

**BRIEFING TO ORGANISATION OF  
AFRICAN UNITY**

*Kampala, September 8, 1990*

(In a speech to the fifth session of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on Southern Africa, Mr. Mandela dealt with the wave of violence in South Africa, and said that certain elements in South Africa were behind the rise of a movement similar to that of Renamo which had caused enormous death and destruction in Mozambique. They had incited massacres in the Transvaal, irrespective of tribal origins and political affiliations. Death squads were prowling around the country. There was also violence from the state agencies. As a result of the failure of the government to take firm action against these elements, there was a widespread demand, especially from the youth, that the people should be armed. He continued:)

As the Secretary-General of the OAU has said, we have declared a suspension of armed action with immediate effect. We have done that firstly because we are the architects of the peace process that is going on in the country today. We, the ANC, initiated this process as far back as 1986. Eventually, the government agreed to sit down and talk to us. We have had two successful meetings which raised the hope that a peaceful settlement is possible in our country. Precisely at this stage, these elements have intensified their own activities in which they are attacking the masses of the people. If the government fails to take action, I can see this process being derailed.

The danger is very great, because although we are determined to do everything to create an atmosphere whereby a peaceful settlement can be reached, we are not prepared to do so indefinitely. We are not prepared to witness the death of our people. The carrying of negotiations and rhetoric on peace while at the same time the government is conducting a war against us is a position we cannot accept. We have warned the government several times on this matter, and if they fail to take effective action the whole of South Africa, unfortunately and very much against our will, will be drowned in blood. That is the responsibility of the government. We will do everything in our power to avoid that disaster and to press on with peace....

#### **Next stage of negotiations**

The next stage in the discussions between the ANC and the government is that of identifying the people who are going to be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution for the country. It must be a non-racial constitution, democratic in all aspects. In this regard, the government and the ANC take two totally different positions. According to the government, all the leaders who work through their political structures, that is, the structures which have been set up by the government over the years, must be involved in these negotiations.... They must sit around the negotiating table, and the position therefore is that the ANC and other sections of the liberation movement that might be involved in the discussions will, right from the beginning, be in the minority....

Our position is a simple one. We say: when these so-called "elected leaders" were elected, the ANC and other political organisations were banned, many of our members were driven into exile, others thrown into jails. Those that remained inside the country were banned so that the organisations themselves could not take part in those elections. If we are now going to entrust certain individuals with the task of drawing up a new non-racial constitution, these leaders must be identified through democratic and non-racial elections....

### **Maintain sanctions**

In spite of the progressive stand of Mr. de Klerk, we are still very far from getting the fundamental and irreversible changes that we require. As I have pointed out, when I went to jail, I couldn't vote. I have come back after 27 years: I still cannot vote. That is the issue in South Africa, and until all the people of South Africa can vote and determine their own destiny there is no question whatsoever of reviewing our strategies. Sanctions and isolation of South Africa must be maintained....

The government is concerned and they are pleading to us almost daily to call upon the international community to lift sanctions. Our answer is simple: that if you want us to approach the international community to lift sanctions, we are only too ready to do that, but the price is the extension of the vote to every South African now. That is our stand, and that is why there is an element of urgency both from the point of view of the government and the point of view of the ANC. There is a sense of urgency because we are as much concerned as the government that our economy should not be reduced to shambles. But that is the price white South Africa must pay for excluding the masses of the people from the vote and from the resources of the country....

### **Unity of the liberation movement**

A matter which has been raised by the two previous speakers here is one of the unity of the blacks, the unity of the liberation movement. We regard this as very important, but our starting point is that in South Africa the people are united. Huge rallies that we have held since October last year have never been seen in the history of the country. We have held a number of mass actions which have had a very important impact....

We are united, but we take into account the fact that there are other political organisations whose members have sacrificed like all of us. We feel it is only fair to recognise their contributions and seek unity with them.... I, as an individual, have made several efforts to see the leaders of these organisations. Some have

responded very well. We are discussing with them. We have formed joint structures with them.

But there are others who have persistently taken up the attitude of refusing to sit down and talk with us. On the contrary, they are using the mass media, the white mass media, to air differences amongst us without coming to us to say: here are our differences, can we resolve them?...

I appeal to them, as I have done on many occasions in South Africa, to forget the past. Let us hold hands, let us address this problem together. If we stand together, victory of the liberation movement is assured....