

â\200\224 133 -

decided

to establish this body.

We had then relatively few

euppartere.

But today we are assured of the backing of the

internationa

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,

perennially

to congratulate

Mr. Iemat Kittani,

the

President

of the General Assembly, on his election and

on

the

successful

manner

in

which

he has conducted the
aÂ¥Â¥aire
0+
â\200\230the
thirtyâ\200\224eixth
session
04
the
General
Assembly.
Likewiee,
Mr. Chairman, we heartily congratulate Hr.
Javier
Perez
de
Cuellar
en
his
election
as Secretary-
General
0%
the
United
Natiene
and
welceme
him
to the
peeitien
of
supreme responsibility which he assumes in the
crucial
year,
1?82.

is ready,
we
are encouraged by his
recent
statement
on
the
question
of
Namibia,
and
his
achievement
of
the
South
African
situation. 200/230
The
independence
of
Namibia
under
the
South
West
Africa
People's
Organization
(SWAPO)
is
long
overdue.
The
continuing
repression of the Namibian people and the use of

that
country
for
aggreeeien and destruction in Angola and
in
other
A+rican
States
cannot
but
project
the United
Natiene
as
helplessly
impotent
in the ÂYace of an outrage
cemmitted
upon
its
authority
by
the ggartheid regime Of
South Africa.

- lhl -

~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
people

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 mobilize 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 enabled 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.

ggltx in gction

There

sheuld be he doubt, however, that the struggle

in

South

Africa,

as

also in Namibia, is a reality of our

1-78?

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 Organization..

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

an

the

issue

of

the

Transkei,

the

"separate

development"

programme

as a whole and any other "salutary"

that

the fascist regime may impose on our people;

it bears

on

also

on

new

voices

that we have heard raised arguing net

only

that majority rule in South Africa is a long-term aim,

but

also

that

and radical

solutions

must

be

found for

African

issues, among which South Africa naturally features

prominently.

The

Verster regime continues to exist because of the

economic,

military

and

political support that it receives

- M7 -

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

'I

VcenAfihd ho pfeeent basis oh which any dialogue could

take

place

between _the

United Nations Secretary-General and

the

South

African racist regime, having regard to the hietyery

04' the

relations

between

that

Government

and

the

United

Nations.

It

hes

been a history of persistent defiance; the'

last

defiance

relating

to the issues ever South West eÃ©rice.

I

do

net even think pereenally thet Seuth i-\\201Â¥rica deserves the

cnurtesy 94 a visit by the United Natiehs Secretaryâ\\200\\224General.

Pram

our

ewn

paint 0+ view, South i-\201frica rejected the'
recommendations
a+ the United Nations Breup cf Experts, ene at
which
was. aw dialogue between that Government and the leaeere
ef
the
African people.
New, in principle, we would feel thet
if
there
is
any
basis
fer
a
dialogue;
that
eheuid
be
undertaken by us, not the Secretary-General.
Seuth
Africaâ\200\231s
whale
attitude
t0 the entire werld is
such _that
attention
should
be
addressed not so much t0 the
methods
by which we can centinue to seek to persuade and plead
but
to

methede

which

are directed at compelling her, facing

her

to

empty.

â\200\231

I

would be readier to accept the idea 0* a

dialogue

between

the United Nations Secretary-General and one

of

the

main

major trading partners of South Africa.

That, I

think,

is

where

a

dialogue

is called for, but not with the

-105...

Sharpgning conflict i3 Seuth i-\201fricg

As

we

meet here,

the widest coalition in

Seuth

R\$rican

history

has come together to boycott the celebrations marking the

20th

anniversary

of

the

white

Republic.

The

degree

of

polarizatién

in

South

Africa

is

revealed

in

the

differing

perspectives tewards these celebrations.

To

the

majerity

of the i-\201npulation

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.

V It is rejoicing in the fact that
the
entire
African

people have been made aliens
in
their
DHH
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

victorâ\200\231s

dance

to

express

its

satisfaction that it has removed by assassination such patriots as

Vuysile Mini, Joseph Hduli, Steve Bike and Salomon Mahlangu;

that

it

has incarcerated for lung terms and {or life national

leaders

such

as

Nelsen

Mandela,

Halter

Sisulu,

Seven

Hbeki,

Ahmed

Kathrada,

Dennis Goldberg,

Harry Bwala,

Zephaniah Hothepeng and

:Jther's,I

and

that it is today poised to assassinate more

freedom

{ighters

adding to the thousands it has killed in Seweto,

Langa,

Elsies River, Hatola, Kassinga and elsewhere.

The conflict inside South Africa is sharpening.

ï-\201t

every

level,
the
mass
of the population is finding ways to
show
its
opposition to the ggartheid system.
In schools, {acteries, rural
settlements,
squatter camps and townships, in every walk of li+e,

- 16 ;

Thus,

straight

from listening to years of conñ-\201lemnation

of

the ruthless system by which the whites maintain themselves

in

power over Africans, and after hearing warnings that such e
system.

endangers peace and security as much in Seuth erica as

teverywhere

9352*

in

the

world,

this

arrogant collection Of

pewer~drunk

race

maniacs

have

now

produced

an

ggÃ@gti~\201egg

measure

which

dealsv with the African on the basis that he is

purely

and

simply .a

thing

~

3 chattei *in the central and

service

of

the

white man.â\200\230

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 she best

of the strangest bonds'af {riendshiï¬\201 between them and the

British

and

Americans,

the African is at best a slave in all

but.

name.

The?

own and possess him; and have now evolved a

scheme for selling him.

_Ne tune

can

debt

anyâ\200\230 lenger

nee

that life fer the

africah

in

Seuth

Africa

is net life.

If it is, it is earth

nething.'

But

we promise that in that event no other liÂ¥e in

Seuth Africa is worth anything - white er net white.

Let

the

United

Nations and the werld, therefere, save

what

it

.can.

What

it

cahnot

will either be destroyed or

destroy itselÂ¥.

This, to us, seems inevitable enough.

â\200\224 135 -

peaceful

and

patient knocking at a closed and barred door,

have

been

rewarded

with

massacres,

aesaesinatibns

and

torture,

will net put down their spears, new that they have

picked

them up again.

Instead, and at all casts, they will

intensify

their

struggle

with

every -meane and weapon at

their

disposal.

The

year

1982 'constitutee

a

special

challenge

for

the

peeeple -eÂ¥

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,

organizations

and

institutions

which,

in

response

to

the

appeal of the people of Namibia and South

Africa

and to the call of the Organization of African Unity

(OAU)

and

the General Assembly, have taken the decision to

isolate the South African regime.

But

it

is

recognized

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

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 as leaders and representatives of people, denies us access to governments of countries, political organizations, either in Africa or outside it.

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 recognized 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, Guinea-Bissau, and in Africa and the threat to peace will be brought to an immediate end.

-59...

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, to consolidate its position in Namibia, while consultations are going on between the Secretary-General and the South African Government. 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 just not 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. assistance will serve the interest of the whole struggle in southern Africa.

I am absolutely convinced that the increase in that

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

When African States became independent in 1960, their closest countries. friends at the United Nations were the Scandinavian countries. countries and Socialist countries used the strong positions of the

African-Asian

Scandinavian countries to influence the rest of the world, including

" 1.43m."

â\200\224-â\200\224.-Âçâ\200\224-â\200\224aâ\200\224_~u-â\200\224-â\200\224-â\200\224~ncâ
\200\224- --â\200\224-â\200\224â\200\224Iâ\200\224â\200\224.-â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224p
â\200\224uâ\200\224c~n~

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

ANS.

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
AND
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
efforts
to mobilize the international trade

unien
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
in
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

DAU,

the' Neneeligned

Hevement and the

United

Nations.

We seek this support for all others, such

- 131 -

on 12 January 1982*

We

ewe

the United Nations Special Cemmittee against

egggtheegg

a

debt

of

deep

gratitude

fer

inviting me te

represent

the

QÂ¥rican

National

Cengress

(QNC)

at

this

special

meeting

which

is

being

held

to

inaugurate the

Internatienel

Year

eÂ¥

Mobilization

fee Sanctions against

South

Africa.

This
is
a
meeting which the AND and the
people
0+
Seuth
i¬\201Â¥rica
as a whale consider of the utmost
impertence,
not
least
because
it
is a meeting concerned
with
the
crucial
need
for
united
action
by
the
international community.
we
grateÂ¥fully
acknowledge
the
many
messages
oÂ¥
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
organizations,
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.

t
.
Special
Committee
organized
the
meeting
The
launch
Sanctions
seventieth
African National Congress of South Africa.

to
0+ Mobilization {or
It also marked the
the

South Africa.

International

anniversary

founding

of

the

of

the

against

Year

_ 7..

ACCOUNT FOR THEIR CONDUCT

Address before the Special Committee

against Apartheid, New York, On 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 today

to

you

with

information

which

may

assist

the United

Nations

in

taking

a

decision

on

the policies of the South

African

Buwerhment,
which are an increasing menace and threat
to peace in Africa and the rest of the uerld.

With
great
interest
we have read the reperte cempiled

Iby
â\200\230your

Committee,
which
have been dietributed ta different
parts

Bf
the
warid.

These reports, bearing the autherity e?

the
United
Natiens,

have
served

to
bring the facte Of the

South
African
situation

to
the
immediate
ettention 04 the

peeplee of the werld.

'We
knew that this distinguished Committee, no lees 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 decision and action
aimed
at
the root of the evil of racialism which threatens to
overwhelm
its
South
African boundaries and engulf the rest of

- 81 _

We

call

on

the

afarementiened

Member

States,

particularly

the

United

States,

France

and

the

Uhited

Kingdom,

to

abandon their shortâ\200\224sighted policy.

The yeah;

peuple

wantonly killed in Saweto and elsewhere by Voreterâ\200\231e

bloodthirsty

police

using

western

arms

are

Isurvived by

hundreds

0+

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
motherland
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 ever
that
inevitable
victory,
we call on the United States, on
France
and
on the United Kingdom to support the inviolability
of
Chapter VII of the Charter, which we implore the General
Assembly
to
prepare
for
consideration
by
the
Security
Council this year.
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

TWENEIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.ï-\202: SANCTIONS RESOLUTIQEV

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

Over the past three decades the agartheid regime has

emerged as a vicious oppressor and a ferocious exploiter of the
pe0ples 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 NatiCns Charter.

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

The impeÃ©iment to the enfdrcement 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.

*

On November 5, 1982, the United Nations General Assembly
held a special meeting devoted to the observance of 1982
as the leternational Year of Mobilization 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), the first resolution
calling for sanctions against South Africa.

At the
meeting, awards were presented to seven persons in
recognition of their outstanding contribution to the
international movement for sanctions against South
Africa:

Mr. Romesh Chandra (India), Madame Jeanne Martinâ\200\224Cisse

(Guinea}, the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston (United Kingdcm}, the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (United States of America), Mr. Abraham Ordia (Nigeria) and gr. Jan Nico Scholten (Netherlands).

the late President Houari Boumediene (Algeria),

- 1h -

But

mention

must

be

made

once again of the Preteria

case

against

Nelsen

Mandela

and

others,

which

is

new

approaching

its

clesing stages,the State having led all its

evidence

against

the leaders.

This case will be resumed On ?

April,

when

evidence

on

behalf

of

the

leaders

will

be

tendered.

â\200\231

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 uninterruptedly since 201
despite
that
resolution
presents the United Nations with an
obstacle
to
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.

He

would

urge

the

Committee,

in

its

reports,

ts

underline

the

importance, 0%

individual Member States of the

United

Nations,

in

their

own

spheres

of influence, taking

active

steps

to

prevent

the_ South

African Government {ran

embarking

on

acts

and

carrying

on

a policy so inescapably

as subversive

of

peace.

In this connection it is Burundian

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,

where

basic

are

the essence is their opposition to

inhuman practices.

- 130 -

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

people

of

Namibia

and

South

Africa.

We

salute,

in

particular,

the

stance

taken by the Foreign Ministers and

representatives

04

these

countries

during

the

recent

Security

Council

debate on Namibia when they presented the

irrefutable

case

for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions

against 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

African -and

progressive

world,

we urge the international

community

to

unreservedly

campaign} {or
the
immediate
implementation '04
the Security Council resolution 435., we
further
urge
the
speedy convening of the Security Council
to
impose
sanctions against South Africa.
And finally, we
call
for
the
international 'mobilization
towards
the
enforcement
of
sanctions so that we at last move away from
the
mere
adaptation
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.

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.

18 June 1968\200\230

â\200\224113-â\200\224

black

labour in the ggartheid economy and wish to continue
doing

SD.

These

countries opposed sanctions initially

because

they

claimed

concern for the black people of South Africa.

New

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

gggthggg

repression 'and brutality have grown,

and the only people net

t0

have suffered in the process has been the white minnrity.

Mr.

President,

the

evidence

is

incontrovertible.

Opposition

to

sanctions

in

the

Security

Council

or

in

the

Parliaments

0%

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 Biko regime and

to

preserve

gagging - 202 gig.

The Specious arguments have been put up

to

justify this action and to try and deter action by these countries

which support the liberation struggle.

Bagel 91 9B9

At this International Conference on Sanctions against South

Africa, the African National Congress appeals to the international

community:

we ask these countries which have already imposed sanctions

all 200 224

to
embracing and strengthen the enforcement machinery;

action to widen their scope,

to make

take

them

â\200\224

-

join

in the embargo already imposed by UAPEC and
and

the ANC makes a special appeal to all uilâ\200\224producing
to
members
legislative
their
tight.
have been supplying embargoed oil to South Africa.

to
administrative measures
are

The international oil companies and tanker

States
OPEC
effective
that
oil-
fleets
We urge

water~tight ~ or should I

and
embargoes

others,

and

further

take
to

ensure
say

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 than isolation is the
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-ggggthgig economy.
They helped tn shape
the
institutions
and
mechanisms for the exploitation of labour
that
make investment in agartheid so uniquely profitable.
Links
with
these three countries have helped to ensure that agartheid remains
profitable.
Not
surprisingly,

therefore,

these three wish

ta

Moreover the soâ\200\224called 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

population.
Their
Government
keeps
them
in
cemeiete
ignorance,
net
only
of the situation in Seuth Africa, but 0%
the
opinions
Bf
world
public.
They
are discouraged {rem
feeding â\200\230ether
than
Afrikaans
papers.~ What they knew ef the
world
and the United Nations, or international public eeimien,
is
what
is
given
to
them by the pnliticians who think very
little,
{or
example, 0+
the,
Afro-Asian
natiens, er ef â\200\234he

resolutions

by the United Nations on South Africa.

One of the

methods

by

which

world public opinion will be brought to the

threshold

Dfâ\200\231

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

farm

of

break-through to a public which is living on

top of a volcano and is unaware of it;

The

attitude

But

whites

in South Africa, particularly

supporters

of

the

Nationalist

Party, is one of contempt for

international

epinibn

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 lsanctions at least appear

less impracticable than they have been claimed to be.

This diplomatic defence of the apartheid régime 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)

(b)

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

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 régime 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 recognized the fact that the situation in

western
European
countries,
Sweden,
with
the
rest
of
Scandinavia,
has
played
a
dominant
role
in
the sphere of
international
pressures
against aggression and in giving material
support for the victims of aggression.
In the
prominent
Citizens
of
this
country, we have Her Excellency,
Mrs.
Alva
Hyrddal,
who
is
an
expert
on

the South African
situation.

I had the heneur t0 present te her, in the United
Nations
Group of Experts in 1964,*euf appreach to the prebleme
efâ\200\230 the
South
African
situation
and
the
ways
by which we
theught
that
even
at
that
late
stage
e eolutien might he
found.

_Ne shall continue to regard her as an expert becaeee I
belieeee
that
a
time
will
be
taming
when
the
werld, and
particularly
eureelvee,

will
feel
the
need to refer to the
recommendations
and
findings of her group and whenever 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.
Now, I want to say today that
there
is,
in
question
of
fact,
this stage no positive answer to the
what preparations we are making for the time when
at
we
shall
be taking over.

These are too insignificant at this
stage
to
deserve
operation
not
mention.
depend largely on the coâ\200\224
only of the United Nations and its agencies but
They
on
a
whole
number
of people who would place at our disposal
their â\200\230services
and facilities.
Our people cannot leave South
-Africa.
We
have
no
immediate means of doing anything with

* Mrs. Myrdal was the Chairman of the Group of Experts on South
Africa, established by the United Nations in 196h "to examine
methods of resolving the present situation
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".

South

in

people
to
fight
harder
the
more
severe
and
brutal
the
oppression.

It
is
now
the
embodiment
of
our
whale
determinatien

to
carry
an
at all costs and we declared it a
National
Day
which
is new recognized and observed thraugheut
the
world.

I
hepe
that
some
day the Uhited Natione will
recognize

the
importance
of
our
determined
struggle, and the
ability
to endure hardships in the fight for human justice, by
recognizing
this
particularly,
because
I think the employee
must
not
from empathizing 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
contributions
and
remarks

made

by

Her

Excellency Mrs. lea

Myrdal.

She

has

referred

in

particular

to

the Breup af

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

else

predictably.

Much

of

what was recommended could very

conceivably

have

saved

the

anxiety

and

the concern of the

MOBILIZATION OF WORLD SUPPORT
FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Address to the International Conference
in Support of the Victims of Colonialism
and Apartheid in Southern Africa,
Oslo, April 9, 1973*

(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 OAU 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 Cabral** was
proof of desperation and panic in the camp of the oppressors,
he said that there could no longer be any doubt that the libe-
ration movements were winning.

Mr. Tambo continuedz)

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.

The International Conference was organized by the United Nations in
co-operation with the Organization 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 for African Studies.

** 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 in January 1973.

This was because the imperialists had come to the simple conclusion that the white minority regimes constituted guarantors of the security of these interests. Accordingly, 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.

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.

-115-

remember

that it is inevitable that sanctions won't

work

and

are

ineffective,

there

would have been no need to cast

vetees;

why

flag

a

dead horse?

The veto was

used

precisely

because

sanctions

gag

be made effective and can

have

an

impact.

The

Conference

must

therefore

concern

itself

with

the

task

of

mobilizing

the international community to ensure

that

sanctions

are made effective.

Collaborators meet as fareeg :9 sheeeeâ\200\231

ï-\201gggthgigâ\200\231s cellaboraters must be made to realize that they

cannot

defend

racists and claim to be nbnâ\200\224racist.

They

:annet

support gaggthgig and preach freedom.

They cannot expleit

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 preÂ¥its from agggghgig.

They cannot be involved in repressieh

in

South Africa and in development elsewhere;

They cannot allow

their

arms

and products to be used in aggression

against

Seuth

Africaâ\200\231s- neighbors

and

expect to be absolved

frem

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

aggggti-\201gig

and

relations

with

the

majority

of

the

international

community,

between links with agartheid and links with Africa.

Collaboration

.must be made unprofitable, and it will cease.

in 2011 the withdrawal of support to the 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.

in 2011 the regime 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.
in the apartheid,
the 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 possible the
so
long
is
the
financial
support
which
it
receives from
outside
South-
Africa,
and in order to appreciate the role of the
determination
of the racist regime in South Africa, One has to
recognize
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
farms
in
which
they
can
assist,
and
I
want
to emphasize that when we are asking the
-world
to
do is not to solve our problems for us but to assist
us
solve these 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 these
which
we, have
tried
to
resist
ever a long period at time.
They are the methods of violence.

-55...

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 of self-determination, away from freedom from want and fear.

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 Mohammed.

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.**

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.

**

***,

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

Major-General J.N. Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, was elected President of the Conference.

w

genocide masquerading under the guise of a civilized dispensation of justice.

The African and other South Africans who are being dragged to the slaughter house face death, or even 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.

For our

part, I wish to observe that every single day spent in

which 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.

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.

patriots

of our country and all those other heroes in ether
lands

who have perished in the struggle for liberation that
eur

Dppressers

should have an acknowledged claim to appear
in

this assembly as our spokesmen.

We do not recognize the

legitimacy

of

the

white

minority

regime

inside

South

Africa.

50

also

do

we reject its claim and pretence to

represent the people of South Africa internationally.

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

theirâ\200\230 masters,

yet

they have a fault in that they can

think.

Bur

people

else are not lacking in this faculty.

That

is

why today they are in open, mass revolt.

They are

asserting

the

age-eld

right

of

the

slave to rebel, the

right

and

duty

of

the

eppressed

t0

rise against their 4â\200\234

oppression.

Qgr vision of a future South ï-\201fricg

Like

all other patriots, we love our ceuntry and its

peoples

-

all

its

peeples.

It
is
a
varied
land of
snow~cepped
mountain
peaks,
Of
deserts
and
subtropical
greenery
caving vast mineral resources.

Its warm seas to

the

east

and

cold

ones

to

the

west contain also large

animal and mineral reeeurces.

_ 69 -

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 Dfalande Nest", writes the black South

African

journalist

willie

Bokala,

"near the Bralande West

High

School

Where

the

law,

in

its

Den faehimn, gave a

hearing

to

their

grievances. _

Tearâ\200\224gas

bombs
and
gun
bullets
were
the
redress they get".
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
Verster'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

herei:

countrymen have received

tear

gas

bombs

and

bullets

and

been

subjected

to

hundreds of thousands

assassinations.

The African National Congress

has

repeatedly

declared that repression, coercion and mass

murders

are

that

characterize South Africa

today

are

therefore

neither

an

aberration

nor

an

isolated

They are the concrete expressions of the policy

of

the

apartheid State, whose central features are extreme

national

oppression,

V brutal

euper-expleitationv 0%

the

oppressed

black and maintenance of this system through open

fascism.

- 121 â\200\224

South

ĩ¬\201fricag

Therefore,

we

would

like to treat these

elections as an insignificant episode.

we

re~address

eurselves

to

the

situation

that

obtained

before

the elections.

In that regard even ta the

extent

that

Mr.

Botha

Claims

a

mandate, it is surely a

mandate

{or the continued brutal represeicn of the majarity

of

the

people 0+ South ĩ¬\201frica, the continued assassination

of

re+ugees who can be found easily and readily in Leaetha,

Swaziland,

Mezambique,

Zambia,

Tanzania,
Betswana
and
i-\\201ngola.
We
ask
this
Committee
to
expect
a
series
a?
assassinations
under
the
authority
of â\\200\\224the
saâ\\200\\224callei-\\202
mandate,
but
in
reality,
in
defence
0%
agagiï-\\201ggg
domination,
and
as an expressien of the true nature 3% the
agartheid
regime.
There
will
he

attacks
against
the
neighbouring
independent
States,
there
will
be
acts of
provocation
and destabilization against them and there will
be
continued sabotage of international efforts to solve the
Namibian
problem.
The
mandate
that
Mr,
Betha
has is
therefore
one
of 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.

in 2020, 0% of the population

I

should observe that if there was any mandatory authority

talking

about

in the South African situation, it must be a

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 civilization and white supremacy.

Trials_

against well over 100 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 Trials 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, on the other

hand, 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

~ 120 â\200\224

pEDpIES

which

tack

part

in

the recent Paris Canferehae,

Nigeriaâ\200\231s

action

will

be repeated by many other ceuntriee

in the immediate future.

Bothaâ\200\231g "mandateâ\200\234

I

should

like to turn briefly, Mr. Chairman, to the

eituation

in

Seuth

Africa.

One 0% the talking paints in

that

situatibn is the elections which were held in April by

the

racist

minerity

in our country.

These electiehe were

preeented

t0

the

international

community

a5. eeeking

a

.mandate

by

in 2011.

Botha

for

his

policies

0+

reform.

But

course,

it

was a mandate sought from the white minority in

ear

country.

For the majority 0% the people the elections

were

a

continuing insult.

We have never accepted that any

Agree

mandate

was necessary for the continued perpetration

of

the

policies

9+

ggggghggg,

and the new mandate was in

fact given.

in 2011

but,

Mr. Botha felt confirmed in his pursuit of

the

policies,

not 0% reform, because that is not an issue,

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 noÂ§.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 apartheid regime can be expected to make itself felt in the rest of Africa.

But let it be emphasized 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\200\224ANC guerrillas in what are merely preliminary encounters in Rhodesia.

Isolate the South African regime

So far we have omitted reference to the role of foreign

+13-

unquestionable

integrity

and

uncompromising

enemies

of any

evil

system

practised

by

man

-men, are today standing in

danger

of

losing

their lives, precisely because they are there

men

that

they

are.

It is true that for many years the whole

world

has

warned

the

South

African

Government

to

the

unavoidable

consequences

of, its

conduct of affairs in South

Africa.

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 perpetuating

in

its

politics

and practices.

We cannot overemphasize the

urgency

of

identifying

all these forces and influences which

should

be held answerable for any past present or future of

life in South Africa.

There is no doubt that

Mr. Chairman, following a long list of political trials

in

the 1950s

part 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
Indians, {have
been proceeding now for 5 months, the charge
is against
the accused
being
incitement
to
acts of sabotage.
There are many other similar trials.

-129-

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:

of

the

allowing to ignore the legitimate

in South Africa and Namibia

We owe it as a duty both to them

themselves to bring this pernicious system of.

blacks

he

can

no longer

their freedom.

to

"we

demands

for

and

apartheid

collectively

sanctions

must

repudiate

undermine

do so only at our eternal peril".

and

this

human

apartheid

against

racist

impasse

once

far

to

to

an

by

end

ignominious

acting

mandatory and comprehensive

humanity

all dramatically and decisively

to

We neglect to

South Africa.

doctrine

seeks

which

civilization itself.

â\200\231

The

eternal

peril

has

been

planted

into

the

Preteriaâ\200\224Nashington

axis.

It means that the South African

problem

will

increasingly,

rapidly,

unâ¥old

and escalate

into

a

raging

war

engulfing

all

of

southern

Africa.

Certainly,

the vigereus arming that is going on in eur 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 utilize whatever means is open to it
to
see
through
the
final
liquidation of apartheid South
Africa.
Even if the heavens fall

- 132 -

Equally,

we

greatly

welcome

the

decision

0% the

>General

Assembly

t0

designate

the

year

1982

as

the

International

Year

0+

Mobilization

{orSahctions against

South

Africa.

I

would

therefore

like. tn

salute

the

cualescence

that

we

find

between 1982, the International

Year

of
Mobilization
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 QNC.

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
Seuth
Africa
with
the
opponents
of
racism,
It
is
especially
edifying
to have as Chairmanâ\200\231 0%
the
Seecial
Cemmittee
against
ĩ-\201gggthgigâ\200\230 a brother and a
friend
cf
long
standing,
a
son
oft that august natien,
Nigeria,
whese
unswerving support Â¥er the tetal liberation
of
our
continent
is vwell
known
and respected.
In this
regard

we
should
like
to
salute
the Special Committee,
which
has
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

Alhaji Yusuff Haitama

i

mankind.

He

shall

therefore

avoid

inflicting

you with a

recitation

of

the

sordid

facts

of

agggthggg 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, but

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 18th
session of the United Nations General Assembly.
Claiming
to act in the name of "Christian" civilization
and. "western"
democracy,
the South
in 1963.
Beverly has
spared
he
energies
in
unleashing a most barbaric attack on
the
African
people
and
there. opponents
of
its
policies.
Documents
circulated
by
this Committee abound in evidence of

inhuman
methede
of
torture
perpetrated
en
a
see
:
m
Ep
unprecedented
in the history of South i-\201frite.
During the leet
year
innecent
people
wehe
arrested
and
cast ihte seilitary
prien
cells,
and there subjected to unreetrained savagery by
â\200\230theee
eelf-appointed
representatives
ef
se-called Chrietian
civilizatiien and western democracy.
We
are grateful, Mr. Chairman, t0 note that in response
to
the
appealeâ\200\230 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
adapted
resolutions
imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to South

cf
those
countries
who
join us in condemning the eyetem,
while
buttressing
it
ecunomically
and
enhancing
its
repressive,
terreriety
and aggressive potential through the
supply
of
the
most
sophisticated
war
equipment,
is
ceneistent
only
with
their
hostility
to
African
aspirations.
This
military
cn~operation
shows
no

sign
ef
diminishing.
Instead,
secret
military
pacts, including.
attempts
to
incorporate
the South African regime into the
MQTO
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 predate the.
atomic
bomb.
We are convinced that this sharply increases
the
threat
to
world

peace
and
international
security.
In 2011 after
all,
the Pretoria regime has now arrogated to itself
the
right
to intervene militarily in all African countries
without
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.

- hg _

Q:ÂfÂfeceeees-Â\$mong whites

Then

the

ether

question,

Mr.

Chairman,

abes:

the

conflict

between the English and A\$rikaans-speaking members of

the

white

South

African community.

How far can the i-\201Ã©ricans

make

use

0%

the

conflicts

between

these two groups T

i-\201r.

Chairman,

we have tried to do this over the years and ever the

years

the

Chances

of

our

employing

these conflicts in our

favour

diminished

for
various
reasons.
One 0% them is that
the â\200\230English
section
is
a
minority
Of the white cemmunity.
â\200\230They
are
not of power:
the ruling pewer is ruthless with the
eppositien
of
the
black
peeple, even with the eppositieh ef
the
white
English-speaking
Seuth
Africansâ\200\231 and
ï-\201frikeahers
themselves.
,
I
think
what
has happened is that the Engiish
have
just* decided
te surrender tn the regiee and to serve it
in

terms

of its dictates.

It the moment, there is a unity in

approach,

to

'the

South

African

question,

the

egertheid

question.

There

is

unity' between

Ãfrikanners

and

nan~

Ãfrikanners 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.

Weâ\200\230 expected them to be so limited.

We

Vexpected

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.

(In answer to a question, ME. Tambo added:)

Most,

if

not

all,

as the countries of the world are,

like

individual

human

beings,

dependent upon one another in

one

respect

to

another;

The

South African Government and

South Africa

as

a

whole,

depend, in one way or another, on

other 200-230 nations,

on

outside

companies,

on

cooperation with

various

countries

in

the

world.-

Ed de African countries,

Asian and Latin American countries, and everybody else.

The

point

that we are trying to make is that countries

which

elect. to

have

South Africa as their friend should not

have

it

both

ways

in

all

respects, and we would urge that

It is

where

are determined

to act against South Africa. She has

I L

.
. L

0

take

collective measures against South Africa in one
way or another.

I

The decision of the Lagos Conference of African Foreign

Ministers,

to

which

reference

has

been

made, is completely

precisely

that.

If a company in Country A has dealings with

South
Africa. and
also
with
a ceuntry in i-\201Â¥rica, We believe
that
what
is
contemplated
- and what we ourselves urge ~ ie
that,
in
ten.
fer
as
that
company
has interests in Q+rica,
actien
should
be taken against it unless it elects to cenÂ¥ine
ite
business
to
AffiCa.
It must het have it both waye.
It
cannot
derive
benefits
from
the enemies of South Africa and

â\200\224 101 â\200\224

Mr.

President, your election to preside over and guide the
proceedings of this crucial conference accords not only with
yomr

own talent and vast experience,
but also with the shining example

0+

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.

Ne

congratulate you!

When

the General Assembly decided to call this
conference

in co-operation with the DAU,

it had in view that "urgent

action
must
be
taken
by
governments
and
organizations
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,
"the situation constitutes a
threat
to
international peace and security,
and that in the maintenance
of
this system the peace had in fact been breached.
This is also the
position

which

accords both with our own view as it

oppressed

people

of

South

in Africa

and with the actual

realities

of

the

situation in southern Africa.

He therefore believes 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

South

South

Africa

under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United

Nations

Charter.

â\200\224 100 -

CRLl FUR SANCTIDNS QGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Address to the International Conference
on Sanctions against South Africa,
Paris, May 21, 1981*

Nr. President,
Your Excellency Dr. Alex Ekwueme,

.

Vice-President of the Federal
Republic of Nigeria,

Your Excellency Mr. Edem Kodjo,

Secretary-General of the United Nations,

Your Excellency Hr. Issoufou Djermakoye,

Secretary-General of the
International Conference of the Great Lakes Region

Your Excellency Hr. Jesus Montane

Droposa, 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 1%

prisons

of

apartheid.

and also in the name of Petros

Mashingo,

Naphtali Manama 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.

The

International

t

Nations,

at the UNESCO House, Paris.

President of the Conference.

the

in cooperation with the Organization of African

United

Unity,

Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania was

Conference

organized

was

by

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 Lutuli in 1964, from the isolation of Robben Island, 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 of FREEDOM no one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; if they tried to create organized force in order ultimately to establish peace and racial harmony".

nor can they be blamed

Conflict in Southern Africa

There have been other developments in the past few years bearing directly on the struggle against apartheid.

The attainment-

ment 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 South Africa.

This led the South African regime
to strengthen its ties with the other members of the unholy
alliance, particularly Rhodesia.

Ian Smith admitted last year

in 2011 Africa

and

calling for the release of all persons detained or

otherwise

restricted

because

of

their

Opposition

to

that:

!
1

policies

of

gagging. It is common knowledge, however, that

the

South

African

Government

has

completely,

and

stays,

ignored these resolutions.

The behaviour of this Member State

of

the United Nations in persistently flouting well-considered

decisions

is

this

world

body

calls

for

immediate

investigation.

In

Conformity

with its disregard of world opinion, the

South

African

Government

has

continued to press on with the

I

I

I

enforcement

of

its

apartheid

policies, which are invariably

6

aimed

at

the

black

people of South Africa - I would include

all

who

are

not

considered white - and pursued for the sake

benefit

of the

white population.

Giving added encouragement

to

the

and

strength
to
this
sustained
persecution
0Â¥ Bur pessle,
{Dreign
investments
have
continued to psur into Smuth i-\\201Ã©rica
in an unbreken stream.
Last
year,
we proposed that these ceuntries which have
economically
involved themselves an the side cf our oppressors
"be
calied
upon
t0
withdraw
forthwith
from
the
arena of
conflict
in
Due
country and that they sheuld be specifically
indicted
in the forums of this Drganizatiien".
we went en, "Ã©s
a
first
step
in

the
process
of censuring those bodies and
organizations
which
deliberately
{lout the decisions of this

~109-

N*â\200\234wmmcw

a friendly country,

a war~time ally, and a partner in tha daÂ¥gh5Â«i

!

of United States strategic interesta.

We are astonighed at the Conscimus distortidn Of hiatorical

fact

ta

justify embracing the Bathe regime.

Fah {ram

baihg 'a

wartime ally,

Edtha and the party he leads allied themgelvea with

the

Nazis and Opposed Sauth Africaâ\200\231s entry

into

the

wart

ThÃ©

Natienalist

Party

shares

with the Nazis a cammah

idEi~\202lmgy

hhï~\202.

brutality, and has taken upan itself the mantle of Hitlar.

It hag

became a fountain of that idemlogy ahd maintains claae links

with,

Fascist

and racigt grmups ih many cmuntries including tha

United

States.

Since Bmtha and Reagan have prcclaimed themselveg a5 allim

:

:
1

!
!
1

we

must

consider

Why are their common objectives
in.

x

!
!
1

C: Lithuania 2002-2003
erica.

What interests, and most importantly whose interests, will
this alliance promote?

Far

the imperialists and racist Smith

Africa

alike, .

that

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 94 independent African

countries

{

the world progressive forces in order to weaken them,

the

destabilization and the overthrow of their legal governments.

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
show
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.

â\200\231

There

is another reason, Mr. Chairman, why Sweden is in

our

view â\200\230so

appropriate

as a venue for this session sf year

Cemmittee.

It

was

in Scandinavia, in Harwey, and - but fer

the

fears

of

the

South ï-\201frican Gevernment ~ might have been

Sweden

itself,

that

seven

and a half years ago, our beleved

leader,

ChieÂ¥

ï-\201lbert Lutuli, made what has turned out ta have

heen

â\200\230his

last

public address t0 his peeple, ta ï-\201frica and te

mankind.

He

stated

then, when he was in Scandinavia:

"911

they strength of pregressive leadership in South Africa, all my
life.

and strength have been given to the pursuance of the new

violent

method

to 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

Broutville,

Natal.

The

African

National

Congress is

working sen

plans to heneur his memory, and when

thEse

aret anneunced

it

is our hepe that the world that knew

a time when 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 wellâ\200\224financed 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 eiclusion 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, organization 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 wellâ\200\224produced 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 worldâ\200\224wide 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

- 112 â\200\224

There

is no possibility of the people of South ĩ-\201frica ever
accepting

the gtgtgg ggg and acquiescing in their own
oppressibn

and

exploitation.

There

should

no longer be

any

deubt

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.

He knew that a bitter struggle lies ahead.

We can see that

already

the war has spilt over our

borders as Preteria threatens

and attacks our neighbours. ,

The Oĩ-\201U,

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

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

regimeâ\200\231s

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

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 herror 0Â¥
horrors.

.
If
this
assessment is correct, the world is deing
very
little
about
it.

This is what we are facing ahd have
decided
to
face because the worst of all horrors in the world
is
to
live
forever 'as
a
slave,
as
a
hated,
despised,
subâ\200\224human,
and
this
we
reject.

There+ere, I would like ts

emphasize
the ical
en the United Nations to enforce economic
sanctions
against
South
Africa
itself.²³¹
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
at²³⁰
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
empress
itself in determination to subject South
Africa to economic sanctions.

â\200\231

.

Our
awful
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
recognize
that what is being done, which has
been

very

900d,

Mr.

Chairman,

is

not

sufficient.

It is

totally tinadequate.

It

helps

to

maintain

an attituee ef

We recall that the Havana Seminar against Apartheid

adopted a Programme of Action which was approved by the

General Assembly of the United Nations.

It is our hope that the

first

session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Your contributions at the Havana Seminar and subsequently a

United Nations forum 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

has
(

never to meet on the issue of apartheid.

Perhaps this is a

fitting occasion for the African National Congress to acknow-

ledge, on behalf of the people of South Africa and especially

the national liberation movement, the support which

our struggle has received over the years.

He acknowledged this

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 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

and

(

0

strengthen the Programme with resolutions.

It recognized tha

,

9

"

(

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 interâ\200\224

national peace and security.

*

International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in
support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, organized
by the Special Committee against Apartheid in Hayana ,+om Nay 2h
to 28, 1976.

['7'

** "Programme of Action against Apartheid" in General Assembly
resolution 31/6J of November 9, 1976.

I

â\200\234.. 1;:

.'-

disapproval

of

eggï¬\201ghgig,

but

it is not doing sufficient to

destroy

it.

The armed struggle which has been started means

that

the

rest

cf

the

world

can*

participate

in the fight

against

gggthggg,

by

its

sanctions,

by increasing its awn

activities

against

ggertheid

in preperrien to the sacriÂ¥icee

which we are making already.

---*-â\200\224-â\200\224-â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224uâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224u-â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224u~â\200\224â\200\224.~â\200\224-â\200\230

'A

number

of

yeung

people of Zimbabwe and African and

Indian

and

Celeured

people

of

South

Africa,

have

died.

Happily,

they

have

not died alone.

A war is starting and it

has ,been _cestdly

in

human, lives,

as

much

to us as te our

enemies,

but

this

is

the

beginning

Of 3 war which we said

might

develop

into

an

international crisis of unpredictable

properties.

It calls for i-\202ew methods, new levels 0% activity

at

the
international
level.
This is particularly so because
this
after
all
is Human Rights Year and as I said last year we
started
preparing
the
ground
for
an
upgraded
attack
and
campaign
against the Rhodesians, 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,1 {er
43candinavia,
for
all
those
which have shown a
genuine _interest
and
concern
{or
the situation in southern
ï¬\201frica.

The reply is an ever-growing fascist terror.

It is the

wanton murder of defenceless men, women and children.

It is

J

3

U

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 and 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 impe-

rialist Powers refuse to act against the apartheid regime.

Role of imperialist Powers

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 shave 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 grew;

Southgrn Africa â\200\224 an gggÃ© of comman gtgggglg

First

0%

all,

it

seems

important to appreciate that

gaggti¬\202gig,

the

worst

form

of

racialism

in

the

werld, is

Confined

not

only

to

Seuth

Africa; the peliCy Of the Smuth

A+rican

Government

is

confining

its effects not only ta the

territory

of

Seuth

ï¬\201frica.

Seuth ï¬\201frica is the main base en

which

this

evil

will
be conquered, but the evil extends its
tentacles
to
areas
beyond
the
borders of the South Qirican
State.
' Seuth
Africa
is tied up intimately With the rest hf
seuthern
Africa
and
the
intimacy
grows
bye the
day.
The
African
National Congress is confrented in South Airice with a
powerful
machinery
which spreads itself nut and is just ebeut
as
eifective
eutside
Seuth Africe itself and therefere, with
the
pregress
ef the struggle, the involvement of Seuth i-\201frica
outside
oii

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 Bf

South

Africa have become invglved in Zimbabwe.

It is not that

Vwe. are' fighting Smith enly er an illegal regime:

we are else

â\200\230fighting' ggartheid

itself,

if

yeu

like,

on the Outskirts,

although:

it is ebviously net our strategy to conquer egariheid

â\200\224-aw-~a_*

_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.
Qashingtonâ\200\224Prgteria_axis

It
is against this background, Mr. Chairman, that we
are
disturbed
that the Reagan administration has chosen to
embrace
racist
and unrepresentative agggthgig South ï-\201frica
as
an
ally
at
precisely
this time.
It seems to us that
this
declaration
ef
the

apartheid regime as a friend and

ally

can have no purpose other than to legitimize 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

-12..

policies

Bf

racial

superiDEity

and

these

Who

furnieh the

capital,

technical

knowledge

and

manpower for the executiem

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 aeceumte

with

their

oppressurs

by any methede and means open ta them,

the

determining

consideratiun

being

whether

they

want

t3

achieve

their

freedam

at

all

taste, or

to live in bandage.

et cetera.

But

insofar

as the South African situation is the

immediate

concern

of

the United Nations, then these outside

South

Africa

who

are

accomplices 'in the perpetration of an

acknowledged

vice,

must

account

for

their tendency to wander

opinion.

t

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
â\200\224
men
of

gs

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
10
years
who
marched undaunted on a Frenchâ\200\224built
armoured
car in the streets Bf Sewete, stene in hand, until
he was cut dawn by a torrent 0f machineâ\200\224gun bullets ?
We
say
no.
Ne
wards
are necessary at all.
The
blend
that
our
peeple have shed calls far action, net for
more
words.
It
calls
for action to destroy the fascist
regime that continues to massacre the innecent.
-*â\200\224.â\200\224~-â\200\224-.-.â\200\224---~~~ -câ\200\230â\200\224â\200\224v~-_
For
months
before 16 June the African student yeuth
0+
Seuth Africa had pretested not only against the enforced
use
of
ï-\201frikaans
as

a

medium

9%

instruction ~but also

Our
peoples,
with
their
varied cultures whzcv ere
centinueusly
mingling
and
interacting
to
their
mutuai
enrichment,
exhibit, despite their cenditiene, a greet Eeue
for
life
and
a
sensitive
joy in the creative ans human m
endeavours of the peeples of the werld, without excegtaan.
These
ordinary, industrieue and peaceful peeple want
to revolutionize themselves and their ceuntry.
As
a
celuhized
peeple we net enly assert ear right
to
rebel
against .the colonizer:
we assert also Bur right
to
determine
fer ourselves the means and methods te gee te
liberate, Ourselves

end our country as well as our right to
determine

what to do with our liberation.

We have a vision

in

of,

and

we

fight

for,

a

future

South

in 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 the popular power.

We

fight to restore power to the hands of the people.

In

so

doing

we shall also liberate the oppressed.

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 by which
they have been the beneficiaries.
They already sense that change
is coming soon.

CALL FOR URGENT ACTION TO STOP REPRESSION
AND TRIALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Address at the meeting of the Special Political
Committee of the General Assembly on 8 October 1963*

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, recognizing, as I did, the supreme effort which
the United Nations is making to induce the South African Governâ\200\224
ment to abolish and abandon policies which are a cruel scourge
on the conscience of every civilized 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 â\200\224 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.

*

Mr. Tambo appeared as petitioner before the Special
Political Committee on October 8, 1963, when Nelson
Mandela and other leaders of the African National
Congress were first charged in South Africa in the
"Rivonia trial".

-11T-

ACT WITH SENSE OF URGENCY

COMMITTEE QBQINST APARTHEID

Address at the meeting 0% the Special

Cemmittee against i-\201gartheid on June 11, 1981*

.â\200\224-nâ\200\224v.â\200\224-uâ\200\224.~

Yeur Excellencies,

I

sheuld

like,

on behal? Of the delegatien that is

travelling

around

with

me

in

the

United

States,â\200\231

a

delegation

cemprieing

QNC

and

SNQPB

representatives, ta

thank

yuu

most

sincerely

for

this

opportunity

ta meet

members

of the Special Committee against Apartheid. members

of

the

African Group, and representatives of Member

States

,
"
3
(

1
1
I

in

the

Member States and other Member States of the

United Nations.

We

welcome

this

initiative

taken

by

the Special

Committee

and

the

African Group especially as it gives us

an

opportunity

to

the

Paris

Conference

in Santiago

against

South

Africa which we attended together to further

our

tencerns,
especially with the Special Committee and to
give
at
least
a brief report on the developments in South
Africa and in southern Africa generally.

1

-

meeting,

hear

to

Special

The
special
Group,
Barueb,
on
who
International
Africa.

were

Administrative

in
Mr.

against

Committee

in 2019

co-operation
Oliver

a
with the in 2019
Meeee
0+ SWHPU,
a visit to the United States after the
on Sanctions against South
Conference

Secretary-General

held

Tambe

and

Mr.

He
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.
-~â\200\224n--â\200\224â\200\224-â\200\224â\200\224-_-â\200\224â\200\230

â\200\224_â\200\224.t

â\200\231â\200\224--â\200\224â\200\224Â»â\200\224â\200\224hâ\200\224-

With

the

orchestrated

chorus

of

a

caterie

ef

handâ\200\224picked

placemen,

Uerster

is

today <declaring

the

Trahskei

"independent".

Teday we have had the spectacie in

Umtate,

the

principal

tewn

in

the

Tranekei,ef ene flag

raised .

and

anetherâ\200\230l

lowered.

Seen

after

that,

in

continuation

0+

the

Charade,

the

national anthem of the

oppressed,

sung

by

liberation

fighters'

since

1925, was

played

in

glorification

But

national

oppression in a new

guise.

He

knew

{rem

the

words But none other than Hendrik

Verwoerd,

former

racist

Prime

Minister

Of South Africa,

that

the

apartheid

policy

represents

an

attempt

ta

perpetuate, the

criminal system of ggartheid.

I quote {rem

a statement he made in 1963:

â\200\2311â\200\231-..â\200\234

t

The

on

addressed

the

the se-called "independence" of Transkei.

bantustan Of Transkei was declared "independent"

October

Tambe

when

On the same day,

General i-\201esembly adapted a resolution denouncing

i-\201eeembly.

1976,

the

General

26,

the

day

Mr.

~12hâ\200\224

We

have

given

priority

to

the

pursuit

3+ armed

struggle

in

our

country,

but we have never seen an armed

struggle

developing

with

any

efÂÿect

outside of the mass

â\200\230mobilization,

and

the

activization â\200\231ef

eur

people,

the

unification

of the patriotic farcee in the country, as well

as

the

enceuragement

Of the democratic movement among the

white

population.

The organization and the activization 0%

the
black
workers
into action and the mobilization of the
religious
community
and
these
are
the
elements
in
current
strategy for moving forward.
I
think
it
is
fair
to
say that we have achieved
significant
progress
towards
the
realization
of
these
Objectives.
The religious forces in our country which are
numerous
have
come
into
the mainstream of the liberation

struggle.

We

think

the

pasture

Of

the

majority

demonstrated

during

the month of May points to a very high

level

9%

mass

mobilization

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 â\200\230sacrifice
will
put
an end to the apartheid

system.

The
rest of the international community can only
contribute
their
efforts
although
that
contribution
is
indispensable.
Therefore,
we are poised to make advances
on the ground in the South African situation.

10.

ACT WITH SENSE OF URGENCY

- Address at the meeting of the Special Committee
against Apartheid, June 11, 1981

11.

MOBILIZATION FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID

- â\200\224 Address at the meeting of the Special Committee
against Apartheid, January 12, 1982

12.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
SANCTIONS RESOLUTION

- Address at the Plenary Meeting of the General
Assembly, November 5, 1982

(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 multinational 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, recognize 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 Organization of African Unity
Long live the United Nations?

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 whole-heartedly in the United Nations 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, Organizations, conferences and groups of men and women in every quarter of the world; that the apartheid regime has ignored and defied these resolutions and appeals;

to the mountains of documents and paper

to the numerous times

, work embodying studies revealing the horrors of white rule in South Africa, all of which make our freedom struggle one of the

_ 18 -

use

those

to

build

and

strengthen

agreement.

in the 20th

this

principle would apply to other countries.

There

are,

0%

course,

other less punitive methods by

which

a collective approach can be made to these countries.

I

recall

concerted efforts at the 10th of the meetings of the Special

Political

Committee

last

year,

Mr.

Chairman,

Following

a

statement

made

by

you,

in

which

you

cited

a

number

0%

tabuntries

which

had. trade- relations

with

South Africa and

detailed

the

extent

and

nature

of

that

trade.

That wee

follbwed.

by

speeches

in

which

representatives, addressee

themselves directly to these partners.

If

this

kind

of

approach

fails,

I ~can think bf n9

reasen

why some tauntries in QÂYrica, Asia and elsewhere eheuld

ellow

their I personal

and

individual

sacrifices

to

be

undermined

by

other

Member

States

that

join

with them in

addressing

a

public attack against apartheid.

It seems to me

that

be

morally

justifiable

that

these

countries

which are

undermined

by these {Friends of South Africa should turn around

and take action against those who do so undermine them.

~66.-

I
recall
that
two years-age the highly commendable
act
of
solidarity
by
this
August
body with the mother
people
of
Palestine
was
crowned by the address from this
rostrum
of
my
brother and comrade~inâ\200\224arms, Yasser i-\201rafatg
who,
true
to
the Palestinian tradition of solidarity with
all
peoples,
called for the same opportunity to
be
accorded
to
the leaders of other liberation movements.
It
heaves me, on this occasion, when the struggle he leads
and

you support has been subjected to concerted attempts at
liquidation,
to
express
our
unwavering
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.
Hill to 19201g 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

colonized 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 few 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

â\200\224 102 ~

It

would then become the responsibility of the
Conference

to

discuss

and

agree on the means and methods

that

the

world

community

must

adopt

te

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 mere

than

two

decades of rule by governments that have collaborated closely with

the racist South African regime.

By their vote the French people

have

shown

that

they do not want to

supply

nuclear

reactors,

Mirage

planes,

submarines

and

other war

materials

ta

defend

agggthgig;

they

do

not want technology and

licences,

skilled

personnel

and

{inance to flow to assist

the

agggthgig

regime;

they

do

not want their rugby teams to tour Seuth

ï-\201Âfrica,

their

cities,

such as Nice, to be twinned with agagthgig cities such as

Cape Tewn;

they do not wish to warm themselves with South AÂfrican

coal

extracted

under conditions no better than those se

vividly

described by Emile Zola.

This momentous step by the French people

heralds,

we hope,

the death knell of the monstrous alliance with

the selfâ\200\224confessed successors Of the Nazi regime which but a short

40 years ago occupied this city and this country.

{ram
certain
countries
of
Western
Europe,
.from
Nerth
America
and
from
Japan.
It
is
clear
to us aise that
anuther
group
of
countries
is
being activated ta act as
conduits
and
fronts
for
the
big imperialist Pewere.
We
refer
te
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 régime of 2019
to
enable
it to protect the joint interests of the
multinational
corporations
which
have invested in and are
trading
with South Africa and the superprofits 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 desire justice and peace
to
go

beyond

verbal

condemnation

and

to take effective

measures

against

this international pariah.

The duplicity

The
attitude
0?
the
masses
towards
the
white rule
cannot
but be one of bitter opposition for natural reasons, if
for
no
other
reason.
He does not have to bring them into the
struggle,
they
are winning it.
They are organized to participate
under
the
leadership
of the political party in various ways,
meet
of
which are undeniable because we are an underground
organization
and I could not explain what sort of organization
we
have in the country.
But opposition to the government is a mass
opposition
and a determined opposition.
It is also a militant
opposition
in

spite
ef
the {act that the militencyâ\200\231deee net
show
itself '50
that
the
whole
werld
can
knew there is a
struggle geing en in South Africa.

Then
there are the ether queetiens by the distinguished
representative
of
Nepal
abeut
the
kind
of aesietahee'thet-
should
be
given
tn the Republic 0% Zambia in the face of the
develeping
eituetien
there.
I
think
thet the best enewer
cemes 'frem
the
representatives

0%

Zambia themeelvec.

They

realize

what

is

happening

and the prebleme and dangers that

' cenfrent

them

~

and

I

knew

that

they

have summed up the

situation

to

the rest of the world, to the United Natiene, t0

the

african

States

~

and

I

think

it

would

be

a little

presumptuous en m? part te say how they can be assisted.

But

{rem

the

point ef view 0f the liberation movement

it His .very
important that the lembian Government is aeeieted
in
the leituatien
in
which
it
finds
itself to step up the
assaultâ\200\230 On
the
Smith
regime,
and
en
egartheid, which the

-82...

strengthening

of

the . criminal

ggggtggig

regime

ie

simultaneously

a strategy for the destruction 0% the \$ercee

within

South

Africa

that

Seek to bring about a genuihely

popular

change.

â\200\231The

same idea is cenveyed in statements

made

by

representatives

of

the

United States Government

that

a

nenâ\200\224radical solution for the South AÂfrican question

must,

for

the

long

run,

be found.

We take this.te be a

very

categorical and clear statement by the worldâ\200\230s leading

imperialist

Fewer

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 the people

as

a whole can ever accept such a solution.

The attempt to

build

up

collaborationist

farces in South Africa that

will

accept

such

a

election 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

0%

the

bread

masses

e4

eur

people.

At

â\200\230the present moment the big imperialist Powers and

their

junior

partners

such

as

Israel, are quite clearly

ranged

solidly

together

against

the

liberation

0%

cur

people.

It

is they who have consistently defied the call

Zambian

vaernment

condemns

daily.

It 15 action alnng the

lines

of

eanctiene.

Zambia can be assisted by assistance te

the

liberation

movement

which

she

supports.

These are the

{orms of assistance which Zambia, I think, would appreciate.

Zambia

is

in

danger

precisely

because

there

is

a

liberation

war

being

fought

ebuth

0%

it,

and

its danger

increases

the
longer
that
struggle
continues
and the mere
serious
it is, and the assistance to Zambia must take the form
of
dealing
the
enemies
of Zambia along the lines which we
have
indicated ~ by assisting the liberation movement and eliminating
by
sanctions
and various forms of attack.
Zambia previously the
use
of force against Smith.
This would help Zambia.
It would
remove the danger that Zambia is exposed to.
Fighting against
Finally,
Mr.
Chairman,
His Excellency Mr. Hume Taber:
has
attended
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 Lutuli when
he
spoke
in
Bela.
He said:
"Our people have never been a
decile
people"
end
he

referred

to

the wars that have been

fought

with vspears

against

guns and ammunitien and bullete.

That

spirit

eurvivee

teday and if there is he evidence 0% it

now, there will be ample evidence 0f it in the near future.

â\200\224â\200\230-.-â\200\224-â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224~.â\200\224-

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~â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224~~-

X

Ambassador of Denmark.

that if the South African Government had not given him assurances of support, he would not have proceeded with U.D.I.* In fact South Africa can be expected to have encouraged U.D.I. to ensure the existence of a neighbouring white minority regime to which she is now in the process of exporting apartheid.

The rest of 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, however, remain totally Opposed to white minority rule and fully support the struggle of their brothers

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in South Africa.

The attempts by the South African racist:

regime to blackmail and bully neighbouring African Governments:

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}
U

into allying themselves with it is a mean and selfish move

! 0

â\200\235

L

involve these Governments in a bloody defence of its inhumane policies in the same manner that it has driven 220,000 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, the pressure on neigh-

bouring 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 supporterÂ» of

1

I

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.

* Unilateral declaration of independence

â\200\22458â\200\224

approach to the South African situation, in which we see progress as coming from outside â\200\224 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 as 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

political
conflict
by
peaceful methods and to obviate the
necessity,
which was becoming strongly felt, for the people
to resort to violent struggle.
lel for ggnctiong

After
the
Sharpeville massacre, which was a natural
development
of
the
escalating
violence
of
the
racist
regime,
the
9ND
then
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

lgÃ©ï¬\202,

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

1965 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 terrorizing the entire

region

bf

southern Africa with armed invasions, massacres,
assassinations,

economic sabotage and the infiltration into
independent

States

of

armed

bandits to engage in acts of
destabilization.

The

racist regime is now occupying part

of

the

territory of the People's Republic of Angola, which

-11+2-

times,

and

any

attempt

to

bypass this joint struggle is

bound

to

fail,

thanke

t0 the determination of the people

and

our

armed

forces

ta

intensify

their

oifensive for

victory.

ï-\201e

we have stated before, the certainty of that

victory

{ur

the peep1e of Namibia end South Africa is else

a reality 0f cur times.

Our

struggle

has advanced enermouely inside Namibia

and

inside

South

erica.

Our people fight today in the

knewledge

that
the
world community is on their side, I that

the
enemies

are
few,

and
that

the
people who comprise
humanity

are
many.

They
are there. We are grateful for the
political,

diplomatic
and

material support which has come
{rem

the
United Nations and many countries bilaterally and
collectively

and support which has come from various sections
of

the
international
community.

They have followed with
great

interest
and

admiration
the

way

that the ï¬\201frican

greup

at

the

United Nations has represented the interests

and

the

policies

0%

the

BAU.

They constitute a living

presence

0* the entire continent at the United Nations.

We

have

admired,

toe,

the

coâ\200\224operation

between the Special

Committee

against

Agartheid

and the ï¬\201frican group and the

representatives

of

the

NDn-aligned

Movement,

and,

generally,

the

spirit

of

united

action

and 0* unity in

actien

which

is

demenetrated

here

with every issue that

affect us all.

~139-

.transnational

corporations,

have

vested

interests in the

perpetuation

and the survival of the ggggti-\201gig system.

The

most

determined

efforts

to

secure

a

Security

Council

resolution

imposing

sanctions

en

this

regime

have been

deFeated

in

the interests of maintaining the ÂsÂsÂsÂsQÂs_ggg in

both Namibia and South i-\201frica.

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 yearsâ\200\234 time.
The
United
States
has
entered
the picture as the
latter-day
leader
of
the group which has presumably, like
the
resist
regime

of
South
Africa,
never
accepted the
independence
of
the 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.

we

believe that before this axis consolidates itself
against

Africa,

the

Organization

of

African

Unity, the

Non-aligned

Movement,

indeed

the

United Nations and all

genuine

supporters

0+

the

Namibian land

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
en
the
need for an'
emergency
session
0%
the
General
Assembly of the United
Nations
en
the
question
cf
sanctions.

in 2015 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 Ministerial Council meeting
on
the
Organization of African Unity which, as 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
uniens
ahd
other popular
bedies
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

-63...

SUPPORT OUR PEOPLE TO SEIZE POWER

AND BUILD A FREE SOUTH AFRICA

Address at the Plenary Meeting of the United
Nations General Assembly, October 26, 1976*

It

that

1976,

In
Assembly
apartheid
Political
representatives
and
recognized by it would be heard in Plenary Meetings.

following the Soweto massacre, the General
decided

3+
Plenary Meetings rather in the Special
in
Committee.

the
at the Organization of African Unity
movements

liberation

also

decided

the

problem

to

consider

the

South

African

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
permitted 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

beam.

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

the South of Africa.

In explanation of this stability

gleeful

fingers are

pointed at the leaders of the liberation

struggle

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 these who

regard
this
form
of
stability
as
real,
we
consider
it
pertinent
to
ask
whether,
as
between
the white supremacist in
South
Africa
and
the pre-1945 seeking foreign investor, is the
happier
to
.see
the
Africans
and
whether 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

- 65 _

that

the non-aligned movement and the General Assembly

under

your

able guidance at a time when these two powerful

instruments

0+

pragmatic 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 Committee

Congress wishes you a truly successful term of office.

In

the

course of the past four weeks this session

deliberations

have

been

punctuated

by

events

ceiling

attention

to the great victories which have been won in the
struggle for national independence and world peace.

The

peoples of Botswana, Nigeria, Lesotho, Eswatini

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 this session, as well as

equal

Members,

of the representatives of the heroic people

of

Guinea-Bissau,

Mozambique

and

other

countries which by

their

sacrifices

have

enriched. the

meaning

of national

liberation- and

independence.

In this context, the idea of

bantustan

independence

is

an

outrage

in 1970 Africa.

On the

other

hand,

the 1970 absence

of

Vietnam and 1970 Angela {fem this

session diminishes the United Nations.

-127-

in

the

past;

an

ally which emerges at a time when that

regime

is more hated in southern i-\201frica 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 i-\201frica, it is at that paint that it seems

to have qualified fer embrace as a friend and ally.

Alarmed

by this development, and curious to know how

the

peeple

Of

the

Bnited States responded te a situation

that
was
0%
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
South African
People's
Organization responded to an
invitation
to speak at a conference of black leaders in the
United
States
convened
by
Transafrica

and
the Southern
African
Support Project which took place in Washington.
We
took
the
opportunity
of
our
presence
there
to
have
discussions
with
not
only
black
leaders,
but also with
Congressional
sub-committees
on Africa, representatives and
members
of
these
committees.
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

Nashington-Pretoria axis on the African scene.

- 13h _

As

the

last

Summit

Conference

of the anâ\200\224aligned

countries

indicated,

there

will

be

peace,

security and

stability

ii 'eeuthern

ï-\201frica

only

aÂ¥ter _South ï-\201fricaâ\200\231s

illegal

and

murderous occupation of Namibia has been ended

and

the

ggÃ@ï-\201theggâ\200\230

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 year chairmanship, to commemorate
the
fiftieth
anniversary
of
the
ANC and the twentieth
anniversary
of
Umkhonto

Sizwe.
In passing, we wish to
express
our
prayers

appreciation
of
that
historic
initiative
which has been a great inspiration to our people
in
general
and
the
cadres
0%
Umkhento
Hg 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.
But,
throughout
the
period
of
the 1950s the policy of the ANC
was

consciously and deliberately non-violent at a time when.

the

ggÃ©gthglg

regime had come into power and had opened an

Organization

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 organization should be called upon

to sever relations with these companies".

We

are

pleased

to

note that at its recent meeting in

Lagee, the

Council of Ministers of the Organization 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
African
on the one hand, and with Member States of
the
Organization
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.
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
humeral
support
to the South African Government and to give
physical
expression to the solidarity which the home countries

â\200\224 123 â\200\224

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

A+ricans,

united,

nonÃ©racial,

democratic

and

above

all,

friendly to its neighbours and

bound by the decisions of the international community.

ĩ-\201n

interesting

aspect

of

this

expressien

of
rejection
was
that
the opponents of agagghggg domination,
the
people
who
are
struggling
for liberation to end the
colonial
structure
in
our
country,
acted
in
:omote
unity.
Their
action
involved
industrial .strikes
by
workers,
boycotts by various people including students, and
it. involved
also
armed
action.
For
it is oart of the
strategy
of the erican National Congress and its allies in
the â\200\2311liheration {Font to achieve a total mobilization 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.

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
is
is
proper
that
what
we
consider an achievement
should be mentioned to this Committee.

C O N T E N ' T S

INTRODUCTION

CALL FOR URGENT ACTION TO STOP REPRESSION AND TRIALS
IN SOUTH AFRICA

4 Address at the meeting of the Special Political

Committee of the General Assembly, October 8, 1963_

MAKE ACCOMPLICES OF APARTHEID ACCOUNT FOR THEIR CONDUCT

- Address before the Special Committee against
Apartheid, New York, March 12, 1964

-PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID IN
SOUTH AFRICA

â\200\224 Paper prepared at the request of the Special Committee
against Apartheid, June 1968

CALL FOR NEW LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST
APARTHEID

- Address at the meeting of the Special Committee
against Apartheid, Stockholm, June 18, 1968

MOBILIZATION OF WORLD SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION
STRUGGLE

- Address to the International Conference in Support
of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in
Southern Africa, 0810, April 9, 1973

GREATLY INCREASE ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

- Address to the International Conference in Support
of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in

Southern Africa, Oslo, April 11, 1973

SUPPORT OUR PEOPLE TO SEIZE POWER AND BUILD A FREE
SOUTH AFRICA

â\200\224 Address at the Plenary Meeting of the United
Nations General Assembly, October 26, 1976

CRUCIAL STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA

,

â\200\224 Address to the World Conference for Action against
Apartheid, Lagos, August 23, 1977

CALL FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

â\200\231-'Address to the International Conference on Sanctions
lagainst South Africa, Paris, May 21, 1981

In thanking you and your Committee, therefore, Mr.Chairman,
I wish to emphasize that I do so not only on my own behalf, but
also on behalf of my_organization, the African National Congress,
and-its sister organizations 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 libera-
tion 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 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 distin-
guished 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 discussions of the policy of apartheid happens

â\200\224118â\200\224

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 ef

the

Special

Committee

against

Agartheid

with

you. as

Ehairman.*t

The

period

since

you

took

over

the

Chairmanship

0*

this

Committee

has been characterized by

great

developments

which

have
helped
to
advance
Bur
struggle
for
liberation
in
southern i-\\201frica.
The Seecial
Committee
against- i-\\201gggtheegg under your leadership has been
an
authentic
interpreter
of
events
in
South i-\\201frica, an
authentic
spokesman
for
the people of South i-\\201frica and an
authentic
inÂ§ormaht
{or
the
whale world ih regard to the
details
oÂ¥
events.
Whenever I hear you speak on the Seeth
i-\\201frican
situation,

Mr. Chairman, I never feel that I could
have

done it any better.

He have sought to ensure that the

L.

peoples

of the world who support our struggle can represent

in 1920

us

as

effectively

and

effectively

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

proof

oept

of

commitment, we can rely upon you to

pursue

the struggle for liberation in whatever capacity you

may be serving your country.

3*

Chairman

of

The
Clark
June IQBI.

of

Nigeria,

the Special Committee, B. Akporoee
left the United Nations later in

â\200\2241hoâ\200\224

_The

international

community is being denied the use of the

powerÂ¥u1

weapon

of

sanctions

by

forces

which

have not

hesitated

to

provide

the

Â¥asciet

regime in South Africa

with

the

most

lethal

weapons

of

destruction, including

nuclear

technelegy.

The

activities of the International

Year

of

Mobilization

fer

Sanctiohs

against South Africa

will

need
to
address
themselves in detail to the role of
these countries.
Mobilize the organizations
To
this end, on behalf of the Namibian people led by
SWANU,
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
coâ\200\224nperatien
bf
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
Nest
must
now
be
placed
at
the disposal of the men and
wemen
who
comprise
the
international cnmmunity 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 Ceuncil resolution.

Secondy,

- 76 -

it

it

can

be

agreed

the desire a? tee
that the white man should be able to continue
protect himself by retaining white domination ...-
separate

achieved

that

that

by

is

we

are

"If
people
to
we
development".

say

,

The

following year Verwoerd stated that before the collapse

of

colonialism

in

the

greater

part

of Africa, the white

minority

regime

had

visualized

for

the

African

people

"separation" 200\231

...

that

ends

at

a certain point, self-rule

under

the

care

of a guardian".

But since the Chinese

colonialism,

they

have

had

- to use their own words - to

"make

an

adjustment

with

(the) policy 200\234 and not against

it,

as

Uerwoerd

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 split

out

the purpose of the separate development programme and
its
intended
logical
conclusion:
the
fraudulent
independence of thebantustans.

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
at
including
those
in the
Transkei itself at continue to reject it today.

We
state
new,
as

we

stated

then,

that

an

incontrovertible

part

of the demands 0% our people is that

~71:-

Ne

realize

that

all

but

a

small handful 0% true

reÂselutienaries,

and

men

of

conscience 'ameng them, will

continue

to

suppert

the

minority

regime

because

efâ\200\230

training,

because

ef Iselfâ\200\224interest,

because

of ÂYear and

because

of

inertia.

Yet they, the whites, also need to be

iliberated

from the ebecurantism, backwardness and ostraciem

into

which

they

have

thrust
themselves.
. Our national
democratic
revolution
theretore
has
the
task
else
ef
liberating even these Bur oppressers.
We
{ight
also
for a South Africa whese wealth will
be
shared by its peeple equitably.
Ne fight to abelieh the
system
which 'ebteins
in
Ger
ceuntry
teday
and
which
cancentratee
almost all preduttive wealth in the hands Â¢+ a
Â¥ew,
while
the
vast
majerity exists and tails t0 enlarge
that wealth.

We
will
create a South Africa in which the doors of
learning
and Black 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
upheld
the
oneness
of
mankind
and
to hate
untruth, obscurantism, immorality and avarice.

- 125 .â\200\224

ngognitien 9+ lggggrehig 0+ AEQ

And

I

think,

perhaps in passing, one might observe

that

the

Hay

actions,

the

acts

of

rejection

of

the

gagggghgig

regime demenetrated during May, have something ta

d0,

t0

gut

it at its lowest, had something to de with the

acceptance by the people 0+ South Africa of the strategy 0%

the

African-

National

Congress Â»and

its

leadership.

The

leadership

by

the

ï-\201frican National Congress dues net rest

necessarily

an
the
fact of its having been established ea
many
decades
ago
and
having remained in the fieldâ\200\224fer an
equal
length
0+
time.
It
is a leadership which in the
final
analysis
must
be teeted on the ground and reÂ¥lected
in
the
reepenees
0+ the people tn the direction it givee.
we
think
there
is
unity
areund the objectives which the
ĩ-\201friEan
Natienal Congress has set.
â\200\230ĩ-\201nd it ie a unity which
transcends
racial
boundaries
within

our
tauntry.
The
efrican
Natienal
Congress
previdee,
so far at least, the
only
alternative
to
the
egartheid system in terms of the
Freedom Charter which :enitutes its policy platform.
we
are
enceuraged
in
South
Ã©frica,
and
at
the
African
National
Congress,
by
the
recegnitien
of
the
African
National

Congress

by

an

increasing

number of countries in the world, the Non-aligned

countries

which

include

African

countries,

by Socialist

-67-

for

the

numbers

0% our people it butchers in the proceee.

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 awn actiehe

against

immense

adds, they are restoring to themselves the

right

to

call

themselves free.

After three and a quarter

centuries

0%

the

most brutal hational oppression eufÃ©ered

by

any

people

on

the

ĩ-\201frican 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 countless sacrifices that the black youth
of
South Africa have made over the last four months to free
themselves,
their people and their country from Apartheid that
are
determined to keep us as 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

whale of progreseive mankind, the
peeplee
of Zimbabwe and Namibia are advancing tewardde their
own
genuine independence.
Daily in our South ï¬\201frica, as in
Palestine
and
in
East
Timer,
Ordinary
people
make
extraordinary sacrifices in their quest fer freedom.

Human

Rights

Year should be the beginning of a new and

more

vigernus 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,

â\200\224â\200\224--â\200\224â\200\224*~â\200\224

There

is

one fact I would like to add and that is that

the

'Liberation

movement

in

South

ï-\201frica

is divided into a

number

of

parties.

This

has

either

been

an excuse or a

problem,

giving

rise
te
pessimism
about
the extent of the
assistance
that
should
be
given to the liberation movement.
Despite
this,
let it be recognized, I ask; Mr. Chairman, that
leaders
like
Chief
Lutuli,
Nalter
Sisulu,
Nelson Mandela,
might have
been Presidents and Prime Ministers of independent
States,
but
for the power of their enemy.' The fact that they
have
not
does
not reduce their ability to tell the world what
should
be
done
about South Africa, even to lead the world in
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,

emphasizing

that

the

leadership of the struggle

against

eggshells

is

in

the

hands

of

the

African people

themselves,

of

of

the

liberation

movement,

and that the world

should

pay

due

regard

to their opinions and their views and

that

they

should

be

respected lnet as Heads of State but as

inalienable birthright until victory or death.

The contempt of

our youth for death and their heroism have a dimension that

i

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 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 ?

a 36 -
merely
on
the
eutskirts;
but
this
has become inevitable
Jprecisely
because
there
is
an
increasing
degree
04 South
African 'presence
in
Rhodesia
and NE in southern Africa have
come
ta
recognize
that southern Africa will be conquered, as
an area, when South Africa itself is conquered.
People
are
0Aften
concerned
to
know
why
there
is
silence, peace,
quiet,

in South Africa, as the South African
Government
claims,

why

the

South

is not Africans

are fighting in

South 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

South Zimbabwe,

which

involves

South

Africans,

both

supporters

of

apartheid

and opponents of it, is an outgrowth

of

the

cenditiens,
the â\200\230explesive
cenditiens,
within Eeuth
Ã@frica
itselfi
Bur supporters in the world sheuld retegnize
that
Seuth
ĩ-\201frica
has
an
interest
in
maintaining a white
â\200\230minority
government
in, Rhedesia and this is because it wants
t0
deÂ¥end
and
perpetuate
the
racist
State in Seuth efrica
itself.
'I
have said before, and I would Iike tn repeat new,
Mr.
Chairman;
that
what
we see happening in Rhedesia is the
beginning
0+
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.

if
the
world
is
50
concerned
about
theâ\200\230 destructien
0+
gggggï¬\202gig
and
the
remeval
of that scourge from mankind, the
task â\200\2300?
doing that rests On the liberation movement and there
is
every
reason
why
we
should
come
t0
Sweden
as
an
Aorganization,
as a liberation movement, and ask to be directly
assisted.
We have asked the United Nations to authorize this
so
that
individual governments and peeples and countries will
have no excuse for refusing us direct assistance.
Enferce ecenemic sanctienÂ§_Â§gÂ§inst South Africg

There
is
another
mistake
we have made.
agggghggg is
like
Hitlerism, Nazism.
It will not be conquered by trying to
talk
to
it,
by
passing
resolutions
only
about
it
Or by
approaching
it hesitatingly.
It will not even be censured by
ordinary
methods.
It
will be conquered by methods that are
perhaps
more
drastic than in the ordinary case.
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
gaggti-\202gig.
we have
decided,
and other people before us have decided, that we must
sacrifice
But
lives,
commit millions to massacre as the only
method
by
which
gaggtig 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 ggartheid is evil and a
threat to international peace.-

- 90 â\200\224 a

x"

The impetus of mobilization 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.

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

Â»

hundreds of grass-roots organizations, 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 mobilization 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.

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

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 organizations 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 régime 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

Fer
the
{irst
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, 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 Depressed 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,

As Dr its leading rele

among

the

non-aligned

nations

and its unswerving support

for just struggles the world over.

It is worthy of note

1

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

â\200\224 111 â\200\224

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

met

been

initiated by our oppressors,

but by the nationwide 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

gagitbegg

deminatien.

Thus

any

meve made by Botha is a reactien

ta

the

strengthening

farces of liberation and is a defence of eggghggg.

Such

meves are a justification not for relaxation,

but

far

the

intensificatien

of

the

Offensive,

both

domestically

and

internatienally.

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
ï¬\202frica
and
be
disastrous for the independent States neighbouring South ï¬\201Trica.
The
call {or sanctions was initiated inside the country by
the
majority of the people of South Africa,
and has
since
been
reiterated
on
a
number
of
occasiens.
The
DAU
and
ether
progressive
forces responded to this call from the Seuth
African
people,
and we now have the support of the overwhelming
majority
of the nations of the world as expressed in the General Assembly.

â\200\224 110 â\200\224

Thirdly,

the

attempt

to transform the Indian

and

Sbuth

Atlantic

Oceans into military zones as an extention of

the

MQTD

alliance.

Within

this

strategy

the maintenance

of

the

agartheid

system

is an a Qriori condition and its success requires,

as

an

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 emphasize it, our minerals and
wealth.
Though
Mr.
Reagan was frank about the motivations of
the
alliance
with racist South Africa,
other statements by the
vets
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
aggressive
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

; 3L -
and
supported
his
leadership
will
participate
in
paying
lasting tribute to his life and work.

May

I

mention

another

severe

loss

sustained by our

family and friends

in

the

death

recently

of

Prefessor Z.K. Mathews, a

political

colleague

0+

Chief

Lutuli 'for

many years and an

outstanding

leader

0%

our

people,

who

was

Botswanaâ\200\230s

Ambassador

to

washington

and

the United Nations.

Egypti¬\201ggg

persecuted

him

until

he

left

South Africa and he sent the

rest

0%

his

life

in

the

service

34

the

people 0% newiy

indei¬\201endent Botswana.

These

two

great

leaders Bf our people have not leâst a

vacuum.

They

have

left

behind

their

colleagues
in
the
leadership
of
that
people.
Many
0%
these
are an Rehheh
Island,
in
Pretoriaâ\200\231s
gaels, in other gaels in Seuth Ã©Ã©riza.
Nelsen
Mahdela,
Nalter
Sisulu,
Gavan
Hheki,
Bram Fischer,
Ahmed
Kathrada,
Netsealedi,
and
countless others have their
hearts
where they were before they were incahcerated.
we near
from
them
and their merale and spirit is an inspiratieh te us
and.
a
cause

far

as

to more than double our effortsâ\200\234

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.v â\200\230

I should

like to emphasize a few aspects of what I

have said in the paper.

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.

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 fellowmen 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 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

- 119 -

I

should

like

to

take

this opportunity to evaluate

that

country,

Nigeria,

or

having

consistently

in its

policies

and

actions

underscored

the vital importance of

implementing

decisions of

the

United

Nations .

200\234

,

3

the

Organization of African Unity and the Nigerian Movement.

I

recall

many instances

in

which

Nigeria

acted

effectively

and swiftly against companies and even cemeteries

!

which

had

violated decisions and resolutions of the United

Nations,

the

Organization

of

the 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

and the Gleneagles

agreement,

United

Nations

resolutions

and

even

the

decisions

8%

the

recent

Paris Conference.

In expressing

Bur

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

eat with

swiftness

in

enforcing

the decisions of the international

community.

â\200\231Certainly,

Mr.

Chairman, the people of South ä-\201frica

are

greatly encouraged by this scene and are confident that

if

they

correctly
understand
the
mend
of the countries
which
have called for sanctions against South Africa at the
recent- meeting
of
the Security Council, if they correctly
understand
the mend of the countries and representatives of

â\200\224 122 â\200\224

mandate

given

by the majority.

Such a mandate bee in Â¥act

been

given, not during the elections in April 0+ thie year,

but

during

the

month bf May when the regime and ite white

minority

supporters

were Vcelebrating the 20th anniversary

of

the

{ormatibn

of

the racist Republic 04 South ï-\201Ã©rica.

The

mandate

was

given to the African National Congrees by

more

than

80

per

cent of the people of Seuth Africa.

took

the

form

0!

a

rejection

of

the

celebratiene,

It

a

response

to a call made by the i-\\201frican National Cengrees on

the

8th

0%

January this year, the 6ch anniversary sf ite

+0unding.

It

was

a

call

upon the peeple ta reject the

racist

Republic

by

refusing

to

participate

in

the

celebration of its Eï-\\201th anniversary.

Therefore,

in May the country was divided inte these

whe

are

part

0% this regime and this Republic - the white

minority.gand the rest consisting of all the black peeple 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
farm
0%
meetings all over the
country,
involving
workers, women,
leading
churchmen,

QTPâ\200\230 0Â¥%\OILÂ¥Q\&

STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA
AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Addresses by Mr. Oliver 3; Tambo, President
of the African National Congress of South
Africa, in the United Nations

Collected and edited by:

E.S. Reddy
Senior Fellow

'United Nations Institute
.

for Training and Research

National

oppression is in itself a reactionary force

3
1
:

directed

against the oppressed.

Equally, super-exploitation

?
â\200\234
.
3

is

in

itself

a

reactionary

force

directed

against the

producers

of

wealth.

Fascism is rule not merely by force

but

by

terror.

It is a reactionary force directed

by the white racist minority against the black majority.

It is a regime that does not represent our people

Inasmuch

as

the

regime

regime

is a predestined

colonial

quest

it
is
itself
an
imposition
on
the
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
peoples
politically
and
economically.

The
apartheid
system

is

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 emly

the

white

fifth

of

the

population

of

our ceuntry.

It

exists

to

advance the sale and exclusive interests Of this

minority.

Everything

else in what the forces of reactien

are

pleasee

to describe as "the South AÂ¥rican way of liÂ¥e"

is predicated on this Â¥undamental feature of South Ã©Â¥rica.

The

black

people

of

South

ï¬\201frica are therefere a

colonized

people.

The

majority

of

the representatives

~lu7+

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 â\200\224 held in Ktnmown, Johannesburg, which was attended by one of the recipients of the high award today, His Grace Archbish0p 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 Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, constitutes a pledge hy the world community to work even more vigorously for the imposition of mandatory and compreaâ\200\224 hensive sanctions againstâ\200\230apartheid South Africa.

We â\200\224 the

African National Congress, the jiberation'ï-\20lovement in South Africa, the Oppressed masses of that country â\200\224 for our part pledge that those efforts will he 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 nonngovernmental organizations 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.

proceeding with the trial with as little delay as possible.

Preparing a defence from a prison cell hardly enables an

:
â\200\230

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(

3
(

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L

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(

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Q

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

sin 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 African 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

Central role of South Africa

In his paper, Professor Solodovnikov*

goes to great length in

'osPELLing 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 Africa is now selfsufficient 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 the South African liberation movement, including the facts that the liberation movement is separated from South Africa by independent and hostile terriâ\200\224tories 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 Tests on a recognition of the fact that South Africa must be tackled.

The flow of material, 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

* Professor Vasily G. Solodovnikov, Director of the Africa Institute in Moscow, and expert from the Soviet Union at the Conference.

present
here
will
understand what we mean by this because
their
peoples
have
themselves been at some time colonized
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 punishment.

It
has
a
fault
in
the
1990s
that
in
1945

representatives
of the colonial system in South Africa were
admitted
to
this
Organization of the World's Peoples.
It
is
a
gross
travesty of justice and an evil tribute to the
arrogant
power
of
international
imperialism
that
these
representatives are still allowed to walk freely into
this {Drum and pipe 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

Organization,

it

is to spit on the graves of the

~116â\200\224

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 aggressions,
to eradicate
racism.

Collective
security
is
of concern not only to
the
nations
of

southern
Africa but of all peoples and countries,
and
sanctions

are the primary means available to that end.
Action under Chapter VII is the ultimate peaceful
sanction

provided {or in the United Nations Charter.

If sanctions are net_

imposed

on so blatant an offender and so persistent a violator of

the

Charter as agggthgig South Africa,

then the efforts

04

the

international

community

towards

a

peaceful

resnlution

cf

international problems will have proved an exercise in futility.

Finally,

Hr.

President,

we

pledge

the

solidarity

and

support

Of

the

AND and the fighting people of South

ĩ-\201frica

to

Suĩ-\201PU,

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 DAU,

as well

as

that

of

progressive

countries,

organizations

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!

We have asked the world to assist at two separate levels

â\200\224

the one is to withdraw assistance from the 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.

The

other

Â¥0rm

was not of withdrawing assistants, hut

gieing

assistance

t0 us directly. :There are countries ih the

world

which

do

assist

us

materially,

directly.

IThe whale

world

supports

us

morally.

Some countries and some peeples,

same

institutions give us assistance materially.

iPart 3? this

assistance

gees

to

Our

peehle

generally; to the victims mi

agartheid.

It

gees

far

the defence 0+ those who are being

persecuted ~Under the apartheid laws, it assists the dependents

of

the

victims

of

ggartheid.

Part BF the assistance sheuid

come

directly

to

the liberation movement.

This is the DthEFQW

aspect of assistance which comes to us.

Ne,

have

appealed

for

direct

assistance

to

the

liberation

movement,
precisely
because in the_{inal analysis_cg
it
is
the
liberation
movement,
it
is
the people of South
Africa,
acting
politically,
that will destrey ggartheid, and
~*~uu-nu-câ\200\224u-uâ\200\224

â\200\22487â\200\224

CRUCIAL STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR

LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Address to the World Conference
for Action against Apartheid, Lagos,
Nigeria, August 23, 1977*

Mr. President,â\200\235
Your Excellencies,
Distinguished guests and delegates,

In the evolution of mankind, humanity came to realize
that life for each one of us can be full only if it is based
on the acceptance of the principles and practice of selfâ\200\224
determination, as well as freedom from want and fear.

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

We refer to giants such as Chief Albert Lutuli,
Mohammed V
and others.

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

We did not know then that a month later Murtala Mohammed'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 World-Conference was organized by the United Nations in
coâ\200\224operation with the Organization of African Unity and the
Federal Republic of Nigeria.
of governments, as well as national liberation movements and
non-governmental organizations committed to action against
apartheid.

It was attended by many leaders

,M_Â«;tn;s csggh_:

Â¥

s_ri;p

, -

- A3 -

heads

and

leaders

of

people.

This has not always been ear

experience

and we are grateful for the fact that you have made

this point.

~n~~~â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

Fer

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 the an

event

in our history which has become central to our struggle.

Chief

Lutuli

has

told

us

ever the course of his life - 2019

over

us,

that what we need is Courage that rises with danger.

The Nationalist

Party

0% South Africa, which came into power

twenty

years' ago, came

with a violence and viciousness that.

was

new

in

many

respects.

we've confronted

them

with a

non-violent approach to the struggle.

They killed freely, and

Chief

Lutuli

led

us,

the

African National Congress and the

people,

and

how

this

non-violent approach became a militant

{arm

Bf

struggle

and
we
launched mere campaigns.
The mere
killings
there
were,
the.
more pressure there was.
This was
courage
rising
with
danger. â\200\231 When the killing took place in
IQSO
on
a
fairly
massive
scale,
we decided to demonstrate
against
this;
to
intensify the
struggle
against agggghggg
pressure.
>This was June 26th.
Since
then,
Jgne
26th has been the centre, the peg on
which
weâ\200\235 have
hung

many

a campaign against racism in South
Africa.

.

It' has

come

to symbolize the determination of our

â\200\230.9h,"

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 material 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 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 80 per cent and 300 per cent respectively.

There is now the shocking news that the racist régime 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.

It
is
20 years Since South Africa was expelled
{rem
the
Commonwealth
and
in
the period that has followed
it
has
been
ejected from almost every international organization.
But even as
it
has
been
iselated
it has received
increased
ecenomic
and
military support from some Western countries.
This collaberatian
has
been central to the development of South
African
militarism
and
the self-confidence with which it has been demenstrated in an
escalating war Of aggression against neighbouring States,
and
in
shackling
Namibia into the agartheid nexus in grass vielatien

cf
decisions of the world community.
The countries that have built the South African war machine
and
buttressed
agagtbggg have else deployed every political
and.
diplomatic
tactic
in
an
effort
toâ\200\230
shield
the
regime
{rem
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 veto) - 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.

- h5 -

pebble

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-
ether
than the South African Government.
The
people
of
South
Africa,
including
the Liberatibn Mevement,
have. had ya
great
deal
ef- interestâ\200\230
in some Of these.
Her
Excellency
raises
the
question,
is
anything being done fer
example
in
the
way
of preparing the people Â¥er a takeever T
She. raises
the 'queetien
Of educational schemes in which the
Seuth
ï-\201frican
people

are themselves involved.

I should like

to say,

Mr.

Chairman,

that

this is a question which I hope

will

receive

Clear

examination\200\230

in. the

course

6+

the

discussions that will follow in this session.

Excellency

Her

Excellency

refers

to

questions

0%.

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

informatively

for the white people in South

Afritag

particularly

the

Afrikaaner

majority

of

the white

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

- 31 _

members

ef

the }Committee

has

made this organ of the United

Nations

in

a way an important wing oÂ¥ the liberation Struggle.

of

the

people

of

Seuth_

Africa.

It has heiped to bring the

United

Nations

closer

to

us

than

might have been the ceee

otherwise

and has Served t0 make up For the 1055 d; cenfidemee

in

the â\200\230ability }of

the United Natiens t0 assist, to which we

have sometimes fallen victim.

we

know

that you and your Committee, sir, in turn drew

}inepirati0n

ahd

energyâ\200\231 far

your

work
not
only 'frem
the
unÂ¥ailing
supeort
yeu
enjoy
{rem
the ~Vest majority ef the
â\200\231United
Nations
Members,
hutalso {rem the devoted leadership
of
the
United
Nations
Secretary~8eheral,
His
Excellency U,
Thant,
NhBSE
bitter
_oppeeitien 't0
the
inhumahitiee
e?
â\200\230gggi~\201ti~\201gig
is
fer' Our Vpeople la
seuree 0F enourageeeeet ewe
centinued
faith
in

the
ability
0+
the
United
Nations to
.intervene
effectively
in
the
South African situation, given
the 'necessary will on the part of all-its power' Hume.
E
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 Minister.
The choice
of Sweden as the venue for the session was {rem our point 3+
view
appropriate

in

a

special

sense

because,

of

all the

~135-

,era

0%

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 ĩ-\201NC.

The

competing

rise in agggthggg 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

AME,

speaking through its President, A.J.

Lutuli,

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
1956,
a
call
on
the
international
community
to
boycott
all
South
African
consumer
goods.

The immediate effect would be to put the
African
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

COLL FOR NEW LEVEL OF

Address at the meeting of the Special

Committee against Apartheid, Stockholm, June 18, 1968*

Mr.

Chairman, Your Excellency, distinguished representatives

and guests:

Permit

me

first

of all, sir, to express the gratitude of the

African

National Congress of the invitation extended to me to

submit

a

paper

to

this

important,

in

many ways historic,

session of the Special Committee on 1-201999999999.

Your

Committee,

Mr.

Chairman, I am

which

has

been

entrusted

with

one

of the most difficult tasks by the United

Nations, has

been

an

inspiring

example

Of devation t0 the

cause

of

freedom

for

the

people of South i-\201frica.

Year ewe

inspired

and

capable

leadership

Of

this

Cemmittee,

the

resourcefulness Of yeur SecretaryÂ¥** and the devotion 0% the

1

It-

:21

Special

The
building
â\200\230in
International
participation
countries.

Cummittee

Stockholm

Year

of

of

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public

held meetings in the Parliament

the

the

Nordic

IQÃ©B,
Rights,
from

in
Human

leaders

during

June

with

all

invited

It
diecuesion at the eeesien.

Oliver

Mr.

Tambe

to

present a paper {er

â\200\230

The late Mr. Achkar Marof Of Guinea;

ME. E.S. Reddy.

~llh-

that
and transport of embargoed goods to South Africa;
should take measures to stop the
governments
supply

-

have
mandatory now to act.

ANC appeals to those governments which

the
hitherto
refused to impose sanctions until the Security Council made
A Security Council resolution
them
but it is also the sovereign
can make sanctions mandatory,
right of every country to choose to impose
it
within the domestic jurisdiction of every government to
is
financial,
take effective measures to stop all commercial,
economic,
and
sporting links with racist South Africa.

political,

sanctions.

technical,

military,

cultural

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.

Uh

the

contrary, our efforts in that direction must be increased.

in the 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,

we will expose the veto casters and

other

Mr.

President,

since the opposition to sanctions is based

upon

a determination to preserve the agggthgig

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

PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Paper prepared at the request of the Special
Committee against Apartheid*

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 worldâ\200\231s 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 19h8 witnessed the crystallization 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.v On the other hand, hundreds of millions of people spread over Africa, Asia and the Caribbean Islands have won their indepenÃ©ence 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.

* This paper was prepared by Mr. Tambo for the special_session

held by the Special Committee in the Parliament building in Stockholm in June 1968, with the participation of public leaders from all Nordic countries.

We

wish

to

reiterate

our

congratulations

to

François

Mitterrand

on his election,

and express the hope and

conviction

that

the new Government of France will respond by bringing to

an

end

the

effort of seeking alliance that

has

thwarted

international

In

this regard the statement to the Conference made by the

First

Secretary

of the Socialist Party

of

France,

Mr.

Liane}

Jospin,

is

the new voice of France signalling the dawn of a

new

era in the relations between the French Government and the people

of Africa in general, and of southern Africa in particular.

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

â\200\234a

!

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3

1

often on the United Nations agenda, or remained there for 50 years

We

have,

today,

to

deal with a rogue

regime

that

has

repeatedly,

consistently,

and deliberately violated almost every

single norm recognized by the international community.

â\200\224

-
ggggthgig
the
Nations
International
occupation of Namibia;
General
regime
stands today in
breach
of
Assembly,
Security
Council,
Court of Justice decisions over its
United
and
illegal
the
under
ggartheid
__-â\200\224---â\200\224
regime
stands today judged as
a
the International Cenvention on the Suppression
criminal
and

forces

to

victory.

Despite all attempts to suppress them,

its

ideas

find

a

ready

response among the masses of cur

people.

Since its foundation it has, For instance, {Ought

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

where a victorious outcome is demanded not only by our people

but

also by the imperative of world peace.

We have

come

here

and

to speak

to

try to get the rest of humanity

that

loves

freedom

and peace to renew its pledge in ward

and

to support our people until power is restored into their hands.

I

am

certain that all these 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 Organization of African Unity, the
Socialist
countries,
the
Non-aligned
Movement
and
the
democratic
force
in
the
imperialist
countries
have
continuously
demonstrated
their
resolve
to
support
our
struggling
people.
As we
are strengthened by the positions
consistently taken by the Nordic countries.

GREATLY INCREASE

ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Address to the-International Conference in Support of
the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern
Africa, Oslo, April 11, 1973*

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 move-
ment in the various divisions of action in southern Africa, in Guinea-
Bissau and Cape Verde.

We believe that the needs for the struggle against
colonialism and apartheid are the same.

There is need for specialization,
but there is a greater need to recognize 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 state-
ment came from the Secretary for Justice of the United States, 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.

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

â\202-598"

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;

basic nature of living man must needs 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 QOeday and 1BOâ\200\224day Detention Laws, the Terrorism Act and numerous sections and subâ\200\224sections 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 bounded 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-toâ\200\224house raids in the course of which weapons of every description are seized and confiscated.

Intimidation and victimization 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

_ 83 -

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 Apartheid system with due

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.
Mankind
as
a
whole is, however, still moved by the
â\200\230dread. horror
of the apartheid system.
The time to cry out
"enough
â\200\224
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 â\200\224 to press for the immediate and
unconditional
release
of all
patriots detained and impri-
soned by the racists.
Today
the attentien of our people is focused on this
august
body;'
In
their
view, since the nations gathered
here
have
denounced

the

that

a crime against humanity and a threat to peace,
cannot at the same time give it the material and moral

one

regime

as

gaggtweig

constitutes

they

wherewithal to continue its crimes.

are being strengthened and the suffering of the Victims of colonialism and apartheid are being prolonged.

Targets for mobilization

What are the needs of our situation and what are the tasks of this Conference?

The Conference should set out

targets for total mobilization 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, acknowledgment

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 organizations on the one hand and the liberation

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 subsidizing 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 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 recognizes them as authentic representatives of the spirit of LQhS, which gave birth to this Organization.

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.

_ 8h _

The

victory

of

our

cause is assured.

As no force

was

able to deny the peoples of Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola

and

Burkina Faso

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.

Net 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.

He shall pursue the
armed
struggle
not
merely
{or
the
abolition
of racial
discrimination
or for amendments to the goggthggg eyetem of
national
oppression, exploitation and fascism.

Ne fight to
trans\$er
political
power
into
the
hands
of the peeole.

when,
in
June and in subsequent months, our people replied
to
the

Â¥asciet Power with the cry "Amandlg ngawethuâ\200\234, they

meant

"Power

to

the

peopleâ\200\235.

It is with that power that

the

people

will

transform

our country into an acceetable

member

of

the international community and create within it

a society that upholds civilized and humane standards.

The'

African

National

Congress,

the

vanguard

organization

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

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.

Combining highly organized 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 has driven the régime 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 aigigiggion 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,

The

{ascist

regime

in

South

Africa

is in a mare

precarious

position than it dares to admit.

Like a wound-

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.

-55...

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.

h.

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

5.

The Conference should analyze 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.

I
This Conference has served to demonstrate that liberation movements are the only authentic representatives of their people.

This fact should be legitimized and universalized 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 mobilization of all freedom loving and humanitarian forces for the complete liquidation of colonialism and racism.

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. South Africa with arms and skills and the strategy is clear. war against the peoples of Africa.

an important role to play in the whole southern hemisphere and therefore no surprise that NATO countries envisage the emergence of SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organization) as a counterpart of NATO in which South Africa has a leading role to play;

NATO Powers supply racist

South Africa has

significant

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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 Organization.

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
Behind the struggle of our people for the seizure of

be free.

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

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 legalize 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-publicized policy of creating more bantustans in South Africa has grown 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 or to 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 â\200\224 inevitable because those who set

out to reverse the course of human history and change the

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 apartheid, 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 General Assembly and underscore the historic importance which the African National Congress of South Africa, together with its allies and sister political organizations and all genuine opponents of nazism, attach to General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII) adopted on 13 December 1967, authorizing the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa "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 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.

â\200\224 10h -

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agartheid regime stands today in breach of the

the

United

Nations Charter for its repeated acts of aggression againhet
its neighbours.

Let us, therefore, at the outset oi this Conference be very

clear

about the nature of the phoblem with which we are

dealing.

We

are

not

discussing

a normally

lawâ\200\224abiding

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 Vto

be

seen as

a

way
of
reforming
goggthgig,
nor merely as a gesture of disapproval.
Sanctions are
a weapon that the international community can and must use against
the
racist regime â\200\224 a weapon that can weaken Pretoriaâ\200\231e,
capacity
to
maintain
its
aggressive posture.

Sanctions are
a
way
of
cutting
off
support {or racist South
Africa,
and
denying
the
regime
the
means
through which it can
sustain
and
perpetuate
itslef.

Sanctions
will not and cannot be expected in themeelves to
bring down the gaggthgig 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

southehn

Africa.

Unless the international community can

do

this,

the

repercussions

of the conflict will

almost

certainly

engulf us all.

Commonwealth countries and Western European countries and countries in other parts of the world, to support decisions aimed at decolonization 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 organized.

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 emphasize.

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 organizations, 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 organizations like the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the International Defence and Aid fund, 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 mobilized 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

- W -

as

the PLO, the Polieario Front, FRETILIN 0% East Timor and
peeples

in ether parts 0% the world engaged in the struggle
against racism, fascism and colonial domination.

We

wish

the Special Committee against Agartheid all
success

as

it

{aces

the challenges 0% the year 1982.

we

are

infermed

that

ene

of

its

most

eÂ¥Â¥ective

members,

ambassador

Peter

Florin ef the German Democratic Republic,

is

leaving

the

United

Nations.

We

thank

him and his

ceuhtry

After

his

great

contribution to the success of the

mark

of the

Special Committee.

Because of the dedication

3%

all

the members of the Committee, we are confident that

his

departure

will

not

take

away

the

capacity

0% the

Committee

to

fulfill

its tasks with the competence that we

have come to associate with it.

â\200\224-~â\200\224â\200\224-â\200\224-â\200\224sâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224-~â\200\224w

If

there was any doubt in the minds of anyone that what

the

South African Government is asking far is trnuble in South

AÂÿrica,

the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill new before the alÂ§~white

South

African

Parliament;

should

completely

reeeve

that

doubt.

In this new instalment of ggartheid the Seuth Ã©Â§ricah

Government

gees

But of its way to push the afrieian eepulationien

deeper

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of

slavery,

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Bill
establishes
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euphemistically
termed "Aid Centres".
These are in fact slave
labour
detention
camps
which are
intended:
to
entrap
all
Africans
not
in the Bantustan area.
It will be recalled that
the
Bantustan
scheme
leaves
tens of
thousands
of
millions
of Africans
in poverty-stricken cheap labour reserves presently

knewn

as

reServee.

ï¬\201fricane {Breed by hunger and stervatieï¬\201

out

DÂ¥

these reserves Dr_Bentuetans will be caught mg in thie
network.

These

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present living euteide the reeervee will

similarly - be

regimented

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scheme.

The

eÃ©ricane

ensnared

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these

"ï¬\201id Centres" will be distributed as black

labeur

t0

white

masters Vand farmers threugheut the ceuntry.

The

end

result

will be a homeless, migrant, slave papulation

of

eleven

millian

Ã©Â¥ricane.

Even the practice 04 catching

Africans

in, the

streets

and. selling them to white farmers,

.which

wee

stamped

out

by the courts a few years ago, is now

being re-introduced and legalized in the Bill.

constitutes

a

crime against all Africa, an outrage against

Ithe

very

concept

of national independence and territorial

integrity.

This

aggression

is

in

part

a

strategy 0*

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

ï¬\201frica

by

averting

their

legitimate

governments and

replacing

them

with

its

own

puppets.

This offensive is

bound

to

grace

as

the

armed

struggle within Namibia and

South

ï¬\201frica' is

inevitably

intensified.

It is in this context that the imposition of mandatory

and comprehensive sanctions has become hqthâ\200\230impexative 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 198h 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

materials.

What we don't have is the means of collecting this assistance and mobilizing 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 Guineaâ\200\224Bissau 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 recognize that with proper organization, 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 collection of 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.â\200\231 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.

â\200\230

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, hut 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

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there

shall

be Dne united and demacratlc Seuth i-\201frica.

We

will

never

abandon

our

birthright

to

the ownerehip and

Central

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whole eterritory

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country

ner

countenance

any

attempt

to

balkanize

it

and to set its

peoples

ene

against

another in tfibal, racial or natienal

conÂ¥licts.

No African independent country could ever fail

to

appose

such an attempt, espetially when the obvleus and

declared

aim

is to perpetuate a colonial system in Africa.

Ne

Government,

country

Dr

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

Organization

of

the African. Unity

and of the United

Nations,

as

well

as the non-aligned countries, which have

adapted

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

{or

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

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

preparations

put

to

the

meeting

by

the

Reverend Hendrik.

They are not directed at

us

but

they

involve

our

objectives and the purposes of the ear

struggle

and

it

is difficult to comment on them.

They are

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mattec

which

I

would

have

preferred

to

dischee'

en es ta

understand

what is involved;

The spirit of it is good, but we

do

have

our

Freedom Charter which sets out the kind of South

in Africa

that

we

are fighting for.

It contains the principles

en

which

South. Africa

should

be

governed.

The
teak 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 ear
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

egggghgig.

It is something whichâ\200\231falle

peculiarly

within

our

sphere

of concern, with the future of

the South African State of the kind we are fighting for.

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Reverend

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Gunner

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Helander,

Chairman of Swedish Ee+ence

suggested aeeietance fer the employment

prepare plans for a future n0n~racial

liberation

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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

system,

the

regime

has extended its long war against the

South

African people to an undeclared war against independent Africa.

These

past 20 years have witnessed an unprecedented

level

of

militarization.

The

armaments

being

deployed,

the

sophisticated

military

technology

in

use

in

the

burgeoning

military-Driented

secters

04

the

economy,

and

the

scale

of

manpower

mobilization for military purposes,

all attest

to

the

fact

that

South Africa is new in the central of

a

particularly

dangerous

politico-militarist clique.

This makes a race war

an

imminent possibility,

and the resolution of the conÂ¥lict in South

Africa therefore becomes a major issue in international relations.