UNTIL POWER IS RESTORED TO THEM

*Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly, New York, October 26, 1976*³³

For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a representative of the majority of the people of South Africa has been allowed and invited to share this prestigious rostrum with the representatives of the independent and sovereign nations and peoples of the world.

This is a development of considerable significance, for which I most sincerely thank you, Mr. President,³⁴ and this august body, in the name of the African National Congress and the entire liberation movement in South Africa, and especially, on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa, including their children, the current victims of murderous repression.

Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your vast experience and international standing, no less than that of your great country, make you eminently suited to guide the deliberations of this singularly important session. We take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to your country and its esteemed leader, Prime Minister Madame Bandaranaike, for its leading role among the non-aligned nations and its unswerving support for just struggles the world over. It is worthy of note that the Non-aligned Movement and the General Assembly fall under your able guidance³⁵ at a time when these two powerful instruments of progressive change are called upon to bring their collective weight to bear fully and effectively on the struggles for national liberation in southern Africa and in other parts of the world. The African National Congress wishes you a truly successful term of office.

In the course of the past four weeks this session's deliberations have been punctuated by events calling attention to the great victories which have been won in the struggle for national independence and world peace.

The peoples of Botswana, Nigeria, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia have been celebrating their independence anniversaries. The United Nations itself has observed its thirty-first anniversary, recording an achievement highlighted by the presence at

³³ In 1976, for the first time, the General Assembly decided to consider the problem of apartheid in plenary meetings and to permit representatives of the South African liberation movements to speak in the plenary meetings.

³⁴ H. E. Mr. H. S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka was the President of the General Assembly.

³⁵ Sri Lanka was elected Chairman of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries in August 1976.

this session, as full and equal Members, of the representatives of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and other countries who by their sacrifices have enriched the meaning of national liberation and independence. In this context, the idea of bantustan independence is an outrage in Africa. On the other hand, the absence of Vietnam and Angola from this session diminishes the United Nations.

I recall that two years ago the highly commendable act of solidarity by this august body with the brother people of Palestine was crowned by the address from this rostrum of my brother and comrade-in-arms, Yasser Arafat, who, true to the Palestinian tradition of solidarity with all oppressed peoples, called for the same opportunity to be accorded to the leaders of other liberation movements. It behoves me, on this occasion, when the struggle he leads and you support has been subjected to concerted attempts at liquidation, to express our unswerving solidarity with their just cause. We are convinced that, as has been the case in the past, the Palestinian cause will emerge from this temporary setback stronger than ever before.

Will to be Free

The struggle of progressive humanity for the total and final elimination of the evil system of colonial domination in Africa has entered its decisive, penultimate stage. Confidence in the certainty and imminence of victory is moving the colonised peoples from Djibouti on the Somali coast to Cape Agulhas in South Africa to attain unprecedented heights of heroism in the pursuit of that popular outcome. Despite its imminence, our victory will not come easily. In the last four months, the apartheid regime has demonstrated to all who were ever in doubt that it is determined to fight to the bitter end, without regard for the numbers of our people it butchers in the process. In spite of that practical experience and, indeed, exactly because of it, our people are demanding freedom now. They do not ask that their masters should restore to them their rights as free men and women. Rather, by their own actions against immense odds, they are restoring to themselves the right to call themselves free. After three and a quarter centuries of the most brutal national oppression suffered by any people on the African continent, our people, the indigenous majority, are asserting their will to be free with breath-taking heroism.

There is no vocabulary to describe the nobility and the pathos of the conscious sacrifices that the black youth of South Africa have made over the last four months to free themselves, their people and their country from forces that are determined to keep us forever their chattels. Together with their mothers and their fathers they have seen hundreds of their compatriots pay the supreme sacrifice rather than accept a life of enslavement.

Through their own heroic efforts which are, and have been, supported by the whole of progressive mankind, the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are advancing towards their own genuine independence. Daily in our South Africa, as in Palestine and in East Timor, ordinary people make extraordinary sacrifices in their quest for

freedom.

As revolutionaries we are moved to speak out daily, as we must, to salute these extraordinary sacrifices, wherever they occur. Again as we must, we use extraordinary words to describe these sacrifices. They are heroic, they are selfless, they are noble. But alas, in the end, use and abuse turns even those words upon themselves. Their strength of feeling withers away. What then must we say when thousands of hearts have beaten as one in South Africa and hundreds have perished in their unarmed and unequal yet relentless resistance to the oppressor? Shall we say the black people of South Africa have performed a heroic deed and leave it at that? Or shall we coin new words to describe the temper of the young man of ten years who marched undaunted on a French-built armoured car in the streets of Soweto, stone in hand, until he was cut down by a torrent of machine-gun bullets?

We say no. No words are necessary at all. The blood that our people have shed calls for action, not for more words. It calls for action to destroy the fascist regime that continues to massacre the innocent.

Terror is the Essence of Apartheid

For months before 16 June the African student youth of South Africa had protested not only against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction but also against the whole system of "Bantu education." Typically, the fascist tyranny in our country did not bother to listen to the grievances of the students and the people as a whole. "It was at Orlando West," writes the black South African journalist Willie Bokala, "near the Orlando West High School where the law, in its own fashion, gave a hearing to their grievances. Tear gas bombs and gun bullets were the redress they got." That was on 16 June.

Since then, no less than a thousand of the cream of our people have been shot down in cold blood in the streets of our towns and cities and in far-flung villages. Thousands are held in Vorster's prisons. The systematic murder of the patriots of South Africa continues behind the secrecy of those prison walls.

It is not the first time, however, that for redress of their grievances our heroic countrymen have received tear gas bombs and bullets and been subjected to cold-blooded assassinations. The African National Congress has repeatedly declared that repression, coercion and mass murder are the very essence of the apartheid system.

The mass shootings that characterise South Africa today are therefore neither an aberration nor freak incidents. They are the concrete expressions of the policy of the apartheid State, whose central features are extreme national oppression, brutal super-exploitation of the oppressed black people and maintenance of this system through open fascism.

National oppression is in itself a reactionary force directed against the oppressed. Equally, super-exploitation is in itself a reactionary force directed against the producers of wealth. Fascism is rule not merely by force but by terror. Apartheid is a reactionary force directed by the white racist minority against the black majority.

Apartheid Regime does not Represent our People

Inasmuch as the apartheid regime is a product of colonial conquest it is itself an imposition on our people. From the earliest days of their arrival the white settlers, as they did elsewhere in Africa, set themselves the task of subjugating the indigenous population politically and economically. The apartheid system of today is the outcome of a process of historical development which has led to the entrenchment of white settler colonial domination.

The racist regime is chosen by and represents only the white fifth of the population of our country. It exists to advance the sole and exclusive interests of this minority. Everything else in what the forces of reaction are pleased to describe as "the South African way of life" is predicated on this fundamental feature of South Africa.

The black people of South Africa are therefore a colonised people. The majority of the representatives present here will understand what we mean by this because their peoples have themselves been at some time colonised and subject peoples.

This body advanced the ideals and objectives enshrined in its Charter when it declared the system of apartheid a crime against humanity and adopted a convention for its suppression and punishment³⁶.

It was a fault of the times that in 1945 representatives of the colonial system in South Africa were admitted to this Organisation of the world's peoples. It is a gross travesty of justice and an evil tribute to the arrogant power of international imperialism that today those representatives are still allowed to walk freely into this forum and pose as spokesmen of our people.

The vast majority of our people - and among them we count some white people who have bravely denounced the criminal regime of apartheid and joined the ranks of the revolution - are neither fascists nor racists. Nor do they oppress or exploit anybody; nor, indeed, do they have plans to oppress and exploit.

It is an insult to human reason and to the Charter of this Organisation, it is to spit on the graves of the patriots of our country and all those other heroes in other lands who have perished in the struggle for liberation that our oppressors should have an acknowledged claim to appear in this Assembly as our spokesmen. We do not

³⁶ International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted by the General Assembly in 1973, entered into force on 16 July 1976.

recognise the legitimacy of the white minority regime inside South Africa. So also do we reject its claim and pretence to represent the people of South Africa internationally.³⁷

Rulers such as those that occupy positions of power in South Africa today have been warned. They have been warned that good as slaves may be in supplying the comforts of their masters, yet they have a fault in that they can think. Our people also are not lacking in this faculty. That is why today they are in open, mass revolt. They are asserting the age-old right of the slave to rebel, the right and duty of the oppressed to rise against their oppression.

Our Vision of a Future South Africa

Like all other patriots, we love our country and its peoples - all its peoples. It is a varied land of snow-capped mountain peaks, of deserts and subtropical greenery covering vast mineral resources. Its warm seas to the east and cold ones to the west contain also large animal and mineral resources.

Our peoples, with their varied cultures which are continuously mingling and interacting to their mutual enrichment, exhibit, despite their conditions, a great love for life and a sensitive joy in the creative and humane endeavours of the peoples of the world, without exception.

These ordinary, industrious and peaceful people want to revolutionise themselves and their country.

As a colonised people we not only assert our right to rebel against the coloniser: we assert also our right to determine for ourselves the means and methods to use to liberate ourselves and our country as well as our right to determine what to do with our liberation. We have a vision of, and we fight for, a future South Africa in which national oppression will be abolished once and for all, in which racism in whatever form it rears its ugly head will be suppressed with all the might of popular power. We fight to restore power to the hands of the people.

In so doing we shall also liberate the oppressor. We know that many whites in South Africa are ill at ease because they are aware of the immorality of the injustices and cruelties that are being practised in their name and on their behalf to uphold an inhuman social order of which they are the beneficiaries. They already sense that change is coming soon.

We realise that all but a small handful of true revolutionaries, and men of conscience among them, will continue to support the minority regime because of

³⁷ On 9 November 1976, in resolution 31/6 I, the General Assembly proclaimed that "the racist regime of South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa".

training, because of self-interest, because of fear and because of inertia. Yet they, the whites, also need to be liberated from the obscurantism, backwardness and ostracism into which they have thrust themselves. Our national democratic revolution therefore has the task also of liberating even these our oppressors.

We fight also for a South Africa whose wealth will be shared by its people equitably. We fight to abolish the system which obtains in our country today and which concentrates almost all productive wealth in the hands of a few, while the vast majority exists and toils to enlarge that wealth.

We will create a South Africa in which the doors of learning and of culture shall be open to all. We will have a South Africa in which the young of our country shall have access to the best that mankind has produced, in which they shall be taught to love their people of all races, to defend the equality of the peoples, to honour creative labour, to uphold the oneness of mankind and to hate untruth, obscurantism, immorality and avarice.

We will have a South Africa which will live in peace with its neighbours and with the rest of the world. It will base its foreign relations on the principles of non-interference and mutually advantageous assistance among the peoples as well as the continuation of the struggle against the system of imperialist and neo-colonialist domination.

The Charade of "Independence of Transkei"

With the orchestrated chorus of a coterie of hand-picked placemen, Vorster is today declaring the Transkei "independent." Today we have had the spectacle in Umtata, the principal town in the Transkei, of one flag raised and another lowered. Soon after that, in continuation of the charade, the national anthem of the oppressed, sung by liberation fighters since 1925, was played in glorification of national oppression in a new guise.

We know from the words of none other than Hendrik Verwoerd, former racist Prime Minister of South Africa, that the bantustan policy represents an attempt to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid. I quote from a statement he made in 1963:

"If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination... we say that it can be achieved by separate development."

The following year Verwoerd stated that before the collapse of colonialism in the greater part of Africa, the white minority regime had visualised for the African people "separation ... that ends at a certain point, self-rule under the care of a guardian." But since the collapse of colonialism, they have had - to use their own words - to "make

an adjustment within (the) policy" and not against it, as Verwoerd stressed. This adjustment meant carrying the policy - to quote them again - "further and further to its logical conclusion."

There, in the words of its own architect, is spelt out the purpose of the "separate development" programme and its intended logical conclusion: the fraudulent independence of the bantustans.

The African National Congress and the vast majority of our people rejected this programme very firmly and unequivocally at its very inception. We, together with the vast majority of our people - including those in the Transkei itself - continue to reject it today.

We state now, as we stated then, that an incontrovertible part of the demands of our people is that there shall be one united and democratic South Africa. We will never abandon our birthright to the ownership and control of the whole territory of our country nor countenance any attempt to balkanise it and to set its peoples one against another in tribal, racial or national conflicts. No independent African country could ever fail to oppose such an attempt, especially when the obvious and declared aim is to perpetuate a colonial system in Africa. No government, country or nation in the world, genuinely opposed to apartheid, racism and colonialism, could at any time lend support to the bantustan programme in general and to the idea of bantustan "independence" in particular.

It is for that reason that we welcome and hail the stand of the vast majority of mankind and the member States of the Organisation of African Unity and of the United Nations, as well as the non-aligned countries, which have adopted these positions. We call upon this world body today to declare its unanimous, unequivocal and irrevocable rejection of the so-called "independence" of the Transkei.

We however think it proper that we should here call for vigilance. Experience shows that there are forces that will try to break this united stand. Already voices have been raised among United States military circles arguing for the establishment of a United States naval base in the Transkei. Non-recognition of the Transkei does not mean that the forces of imperialism will not give surreptitious support to Vorster's bastard creation. Non-recognition of the bantustans as a whole must also mean their total and complete isolation. Such a collective commitment will serve as a warning also to the racist regime and its black collaborators in South Africa that the international community is determined to abide by the principles of the Charter of this Organisation.

Imperialist Strategy

We have stated before that the right to determine what they shall do with their liberation belongs exclusively to the people of our country. This bears not only on

the issue of Transkei, the "separate development" programme as a whole and any other "solution" that the fascist regime may impose on our people; it bears also on new voices that we have heard raised arguing not only that majority rule in South Africa is a long-term aim, but also that non-radical solutions must be found for African issues, among which South Africa naturally features prominently.

The Vorster regime continues to exist because of the economic, military and political support that it receives from certain countries of Western Europe, from North America and from Japan. It is clear to us also that another group of countries is being activated to act as conduits and fronts for the big imperialist Powers. We refer to countries such as Israel, Argentina, Taiwan and Iran.

Imperialist strategy with regard to South Africa remains unchanged from what it has been over the years. Its aim is still to strengthen the criminal apartheid regime to enable it to protect the joint interests of the multinational corporations which have invested in and are trading with South Africa and the super-profits that accrue to these companies.

It is timely to commend the United Nations for condemning the apartheid regime as constituting a threat to world peace and international security. In doing so we hail the concerted campaign waged by the vast majority of United Nations member States in favour of the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The position adopted by certain Western countries in repeatedly frustrating this effort is being closely watched by our people, who expect all nations that love justice and peace to go beyond verbal condemnation and to take effective measures against this international pariah. The duplicity of those countries who join us in condemning the system, while buttressing it economically and enhancing its repressive, terrorist and aggressive potential through the supply of the most sophisticated war equipment, is consistent only with their hostility to African aspirations.

This military co-operation shows no sign of diminishing. Instead, secret military pacts, including attempts to incorporate the South African regime into the NATO defence arrangement, are concluded. And of late this has taken the form of nuclear collaboration intended to help the regime to fulfil its ambition to produce the atomic bomb. We are convinced that this sharply increases the threat to world peace and international security. After all, the Pretoria regime has now arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the equator. It stubbornly persists in its provocative policy against the international community by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. For eleven years now it has been the major ally of the illegal Smith regime. It recently committed naked aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and in fact pursues a policy of permanent subversion and aggression against neighbouring States such as Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

We call on the aforementioned Member States, particularly the United States, France and the United Kingdom, to abandon their short-sighted policy. The young people wantonly killed in Soweto and elsewhere by Vorster's bloodthirsty policy

using Western arms are survived by hundreds of thousands who are today swelling the ranks of the revolutionary forces in South Africa. Their determination to lay down their lives for the liberation of their fatherland guarantees the irreversibility of the revolutionary tide that will certainly be crowned with victory over the apartheid regime. And since we have not given up our hope of having the entire international community rejoice with us and the African continent over that inevitable victory, we call on the United States, on France and on the United Kingdom to support the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter, which we implore the General Assembly to propose for consideration by the Security Council this year.³⁸

While imperialism has these interests in South Africa, while it predicates its own survival on the survival of the white minority regime, the confrontation between the African National Congress and the masses of the people of our country, the liberation movement as a whole, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, on the other, cannot but grow sharper, for a strategy for the strengthening of the criminal apartheid regime is simultaneously a strategy for the destruction of the forces within South Africa that seek to bring about a genuinely popular change. The same idea is conveyed in statements made by representatives of the United States Government that a non-radical solution for the South African question must, for the long run, be found. We take this to be a very categorical and clear statement by the world's leading imperialist Power, on its own behalf and on behalf of its allies in NATO and elsewhere, that it is prepared to accept only such a solution as would leave its interests in South Africa intact.

Neither the African National Congress nor our people as a whole can ever accept such a solution. The attempt to build up collaborationist forces inside South Africa that will accept such a solution will also meet with a dismal defeat. The only basis on which to judge the acceptability of any solution is whether it accords with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the broad masses of our people.

At the present moment the big imperialist Powers and their junior partners such as Israel, are quite clearly ranged solidly together against the liberation of our people. It is they who have consistently defied the call by the peoples of the world to isolate and destroy the criminal apartheid regime. It is they who supplied the arms for the butchery of eight-year-olds, which continues to this day; they who have given Vorster the moral strength to defend the South African racist system without regard to the loss of human lives. Their hands are therefore as soaked in the blood of our people, which ran in rivulets in Soweto, in Athlone and elsewhere, as are the hands of Vorster himself.

³⁸ On 9 November 1976, in resolution 31/6 D, the General Assembly requested the Security Council to take urgent action, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure the complete cessation by all States of the supply of any military equipment to South Africa, as well as any co-operation to enable the building up of military and police forces in South Africa. The Security Council, however, did not take action on this matter until November 1977.

Victory is Certain

Mankind as a whole is, however, still moved by the dread horror of the apartheid system. The time to cry out "enough - no more" has come.

Thousands of our people, including the very youngest, are held in Vorster's prisons, subject to daily torture. Many have already been murdered. This imposes yet another duty on the international community - to press for the immediate and unconditional release of all patriots detained and imprisoned by the racists.

Today the attention of our people is focussed on this august body. In their view, since the nations gathered here have denounced the apartheid regime as one that constitutes a crime against humanity and a threat to peace, they cannot at the same time give it the material and moral wherewithal to continue its crimes.

The victory of our cause is assured. As no force was able to deny the peoples of Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau their right to national self-determination, equally no force will be able to deny us our liberation. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia will be free sooner rather than later, and so will the people of South Africa.

We have set ourselves one task and one task only - to seize power from the fascist regime. To achieve that we have been forced to take up arms. We shall pursue the armed struggle not merely for the abolition of racial discrimination or for amendments to the apartheid system of national oppression, exploitation and fascism. We fight to transfer political power into the hands of the people. When, in June and in subsequent months, our people replied to the fascist Power with the cry "*Amandla ngawethu*," they meant "Power to the people." It is with that power that the people will transform our country into an acceptable member of the international community and create within it a society that upholds civilised and humane standards.

The African National Congress, the vanguard organisation of the broad liberation forces of our country for many decades, remains unwavering in its determination to carry out its historic mission of heading all these forces to victory. Despite all attempts to suppress them, its ideas find a ready response among the masses of our people. Since its foundation it has, for instance, fought tirelessly to ensure the unity in action of all the oppressed people. Today the fruits of that labour are evident to all.

We are in the forefront of a struggle in South Africa whose victorious outcome is demanded not only by our people but also by the imperative of world peace. We have come here and spoken to try to get the rest of humanity that loves freedom and peace to renew its pledge in word and deed to support our people until power is restored into their hands.

I am certain that all those assembled here will not fail us. We are strengthened in this conviction by the fact that the General Assembly has affirmed the legitimacy of

our armed struggle. We are strengthened in it also by the knowledge that the Organisation of African Unity, the Socialist countries, the Non-aligned Movement and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries have continuously demonstrated their resolve to support our struggling people. We are strengthened by the positions consistently taken by the Nordic countries.

The fascist regime in South Africa is in a more precarious position than it dares to admit. Like a wounded beast, it is exacting a terrible toll on our people. That impels all of us to join in a concerted effort to stop the bloodbath by destroying the criminal regime now.

CRUCIAL STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

*Statement at the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, Lagos, Nigeria,
August 23, 1977*³⁹

Mr President,
Your Excellencies,
Distinguished guests and delegates,

In the evolution of mankind, humanity came to realise that life for each one of us can be full only if it is based on the acceptance of the principles and practice of self-determination, as well as freedom from want and fear.

Throughout her history, Africa has had her own men and women who have shone forth as outstanding fighters for such a full life.

We refer to giants such as Chief Albert Luthuli, Eduardo Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral, Kwame Nkrumah, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Mohammed V and others.

We refer also to the late General Murtala Muhammed⁴⁰ who, hardly eighteen months ago in Addis Ababa, said, "when I contemplate the evils of apartheid my heart bleeds...".

We did not know then that a month later Murtala Muhammed's heart would bleed for the last time, through fatal wounds opened by the hands of crazed assassins. Neither did the world know then that five months later the blood of South African youth, men, women and children would flow in the streets of Soweto, Langa, Mameledi, Alexandra and other black ghettos at the hands of the same enemy forces.

The enemies of progress were frightened by the fact that he actively led this great nation into the frontline of the struggle to destroy the apartheid regime at a time when that regime was trying to reverse the historical process in Angola, as it has attempted to do in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, away from the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, away from freedom from want and fear.

³⁹ The World Conference was organised by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It was attended by many leaders of governments, as well as national liberation movements and non-governmental organisations committed to action against apartheid. Major-General J. N. Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, presided over the Conference.

⁴⁰ Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria from July 30, 1973, until he was assassinated on February 13, 1976

Mr. President, this World Conference for Action against Apartheid has therefore an obligation to honour the memory of this great hero, to honour him in a manner befitting a man of resolute and revolutionary action.

The historic statement made to this Conference yesterday by the Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, in the name of the people of Nigeria, was itself a lasting tribute to the life and memory of Murtala Mohammed and a further reassurance that in Obasanjo we have another Muhammed.

This conference of action is therefore hosted by a country whose Government and people believe in action. The Southern Africa Relief Fund represents the individual participation of the Nigerian people.⁴¹

You, Mr. President, have played and continue to play a distinguished role leading the Nigerian people and educating them towards ever-increasing commitment to the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

We recall that the Havana Seminar against Apartheid⁴² adopted a Programme of Action which was approved by the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.⁴³ Your contributions at the Havana Seminar and subsequently at United Nations forums qualify you to the seat you occupy today, for the implementation of the Programme of Action against Apartheid.

Gathering Momentum of Campaign against Apartheid

This is the largest and most representative conference ever to meet on the issue of apartheid. Perhaps this is a fitting occasion for the African National Congress to acknowledge, on behalf of the people of South Africa and especially the national liberation movement, the world-wide support which our struggle has received over the years. We acknowledge this as support also for the rest of the people of southern Africa, particularly the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe, led by SWAPO and the Patriotic Front. The presence and participation at this conference of the leaders of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front demonstrates yet again that we are fighting as one people for the same cause, against the same enemy.

Mr. President, moved in part by the sense of urgency and the spirit of commitment

⁴¹ The Southern Africa Relief Fund, launched in Nigeria in 1977, for public contributions in support of African liberation struggles, received over twenty million naira.

⁴² International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, organised by the Special Committee against Apartheid in Havana from May 24 to 28, 1976

⁴³ "Programme of Action against Apartheid", endorsed by the General Assembly, in resolution 31/6 J of November 9, 1976

displayed in Havana, the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly last year approved the Havana Programme of Action. It went on further to strengthen the Programme with resolutions. It recognised that the oppressed people of South Africa have no alternative but to resort to armed struggle to achieve their legitimate rights. The General Assembly further affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination. It also reaffirmed that apartheid is a grave threat to international peace and security.

The impetus of mobilisation against the racist, apartheid, colonialist and fascist regimes of southern Africa gained ever increasing momentum in the past few months by the now well-known Maputo and Lisbon Conferences.⁴⁴

The World Conference against Colonialism, Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held in Lisbon from 16 June this year, not only drew representatives of Governments, and of hundreds of grass-roots organisations, but also committed the masses of the world to a programme of action against colonialism, racism and apartheid in direct continuation of the Programme adopted by the United Nations.

Considering that the resolutions and the Programme of Action of the United Nations also took into account the successive decisions of both the OAU and the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, we can, without exaggeration, say that, truly, the overwhelming majority of mankind, at both governmental and non-governmental levels, has taken positions of confrontation with the criminal apartheid regime.

It is on this foundation that this Lagos World Conference for Action against Apartheid stands. But for it to be an actual and meaningful pinnacle for the great effort of international mobilisation that preceded it, the Conference must in fact become a conference for action. It should itself reflect the fact that the struggle of our people in southern Africa has reached a crucial and critical stage.

Upsurge in Southern Africa

Mr. President, the mass upsurge of Soweto last year has turned out to be but one of a series of explosions that are reverberating across the face of our country. In the minds and hearts of people, Soweto has become a symbol of the undaunted resolve and undying faith of our people to fight for their inalienable birthright until victory or death. The contempt of our youth for death and their heroism have a dimension that only manifests itself in a people when their march to freedom reaches the point of no return. They are an expression of the determination of our people to overthrow racism, apartheid, colonialism and fascism in all its manifestations, no matter what

⁴⁴ International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia (Maputo, May 16-21, 1977), organised by the United Nations in consultation with the Organisation of African Unity; World Conference against Colonialism, Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa (Lisbon, June 16-20, 1977), organised by non-governmental organisations.

the price.

These uprisings are not accidental. They are born of the harsh realities of the pernicious system and mark a new and decisive chapter in the long and bitter struggle led by the African National Congress. No people who are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their inalienable right to self-determination can ever be suppressed and subdued even by the most powerful military monsters.

The triumph of the war of liberation of the Vietnamese people against the mightiest imperialist power in the world demonstrates this fact. That victory became the forerunner of the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism in Africa - Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau - and destroyed a vital link in the chain of an unholy alliance that had held the peoples of southern Africa enslaved. Supported by the progressive peoples of the world and fortified by their own unshakeable resolve, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are poised for victory to achieve their birthright and legitimate aspirations.

Response of the Apartheid Regime: Fascist Terror

What is Vorster's reply to our people's legitimate demands? What is the regime's response to the repeated appeals by the international community through its numerous forums and institutions?

The reply is an ever-growing fascist terror. It is the wanton murder of defenceless men, women and children. It is mass arrests, detentions without trial, as well as the torture and massive assassination of detainees in prison cells and torture chambers. It is the sentencing to life imprisonment and the hanging of the best sons and daughters who, inspired by the noble ideals enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have resolutely fought for a democratic South Africa. The streets of Sharpeville, Soweto, Langa, Guguletu and other black ghettos are drenched with the blood of South African patriots who, like all the distinguished delegates and participants gathered here today, have the right to live and strive for freedom, justice and human dignity - to seek peace and happiness.

This is Vorster's answer. It is a fascist answer. It is an answer dictated by the nature of the fascist apartheid system. As the people's struggle for liberation intensifies, fascist repression grows more barbaric and will continue to grow more vicious.

Thus does the Vorster regime confront the peoples of the world with defiant and brutal arrogance. And yet the imperialist Powers refuse to act against the apartheid regime.

Imperialist Strategy

The main guilt for the crimes committed against our people, against the peoples of Africa, must be placed squarely on the Western Powers and the multinational corporations which have placed profits above human life, and which value their selfish interests above human aspirations.

As these interests grew, so did the commitment of the imperialist Powers to the defence and strengthening of the racist regimes also grow.

This was because the imperialists had come to the simple conclusion that the white minority regimes constituted guarantors of the security of these interests. Correspondingly, the imperialist Powers viewed the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa as an inadmissible threat to these interests. This much was clear from the strategies spelt out in the United States Government document, National Security Council Memorandum 39.⁴⁵

The victory of FRELIMO and the MPLA in Mozambique and Angola respectively, and the intensification of the struggle in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have forced the imperialists to depart significantly from the positions stated in Memorandum 39. In essence these shifts are, in our view, of a tactical rather than a strategic nature.

In a situation in which the national liberation movement in southern Africa has made advances in spite of the fierce opposition of the Western Powers and their resident allies, in which it has become clear that nothing could stop the liberation of the area as a whole, the Western Powers, in recognition of this new reality, had to consider what new tactics and strategy to adopt to retain their domination of the region.

A central feature of this "new strategy" is that the relations between the imperialist Powers and the racist Vorster regime will remain unchanged.

Over the last few years, countries such as France and Italy have stated that, henceforth, they will apply a strict arms embargo against the Vorster regime. But France, of course, has also announced that she will honour existing contracts to supply the racist regime, particularly with warships of various types.

The background to these statements which puts them in their true perspective is that these countries have in fact been working to make the racists self-sufficient in military hardware.

To this end, they have not only supplied large quantities of materiel but also helped to build up an armaments industry within South Africa. There is also the additional fact that, even if an arms embargo were maintained "voluntarily" by the major

⁴⁵ A study of United States policy towards southern Africa, prepared for the National Security Council in 1969 and classified secret, was published by the press in 1975. It elaborated a range of policy options for the United States.

Western Powers, the possibility still exists to route new arms supplies via such countries as Israel, Taiwan, South Korea and Brazil.

It is now known that for years the Western Powers have grossly understated the quantities of arms they delivered to the racist regimes. According to evidence given to the United States Congress only last month, items such as combat aircraft and tanks have been understated by as much as 400 and 300 per cent respectively.

There is now the shocking news that the racist regime is about to test its own atomic bomb, thanks to the extensive scientific, technological and financial support given by the Western imperialist Powers to the racists' nuclear programme. The African National Congress of South Africa has recently provided the world with conclusive evidence of West German participation in this heinous crime. But the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany remains adamant and unrepentant.

On the diplomatic front, the imperialist Powers have also shown that they are not prepared to countenance the total isolation of the Vorster regime. Hence the "triple veto" in the Security Council.

This diplomatic defence of the apartheid regime has also been accompanied by active attempts to rehabilitate the Vorster regime in world politics.

These attempts centre on the effort to present the Vorster regime as a liberator of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The process of political rehabilitation of the Vorster regime, therefore, consists in:

- (a) giving the colonial regime the right to be a co-determinant of how, when and under what circumstances Zimbabwe and Namibia shall be free; and
- (b) giving the regime legitimacy and international acceptability and allowing it added time to strengthen its positions within the country and abroad.

Quite clearly, therefore, the imperialist Powers are still bent on pursuing a strategy which leaves the situation within South Africa fundamentally unchanged. Undoubtedly, these Powers will continue to insist that the Vorster regime should introduce some reforms. This at best will remove the outward trappings of racial discrimination but leave effective power in the hands of the white minority, no doubt supported by a few black puppets.

According to these calculations, through its military and economic strength, the South African regime would remain the dominant force in southern Africa, a base from which the Western imperialist Powers would continue to direct the lives of millions of African people to suit the interests of these Powers.

Another feature of this "new strategy" is that the Western Powers have recognised

the fact that the situation in Zimbabwe and Namibia cannot continue as before, their client regimes having failed to stop the advance of the national liberation movement.

They have, therefore, intervened directly in southern Africa. The aim is to take the initiative out of the hands of the liberation movement to ensure that the solutions that emerge accommodate the interests of the imperialists.

The situation, however, compels these Powers to pose as part of the forces that are interested in the genuine liberation of southern Africa.

In our view, the test of anybody's commitment to the genuine liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia must turn on their attitude towards the Patriotic Front and SWAPO respectively, and the question of the transfer of State power to them.

The military aggression and involvement of fascist South Africa in Angola, before and after the independence of that country, clearly showed that racist South Africa is more than just a threat to independent Africa. Racist South Africa is directly involved in the barbarous attacks on Mozambique and Zambia and constantly threatens Botswana.

Western countries - especially the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy, etc. - are arming South Africa and therefore violating United Nations decisions. This in turn boosts the morale of the fascists who consciously and deliberately provoke neighbouring countries and escalate instability and tension in southern Africa.

Mr. President, it is relevant to state that South Africa plays an important role in the aggressive NATO strategy which regards southern Africa as the main operational zone and the racist regime as the main striking force in Africa and the southern hemisphere. This is important to note because one of our tasks at this Conference is to clearly identify our enemies so as to work out a clear strategy. NATO Powers supply racist South Africa with arms and skills and the strategy is clear: war against the peoples of Africa. South Africa has a significant role to play in the whole southern hemisphere and it is therefore no surprise that NATO countries envisage the creation of SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organisation) as a counterpart of NATO in which South Africa has a leading role to play.

In short, the imperialist countries provide the South African racists with the latest military equipment, planes, missiles, tanks, artillery, blueprints for armaments production and military skills. Part of this imperialist strategy is the consolidation of ties between Zionist Israel and fascist South Africa. In the Middle East, the conspiracy is to attempt to destroy the legitimate aspirations and struggle of the Arab peoples and, in particular, the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Our Will to be Free

The racists and fascists in southern Africa, for the time being, enjoy the support of what they regard as powerful forces. However, we are armed with a just cause and a will to be free. Behind the struggle of our people for the seizure of power we have the peoples of the world represented at this Conference, the invincible, concerted, international support of the anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces of the world composed of the democratic, socialist and progressive peoples and States.

The African National Congress appreciates and welcomes the support for the armed struggle of our suffering and oppressed people. We want to make it clear to all our friends that support for the ANC is support for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter, adopted by the oppressed people of South Africa in 1955, is an expression of the genuine aspirations of our people for the establishment of a just and equitable society. It is only through the implementation of the provisions of the Freedom Charter that freedom can be made meaningful for all our people in South Africa.

We have come to this Conference with high expectations. This Conference, dedicated to finding concrete steps that the world must take to give practical and meaningful support to our people, convenes at a crucial time for our struggle. His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda spoke with supreme effectiveness on the crucial character of the stage our struggle has reached, and identified the way to action. His Excellency Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo demonstrated the meaning of action.

Mr. President, a Programme of Action was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-first session. We call on this historic Conference of representatives of the peoples of the world to ensure the implementation of the Programme, with the additions such as those already proposed at this Conference.

In particular, we ask the Conference to adopt for implementation the following measures:

- (i) increased political and material support for the national liberation movements in southern Africa - the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, which are committed to armed struggle for the seizure of power;
- (ii) the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions and an arms embargo against the Vorster regime;
- (iii) increased pressure against the Governments of the imperialist countries, the multi-national corporations and other institutions which continue to aid apartheid;

(iv) a renewed and intensified campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all persons imprisoned or restricted for their involvement in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa;

(v) the enforcement of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;

(vi) assistance for the student refugees who are the victims of "Bantu education" and repression in apartheid South Africa; and

(vii) the expulsion of the apartheid regime from the United Nations.

Our people, under the leadership of the African National Congress, recognise and accept the challenge with which history has confronted us. Our revolution can only be the product of our own efforts and we shall not shirk our duty. The assistance and support we ask of the world cannot supplant the need for us to wage our struggle. However the world, by implementing these proposals, can help create more favourable conditions for victory which cannot be denied to our people.

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria!
Long live the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle!
Long live the Organisation of African Unity!
Long live the United Nations!

WE SHALL WIN

*Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid to launch the International Anti-Apartheid Year, March 21, 1978*⁴⁶

Thirty-three years have passed since the Second World War came to an end with the defeat of Nazi Germany and her allies. In this period many of the wounds inflicted during that holocaust have healed. A new generation has grown up without experiencing what would be a cataclysmic third war.

All this attests to the vigilance and the strength of the democratic and peace-loving peoples who have thus managed to hold in check the forces of military aggression and domination.

Tribute for this success is also due to the United Nations Organisation, which has by and large repelled powerful pressures to turn it against the purposes for which it was created.

Yet it is well to remember that thirty years ago this year, the South African white minority electorate voted the present regime into power. On the other hand, thirty years ago this year, the Member States of the United Nations Organisation, horrified by the desperately anti-human theories and activities of the Nazis, approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Even as the fascist forces were holding their victory celebrations, the United Nations Organisation was, for the third year in succession, grappling with the question of racism in South Africa.

Then, as now, the racists tried to shelter themselves from world condemnation by claiming that the criminal practices they were and are engaged in fell within the realm of domestic affairs in which the world community had no right to interfere.

We stood by the position at that time, as we do today, that national oppression and fascist tyranny must of necessity be a matter of concern to all freedom and peace loving peoples throughout the world.

Arising directly out of the experience of the rise and defeat of fascism, the founders of this Organisation realised, and sought to give concrete expression to the

⁴⁶ This statement was made at a special meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on March 21, 1978. The Special Committee launched the International Anti-Apartheid Year at that meeting. The text of the statement is taken from *Sechaba*, Third Quarter 1978

fact, that the sphere of international relations has ceased to be a tangential factor in the formulation and execution of national policies. Rather, the international setting, itself brought into being by the interaction of national policies, correspondingly provides the condition and the framework for the pursuit of national objectives.

The United Nations Organisation, its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are therefore some of the outstanding products of the victory of the peoples of the world over Nazism. They constitute the conscious resolve of humanity to ensure that both national and international affairs are governed by a common code of behaviour based on freedom, equality, social progress and peaceful coexistence among the peoples.

It is therefore appropriate that it was the United Nations Organisation that decided that 1978 should be observed as the International Year against Apartheid. Recognising the specific tasks of this Organisation, we are convinced that it is here that we should put before the world democratic forces an urgent call for immediate and decisive action against the inhuman system prevailing in South Africa, not as an act of charity towards our people but as a necessary condition for the realisation of the United Nations objective of establishing and guaranteeing a just and stable world peace.

To put the matter briefly, the accession of the apartheid regime to power 30 years ago coincided with the efforts of the fascist forces, defeated in Europe, to regroup themselves wherever this was possible, in preparation for their re-emergence on the world scene, once more organised, once more strong enough to seek to impose their will on the peoples of the world. In South Africa these forces found fertile ground, enriched by a long history of colonial and white minority domination, and made specially favourable by the fact that the present rulers of our country had for many years prior to their 1948 victory organised themselves into the Nazi vanguard of South Africa, adopted and schooled themselves to the philosophy and practice of Nazism and openly declared their determination to turn South Africa into a Nazi stronghold.

When, therefore, this Nazi vanguard came to power, and for so long as it retained its hold on this power, it was clear that the task which mankind had set itself - to rid the world of fascist tyranny - and for which it had already paid such high price, was as yet unaccomplished. Democratic humanity is thus faced with the task of dislodging and destroying the forces of Nazism, now embedded in the fabric of South African society.

When the United Nations resolved in its 1975 General Assembly session that it has "a special responsibility towards the people of South Africa," it was acknowledging and laying emphasis on the fact that we had inherited the retreating but unrepentant forces of Nazi aggression and domination. What Nazism achieved through gas chambers and concentration camps nearly four decades ago has been repeated in our country over the past 30 years by the subtle methods and techniques, with Sharpeville

and Soweto serving as danger signals alerting mankind to the gruesome inhumanity of the South African apartheid system. No one could possibly deny that millions of black people who should be alive and healthy today have died during the past 30 years, killed and consumed by the apartheid system and those who work it.

We want to suggest here that this "special responsibility," by the very nature of its origin, is shared alike by the peoples of the world. It extends to the millions upon millions of the peoples of Europe, Africa, the Americas and Asia who stood together to defeat fascism, who came together to form this Organisation, and who, by that act, collectively pledged to ensure that the scourge of the swastika would never again haunt the world.

The world-wide programme of activities to observe the International Year against the inhuman apartheid system should therefore not overlook the Nazi component of that system, and should reflect the essential continuity of the struggle from Hitler to Vorster. These activities and actions should in part be targeted on all the well-known and notorious pillars of support for the apartheid regime, which are political, economic, military and cultural.

In turn, we, the people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, as the front-line soldiers, the spearhead of the democratic and anti-fascist forces, accept it as an obligation we owe to Africa and to all progressive mankind to crush the fascist monster in our country, to expunge from the face of the earth this forward base of Nazism and thus ensure, for all the people of South Africa in the first instance, freedom, peace and social progress.

During the past 30 years, we have also seen very rapid advances in the economic development of the country with the apartheid state intervening on a massive and comprehensive scale to build up the technical base of an increasingly industrial economy, to concentrate capital into fewer and fewer hands and to ensure huge profits for these few monopolies which today dominate the important sectors of the economy. It is no accident that today the Vorster regime is able to boast about the capacity of the country to produce armaments.

The racist regime also prides itself on having one of the most powerful armies on the African continent, and for good reason. For nearly 20 years the fascists have paid particular attention to the creation of a force of aggression with an offensive capability far beyond the task of suppressing the national liberation movement within the country. Today the world is confronted by the reality that the racist regime has the capacity to produce nuclear weapons and has acquired the means for their delivery. What is to come has already been presaged by the arrogant invasion of the People's Republic of Angola and by the so-called extension of the defence border to the equator. The criminal acts of armed aggression against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are not unrelated to the aggressive policies of the South African regime.

The path that the apartheid regime has traversed over the last 30 years is in essence

no different from that pursued by Nazis in the period up to 1939. It is inevitable that like its predecessor, the South African Reich will seek to impose a world order characterised by national and colonial oppression, extreme exploitation, rabid racism and fascist repression.

We have said before and say again that by its nature, apartheid, like Nazism, constitutes a threat to peace and international security. The collective experience of the peoples of the world attests to the truth of this statement.

Yet there are some Member States of this, of all Organisations, who today refuse to recognise this reality. In this regard, history is again repeating itself. Once more the Western Powers are embarked on a policy of appeasement for very much the same reasons as they gave encouragement to Nazi Germany, and they routinely proffer the same arguments to justify this dangerous policy.

Again the reason for this is to be found in the fact that the same West European and North American financial and military interests which financed and armed Nazi Germany still occupy decisive positions in these countries today. As in the past, they are moved by considerations of earning super profits and therefore support any regime that guarantees them these profits, without regard to the cost in human privation and suffering.

Fundamentally hostile to the aspirations of the peoples to determine and control their own destiny, the multi-industrial complexes as well as their political representatives in the leading western countries are infected and guided by a chronic anti-communism which sees fundamental democratic advances as a communist threat to their interests.

The continued resolve of the imperialist powers to roll back the advance of democracy, on their own or through their representatives, has been demonstrated by the brutal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam; the bloody suppression of the people of Chile; the massacre of the Palestinian people for daring to say that they also are entitled to their own country and their own national rights. Even the Italian people are threatened with reprisals if in the exercise of their democratic rights, in their own country, they elect representatives that the United States Government might not like.

Half a century ago, the forces of reaction designed a grand strategy to strengthen Nazi Germany with a view to using her as their striking force for the imperialist domination of the world. That policy led to one of the most barbaric episodes in the history of mankind, the highest price being paid by the ordinary working people of the world who had never sought war but yearned for peace, democracy, a fuller life for themselves and equality among the peoples.

The same strategy is being pursued today with regard to apartheid South Africa. The same interests are continuing to strengthen the Vorster regime and wish to use

the South African fascists as their striking force against the peoples of the African continent to stall and reverse our advance towards complete political and economic independence.

Already the sterling efforts of the Governments of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola and Mozambique to improve the lives of their peoples have to take into account the fact that on their borders there exists a regime which is hostile to their efforts, a regime which on a daily basis uses its economic, military and political power to try to transform these countries into appendages of apartheid South Africa. Recent events prove this. The international community is confronted with the immediate threat that the Vorster regime will sooner or later gamble on its military might to ensure the success of this policy.

The African National Congress is convinced that these attempts will fail, thanks to the firm patriotic and anti-racist positions of the Governments and peoples of the independent countries of Southern Africa. We are equally convinced that we must play a decisive role to guarantee this victory.

As we have done before, we wish to pledge again that the African National Congress, its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, its allies, and our people as a whole will spare neither their lives nor their labour in the sacred struggle to rid the world of the South African fountainhead of racism, fascism and international aggression. To the same degree, we pledge our support for the armed struggles of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO, the Zimbabwe people fighting under the banner of the Patriotic Front, and the Palestinian people, presently the victims of brutal Israeli aggression. Our specific special responsibility to the peoples of the world lies in our ensuring that our country is removed from the coterie of areas which constitute a threat to international peace and security. We, together with the Governments and the peoples of Southern Africa must ensure that fascism is denied the regional base which would improve its possibility to act out its role to its ultimate limits as the enemy of mankind.

We are therefore the front-line troops of a world-wide army which, victorious in 1945, is still confronted with the responsibility of ensuring that the peaceable purposes of that victory are not compromised or denied by permitting the forces of international reaction in South Africa or any other part of the world to regroup and prepare themselves for their longer-term objectives.

The international campaign of solidarity with our fighting people, and all the peoples of Southern Africa must therefore be seen in the wider and more fundamental context of building a world in which democracy, social progress and peace are assured.

The United Nations Organisation is seized of such fundamental question as the evolution of a new international economic order, the abolition of hunger, disease and ignorance throughout the world, world disarmament and the creation of other

conditions to ensure a just and permanent world peace. Despite the gigantic and difficult problems that faces them, our people are also concerned to see a quick and appropriate solution of these problems.

It is a matter of great strength to us that the peoples of Africa, united in the OAU stand with us in our struggle to destroy and apartheid regime, and liberate our country.

The Socialist countries are ever a bed-rock which assures us the material and political support to counter the preponderant assistance which the powerful military and political establishment of the leading imperialist countries accords to fascism in South Africa.

Ever increasing numbers of peoples and Governments in Asia, Latin America and Western Europe are also joining hands with us in the struggle. We must again pay tribute to Nordic countries, Holland and Canada for the more responsive positions they are taking to our demand for concrete action to isolate the Vorster regime.

Much has been done throughout the world by voluntary anti-apartheid groups, by democratic political parties and the international trade union movement, and by the United Nations itself to advance our common cause. Without the support of these forces our struggle would not have reached the level that it has today.

Yet, in spite of the heroic sacrifices of our people, in spite of the actions of the rest of mankind in support of our struggle, the reality is that the Vorster regime remains uncowed. This as you know and as we have said is thanks to the support which that regime gets from the dominant forces in the imperialist countries, which are continually looking for ways to circumscribe the democratic voice of the people, which are increasingly playing up the politics of racism and which are continuing to use their intelligence services as an instrument of terror against their own people.

In this historic International Year against Apartheid specific responsibility therefore rests with the democratic peoples of the world to compel the Governments of the leading West European and North American countries to implement the programme of action adopted by the United Nations, to impose comprehensive economic sanctions against the Vorster regime, to ensure the strict observance of the mandatory arms embargo covering both spare parts and nuclear energy, and generally to ensure the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

Centrally there is the task of supporting, politically and materially, the armed struggle and the entire liberation forces led by the African National Congress.

We make this appeal to the world community through the United Nations Organisation in the conviction that the whole of this humanity has been alerted to the international danger posed by the continuation of fascist white minority rule in South Africa. We make this appeal to those with whom we are united in a common

struggle, those who genuinely value their own liberty, and who realise that the persistence of the apartheid-colonialist system in Namibia, Zimbabwe and particularly, in South Africa, is a fundamental condition for the disruption of world peace on a scale unprecedented in the history of human conflict.

But we emphasise that however forbidding the sacrifice we in South Africa have to make as the price of victory, it is all dwarfed by the greatness, the supreme nobility and above all, the absolute justice of the cause for which we fight. Inevitably, therefore, we shall win; Africa will be totally liberated; a new and truly democratic world order will be born, and, as, the ANC declares in its Freedom Charter, there will be peace and friendship.

LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, JULY 29, 1980

*In reply to message on the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter*⁴⁷

29 July 1980

I have the honour to present to Your Excellency and the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid the compliments of our National Executive Committee and my own fraternal greetings.

We write, Your Excellency, to thank you and your esteemed Committee most sincerely for your letter to us on the occasion of this year's South Africa Freedom Day and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. We are deeply moved by the noble sentiments which the letter conveys.

The African National Congress and the vast majority of our people are convinced, and committed to the position, that our reply to the rapid racism represented by the apartheid system must be to sue for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Centuries of conflict, bitterness and suffering must give way to a new era of peace and friendship among all the people of our country.

We consider ourselves particularly fortunate that we have the Freedom Charter as a statement of objectives to which the majority of our people adhere. That very fact imposes upon us the obligation to educate in the spirit of the Charter even the younger generations who were not there when it was freely available.

We are indebted to the Special Committee for the sterling work it has done over the years to bring the Freedom Charter to the attention of the international community. We are certain that this has helped to expose the bankruptcy of the policies pursued by the South African regime and the criminality of the apartheid design that it has imposed on our people.

We look forward to ever closer co-operation between ourselves, Your Excellency and the Special Committee which has established itself as a steadfast ally of our struggling people and a militant combatant of justice, liberty and peace in our country and in southern Africa.

We thank Your Excellency for your good wishes. I take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that the will to be free among our people has never been stronger than it is today. The brutality which the Pretoria regime continues to mete out to our people serves only as confirmation that the sooner this regime is destroyed and power

⁴⁷ United Nations Document A/AC.115/L.531

transferred to the people the better.

The African National Congress and our people's army *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, are bending every effort to achieve this result. We are strengthened by the knowledge that we enjoy the continuing support of the Special Committee and the United Nations as a whole in the struggle for the realisation of the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter.

(Signed) O. R. TAMBO
President, African National Congress

IMPOSE COMPREHENSIVE AND MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

*Statement at the International Conference on Sanctions
against South Africa, UNESCO House, Paris, May 21, 1981⁴⁸*

Mr. President,

Your Excellency Dr. Alex Ekwueme, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria,

Your Excellency Mr. Edem Kodjo, Secretary-General of the OAU,

Your Excellency Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye, Secretary-General of the International Conference,

Your Excellency Mr. Jesus Montane Orposa, Representative of the Chairman of the Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries,

Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies,

Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades,

The African National Congress greets you all in the name of the people of South Africa, whose relentless struggle for liberation is the fundamental justification for this august assembly of the representatives of concerned humanity.

Allow me also to greet you especially in the name of Nelson Mandela and other national leaders and political activists held in prisons of apartheid, and also in the name of Petros Mashingo, Naphtali Manana and Johnson Lubisi who, at this very moment, are sitting in death cells in Pretoria, awaiting their turn - but also prepared, if need be - to be hanged by the apartheid fascist regime, for their role in the fight to end the apartheid crime against humanity.

Mr. President, your election to preside over and guide the proceedings of this crucial conference accords not only with your own talent and vast experience, but also with the shining example of dedication to the cause of liberation which has been the hallmark of the African and foreign policy of your country, Tanzania, from the earliest moments of her independence. We congratulate you!

⁴⁸ The International Conference was organised by the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity, at the UNESCO House, Paris. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, was President of the Conference.

When the General Assembly decided to call this conference in co-operation with the OAU, it had in view that "urgent action must be taken by governments and organisations towards the imposition and full implementation of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions."

This view was arrived at on the basis of the repeated determination of the General Assembly that within the meaning of the United Nations Charter, apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and that in the maintenance of this system, peace had in fact been breached. This is also the position which accords both with our own view as the oppressed people of South Africa and with the actual realities of the situation in southern Africa.

We therefore believe that it is one of the principal tasks of this conference to reaffirm the determination of the General Assembly, and accordingly reiterate the call for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

It would then become the responsibility of the Conference to discuss and agree on the means and methods that the world community must adopt to ensure the imposition and full implementation of these sanctions. In these deliberations, we must necessarily take into account the abuse of their veto powers by some permanent members of the Security Council and commit ourselves to the adoption of measures which will bring to a halt this unacceptable frustration and blocking of the will of the rest of the world.

New Voice of France

I am certain that we are all greatly strengthened in our resolve to achieve progress by the fact that we meet on French soil in the fortunate circumstance that the people of France have just elected a new President, bringing to an end more than two decades of rule by governments that have collaborated closely with the racist South African regime.⁴⁹ By their vote the French people have shown that they do not want to supply nuclear reactors, Mirage planes, submarines and other war materials to defend apartheid; they do not want technology and licences, skilled personnel and finance to flow to assist the apartheid regime; they do not want their rugby teams to tour South Africa, their cities, such as Nice, to be twinned with apartheid cities such as Cape Town; they do not wish to warm themselves with South African coal extracted under conditions no better than those so vividly described by Emile Zola. This momentous step by the French people heralds, we hope, the death knell of the monstrous alliance with the self-confessed successors of the Nazi regime which but a short forty years ago occupied this city and this country.

⁴⁹ François Mitterand, leader of the Socialist Party, was elected President of France in May 1981

We wish to reiterate our congratulations to Francois Mitterrand on his election, and express the hope and conviction that the new Government of France will respond by bringing to an end the self-seeking alliance that has thwarted international action against apartheid for so long, so that France can join the overwhelming majority of nations which has in fact already imposed sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

In this regard the statement to the Conference made by the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, M. Lionel Jospin, is the new voice of France signalling the dawn of a new era in the relations between the French Government and the peoples of Africa in general, and of southern Africa in particular.

Purpose of Sanctions

Mr. President, the issue to which this Conference must address itself has a long history, for the question of white South Africa's treatment of the black people is older than the United Nations itself. Since 1946, no other question has appeared so often on the United Nations agenda, or remained there for so long.

We have, today, to deal with a rogue regime that has repeatedly, consistently, and deliberately violated almost every single norm recognised by the international community.

- the apartheid regime stands today in breach of United Nations General Assembly, Security Council, and International Court of Justice decisions over its illegal occupation of Namibia;
- the apartheid regime stands today in breach of almost every single clause of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- the apartheid regime stands today judged as a criminal under the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;
- the apartheid regime stands today in breach of the United Nations Charter for its repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours.

Let us, therefore, at the outset of this Conference be very clear about the nature of the problem with which we are dealing. We are not discussing a normally law-abiding member of the international community that has had a momentary lapse. We are dealing with an outcast, one who continues to follow policies that have been declared a crime against humanity, a regime that has repeatedly acted in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

Sanctions are not to be seen as a way of reforming apartheid, nor merely as a gesture of disapproval. Sanctions are a weapon that the international community can

and must use against the racist regime - a weapon that can weaken Pretoria's capacity to maintain its aggressive posture. Sanctions are a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa, and denying the regime the means through which it can sustain and perpetuate itself.

Sanctions will not and cannot be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid system. They are not an alternative to struggle by the South African and Namibian people, but an important complement to it.

The effect of sanctions, properly implemented, will be to limit the scope, scale, and duration of the war that is now raging in southern Africa. Unless the international community can do this, the repercussions of the conflict will almost certainly engulf us all.

Sharpening Conflict in South Africa

As we meet here, the widest coalition in South African history has come together to boycott the celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of the white Republic. The degree of polarisation in South Africa is revealed in the differing perspectives towards these celebrations.

To the majority of the population the regime and its supporters are celebrating two decades of the most brutal repression, oppression and exploitation that our people have ever known. The regime is celebrating the establishment of the death camps which it calls homelands. It is rejoicing in the fact that the entire African people have been made aliens in their own country. It is celebrating the fact that apartheid has brought unemployment to nearly one half of the working population of the country. It is dancing a victor's dance to express its satisfaction that it has removed by assassination such patriots as Vuyisile Mini, Joseph Mduli, Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu; that it has incarcerated for long terms and for life national leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Harry Gwala, Zephaniah Mothopeng and others, and that it is today poised to assassinate more freedom fighters, adding to the thousands it has killed in Soweto, Langa, Elsie's River, Matola, Kassinga and elsewhere.

The conflict inside South Africa is sharpening. At every level, the mass of the population is finding ways to show its opposition to the apartheid system. In schools, factories, rural settlements, squatter camps and townships, in every walk of life, the people have taken action to show that they are not prepared to acquiesce in the designs of the Botha regime, that they are determined to take upon themselves the burden of their liberation, and to use every weapon at their disposal to bring about a democratic non-racial South Africa.

In the face of this growing threat to its power, the regime has resorted to greater repression and more brutality. Today power is exercised by the oppressor, overtly

and unashamedly, through the violence of a particularly brutal authoritarian and militarist State. It is the resolute determination of the people of South Africa and Namibia to seize power, to wrest it from their oppressors. Combined with the victories of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, that has provoked a crisis for apartheid South Africa. In its frenzied efforts to preserve the apartheid system, the regime has extended its long war against the South African people to an undeclared war against independent Africa.

These past twenty years have witnessed an unprecedented level of militarisation. The armaments being deployed, the sophisticated military technology in use in the burgeoning military-oriented sectors of the economy, and the scale of manpower mobilisation for military purposes, all attest to the fact that South Africa is now in the control of a particularly dangerous politico-militarist clique. This makes a race war an imminent possibility, and the resolution of the conflict in South Africa therefore becomes a major issue in international relations.

Allies of Apartheid Regime

It is twenty years since South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth and in the period that has followed it has been ejected from almost every international organisation. But even as it has been isolated it has received increased economic and military support from some Western countries. This collaboration has been central to the development of South African militarism and the self-confidence with which it has been demonstrated in an escalating war of aggression against neighbouring States, and in shackling Namibia into the apartheid nexus in gross violation of decisions of the world community.

The countries that have built the South African war machine and buttressed apartheid have also deployed every political and diplomatic tactic in an effort to shield the regime from international action. Despite the clearly expressed desire of the international community they have acted to block action by the Security Council.

Their repeated frustration of the attempts by the Security Council to act in response to General Assembly resolutions as most recently in the exercise of the triple veto⁵⁰, the persistent thwarting of the will of the international community, now lays these countries open to the charge of abusing their powers in the Security Council. They have perverted the historic responsibility given to them as permanent members by using their power to promote rather than remove the threat to, and the breach of, international peace and security.

It is important to know why they have acted in this way. Why do these countries fly in the face of world opinion and remain adamant in their claim that dialogue rather

⁵⁰ On April 30, 1981, France, the United Kingdom and the United States vetoed four draft resolutions introduced in the Security Council, following recommendations of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, calling for sanctions against South Africa.

than isolation is the correct policy against apartheid South Africa?

For us, the answer is obvious. The dispossession of the African people took place in the large measure during the period when South Africa was a colony of Britain. Capital, technology and skills from all three veto casters participated in laying the foundations of the apartheid economy. They helped to shape the institutions and mechanisms for the exploitation of labour that make investment in apartheid so uniquely profitable. Links with these three countries have helped to ensure that apartheid remains profitable. Not surprisingly, therefore, these three wish to preserve apartheid.

Moreover the so-called Union of South Africa was created as an imperialist outpost and remains today as an agent of the imperialist design. Its role was to dominate and control the economies of the southern half of the African continent, its function to ensure that the vast natural resources of the area were protected and reserved for exploitation by imperialism. Today, the role and function of apartheid South Africa are seen in a similar light, and the regime that is assigned the responsibility of acting as Nato's gendarme in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans, must itself be protected by its imperialist masters.

Had there been any doubts about this, they have been rapidly dispelled by the Reagan Administration. The President of the United States has publicly described apartheid South Africa as a friendly country, a war-time ally, and a partner in the defence of United States strategic interests.

We are astonished at the conscious distortion of historical fact to justify embracing the Botha regime. Far from being a wartime ally, Botha and the party he leads allied themselves with the Nazis and opposed South Africa's entry into the war. The Nationalist Party shares with the Nazis a common ideology and brutality, and has taken upon itself the mantle of Hitler. It has become a fountain of that ideology and maintains close links with fascist and racist groups in many countries, including the United States.

Common Objectives of Botha and Reagan

Since Botha and Reagan have proclaimed themselves as allies we must consider what are their common objectives in southern Africa. What interests, and most importantly whose interests, will this alliance promote?

For the imperialists and racist South Africa alike, the ultimate objectives are: to regain economic, political and military control over the entire southern African region and to perpetuate the plunder of the region's mineral resources. The strategy applied in order to secure these objectives includes:

Firstly, the denial of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and the attempted

isolation of the liberation movement.

Secondly, the isolation of independent African countries from the world progressive forces in order to weaken them, the destabilisation and the overthrow of their legal governments.

Thirdly, the attempt to transform the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans into military zones as an extension of the NATO alliance.

Within this strategy the maintenance of the apartheid system is an *a priori* condition and its success requires, as an indispensable element, the strengthening of the apartheid regime.

The arrogant assumption of the paramountcy of outside interests above those of Africans is but one aspect of the ideology that unites Pretoria and Washington. The inevitable victory of the liberation struggle will teach them that it is the interests of sovereign governments and of the majority of the people that need to be taken into account when considering our countries, our future, and, need I emphasise it, our minerals and wealth.

So-called Changes in Apartheid

Though Mr. Reagan was frank about the motivations of the alliance with racist South Africa, other statements by the veto casters cloak their real motives with a veneer of concern for the peoples of southern Africa.

Thus, we are told that armed struggle and sanctions are unnecessary, because Mr. Botha is and can be further persuaded to bring about changes in the apartheid system: where is the evidence that the apartheid regime can be persuaded to turn against itself, that the transgressor against international law and violator of the international peace can somehow be talked into joining the forces that are determined to end both the transgression and the system that initiated it?

What change there has been in South Africa has not been initiated by our oppressors, but by the nation-wide upsurge of our people and their determination to resist apartheid. The change that has taken place is that the tide has turned irreversibly in our favour, and the forces of liberation now pose a very real and invincible challenge to the wielders of power in Pretoria.

Faced with this reality, the apartheid regime has been prospecting frantically for new ways of securing apartheid domination. Thus any move made by Botha is a reaction to the strengthening forces of liberation and is a defence of apartheid. Such moves are a justification not for relaxation, but for the intensification of the offensive, both domestically and internationally.

Specious Arguments against Sanctions

The alleged concern of the veto casters for the interests of the black population is also expressed in the argument that sanctions will harm the black people of South Africa and be disastrous for the independent States neighbouring South Africa.

The call for sanctions was initiated inside the country by the majority of the people of South Africa, and has since been reiterated on a number of occasions. The OAU and other progressive forces responded to this call from the South African people, and we now have the support of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world as expressed in the General Assembly.

There is no possibility of the people of South Africa ever accepting the *status quo* and acquiescing in their own oppression and exploitation. There should no longer be any doubt that nothing can deter the South African people from continuing the liberation struggle until victory is won. To achieve this objective no sacrifice is too great, no price too high.

We know that a bitter struggle lies ahead. We can see that already the war has spilt over our borders as Pretoria threatens and attacks our neighbours. The OAU, and the Front-line States, and I mean all, including Lesotho and Swaziland, without exception, are committed to our liberation struggle and to the eradication of apartheid. It is therefore inconceivable that there can be peaceful development and security anywhere in southern Africa as long as apartheid continues to exist.

Without action by the international community the war will continue to spill over, and larger areas and more people will be sucked into it. No State on the border or within the range of Pretoria's war machine will be able to escape the consequences. Concern for the suffering peoples of the Front-line States can therefore best be manifested by taking urgent steps to limit the Pretoria regime's aggressive capacity, to act to weaken it by effective comprehensive sanctions.

It is significant to note that pleas on behalf of the southern African countries are made not by those who it is claimed will suffer from the imposition of sanctions, but are put forward by those who have extracted super-profits from the exploitation of black labour in the apartheid economy and wish to continue doing so.

These countries opposed sanctions initially because they claimed concern for the black people of South Africa. Now they claim to be acting in the interests of the people in the countries neighbouring South Africa. The net result of their activity, of the failure to impose sanctions, has been that apartheid repression and brutality have grown, and the only people not to have suffered in the process has been the white minority.

Mr. President, the evidence is incontrovertible. Opposition to sanctions in the

Security Council or in the Parliaments of Western Europe is based not upon concern for the peoples of Namibia, South Africa or southern Africa. The 12 vetoes were cast quite simply to protect the Botha regime and to preserve apartheid.⁵¹ The specious arguments have been put up to justify this action and to try and deter action by those countries which support the liberation struggle.

Appeal by ANC

At this International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the African National Congress appeals to the international community:

- We ask those countries which have already imposed sanctions to take action to widen their scope, to make them all-embracing and strengthen the enforcement machinery.
- The ANC makes a special appeal to all oil-producing States to join in the embargo already imposed by OAPEC⁵² and OPEC⁵³ members and others, and further to take effective legislative and administrative measures to ensure that their embargoes are water-tight - or should I say oil-tight. The international oil companies and tanker fleets have been supplying embargoed oil to South Africa. We urge that governments should take measures to stop the supply and transport of embargoed goods to South Africa.
- The ANC appeals to those governments which have hitherto refused to impose sanctions until the Security Council made them mandatory now to act. A Security Council resolution can make sanctions mandatory, but it is also the sovereign right of every country to choose to impose sanctions. It is within the domestic jurisdiction of every government to take effective measures to stop all commercial, financial, economic, political, technical, military, cultural and sporting links with racist South Africa.

In making these appeals to States to act without waiting for the Security Council decision, we do not suggest that the attempt to secure mandatory sanctions be abandoned. On the contrary, our efforts in that direction must be increased. One of the principal issues to which this Conference must address itself is what steps the world community should take to ensure that the Security Council discharges its proper function and brings to an end the breach of the peace and threat to international security that now exists in southern Africa. Inasmuch as the Security Council has failed to act, the members of the General Assembly should now "unite for peace" and make appropriate recommendations.

By imposing sanctions and simultaneously pursuing the goal of mandatory action,

⁵¹ See footnote above

⁵² Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries

⁵³ Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries

we will expose the veto casters and other collaborators as the allies and protectors of apartheid.

Mr. President, since the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid system, we must expect that every device will be used to make sanctions ineffective. After all, it was Britain who both asked the United Nations to impose sanctions on the rebel Smith and who was one of the chief offenders in breaching oil sanctions - so there is a lot of experience there. But we should not be deterred. Let us remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and are ineffective, there would have been no need to cast vetoes: why flog a dead horse? The veto was used precisely because sanctions *can* be made effective and can have an impact. The Conference must therefore concern itself with the task of mobilising the international community to ensure that sanctions are made effective.

Collaborators Must be Forced to Choose

Apartheid's collaborators must be made to realise that they cannot defend racists and claim to be non-racist. They cannot support apartheid and preach freedom. They cannot exploit cheap labour in South Africa and continue to trade with Africa and the non-aligned countries. They cannot seek concessions and licences in countries supporting the liberation struggle and participate in the profits from apartheid. They cannot be involved in repression in South Africa and in development elsewhere. They cannot allow their arms and products to be used in aggression against South Africa's neighbours and expect to be absolved from blame and accepted as friends.

So I make this final appeal to all those who support the liberation struggle: put these choices before the collaborators. They must be forced to choose between links with apartheid and relations with the majority of the international community, between links with apartheid and links with Africa. Collaboration must be made unprofitable, and it will cease.

I have made these appeals on behalf of the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa, and all the peoples in the war zones of southern Africa. But this is not a selfish appeal. The establishment of the United Nations stemmed from the desire to bring an end to wars, to stop aggression, to eradicate racism. Collective security is of concern not only to the nations of southern Africa but to all peoples and countries, and sanctions are the primary means available to that end.

Action under Chapter VII is the ultimate peaceful sanction provided for in the United Nations Charter. If sanctions are not imposed on so blatant an offender and so persistent a violator of the Charter as apartheid South Africa, then the efforts of the international community towards a peaceful resolution of international problems will have proved an exercise in futility.

Finally, Mr. President, we pledge the solidarity and support of the ANC and the fighting people of South Africa to SWAPO, the PLO and all peoples fighting against fascism, racism, and imperialism. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the governments and peoples of southern Africa, and the OAU, as well as that of progressive countries, organisations and peoples throughout the world. We reiterate our pledge to rid humanity of the scourge of racism and apartheid-colonial domination in South Africa.

Victory is certain!

THERE CAN BE NO PEACE OR STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WITHOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF APARTHEID

*Statement, on behalf of the national liberation movements, at the special meeting on Africa Liberation Day during the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, UNESCO House, Paris, May 25, 1981*⁵⁴

On behalf of the national movements of Namibia and South Africa, I greet this distinguished gathering which has come together to celebrate Africa Liberation Day.

We welcome particularly the presence among us of the first Foreign Minister of the new France.⁵⁵ This is perhaps the first occasion on which a French Government has chosen to associate itself in this way with the aspirations of the African people. That the Foreign Minister should have made this his first official engagement augurs well for the prime objective of the Organisation of African Unity - namely, the liberation of the entire continent of Africa.

We in Africa express appreciation for the solidarity and support of the peoples in the rest of the world, of the members of the Non-aligned Movement, the Governments in other continents, and in particular the solidarity of all participants in the struggle for national liberation.

We salute the socialist countries, which from the outset have firmly and consistently supported the anti-colonial and national liberation struggle in Africa.

Africa Liberation Day is a day of great significance. It is the day on which we celebrate the victories of the liberation struggle, the advance of free Africa to the borders of the Limpopo, leaving racism, exploitation and repression isolated in their *laager* in southern Africa.

But even as we celebrate this day, we must reiterate some of the tasks that still confront the African people. Our first task remains that of ridding our continent of the scourge of racism and colonialism. Secondly, we must liquidate the source of war in Africa. Thirdly, we must liquidate the base that imperialism has moulded at the southern tip of the African continent from which it now seeks to reverse the gains of the African revolution. Central to the successful completion of all these tasks is the removal of the illegal occupier of Namibia, the overthrow of the apartheid system and the transfer of power to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa. For it is the regime

⁵⁴ From: United Nations pamphlet on the special meeting

⁵⁵ Mr. Claude Cheysson

in Pretoria that is the last vestige of colonialism and racism in Africa. It is the Pretoria regime that is the source of war in Africa and is a threat to international peace and security. It is the Pretoria regime that is the agent of reaction and imperialism.

Therefore, in marking this day, we as liberation movements renew our pledge to be the vanguard forces and commit ourselves to complete Africa's first task by liberating our countries and, in doing so, to take the necessary steps forward to liberate the entire continent of Africa.

The successful result of our liberation struggle is therefore of crucial importance to all African peoples, as it has been so recognised by the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the majority of the nations of the world.

The importance and significance of the struggle against apartheid, and the centrality of this issue in international politics is reflected in the time and attention given by the international community to finding a solution to this problem. The convocation of this meeting today is further proof of its significance.

We meet here on the initiative of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity, as part of a gathering of nations and peoples of the world, to focus our attention on international action to eliminate from Africa and the rest of the world the most brutal and racist system of apartheid - a crime against humanity.

It is fitting that on this particular occasion, the national liberation movements acknowledge and pay tribute to the OAU and its member countries for the resolute determination with which they have sought to redeem their pledge made at the inception of the OAU to liberate the entire continent of Africa.

Let there be no doubt. The Governments and peoples of independent Africa have made tremendous sacrifice. Their economies have suffered; their development handicapped, in some measure at least, because of the need to allocate resources to the liberation of the entire continent.

We pay a particular tribute in this regard to the Frontline States and the countries neighbouring South Africa and Namibia. They have made enormous sacrifices and continue to do so in the series of wars that have had to be fought in the region. First there was the struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique against the Portuguese colonialists. Before its successful conclusion, the struggle of the Zimbabwe people had begun to escalate. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe has given further momentum to the continuing struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa against the Pretoria regime.

Every country in southern Africa, whether it achieved independence even before the formation of the OAU, or one year ago as did Zimbabwe, every country has experienced at first hand the inescapable truth that no country's independence can be complete or secure until the whole of Africa is free. The summit meeting of the Non-

aligned Countries declared that there can be no peace or stability in southern Africa without the destruction of apartheid. Every country in the region has been the victim of unprovoked aggression. Their territorial integrity has been violated; their economies destabilised, their people murdered, their villages burnt, their economic infrastructure bombed and sabotaged.

The attacks begun by the Portuguese colonialists and continued by the Smith regime have been dramatically escalated by Pretoria which has not hesitated to invade an independent African State.

Despite this, these countries have remained resolute in their support for the liberation movements. They have supported the liberation struggle not only in pursuance of their national policy, but also as loyal members of the OAU, implementing a policy arrived at collectively by Africa.

In the period ahead of us, one of Africa's most bitter struggles remains to be fought through to its inevitable victory. In dislodging the Pretoria regime and achieving total liberation, Africa will face one of its greatest tests. The enemy we confront is not just the apartheid regime, but international imperialism which has for so long sought to protect its South African base.

With the advent of the Reagan administration, we are now faced with a major effort to roll back the tide of liberation in Africa. Africa needs to defend its independence and to assert its sovereign right to determine its own policies and priorities. The United States administration behaves as if the whole continent of Africa were but a pawn, and tries to assert the paramountcy of United States interests in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic.

We in Africa must reject this policy and reassert our goals. We must affirm the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and the sovereign right of every independent State to seek and obtain assistance from other States to protect its territorial integrity and political independence.

In conclusion, we would like to convey the greetings and congratulations of the liberation movement to the brother peoples of Africa on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day. In saluting the world forces of progress that are celebrating with us here today, we would like to reiterate our pledge:

Drawing strength from the support you have and are continuing to render to us, the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, shall intensify the struggle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime, the liquidation of racism and colonialism in our region and the transfer of power to the hands of the anti-fascist, democratic and peace-loving peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

ACT WITH SENSE OF URGENCY

*Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, New York, June 11, 1981*⁵⁶

Your Excellencies,

I should like, on behalf of the delegation that is travelling around with me in the United States, a delegation comprising ANC and SWAPO representatives, to thank you most sincerely for this opportunity to meet members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, members of the African Group, and representatives of member States of the Non-Aligned Movement and other member States of the United Nations.

We welcome this initiative taken by the Special Committee and the African Group as it gives us an opportunity after the Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa which we attended together to further our concerns, and to give at least a brief report on the developments in South Africa and in southern Africa generally.

I should like, first of all, your Excellency, to observe that this is the last meeting at which I shall be privileged to participate in the activities and meetings of the Special Committee against Apartheid with you as Chairman.⁵⁷ The period since you took over the Chairmanship of this Committee has been characterised by great developments which have helped to advance our struggle for liberation in southern Africa. The Special Committee against Apartheid under your leadership has been an authentic interpreter of events in South Africa and an authentic spokesman for the people of South Africa and an authentic informant for the whole world in regard to the details of events. Whenever I hear you speak on the South African situation, Mr. Chairman, I never feel that I could have done it any better. We have sought to ensure that the peoples of the world who support our struggle can represent us as effectively and effectually as you have done. We should like to say that we shall miss your voice in this Committee and in the international meetings, where you have spoken. But we share the conviction, with all who are present here and all who have worked with you, that given your proven depth of commitment, we can rely upon you to pursue the struggle for liberation in whatever capacity you may be serving your country.

I should like to take this opportunity to salute that country, Nigeria, for having

⁵⁶ The Special Committee against Apartheid held a special meeting, in co-operation with the African Group at the United Nations, to hear Oliver Tambo and Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary-General of SWAPO, who were on a visit to the United States after the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

⁵⁷ The Chairman of Special Committee, H. E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark of Nigeria, left the United Nations later in June 1981.

consistently in its policies and actions underscored the vital importance of implementing decisions of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement.

I recall many instances in which Nigeria acted forcefully and swiftly against companies and even countries which had violated decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. The latest statement by the Nigerian Government in regard to the tour by the South African rugby team is an implementation by Nigeria of the Gleneagles Agreement, United Nations resolutions and even the decisions of the recent Paris Conference. In expressing our appreciation of this policy which we have come to associate with Nigeria, I should like to call upon other countries likewise to miss no opportunity to act with swiftness in enforcing the decisions of the international community.

Certainly, Mr. Chairman, the people of South Africa are greatly encouraged by this scene and are confident that if they correctly understand the mood of the countries which have called for sanctions against South Africa at the recent meeting of the Security Council, if they correctly understand the mood of the countries and representatives of peoples which took part in the recent Paris Conference, Nigeria's action will be repeated by many other countries in the immediate future.

Botha's "Mandate"

I should like to turn briefly, Mr. Chairman, to the situation in South Africa. One of the talking points in that situation is the elections which were held in April by the racist minority in our country. Those elections were presented to the international community as seeking a mandate by Mr. Botha for his policies of reform. Of course, it was a mandate sought from the white minority in our country. For the majority of the people the elections were a continuing insult. We have never accepted that any fresh mandate was necessary for the continued perpetration of the policies of apartheid, and no new mandate was in fact given.

At best, Mr. Botha felt confirmed in his pursuit of the policies, not of reform, because that is not an issue, but of maintaining the *status quo*, in which a minority, a racial minority, rules over an unwilling majority without having, without asking even, a mandate from that majority. What is at issue are the structures which have been set up to maintain the *status quo* and no mandate has been given to tamper with those structures. On the contrary, there has been affirmation of resolve to maintain white domination in South Africa. Therefore, we would like to treat these elections as an insignificant episode.

We re-address ourselves to the situation that obtained before the elections. In that regard even to the extent Mr. Botha claims a mandate, it is surely a mandate for the continued brutal repression of the majority of the people of South Africa, the continued assassination of refugees who can be found easily and readily in Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Angola.

We ask this Committee to expect a series of assassinations under the authority of the so-called mandate, but in reality, in defence of apartheid domination, and as an expression of the true nature of the apartheid regime. There will be attacks against the neighbouring independent States, there will be acts of provocation and destabilisation against them and there will be continued sabotage of international efforts to solve the Namibian problem. The mandate that Mr. Botha has is therefore one for tyranny in South Africa, Namibia and the rest of southern Africa by that regime, and for the entrenchment of the *status quo* in South Africa and Namibia.

Mandate of the People

I should observe that if there was any mandate worth talking about in the South African situation, it must be a mandate given by the majority. Such a mandate has in fact been given, not during the elections in April of this year, but during the month of May when the regime and its white minority supporters were celebrating the 20th anniversary of the formation of the racist Republic of South Africa. The mandate was given to the African National Congress by more than 80 per cent of the people of South Africa. It took the form of a rejection of the celebrations, a response to a call made by the African National Congress on the 8th of January this year, the 69th anniversary of its founding. It was a call upon the people to reject the racist Republic by refusing to participate in the celebration of its 20th anniversary.

Therefore, in May the country was divided into those who are part of this regime and this Republic - the white minority - and the rest consisting of all the black people in South Africa and a large number of white people who disassociated themselves from the anniversary activities. They represent the kind of South Africa envisaged by the African National Congress. They stand for the kind of Republic which the African National Congress and other patriotic forces in our country are fighting to create. The rejection did not take the form of a negative display of lack of interest in the celebrations, but it was active and positive, taking the form of meetings all over the country, involving workers, women, leading churchmen, students and people in the countryside. In the meetings the message that came out was that of a people resolved to put an end to the *status quo* and to bring about a South Africa of all South Africans, united, non-racial, democratic and above all, friendly to its neighbours and bound by the decisions of the international community.

An interesting aspect of this expression of rejection was that the opponents of apartheid domination, the people who are struggling for liberation to end the colonial structure in our country, acted in complete unity. Their action involved industrial strikes by workers, boycotts by various people including students, and it involved also armed action. For it is part of the strategy of the African National Congress and its allies in the liberation front to achieve a total mobilisation of our people and strike at enemy forces and positions with everything at our disposal, combining therefore political action, demonstrations, boycotts, resistance of every kind, strikes and the use of arms.

Armed Struggle and Mass Mobilisation

Mr. Chairman, when we consult with the Special Committee against Apartheid, we feel both obliged and entitled to refer to progress or the lack of progress that we have achieved in our struggle. We do not want, we would not like, to promote false hopes about imminent success. Yet it is proper that what we consider an achievement should be mentioned to this Committee.

We have given priority to the pursuit of armed struggle in our country, but we have never seen an armed struggle developing with any effect outside of the mass mobilisation, and the activation of our people, the unification of the patriotic forces in the country, as well as the encouragement of the democratic movement among the white population. The organisation and the activation of the black workers into action and the mobilisation of the religious community - these are elements in our strategy for moving forward.

I think it is fair to say that we have achieved significant progress towards the realisation of these objectives. The religious forces in our country which are numerous have come into the mainstream of the liberation struggle. We think the posture of the majority demonstrated during the month of May points to a very high level of mass mobilisation and a very high degree of unity. The supporters of our struggle would like to see this unity, would like to see this activity, because in the final analysis as you so correctly pointed out, Mr. Chairman, it is the people of South Africa who by their own activity and sacrifice will put an end to the apartheid system. The rest of the international community can only complement their efforts although that contribution is indispensable. Therefore, we are poised to make advances on the ground in the South African situation.

Recognition of Leadership of ANC

And I think, perhaps in passing, one might observe that the acts of rejection of the apartheid regime demonstrated during May have something to do, to put it at its lowest, with the acceptance by the people of South Africa of the strategy of the African National Congress and its leadership. The leadership by the African National Congress does not rest necessarily on the fact of its having been established so many decades ago and having remained in the field for an equal length of time. It is a leadership which in the final analysis must be tested on the ground and reflected in the responses of the people to the direction it gives. We think there is unity around the objectives which the African National Congress provides, so far at least, the only alternative to the apartheid system in terms of the Freedom Charter which constitutes its policy platform.

We are encouraged in South Africa, and at the African National Congress, by the

recognition of the leadership of the African National Congress by an increasing number of countries in the world, the Non-aligned countries which include African countries, by Socialist countries, and also by Western countries which now include Holland, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany which in Western Europe have joined the Scandinavian countries, and which we believe will soon be joined by France.

Washington-Pretoria Axis

It is against this background, Mr. Chairman, that we are disturbed that the Reagan administration has chosen to embrace racist and unrepresentative apartheid South Africa as an ally at precisely this time. It seems to us that this declaration of the apartheid regime as a friend and ally can have no purpose other than to legitimise apartheid itself, to introduce the regime into the community of nations and to divide the international community in its support of the cause of the Namibian people and the South African people. It seems to us that in the final resort the declaration of the apartheid regime as a friend and ally creates the basis for intervention in the struggle in South Africa on the side of the racists.

That struggle is not just a civil rights struggle, it is an armed struggle which is going to intensify; it will escalate, it will involve neighbouring countries, and it will do so the more readily and the more easily because the South African regime has won a new ally, more determined, more resolute than any ally that regime has had in the past; an ally which emerges at a time when that regime is more hated in southern Africa than at any time in its history. When it has earned for itself a designation of international terrorist in that region, when it has taken increasing pride in raids and murders across the borders of South Africa, it is at that point that it seems to have qualified for embrace as a friend and ally.

Alarmed by this development, and curious to know how the people of the United States responded to a situation that was of serious concern throughout Africa and throughout the entire international community which has spent so much time and effort and even resources on the South African question, the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation responded to an invitation to speak at a conference of black leaders in the United States convened by Transafrica and the Southern Africa Support Project which took place in Washington. We took the opportunity of our presence there to have discussions not only with black leaders, but also with representatives and members of the Congressional Sub-committees on Africa. We tried to appeal over the heads of the administration to the American people and to alert them to the danger posed by the emergence of the Washington-Pretoria axis on the African scene.

Act with a Sense of Urgency

We believe that before this axis consolidates itself against Africa, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-aligned Movement, indeed the United Nations and all genuine supporters of the Namibian and South African causes, should act with a sense of urgency. We believe that the Paris Conference laid a valid basis for urgent action, especially on the need for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, for unilateral and collective sanctions, for an oil embargo and on the need for an emergency session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of sanctions. As part of the sanctions effort, we think there is a great need to explore immediately the ways and means whereby practical expression can be given to the decisions of the Paris Conference. We look forward to the forthcoming meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity which, we believe, will consider the convening of a special session of the General Assembly.

But it is necessary to address the masses of the people and to bring them into the implementation of the sanctions resolutions. Trade unions and other popular bodies have the capacity, if they have the will, to give effect to these decisions, and to ensure the isolation of the apartheid regime, both in relation to its policies and practices within South Africa and its recalcitrance on the Namibian question - not so much as a penalty, or as a punishment, but as a deliberate act of supporting the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa, in brief as a supportive act.

Mr. Chairman, His Excellency the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Dr. Alex Ekwueme, when addressing the Paris Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, made the following statement:

"We can no longer afford to ignore the legitimate demands of the blacks in South Africa and Namibia for their freedom. We owe it as a duty both to them and to ourselves to bring this pernicious system of apartheid to an ignominious end by acting collectively to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Mankind must once and for all dramatically and decisively repudiate this racist doctrine which seeks to undermine human civilisation itself. We neglect to do so only at our eternal peril."

The eternal peril has been planted into the Pretoria-Washington axis. It means that the South African problem will increasingly, rapidly, unfold and escalate into a raging war engulfing all of southern Africa. Certainly, the vigorous arming that is going on in our time seems to envisage and to be a preparation for an approaching world war. It is not being too speculative to suggest that southern Africa could provide the necessary spark.

The Vice-President went on to say that if need be Africa will seek and utilise whatever means are open to it to see through the final liquidation of apartheid South Africa. Even if the heavens fall...

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the African National Congress greatly appreciates

the role played by the ambassadors of the Non-aligned, the Socialist and other committed countries in the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and support of the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa. We salute, in particular, the stance taken by the Foreign Ministers and representatives of these countries during the recent Security Council debate on Namibia when they presented the irrefutable case for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

And since the African National Congress considers the struggle in South Africa and Namibia as being one and indivisible, and as being part of the wider struggle of the African and progressive world, we urge the international community to unreservedly campaign for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435.⁵⁸ We further urge the speedy convening of the Security Council to impose sanctions against South Africa. And finally, we call for the international mobilisation towards the enforcement of sanctions so that we at least move away from the mere adoption of resolutions and use sanctions as an effective weapon in support of the just cause of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

I thank you, Sir.

⁵⁸ Resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, endorsing a plan for the independence of Namibia

MOBILISE THE WORLD FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID

*Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid on January 12, 1982*⁵⁹

We owe the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid a debt of deep gratitude for inviting me to represent the African National Congress (ANC) at this special meeting which is being held to inaugurate the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. This is a meeting which the ANC and the people of South Africa as a whole consider of the utmost importance, not least because it is a meeting concerned with the crucial need for united action by the international community.

We gratefully acknowledge the many messages of solidarity received from Heads of State or Government, Foreign Ministers, ambassadors, leaders of political parties, as well as heads of national and international non-governmental organisations, and from people in different walks of life in many parts of the world.

The people of South Africa have deeply appreciated and have been immensely inspired by the special greetings sent by the General Assembly to mark the seventieth anniversary of the ANC.

Equally, we greatly welcome the decision of the General Assembly to designate the year 1982 as the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. I would therefore like to salute the coalescence that we find between 1982, the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa, and 1982, the Year of Unity in Action being in commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the formation of the ANC. In this sense, 1982 is the meeting-point between the liberation struggle of a people over a continuous period of 70 years, and a concerted effort by the United Nations directed at the same goal throughout the latter half of that period. The year 1982 unites in action the fighting masses in South Africa with the opponents of racism, apartheid and colonialism the world over.

It is especially edifying to have as Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid a brother and a friend of long standing, a son of that august nation, Nigeria, whose unswerving support for the total liberation of our continent is well known and respected.⁶⁰ In this regard we should like to salute the Special Committee, which has

⁵⁹ The Special Committee organised the meeting to mark the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa, and to launch the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa.

⁶⁰ H. E. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule of Nigeria was then Chairman of the Special Committee.

been a fighting weapon of the people of South Africa and which has taken the kind of initiatives through which the international community is virtually united today in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa. It was a great moment in 1962 when the General Assembly decided to establish this body. We had then relatively few supporters. But today we are assured of the backing of the international community thanks to the highly commendable work being done, Mr. Chairman, by the Committee over which you now preside.

I also wish to take this opportunity, however belatedly, personally to congratulate Mr. Ismat Kittani, the President of the General Assembly, on his election and on the successful manner in which he has conducted the affairs of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

Likewise, Mr. Chairman, we heartily congratulate Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on his election as Secretary-General of the United Nations and welcome him to the position of supreme responsibility which he assumes in the crucial year, 1982. Already, we are encouraged by his recent statement on the question of Namibia, and his assessment of the South African situation. The independence of Namibia under the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) is long overdue. The continuing repression of the Namibian people and the use of that country for aggression and destruction in Angola and in other African States cannot but project the United Nations as helplessly impotent in the face of an outrage committed upon its authority by the apartheid regime of South Africa.

As the last Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries indicated, there will be peace, security and stability in southern Africa only after South Africa's illegal and murderous occupation of Namibia has been ended and apartheid regime in South Africa has been eliminated by the people and replaced by a democratic State.

The historical developments which culminated in the formation of the ANC in 1912 have been canvassed adequately in earlier discussions, notably at the meeting held by the African Group in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid, under your chairmanship, to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the ANC and the twentieth anniversary of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*. In passing, we wish to express our profound appreciation of that historic initiative which has been a great inspiration to our people in general and to the cadres of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* in particular.

Non-violent Movement and Boycott

It is now generally known that the struggle led by the ANC from 1912 up to the beginning of the 1960s took the form of peaceful and non-violent pressures. Throughout the period of the 1950s the policy of the ANC was consciously and deliberately non-violent at a time when the apartheid regime had come into power and had opened an era of violent rule unknown since the formation of the Union of

South Africa. This violence escalated constantly and continuously during this decade, as the struggle of the oppressed gathered momentum, bringing into action the largest numbers of people ever involved in the struggle led by the ANC.

The competing rise in apartheid violence on the one hand and the militancy of the masses on the other was clearly moving towards a point when a violent explosion would become inevitable. In fact, by 1958, there was a growing impatience with the policy of non-violence on the part of the masses, who were demanding that racist violence should be met with revolutionary violence.

It was at this stage that the ANC, speaking through its President, A. J. Luthuli, invoked a new tactic - that of inducing the white electorate to put pressure on their own racist government. This tactic consisted in a call, first, for a boycott of selected consumer goods by the population in South Africa; and later, still in the year 1958, a call on the international community to boycott all South African consumer goods. The immediate effect would be to put the blacks out of work. This sacrifice we were prepared to make. But the next to be retrenched would be the white voters. This was the target of the consumer boycott movement. It will be observed that this was a tactic in the spirit of non-violence: an attempt to resolve the political conflict by peaceful methods and to obviate the necessity, which was becoming strongly felt, for the people to resort to violent struggle.

Call for Sanctions

After the Sharpeville massacre, which was a natural development of the escalating violence of the racist regime, the ANC raised the question of sanctions against the South African regime.

The call was made in the first instance to a meeting of independent African States held in Addis Ababa in June 1960, and was subsequently submitted to the 1960 session of the General Assembly by the African representatives. Since then, the United Nations, and the international community generally, have been seized of the question of sanctions. As in the 1950s the demand for sanctions has been made in the context of a rapidly escalating conflict involving the fighting people of South Africa and Namibia on the one hand, and the South African racist regime on the other.

Today, the stage has been reached when the racist regime, in its armed offensive, is terrorising the entire region of southern Africa with armed invasions, massacres, assassinations, economic sabotage and the infiltration into independent States of armed bandits to engage in acts of destabilisation. The racist regime is now occupying part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola; this constitutes a crime against all Africa, an outrage against the very concept of national independence and territorial integrity. This aggression is in part a strategy of defence against the mounting offensive by the liberation movements, whose objective of national liberation enjoys the support of the United Nations and the international community.

In part, the strategy seeks to reverse the revolutionary gains achieved by the peoples of southern Africa by overthrowing their legitimate governments and replacing them with its own puppets. This offensive is bound to grow as the armed struggle within Namibia and South Africa is inevitably intensified.

It is in this context that the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions has become both imperative and urgent if the trend towards a regional war is to be arrested and the duration of the war situation limited through the effective isolation of the racist regime by the international community.

The world community must accept the fact that a people who lost their independence to a colonial Power in 1884 and who were cast in the fascist grip of a racist regime in 1918 will wage a continually intensifying war against the illegal forces in their country until they regain their independence. This is the position of SWAPO and the Namibian people.

Equally, it must be accepted that the people of South Africa, who, after half a century of peaceful and patient knocking at a closed and barred door, have been rewarded with massacres, assassinations and torture, will not put down their spears, now that they have picked them up again. Instead, and at all costs, they will intensify their struggle with every means and weapon at their disposal. The year 1982 constitutes a special challenge for the people of South Africa to bring into being a new political, economic and social order in their country. Nothing can stand in the way of their fulfilling this historic task.

The call for sanctions has met with only a partial response to date. We should like to commend the countries, governments, organisations and institutions which, in response to the appeal of the people of Namibia and South Africa and to the call of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the General Assembly, have taken the decision to isolate the South African regime.

Allies of the Racist Regime

But it is recognised that the problem about the imposition of sanctions against South Africa emanates from a few Western countries which are allies of the racist regime and which reap lucrative profits from the apartheid system and the inhuman crimes associated with it. It is common knowledge that Britain, West Germany, Italy, France and the United States, together with hundreds of transnational corporations, have vested interests in the perpetuation and the survival of the apartheid system. The most determined efforts to secure a Security Council resolution imposing sanctions on this regime have been defeated in the interests of maintaining the *status quo* in both Namibia and South Africa.

It is worth noting that some of the countries now involved in desperate efforts to prolong, and even perpetuate, their exploitation of the people of Namibia and South

Africa, as well as their plunder of the rest of the subcontinent, were parties to the notorious 1884 Berlin Convention, whose one hundredth anniversary falls in only two years` time.

The United States has entered the picture as the latter-day leader of the group which has presumably, like the racist regime of South Africa, never accepted the independence of African countries. What confronts the international community is how to build new international relations based on a total abandonment of the concepts and the policies which emanated from the Berlin Convention, in particular, how to ensure stability, peace and progress by terminating racist and colonial domination of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

From the point of view of the people of Africa in general, and of Namibia and South Africa in particular, there is no alternative but to fight on, with arms and all. The international community is being denied the use of the powerful weapon of sanctions by forces which have not hesitated to provide the fascist regime in South Africa with the most lethal weapons of destruction, including nuclear technology. The activities of the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa will need to address themselves in detail to the role of these countries.

Mobilise for Sanctions

To this end, on behalf of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, the people of South Africa, and the people of the whole region now facing the real possibility of an escalating war, we appeal to every section of the international community to join in a determined effort to win the co-operation of all States members of the United Nations in the enforcement of sanctions against South Africa. The formidable evidence that has been amassed to demonstrate the collaboration between South Africa and the West must now be placed at the disposal of the men and women who comprise the international community to enable them to play their role in putting an end to a heinous crime against humanity.

Given the necessary political will, a Member State, first, can and should impose sanctions on South Africa without relying on a Security Council resolution. Secondly, every government decision to isolate South Africa completely has its own impact in encouraging similar action by other governments. Thirdly, for those determined to see the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, the sacrifices they have to make in the event of the imposition of sanctions on the Pretoria racist regime must be seen as their part in the struggle for peace, stability and progress. But this applies with even greater force to the people of Namibia and South Africa and to the countries and peoples of southern Africa, who are not new to the demand for sacrifice in pursuit of the goal of national liberation, self-determination and independence.

It would be dangerous to underestimate the problems attendant upon the attempt to mobilise for sanctions. A cold war psychosis is being generated, which diverts world

attention to the possibility of a global conflict between the West and the Warsaw Pact countries. This enables the South African regime and its allies to pursue murderous policies without attracting international attention.

In this connection, it is significant that the continuing occupation of parts of southern Angola by the South African regime appears to have ceased to elicit international condemnation.

Unity in Action

There should be no doubt, however, that the struggle in South Africa, as also in Namibia, is a reality of our times, and any attempt to bypass this joint struggle is bound to fail, thanks to the determination of the people and our armed forces to intensify their offensive for victory. As we have stated before, the certainty of that victory for the people of Namibia and South Africa is also a reality of our times.

Our struggle has advanced enormously inside Namibia and inside South Africa. Our people fight today in the knowledge that the world community is on their side, that the enemies are few, and that the people who comprise humanity are many. They are therefore grateful for the political, diplomatic and material support which has come from the United Nations and many countries bilaterally and collectively - support which has come from various sections of the international community. They have followed with great interest and admiration the way that the African Group at the United Nations has represented the interests and the policies of the OAU. They constitute a living presence of the entire continent at the United Nations. We have admired, too, the co-operation between the Special Committee against Apartheid and the African Group and the representatives of the Non-aligned Movement and, generally, the spirit of united action and of unity in action which is demonstrated here with every issue that affects us all.

Appreciation to Special Committee

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we would like to pay a special tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, which has contributed through its various organs to a massive commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the ANC. We have read with much appreciation the statement made by the Chairman of the Special Committee calling upon the world to commemorate this unique event. The participation of mankind in the commemoration of the seventieth anniversary is an act of unity not merely with the ANC but also with the people of whose history it is a part.

We would like to thank the trade union movement in Africa for their support and hope that the movement will use its good offices to mobilise the international trade union movement, especially in relation to the effort to ensure the implementation of

sanctions by the workers, jointly with people in various walks of life.

We call upon the international community to give all-round support and assistance to the liberation struggles of the Namibian and South African people, as well as to the countries of southern Africa which are targets of aggression because of their commitment to the total liberation of Africa and their resolve to stand by the positions of the OAU, the Non-aligned Movement and the United Nations. We seek this support for all others, such as the PLO, the Polisario Front, FRETILIN of East Timor and peoples in other parts of the world engaged in the struggle against racism, fascism and colonial domination.

We wish the Special Committee against Apartheid all success as it faces the challenges of the year 1982. We are informed that one of its most effective members, Ambassador Peter Florin of the German Democratic Republic, is leaving the United Nations. We thank him and his country for his great contribution to the success of the work of the Special Committee. Because of the dedication of all the members of the Committee, we are confident that his departure will not take away the capacity of the Committee to fulfil its tasks with the competence that we have come to associate with it.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS RESOLUTION

*Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly, November 5, 1982*⁶¹

Over the past three decades the apartheid regime has emerged as a vicious oppressor and a ferocious exploiter of the peoples under its domination, an aggressor bent on military conquest in southern Africa. In South Africa, as the regime continues its fight for the survival of the apartheid system, the brutality of its repressive measures reaches new levels, while in the rest of southern Africa, especially in Namibia and in the People's Republic of Angola, its acts of aggression constitute a flagrant breach of peace and security which obliges the Security Council to take action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The international community and especially the peoples immediately affected by the criminal practices of the South African regime demand this action.

The impediment to the enforcement of sanctions is, as is well known, the infamous role of one or two permanent members of the Security Council which see it as their bounden duty to protect the apartheid regime as it perpetrates its crimes against the peoples of South Africa and southern Africa.

The recent decision of the International Monetary Fund to grant a massive loan to the Pretoria regime serves the same purpose of strengthening the regime by subsidising its programme of violent repression and armed aggression against the countries and peoples of southern Africa, including the Indian Ocean islands.

The central message of the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa is that the allies of the South African apartheid regime must no longer be allowed to go unchallenged by the international community.

Today, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the 1962 sanctions resolution, we meet to honour some of the outstanding representatives of that

⁶¹ On 5 November 1982, the United Nations General Assembly held a special meeting devoted to the observance of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa. The meeting was arranged on that day as it was twenty years since the General Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII) recommending, for the first time, sanctions against South Africa. At that meeting, awards were presented to seven persons in recognition of their outstanding contribution to the international movement for sanctions against South Africa: the late President Houari Boumediene (Algeria), Romesh Chandra (India), Madame Jeanne Martin-Cisse (Guinea), the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston (United Kingdom), the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (United States of America), Abraham Ordia (Nigeria) and Jan Nico Scholten (Netherlands).

Archbishop Huddleston delivered a keynote address on the occasion.

community who by their devoted effort and initiative over many years have contributed to the growth and development of what has now become a powerful world movement for sanctions. This is therefore a historic event in which the African National Congress feels privileged to participate. We are grateful to the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid for inviting us and to you, Mr. President, for calling upon us to make a statement.

By the act of conferring awards on the late President Houari Boumediene of Algeria, the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the honoured guests who are here today in person, the General Assembly recognises them as authentic representatives of the spirit of 1945 which gave birth to this Organisation. For our part, we know them as outstanding champions of the cause of freedom from colonial and racist domination, of freedom from exploitation and war, and as resolute campaigners for effective international action against the apartheid system.

It may be of interest to recall that in 1955, in South Africa, at a famous Congress of the People - a Congress which adopted the famous Freedom Charter - held in Kliptown, Johannesburg, which was attended by one of the recipients of the high award today, His Grace Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the people of South Africa gave him their highest award, known as *Isitwalandwe*, for his outstanding contribution to our liberation struggle at the time. His presence here today as the recipient of yet another award testifies to the consistency of his involvement in the struggle for human justice. His record is in varying degrees the record also of the other recipients of awards today, whom we have known for many years.

By this act the General Assembly, in the name of united humanity, is calling for many millions more of the class of those who are being honoured today. Equally, this ceremony, held in the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa, constitutes a pledge by the world community to work even more vigorously for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa. We - the African National Congress, the liberation movement in South Africa, the oppressed masses of that country - for our part pledge that those efforts will be more than complemented by the temper and tempo of the liberation struggle inside South Africa.

On behalf of the African National Congress and the popular masses in our country, we sincerely congratulate the distinguished fighters for freedom, justice and peace who have today become holders of the United Nations special award.

We wish also today to express our deep appreciation for the support and assistance that our struggle enjoys from the United Nations and its Member States, from non-governmental organisations and from people around the globe. Thanks to that support, *inter alia*, our people, united in action, have become mighty in struggle. A new and democratic South Africa will yet be born. Our common victory is certain.

DEFEAT THOSE WHO SUBVERT UNITED NATIONS DECISIONS

Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, November 9, 1982

Four days ago, in commemorating the twentieth anniversary of its singularly important decision calling on all member States to break cultural, diplomatic, economic and military relations with South Africa, this august body honoured certain personalities for their outstanding role in pursuit of the world campaign in support of the struggle for the eradication of apartheid.

In paying the well-deserved tribute to certain governments, non-governmental organisations and individuals who have been in the forefront in the implementation of this decision and of the mobilisation of world public opinion in that direction, speakers eloquently recalled the reasons that led to what was an unprecedented development in the history of the United Nations.

The international community had come to the conclusion that the countless appeals repeatedly addressed to the South African racist regime since the inception of this world body had not only fallen on deaf ears but had also met with the persistent buttressing of the apartheid system. This action-oriented consensus involving the overwhelming majority of mankind was also predicated on the determination that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security. It was an historic decision welcomed by the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa as a response to the appeal made by their national liberation movement, the African National Congress, in 1958, and was seen by them as the first step toward comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

The conclusions arrived at by the Security Council Group of Experts in 1964 that sanctions against South Africa were imperative and feasible, further heightened expectations for concerted international action. The total isolation of the Pretoria regime would certainly weaken it and complement the efforts of the struggling people in South Africa.

As we take the floor on behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the majority in South Africa, we draw strength firstly, Mr. President, from the commitment of your country, Hungary, to the principles of freedom, justice and peace, as well as your own uncompromising opposition to the apartheid system. We are confident that the deliberations of this august assembly in the twentieth year of the issue of sanctions will serve to advance our common cause.

Secondly, we read in the Secretary-General's report a timely warning that the future of the United Nations, to the strengthening of which the overwhelming majority of the member States are committed, depends on the collective

implementation of decisions democratically adopted by this world body.

Thirdly, we take the floor after a vehement condemnation of apartheid and a scathing indictment of the Pretoria regime's collaborators by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Ambassador Alhaji Maitama-Sule. The statement he presented today enters the records of the General Assembly as one of the great landmarks of its 37th session.

We take this opportunity to renew our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the highly commendable work done by the Special Committee under his illustrious leadership. His country, Nigeria, and his government and people have been and continue to be a powerful source of strength in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

Mr. President, the situation prevailing in South Africa today continues to provoke world-wide revulsion and condemnation. As in previous years, the year 1982 has been marked by a series of murders of patriots, numerous arrests, sadistic torture of thousands of opponents of the regime and countless other crimes committed by the regime against our people in a bid to stamp out the revolutionary movement fighting for the overthrow of the apartheid system.

The need for a powerful international demand for the release of political prisoners and detainees is heightened with each passing year, as patriots like 73-year-old Oscar Mpetha, 70-year-old Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, James Mange, Thandi Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and hundreds of others continue, with Nelson Mandela, to languish in jail. Six of them, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, David Moise, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung and Simon Mogoerane have been sentenced to death and their fate hangs on the weight of international opinion. We have even reached the extraordinary situation where the police have the power to prohibit public funerals, alternatively to tell the bereaved what hymns to sing at the graveside, what sermons to read, what to include and what to exclude in a funeral oration.

Despite this enemy offensive, even because of it, the struggle for the emancipation of our country is moving apace with irrepressible determination.

United in their action, clear in their definition of both the enemy and the objectives of their struggle, the workers, particularly the black workers, the youth, the women, the masses in the rural areas, students, professors and the religious community are engaged in actions not only to block the implementation of racial policies, both in general and in the detail, but also to bring down the apartheid system itself.

The role and participation of an increasing number of white patriots in the liberation struggle constitutes the foundation of the new non-racial democratic South Africa which is the objective of our struggle.

The heroic role of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* in contributing to the development of this powerful movement of the people of South Africa against an inhuman system, cannot be over-stated. Under the inspiration of the world solidarity movement and the increasing might of the international forces ranged against racism, apartheid, fascism, colonialism and imperialism, our people and their army, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, are marching on single-mindedly towards the conquest of power and the liberation of our country.

The rejection by our people of the so-called reforms must be seen in this context. In this sense, any manoeuvres the Pretoria regime has resorted to, like its repressive measures and aggressive acts, serve only to deepen the determination of the people and heighten the intensity of the liberation struggle. At best the efforts of Botha and his friends in the outside world to present the regime as an agent of progressive reform are a cynical ploy to deceive the gullible. The most persistent feature of the present-day South African political landscape is the steadily worsening crisis of the racist regime. Sandbagged police stations and military outposts, intermittent paramilitary roadblocks outside black townships, brutal and oppressive raids on black people's homes and areas are all symptomatic of a regime in the grip of fear and engulfed by a sea of hostility from the citizens of its own country.

Mr. President, the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa is coming to an end. But the demand for mobilisation stands at its highest.

The African National Congress, together with the majority of the people of South Africa, deeply appreciates the efforts deployed by the United Nations Organisation and the international community to put maximum pressure on the apartheid regime in support of our liberation struggle.

Certainly, Mr. President, the past twenty years has witnessed a growing isolation of the apartheid regime. To that extent, the international community, through its consistent pursuit of the purposes clearly spelt out in the General Assembly's sanctions resolution of November 6, 1962, has succeeded in weakening the Pretoria regime.

But we have to face up to the reality that over this period of the struggle for mandatory sanctions, the regime has succeeded in defying world opinion on a whole series of issues.

Faced with the determined resistance of the oppressed and exploited inside South Africa, the regime has externalised the conflict through a strategy of overt and covert aggression, including a campaign of destabilisation, against the neighbouring States. These crimes against African independent States have the direct and indirect encouragement from various quarters in the West. In this regard special mention must be made of the role of the incumbent United States administration, which has declared itself an ally of the racist regime. Emboldened by the assurance of the United States support, the racists aborted the Geneva Conference on Namibia,

unleashed a wave of atrocities against the Namibian people, invaded the People's Republic of Angola and continue brazenly to occupy portions of its territory; they are openly training, equipping, financing and arming counter-revolutionary gangs to spread terror and mayhem in various countries in southern Africa and they are still deeply enmeshed in conspiracies to stage a mercenary coup in Seychelles. No country in southern Africa is secure against the Pretoria regime's harassment and aggression. As a matter of stark reality, Pretoria has turned our whole region into a war zone.

There is another important dimension to the declared alliance between Washington and apartheid Pretoria, Mr. President. We refer to the insistence by both on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola as a precondition for the independence of Namibia. It is however heartening to note that this demand has been disowned by France and other members of the Western Contact Group. But, Mr. President, the United Nations keeps silent on this issue at the risk of being seen to condone conduct which amounts to the Namibian people being held by Pretoria as hostages whose release to self-determination and independence is conditional upon the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between two sovereign States on terms dictated or approved by racist Pretoria and its ally.

The parallels between the Middle East and southern Africa are as clear as they are sinister. The onslaught on the Lebanon, the massive massacre of Lebanese and Palestinians, the attempt to liquidate the PLO and the Palestinian people, all of which were enacted with impunity by Israel have been followed minutely and with unconcealed interest and glee by the Pretoria racist regime which has designs for perpetrating the same kind of crime in southern Africa in the expectation that, like Israel, it will be enabled by its allies to get away with murder.

It would seem obvious, Mr. President, that we must make a more determined and united effort to persuade and compel those countries which continue in their support, encouragement and defence of the apartheid system to terminate their ignoble relations with the apartheid regime.

In the first instance we must give maximum encouragement to the anti-apartheid movements in these countries as well as to other organisations and groups that have joined in the struggle to rid the world of racism.

Secondly, this movement of solidarity within these countries should be encouraged and, where possible, assisted to expand its activities to reach out to the broad masses of the people who, through their organisations and in the greatest possible numbers, can themselves begin to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Many important initiatives have already been taken in this regard, including consumer boycotts, and the withdrawal of investments and accounts from companies and banks that have dealings with South Africa. The heroic resistance of the people of New Zealand to the racist rugby tour of their country earlier this year gave a powerful impetus to the struggle for the sporting and cultural isolation of the apartheid regime.

In Australia, workers have refused to handle South African imports and exports, ships or aircraft. The expansion and intensification of these forms of popular pressure will force reluctant and collaborationist governments to act in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The overwhelming majority of oil-producing countries have imposed an oil embargo against apartheid South Africa, and yet, thanks to the activities of the oil companies, this commodity continues to reach South Africa. We cannot overemphasise the need for effective measures to ensure that United Nations member States, committed to the struggle to end apartheid, do not continue to oil the machinery of apartheid.

Thanks to the support of Western countries, racist South Africa continues to enjoy membership of various international bodies and specialised agencies, among them the International Monetary Fund. Accordingly, South Africa still benefits from such membership, as the recent case of the IMF loan demonstrates. The decision by the IMF to grant Pretoria a loan of 1.07 billion dollars, in defiance of a resolution of the General Assembly, sharpens the need for the expulsion of the racist regime from the IMF.

In our struggle, Mr. President, we seek to liberate not only ourselves but we are also thereby contributing to the world-wide struggle for independence, democracy, social progress and peace. In the coming period we shall require even more support from this Organisation, from its member States and from the millions of people throughout the world who are an important second front in our continuing offensive.

We cannot close, Mr. President, without addressing a special word of support and solidarity to SWAPO and the people of Namibia, the PLO and the Palestinian people, the POLISARIO Front and the people of the Sahroui Arab Democratic Republic, to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the people of El Salvador, and to FRETILIN and the people of East Timor, as well as all other peoples struggling for their national liberation. We affirm our solidarity with the Frontline and other independent States in southern Africa.

Our common experience with these sister peoples and our common commitment to the cause of liberation, independence, social progress and peace must inevitably mean that we suffer together. But equally a victory on one front reinforces the struggle and ensures victory on other fronts. Nothing can break the solidarity that unites us.

During this coming period, perhaps more than ever in the past, we shall, Mr. President, depend on your support and encouragement, as well as the support and encouragement of His Excellency the Secretary-General, His Excellency the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and all the other officials of this Organisation.

Together we have the ability to defeat those who subvert the United Nations, its

Charter and its decisions. The apartheid regime stands out among such subversive forces. We have a joint responsibility to work for its eradication.

Our common victory is certain.

Thank you, Mr. President.

VICTORY IS WITHIN OUR GRASP

*Statement at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa,
UNESCO House, Paris, June 16, 1986*⁶²

Mr. President,

Your Excellency Mr. Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations,

Your Excellency President Abou Diouf, President of Senegal and Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity,

Your Excellency Mr. Mokhtar Mbow, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation,

Your Excellency General Joseph Garba, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid,

Your Excellency Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth,

Your Excellencies, Ministers, Ambassadors and High Commissioners,

Distinguished delegates and observers,

Comrades leaders of SWAPO of Namibia

Comrades, ladies and gentlemen,

This hall, situated in the historic city of Paris, evokes in us a feeling of inspiration. We who come from South Africa will always associate it with our struggle. To us, it is a battleground on which many battles have been fought successfully in furtherance of the efforts of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa to free themselves from racial and colonial domination, exploitation and aggression. It stands already as an historic tribute to the resolve of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and Australasia to maintain their humanity by refusing to accept the subjugation of our people.

As you know, Mr. President, we say this because, over the years, we have

⁶² The Conference was organised by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity and the Movement of Non-aligned Countries. H. E. Mr. Allan Wagner, Foreign Minister of Peru, was President of the Conference.

convened a number of times in this very hall of UNESCO, to consider what we should collectively do to bring to a speedy end the intolerable situation which continues to persist in southern Africa. From here there have emerged decisions expressing a world point of view which has made an enormous contribution to the process which has brought us to the stage when we can say that our common victory is in sight.

We thank the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement for summoning this conference at this critical time in the struggle to free Namibia and South Africa. We extend to everyone present here the greetings of the ANC and the beleaguered people of South Africa. To you all we bring assurance that racism and colonialism in southern Africa cannot survive much longer. At the same time, we carry with us the simple message that the times demand of all of us, drawn from all quarters of the globe, that we sue for victory now rather than later, today and not tomorrow, tomorrow rather than the day after. The long awaited victory is within our grasp.

In that sense, it is most appropriate that we meet in this hall to continue the endeavours that were born here. It is manifestly imperative that gathered as we are at this conference, we should deliberately build on our success, and basing ourselves on our gains, move forward in an uninterrupted offensive that will result in the banishment of racism, colonialism, fascism and war in southern Africa once and for all time.

Significant Successes

And what, Mr. President, are these gains to which we refer? The result of our common efforts is that today there are no people anywhere in the world who do not know what apartheid means, who are not aware of the evil nature of this man-hating system. There are today very few people who will not oppose the apartheid monster by word or deed, who are unwilling to do that little more which will bring the monster to its knees. In reality, even the argument in favour of sanctions has been won bar those who, for reasons of racist principle or avaricious self-interest, continue to argue that the Pretoria regime must be treated as an errant child - lovingly kept within the bosom of the family of nations, occasionally, gently chided and offered sweets as an inducement to mend its wayward behaviour.

It would therefore seem clear to us that from these successes, which are truly significant, we can in fact enhance the isolation of apartheid South Africa in a meaningful way. Taking advantage of mass, popular sentiment in favour of sanctions, governments that are committed to anti-racism and truly interested to minimise the bloodshed and usher in an era of peace, freedom and justice in southern Africa, can and must take further steps towards the imposition of comprehensive sanctions.

Equally, this feeling in favour of meaningful action against the apartheid regime provides the basis for public organisations such as political parties, trade unions, churches, anti-apartheid movements and others to mobilise for the imposition of sanctions by the people themselves.

Surely, it has by now become patently clear to all thinking people that unless the world takes decisive action now, a bloodbath in South and southern Africa is inevitable.

General Strike in South Africa

We meet on the day of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, which is today South Africa Youth Day. To honour our youth who were killed ten years ago and to advance the cause for which they perished, the African National Congress and all other democratic forces in our country called for a national general strike, which is a resounding success, as well as commemorative mass rallies and meetings.

As all of us present here know, the apartheid regime has, in response, taken unprecedented measures to place itself in a position where it can, this very day, massacre our people in their tens of thousands. Huge numbers of armed soldiers and policemen have been deployed in both black and white areas of our country. The enemy hopes that through sheer use of terror, it will force our people to go to work, and having done so, not to engage in mass demonstrations in the centres of towns and cities.

Nobody knows what the situation will be when this day ends. It is, however, perfectly clear that by this massive deployment of brute force to suppress peaceful actions, the apartheid regime is blatantly telling our people, as it told them ten years ago, that we can never achieve our objective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa except through armed struggle. Pretoria is saying this in very clear terms, that only armed resistance on our part will win the day.

When the racist rulers communicated this message ten years ago, our youth understood it fully. Today that message is being conveyed to the whole nation clearly and unequivocally. It will similarly be understood fully. Those who sow these seeds will surely reap the whirlwind.

Death has become so much a part of our daily lives that it can no longer serve as deterrence discouraging struggle. Indeed, death has become so much part of our daily lives that the urgent necessity to end the murderous system of apartheid presses on us with the greatest insistence. Therefore, having learnt the lessons that the enemy seeks to teach us today, our people will join the armed offensive in even greater numbers, displaying the same bravery and same contempt for death that they have shown in the last two years and before.

Sombre Prospect

We speak here not in triumph that the Botha regime has dragged our country into the situation which we witness today. The prospect of growing numbers of our people killed and injured does not fill us with joy. We view it as a sombre prospect and wish it could have been avoided.

However, we have also learnt to look reality in the face. That reality demands that in order to win our liberty we must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. It also demands that we should steel ourselves for war with all the consequences that implies. We are certainly not prepared to live as slaves and will therefore continue to intensify our offensive for the victory of the cause of democracy, national liberation and peace in our country.

The certainty of greatly increased violence is not confined to South Africa. It is a prospect which faces the peoples of southern Africa. Already many people have died in our region and enormous destruction has been caused by the aggression of the apartheid regime. As this regime grows more desperate, so will it seek to wreak more havoc throughout the region.

Responsibility of Major Western Powers

The major Western Powers and in particular the United States, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and France cannot avoid taking the blame for this inevitable and terrible outcome. It is they who have, above all, shielded the apartheid regime from decisive international action. They have aided and abetted this regime in the past and continue to do so today. Current reports confirm that these governments remain determined to persist in this ignoble and dishonourable role as allies of a truly murderous regime.

It had been our fervent hope that these governments would have drawn the necessary conclusions from the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group of which our brother Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, has spoken. Moved by what it saw and heard in South Africa, the EPG has given timely warning about the impending horrendous bloodbath and called for decisive action by the international community to avert this possibility.⁶³

Of necessity this call is directed in the first instance at the principal economic partners of apartheid South Africa, the countries we have already mentioned. It is one of the great tragedies of our epoch that countries which see themselves as the most exemplary democracies of all time should choose to go down in history as the force

⁶³ The report of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons was published a few days before the Conference.

that blocked the birth of democracy in South Africa and elected instead to appease racism and white minority rule and consequently to see our people perish in their millions.

Time is indeed running out if it has not done so already. If those who have the power and the obligation to impose sanctions fail to do so now, then history will surely judge them as co-conspirators and participants in the commission of a crime of immense dimensions.

Act Decisively Now

The African National Congress and the masses of the people it leads are committed to the victory of the cause of democracy in our country. There should be no doubt whatsoever that with your support, we shall emerge victorious. Already, reports coming out of South Africa today confirm that despite all the extraordinary measures of state terrorism that the Botha regime has adopted, our people have observed the call for a general strike in their millions. In action our people are saying we shall never be terrorised into submission. Practically they are rejecting the legitimacy of the Pretoria regime and affirming their recognition of the African National Congress and the rest of the democratic movement of our country as their leaders, the authentic political force that represents all the people of South Africa.

These masses, and their organisation, the ANC, would have dearly loved to liberate our country from a racist tyranny by peaceful means, including negotiations. Indeed, over many years, we tried again and again to achieve this result, to no avail. The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons has now added its confirmation that the Botha regime is not prepared to resolve the problem of South Africa by negotiations. It is instead as committed as ever to maintain the system of white minority domination.

This surely must lay to rest the illusion that negotiations are an option available to us and confirms the hollowness and bankruptcy of arguments that decisive action should be avoided in the interests of promoting the chances of a negotiated settlement. The call made on us to renounce violence, as it is put, is nothing but a ruse to render us impotent precisely for the purpose of ensuring the perpetuation of the apartheid system. We shall certainly not fall into that trap.

To achieve change we must and will continue to intensify our political and military offensive. We owe it to ourselves as a people and to the thousands who died before, during and after June 16th, 1976. We owe it to the peoples of southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the world. We count on your all-round support, as the representatives within South Africa of the objectives contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The obligation to choose to be on the side of the oppressed people of our country and their national liberation movement can no longer be avoided.

On behalf of the ANC and the struggling people, we greet all participants at this timely World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa. We extend our heartfelt thanks to all who have acted to help end the apartheid system. Over many years you have stood side by side with us because you would not countenance the commission of a crime against humanity. We call on you on this important day in our history, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, when it is possible that yet more massacres are taking place, that you act decisively now for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

Sanctions Now!

Our Common Victory is Assured!

STEP UP THE STRUGGLE TO EVEN HIGHER LEVELS

*Address to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, June 19, 1986*⁶⁴

(Extract)

Our struggle has entered a phase which marks the final days of the apartheid system of colonial and racist domination. The extraordinary challenge represented by the mass offensive which has gripped our country over the last two years especially has as its point of focus the objective of the transfer of power to the people.

It is centred on the urgent necessity for all South Africans to govern our country together, to determine its future as equals, to fashion it into a peaceful and prosperous motherland, the common patrimony of all its people, both black and white.

Thus the struggle does not seek what the Botha regime describes as reforms. It is not about partial improvements in the conditions of life of the black oppressed majority. And of cardinal importance in this regard is the fact that the idea has taken root in the minds of the millions of our people that if we must perish, as some of us will, then we will lay down our lives not for peripheral changes but for a genuine social and political transformation of our reality. Of equal importance is the awareness that we have it in our power to bring this new reality into being, that our daily sacrifices are necessary elements in the actual making of a glorious future.

Apartheid Cannot be "Reformed"

The Pretoria regime is responding to this democratic challenge as we would expect it to. This regime remains committed to the maintenance of the apartheid system. In its essence, this system is about the monopolisation of political power by the white minority. Everything that the Botha regime does is directed at ensuring that whatever happens, the white minority retains political control for all time.

We consider it a matter of great importance that the international community should understand this fully and clearly. This is especially necessary at a time when the Botha regime projects itself as reformist and a new-found opponent of apartheid. This regime seeks to reduce world hostility to the apartheid system in order to weaken the pressure for sanctions and buy a further lease of life for itself. Among the so-called reforms carried out by the Botha regime are the repeal of the racist sex and marriage laws, amendments to labour legislation and proposed changes affecting influx control and the pass laws. None of these addresses the fundamental question of

⁶⁴ From: *President Tambo on South Africa Today: "Support the Sacrifices we are Making."* London: African National Congress, 1986.

the urgent need to ensure that all the people of South Africa participate in governing our country. They do not in any way affect the future of power in our country.

As we have said so many times, apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be destroyed in its entirety. For, indeed, how do you reform oppression? How do you reform the domination of the black majority by the white minority? How do you reform a crime so that it ceases to be a crime? Oppression and freedom are antithetical and mutually exclusive; they cannot be made to coexist by the injection of the word "reform." Botha understands this.

Indeed, while talking of reforms, he has made it plain on many occasions that he will not depart from his objective of maintaining the system of white minority domination. He therefore speaks consistently of so-called group rights, of the right of the white population to self-determination and of South Africa being a nation of minorities whose rights must be protected. All of these are mere euphemisms for apartheid, according to which the population must continue to be defined in racial and ethnic categories and subjected to domination by the white minority.

Apartheid is Violence

Far from being interested in change, the apartheid regime sees its principal task as the destruction of those forces that are fighting for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. In this regard, Pretoria is also involved in feverish activities to expand its machinery of repression and continuously escalates the use of force and terror against the people. To justify all this, the racists have elaborated and advanced the so-called doctrine of national security, according to which everything the regime does must serve to reinforce the safety of the apartheid system.

In practice, not only is the Botha regime continuously expanding its armed forces, but it has also ensured that these forces occupy a critical place in its governing structures. Twice in a period of less than a year, states of emergency have been declared during which the army and the police have been given powers of life and death over millions of our people. This is the situation in South Africa today. It is one of rule by the gun.

The pre-eminence of the option of State terrorism in the response of the Pretoria regime to the heightened struggle in our country should, of course, come as no surprise. After all, apartheid is violence. The establishment of a social system in which a section of the population is defined as the underling and another as the master is itself an act of violence - an act of violence which can only acquire permanence by the continuing use of violence. It is therefore logical that such a system should respond to any crisis not only with an increased use of force, but also with the glorification of violence as a cult and a necessary means of ordering social relations.

The Botha who is today promoted by some in certain Western countries as the

most reform-minded Head of State that racist South Africa has ever had, in fact epitomises this cult of violence and is proud to consider himself a skilled practitioner in the use of force to achieve political objectives.

The same considerations about the role of violence stand at the centre of the policy of the Pretoria regime *vis-a-vis* the independent States of our region. Over the years, Pretoria has advanced various theses to justify its campaign of aggression against these states. The most current of these is the assertion by the Pretoria regime that apartheid South Africa has a natural role as a regional Power.

In advancing this claim, Pretoria once more moves from the proposition that force is the principal determinant of the structure of inter-State relations. From this flows ineluctably the idea of spheres of influence, the idea of a natural and organic international periphery whose extent and adherence to the centre are determined by the strength of that centre and the skill with which the centre uses its power to assert its influence.

The assertion made by the Botha regime after its recent raids into Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe that its actions were no different from those carried out by the Reagan Administration against Libya was consistent with its view of the role of force in the ordering of international relations. The Pretoria regime sees its position in relation to southern Africa and Africa as a whole as no different from that of the United States with regard to the Caribbean and Central and South America.

The meaning of all this for southern Africa is quite clear. It is that while it has the capacity to do so, the apartheid regime will continue in its efforts to dominate the region, through aggression, destabilisation and subversion. Even in the inevitable situation when the escalation of the struggle for national liberation inside South Africa will have stretched the enemy forces to their limit, we must still expect that the Pretoria regime will continue to hit out at our neighbours. Indeed, the logic of its position would demand of the Pretoria regime that in such a situation, aggressive forays should be both swift and very destructive.

The apartheid regime upholds and will continue to assume this posture because, in terms of its own calculations, it has permanent tasks to keep the neighbouring States economically and politically unstable and to ensure that they do not become active supporters of the ANC.

There are, therefore, various elements that are inherent in the strategy of survival of the South African regime, including complete rejection of international norms concerning independence of States and the inviolability of their borders and sovereignty. This strategy also assumes a definition of international peace and security which hinges on the thesis that the strong are entitled to violate such peace and security to enable them to establish a stable order based on the subservience of the weak to the will of the strong.

In its report, the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons has warned of the certainty of unspeakable bloodshed in southern Africa if the international community does not intervene by imposing effective sanctions. It should be clear from what we have said that we ourselves agree with this conclusion. The use of violence is an imperative internal to the apartheid system, inherent in it, the motor that drives its engine of survival. Already a man-hating system, apartheid will be particularly destructive of black people because, in any case, it describes us as less than human and therefore capable of being annihilated as so much vermin.

Democratic Movement as the Alternative Power

But our people are moved by the same desires and impulses that have motivated men and women through the ages to assert their right to liberty. Our very humanity impels us to act boldly and consistently to end a man-made system whose basic philosophy is the degradation, dehumanisation and immolation of an entire people. Contrary to the wishes of the rulers, the more violence they use, the greater the determination of the victims of that violence to end the situation of terror. And yet, the more people resist, the more the oppressor believes that all that is wrong is that he has not used sufficient force.

In the struggles that are raging in our country today, and which have persisted without a day's respite for so long, our people are showing that the might of the cause of justice can never be dwarfed or denied by the terror of guns and evil State power. In the streets of our towns and cities and in the villages, in direct daily confrontation with the enemy army and police, the millions of the unarmed are moving forward steadily in the struggle towards the realisation of the objective we have set ourselves - to destroy the apartheid system and create a democratic and non-racial society in its place.

Our movement and our people have had their own flag and national anthem for well over half a century now. This came about simply because when Britain handed over power exclusively to the white minority in 1910, leaving our colonial status unchanged, we refused to recognise the then Union of South Africa and its symbols of State as our own.

The struggle we have waged since then has resulted in the emergence in South Africa today of the democratic movement as the alternative power. The desperate acts of the apartheid regime derive from its realisation that our movement for national liberation is challenging the very existence of the apartheid State. Today, that movement is recognised by the overwhelming majority of our people as their authentic representative, their political leader. The recent successful general strike called to observe the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976, was held despite the proclamation of a state of emergency, the arrest of many leaders and activists and the deployment of the army and police in massive numbers throughout the country. This clearly demonstrated the authority which the movement enjoys among our people.

Our programme, the Freedom Charter, is the property of the people, uniting them in their millions as their perspective for the kind of South Africa we are fighting for.

On the other hand, the apartheid system is immersed in a deep and worsening economic, political and social crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The apartheid regime has been thrown into disarray. At the same time, the white power bloc is rent by divisions and conflict and can never regain even a semblance of unity and common purpose.

All this has come about because of the intensity and the consistency of the all-round political and military struggle that continues to escalate in both South Africa and Namibia, complemented and reinforced by the international offensive to isolate the Pretoria regime. The task that faces us is to step up this struggle to even higher levels in a combined political and military offensive.