

Group of Experts on Southern Africa in its successive reports, or by the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to give it the widest publicity and also to formally draw the list of these names to the attention of all Member States, inviting them to take the appropriate measures at the national level, in particular, by their immigration authorities.

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We demand that the western powers, especially the US Administration of President Ronald Reagan, stop their manoeuvres calculated to halt the progress to Namibian independence, by accommodating apartheid's unreasonable and unrealistic demands and thus prolonging apartheid's life. These manoeuvres are as irreconcilable to the struggle for human rights as the triple veto they traditionally use to defend apartheid, in a patent disservice to the cause of freedom.

We wish to thank the United Nations and its specialised agencies, the Human Rights Commission and other commissions, the OAU and its Liberation Committee, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Arab League, the world community, for all the individual and collective assistance given to us and for the initiatives taken on behalf of our struggle for national liberation, for democracy, for peace, for progress, for human rights.

We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO; with the Frontline States, peoples with all of whom we are engaged in struggle against our common enemy - apartheid.

We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the People of Palestine led by the PLO in their struggle against Zionism, the twin sister of apartheid; with the people of EL Salvador led by the FMLN and with all other peoples struggling against oppression, and exploitation, for national liberation, for human rights, for democracy, peace and progress.

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The African is trained only to optimise his output as a labour unit. To this end, if he is fortunate, he receives "Bantu education". This Bantu education is supposed to render the African just literate enough to be able to understand instructions and in every other way to discourage the free expression of his personality and to retard if not reverse his development as a human being.

In the field of health-care, as in the field of education, apartheid outlays to the Africans are severely limited by the needs to keep labour costs as low as possible in order to maximise profits. Thus the barest absolute minimal health-care is grudgingly given to a tiny, actually employed, African minority. The majority of women, even during pregnancy, child-birth and after, the aged, the handicapped and the children, are literally abandoned to fendâ\200\230 for themselves. As a result, to give an example, close to 70 African children die in South Africa every day from lack of health care and poverty. The African infant mortality rate is 13 times

more than that of whites.

Today, the apartheid regime unwilling to bear the social costs of an increasing African population, perceiving in this population an alleged threat to the survival of the white minority, has

inaugurated a programme of enforced mass sterilisation of African

women. The African woman, traditionally denied health care even during maternity, is now being deprived of her right to motherhood.

Apartheid would like the world to believe that through the bantustanisation programme and through a string of pseudo-reforms, it is trying to improve the human condition of the black majority. This, however, is far from the truth.

In 1913 whites numbered less than a million while the African population stood at 5 1/2 million. In that year the infamous Land Act was passed giving the whites legal tittle to 87 1/2 % of

South Africa's land surface. The Africans were supposed to make-do with the 12 1/2% left over. This 12 1/2% was economically and agriculturally non-productive and too small to accommodate the

African population. Thus Africans were forced to flee into the so-called white areas in search of work and living space. The

further growth of the African population accelerated this process. Today, the original 12 1/2% portion left over by the whites is now called "homelands" for the Africans. It has been increased to 13% and is supposed to provide the geographical basis for the bantustans. Today, the Africans who number 23 million are being compelled to go into these bantustans to receive their so-called independence. In other words, the African population of 23 million

is expected by some miracle to squeeze itself into an area which was too small and incapable of sustaining life even when they numbered 5 1/2 million. Where attempts have been made to achieve this goal, people have died en masse from overcrowding, starvation and disease.

Packed to the brim with wives without husbands, children without fathers, and all those who have been rendered unemployable through structurally-based labour redundancy, old age, ill-health or other physical and mental disabilities sustained through industrial hazards, "bantustans" must be seen for what they are : death traps and Nazi-type concentration camps.

The purpose behind bantustanisation is not hard to decipher. They are part of a design to make the African foreigners in their mother land. Since the apartheid economy needs black labour and since Africans cannot obtain but token employment in the bantustans, the purpose is to use bantustans as cheap labour reservoirs for the apartheid economy and to reduce the African workers to foreigners and migrant labourers in their country. Thus reduced to migrant labourers in the apartheid economy, without the legal protection, without human and civil rights that should be the due of a citizen, Africans will be subjected to even greater exploitation if they accept "bantustan" citizenship.

fï-\201ï-\201 In the year of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC, the Year of
Unity in Action, the International Year of Mobilisation for

Sanctions against Apartheid, let us all close our ranks and

redouble our efforts to hasten the end of apartheid.

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Thank you.

In the light of the aforesaid, it should be clear that bantustanisation constitutes a consolidation and not a relaxation of apartheid. In that light; it must also be clear that apartheid's professed commitment to labour reforms is nothing more than an elaborate deception.

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The laws of apartheid stipulate in practice that to oppose apartheid is a crime; to take militant action to oppose apartheid is treason. Yet to acquiesce to apartheid is no more, no less, than ' to accept disease, ignorance, poverty and the total absence of human rights as a way of life. And the latter is, of course, a choice no human being can make. It is an impossible choice.

Thus in South Africa patriots and democrats, champions of freedom and defenders of human rights face one of several possible cruel fates. Like Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the people, they are packed like sardines in apartheid jails. Like Steve Biko and Neil Aggett, they are murdered in detention. Like Solomon Mahlangu, they are assassinated at the gallows. Like Griffiths Mxenge, they are waylaid in the streets and beaten to death. Very frequently they are compelled for the sake of their lives to flee into exile.

The people of South Africa realised a long time ago that apartheid could not be reformed and that it had to be overthrown. The ANC is, this year, 70 years old and all have been years of organised struggle, first against racism and settler colonialism and then against apartheid proper. For the first 50 years the ANC led the South African people in an essentially peaceful and legal struggle.

In that period of time, a succession of racist regimes responded to our struggle with increasing state Violence, at the same time attacking and removing even the vestiges of the human rights we may have had. Apartheid finally outlawed the ANC depriving us of any means of legal struggle. In 1961, the ANC took the only decision left to it; it embarked on the path of armed political struggle for national liberation. And today, there is a full-fledged, mass-based national liberation struggle in our country.

Within this context, the central aim of apartheid is to create, maintain and preserve a position of economic and political super-privilege for the white minority.

Because of the structural consequence of apartheid, close to 50% of the African working-age population is permanently unemployed.

Close to 85% of those who happen to have jobs earn wages far below the International Poverty Datum Line. Traditional prejudice, particularly in South Africa, maintains that women are the weaker sex.

Apartheid employment laws and practices therefore, conclude that the African woman is incapable of profitably performing most of the manual jobs which are invariably the only jobs available to Africans. Under these circumstances, the African woman is - if we may borrow the expression - "the last to be hired and the first to be fired". As a result, African women constitute more than 50% of the unemployed. Combined with apartheid's influx and efflux laws and bantustanisation, this state of affairs becomes a direct attack on family life, severely prejudicing the proper upbringing of children.

Apartheid decrees that unemployed Africans be deported to the "bantustans". Many such deportees are married women. They are thus forced to leave their husbands in the "white areas" and to go into the "bantustans". Thus marriages are split and children are brought up in the unhealthy environment of disintegrated families. The forcible splitting of families; the chronic lack of jobs and the lack of family life in the upbringing of children coalesce and contribute to the high crime rate in South Africa.

The lay of pronounced emphasis on the African as a unit of actual/potential labour and the utter lack of consideration for his person as a human being has had, and continues to have, the effect of holding to the absolute minimum the extent of social services the apartheid regime feels itself obliged to provide to the African population. '

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ADDRESS BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

TO THE 38th SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

ON ITEMS 6,

7 and 16 OF THE AGENDA

Thank you Mr. Chairman,

As I take the floor in the name of the African National Congress I also take occasion to congratulate the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, Rapporteur and Secretary on their recent election to the leadership of the 38th Session of the Human Rights Commission. The ANC is confident that your considerable abilities, skills and experience will constitute an invaluable asset in the execution of the formidable leadership tasks that you now face. The ANC also wishes to assure you and the entire Commission that it stands resolutely committed to making its modest contribution to our common struggle for human-rights.

The ANC wishes to pay tribute to Mr. van Boven who will soon be leaving us. We wish to assure him that the ANC's respect for him as a fearless and principled fighter for human rights, remains undiminished.

At the very outset we want to submit that apartheid, by its nature, purpose and the methods it employs to achieve its purpose is a system that cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled to the upholding of human rights. To state it differently : a choice must be made between apartheid and human rights.

There is a very significant element of racism in apartheid, but apartheid is far more sinister than racism, however extreme. In fact, apartheid properly understood is the official use of extreme racism to achieve the following purpose : to reduce the overwhelming non-white South African majority to so many units of Cheap

labour adequate to the needs of an essentially white economy.

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In this year which the ANC has declared the "Year of Unity in Action", our struggle is poised to escalate to higher levels of intensity. However, ever mindful that the liberation struggle is necessarily waged in the name of man, his freedom, dignity and inviolability, the ANC has done everything it can to minimise the toll of human casualties in struggle. It was in this spirit that the ANC became a signatory of the Geneva Protocols and their Annexes on the Conduct of War and the Treatment of Prisoners of War. Meanwhile, apartheid continues to take the lives of men, women and children in South Africa â\200\224 from Soweto to Langa, in Namibia and beyond, from Angola to Mozambique, from Zambia to Zimbabwe, from Swaziland through Lesotho to Botswana.

Inside South Africa, our struggle has isolated the apartheid regime which now survives only by the use of force.

A large part of this force is derived from the assistance that apartheid receives through its financial, commercial and technological links with the western powers. The FN 30 rifles used to kill school children all over South Africa in 1976 and after, came from Belgium. The APCs used to run over the same children came from France. The Alouette helicopters and Mirage jet fighters used against the Namibian people, against the People's Republic of Angola and other frontline states, came from France or were produced under French license in South Africa. The G55, 155mm howitzer now in apartheid's possession, was developed with the help of US technology. With the help of the US, FRG, France and others, apartheid has acquired a nuclear striking capability. This listing is not exhaustive, but merely illustrative. The point we wish to make is that the assistance that the western powers give to South Africa contributes significantly to the strengthening of apartheid, the crime against humanity; it contributes significantly to apartheid's Violation of human rights. The ANC and the people of South Africa have no doubt that if the international community were to isolate apartheid, apartheid would be that much weaker and easier to destroy internally. This would shorten our struggle, save

to, was and remains in large part, fuelled by foreign collaboration.

Today, as a result, the apartheid economy ranks among the world's

top 25 economies. The same period has also witnessed an ever-mounting, ever-expanding apartheid attack against the result-

ing in the rapid deterioration of the human condition of the non-white

white majority. Even a casual study of facts will show a direct correlation between the development of the apartheid economy and

the comprehensive, all-round dispossession of the white majority.

Today, after all these years of foreign collaboration and economic development, the Oppression, exploitation and the dispossession

and degradation of the non-whites is so thorough, so extensive that it cannot possibly be worse. It consequently makes no sense

to argue that the isolation of apartheid would hit the non-white population most.

In actual fact, by helping to promote the development of the essentially white South African economy, collaborators with apartheid have only succeeded in giving the apartheid regime that much

more resources with which to finance state repression, violence and terror and thus to continue its war against the

Investment in the South African economy through the various financial, commercial, scientific, technological and cultural

forms of collaboration with apartheid, is no less, no more, than investment in the Violation and suppression of human rights. Its objective is equally clear : to reap super-profits by exploiting the cheap black labour made available by apartheid.

The defenders of apartheid, those who profit from its inhuman, oppressive and exploitative institutions also argue, that apartheid must be talked to, and that due process of law must be used, instead of sanctions, in order to persuade apartheid to Open up into a free society.

_genocidal crimes against the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. I wish to remind them of the way they underwrote Somoza's atrocities against the people of Nicaragua. Today, they are well on their way to repeating in El Salvador what they did in Vietnam.

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When apartheid murders defenceless children, launches military raids and invasions into Angola and other neighbouring states; when it attempts an armed coup in the Seychells, all these are not seen as acts of terrorism. When Zionism launches air raids against Lebanon, or the US launches a commando raid against Iran, this is not seen as terrorism.

When people take it upon themselves to liberate themselves, the Oppressive and exploitative powers call this terrorism. To the extent that a struggle for freedom, for human rights, threatens the profit margin of TNCs, that is called terrorism. It is clear that according to this usage, terrorism occurs when freedom threatens profits. This implies that according to those who accuse us of terrorism, the profit margin of TNCs must make precedence over human freedom. We refuse to be judged according to this inhuman standard.

I~*7Apartheid's collaborators, the western powers and Japan, led by the US, must acknowledge reality and make a choice. They must move away from their simultaneous lip service to human rights and actual commitment to profiteering at the expense of human rights. If they are to retain any credibility, if they are to retain any moral authority among nations, they must place people, freedom and human rights above profits.

Not that their duplicity will change the outcome of the South African people's struggle against apartheid for national freedom and human rights. Our struggle has seized the initiative from apartheid and like similar struggles the world over, it is bound

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to triumph. Continued collaboration with apartheid can buy it an

The people of South Africa tried to talk to apartheid till 1960, when apartheid deprived them of their legal right to talk. That year apartheid outlawed the ANC which had been using all possible legal and peaceful means to try and end apartheid. It is not at all clear what voice the people of South Africa are now expected to use to talk to apartheid.

The international community has never stopped talking to apartheid.

To what effect ? Evidence points strongly to the fact that apartheid has stubbornly ignored international opinion and continued to consolidate itself. What depths should the plunder and dispossession, degradation and dehumanisation of the people of South Africa reach, before it is realised that apartheid cannot be talked to ?

Apartheid is the rule of lawlessness. The only law apartheid recognises is the one that serves its interests. This is amply attested to by the fact that all of us in here are agreed that apartheid stands guilty of the most flagrant violation of almost - if not all - international humanitarian laws and conventions. It simply is not realistic, it is not honest to entertain hopes that due process of law can be used to make apartheid change. It amounts to giving apartheid extra time to continue its inhuman life.

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The ANC cannot be expected to go back and tell the people of South Africa to be patient while apartheid slaughters their defenceless Children and relatives, because attempts are being made to talk to apartheid, to use the due process of law to make apartheid change.

Those in high places, from the boardrooms of TNCs, from the stock exchanges, call us terrorists. In making this slanderous accusation, they forget their unprecedented record of terror in the name of profits and against the people of the world. I wish to remind them of the Massacre of Wounded Knee, to remind them of their

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unnecessary losses of human lives and open a new day for human rights in South Africa and southern Africa.

Those who continue to collaborate with apartheid argue that to isolate apartheid would defeat the purpose of the "F9931".
human rights. They claim that such isolation would, in economic terms, have the most adverse effects on the non-white South African population. They assert that such isolation would force apartheid, out of desperation, to entrench itself even more firmly in its anti-human criminal course. They argue instead, for continued economic development which, they suggest, is incompatible with the continuation of apartheid. They say, in short, that collaboration and "Apartheid" is the only way to achieve economic development.

carry the day for human rights; We turn to a brief examination of

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this argument, with an eye for the possibility of effective action against apartheid.

To argue that apartheid can be liberalised or reformed is in fact to confess a gross lack of understanding of the nature and purpose of apartheid as articulated even by its most avid proponents. In essence, apartheid in-practice, is no more, no less, than the maintenance, expansion and defence of the economic, political and other forms of the dominance of a white minority over the non-white majority. Liberalisation or reform would presumably weaken such

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domination. But by its logic, domination cannot allow reform;

power seeks nothing but greater power. Talk of liberalisation is incompatible with apartheid. And history eloquently testifies that apartheid has succeeded in harnessing foreign collaboration and

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the resultant economic development to the purpose of consolidating itself.

The South African economy has in the post War II years, been attended by almost continuous expansion. This period coincides with

the years of apartheid in power. The economic expansion referred

extra, but not indefinitely ease of life. To that extent it allows

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apartheid has extra lease to continue its life of Violence, terror

and suppression of human rights, including the needless killing

of people, destruction of property and the violation of the
national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring

front-line states. This is to say that continued collaboration
with the apartheid regime is a betrayal of the struggle for the lives and property, of a victory which is inevitable. 200/231/

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In the light of the preceding, in the light of our common commit-

ment to the defence of human rights, in the light of the ANC's

concern that, to the extent possible, the loss of human lives

should be minimised in the course of struggle, the ANC appeals

through the august forum of the United Nations Commission on

Human Rights, to the world community and in particular, to the

western powers, to proceed without delay multilaterally or uni-

laterally, to adopt concrete measures to effect the total, comprehensive

isolation of apartheid.

We appeal to the world community to intensify the demand for the

release of Nelson Mandela, Herman Toivo and all other political

prisoners in apartheid jails.

We appeal to the world community to join the ANC and the South
African people in demanding that freedom fighters arrested in the

struggle against apartheid be accorded prisoners-of-war status
in accordance with the relevant Geneva Protocols and their Annexes.
We appeal to the world community to intensify the campaign to

save the lives of the six freedom fighters - cadres of Umkhonto

We Sizwe, who have been sentenced to death by the apartheid courts.

We appeal to the Secretary-General to draw up a consolidated list of persons suspected of being guilty of the crime of apartheid in the terms of the Convention, and so named by the Ad Hoc Working