

two institutions – to Mr Eagleburger, "which tie South Africa to the finest traditions of Western democracy".

Needles, to add, this is not a view that we can share because

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it flies in the face of the reality that we know from every day and every person's experience. 8rgm Fischer, one of the EEK

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best legal minds South Africa has produced died in prison.

I need not remind you that Nelson Mandela another distinguished lawyer we have produced has been in prison for well over two decades now.

Our view is that it is more than a generation since the conflict in South Africa entered its current phase. As this conflict now engulfs another generation of South Africans, and now also Southern Africans, it is

Well that

we should remind the world – and especially west Europeans – what the conflict in our region is all about. western Europe, and here I

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' min. the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

dom, have for centuries been embroiled in the affairs of Southern Africa. I do not propose here to go into all the aspects of the intricate history of this relationship as I trust its broad outlines are reasonably well known at least to this audience.

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We in South Africa suffer the misfortune of having one of the most inviting countries in the world. For centuries we have marvelled at the lush vegetation and the crisp air of our coastal regions. Those who have ventured into the interior, have been impressed by the breathtaking panorama of my country's

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Over the past four or five years, it has become fashionable in certain circles--in particular in Republican circles in the United States--to view South Africa's mineral wealth as a matter of greater weight above all else. The so-called resource war theory which was expounded by the former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, and was subsequently given the aura of scientificity by the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Minerals and Mines is to us no more than a pretext for gartaking in the fruits of apartheid, racism and exploitation, while masquing as protecting the vital interests and welfare of the rest.

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Alexander Haig and his supporters alleged that the world was entering a new era, marked by the attempt on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies, to deny the West access to, what he described as strategic minerals. To counter this alleged threat, the United States has prevailed upon that country to amass huge stockpiles of these supposedly strategic minerals, and to simultaneously build up a vast arsenal across the globe in preparation for this impending showdown.

The implications of this way of thinking have been far-reaching first and foremost for the people of the United States of America.

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Millions of Americans have been forced to live

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on the edge of starvation in order to accommodate President

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Reagan's military spending for the people of Western Europe,

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Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, the consequences have been just as dire as not so. The people of Western Europe today find themselves confronted with an all-out drive to multiply the :nuclear weapons of destruction that the mo Iâ\200\230G:

In a nutshell herein lie the root causes of the conflict in South Africa and in the region, I said we in South Africa suffer from the misfortune of having one of the most beautiful countries in the world.

So far I

have only talked about what can be discerned above the ground.

South Africa's wealth, as we all know, is even more fabulous below the ground. It is a fact that has been repeated time and again by different people and for various reasons: South Africa and Southern Africa is the most mineralised region in the world next to the Soviet Union.

For better or for worse, Mr President, the survival and prosperity of mankind has so far depended on minerals and metals. For the foreseeable future, I take it therefore that mankind will continue to underpin its survival, and indeed its destruction, with minerals and metals.

During the past 100 years, we in South Africa have learnt to live only with the negative effects of minerals and mining.

We have learnt to live with an economic exploitation that rivals some of the worst moments in the history of slavery in the New World. What was once our natural environment and our home has thus been transformed into a veritable hell for the

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great majority of our people.

Before I leave the subject of South Africa's wealth, I want to make some remarks about what to us in the African National Congress has become a matter of

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great concern.

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mountain ranges and pa plateaux.

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Not very long ago, seafarers from Europe could disembark almost anywhere along the shores of South Africa, shoot a wila, buffalo for their provisions, or find a sparkling stream with as wholesometa drinking water as could be found anywhere in the world.Â«\.

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When David Livingstone traversed the leÂ\$hgth of South Africa, in the middle of the laSt century, he was astonished by the absence of/gyzeases that have today become the scourge of the life of our people. There was no syphillis, tuberculosis, typhoid, cholera, malnïï-\201ltrition to name only a few 4 the afflictions gkagxax that axa today carry away hundreds of thousands of my people every year. Everywhere Livingstone went, he was impressed with the well developed physique of the people. He observed

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for Ã©xamgle, that no one spoke/broken language a sure enough

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sign that evryone received as tan thogpough an ednoation as the ooamunities possessed. There was no high culture or high Zulu, Sotho, or Venda that was enjoyed by the high and mighty while being denied to the great majority of the people. I am not in anyway implying that South Africa was a garden of Eden or some kind of a paradise on earthn.; it had its own share of problems atd conflicts which are known to most people. It was however a iïï-\201nnx JUST society. Everyone had rights that were entrenched in our constitutional

and customary systems. Above all, everyone had access to the natural endowments of the country so theyldevelop themselves

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and their societies, materially,fnorally, an} spiritually.

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It has not only Eï¬\201ï¬\201a up against disinvestment, it has on the
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contrary, positively encouraged investment in South ï¬\201frioa.

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Eagleburger, "if (the Americans) wish to shape events {in
South Africa), they must beÂ§.9prepared to take initiatives,

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make investments, support the things they believe in, build
institutions and bridges. We must, in short, be involvedâ\200\235, he
advised his countrymen.

We in the ANS reject this line of reasoning. To us there can
be only one way to achieve peace, prosperity,ÂfÂ§and progress

for all the people of South Africa and indeed of Southern Africa.
Firstly, apartheid and all forms of discrimination on the grounds

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race, sex, ethnic origin, and religion must be abolished.

Seganï¬\201ly,

destiny and the affairs of the State

of South Africa must be decided by all its citizens, democratically,
on the basis of

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man one vote. Thirdly, all the freedom

fighters who have been imprisoned must be released unconditionally
and all those who are today living in exile must be free to
return home without fear of harassment \or imprisonment.

Anything that Q falls short of these\elementary deiâ\200\230noocratic
rights is not acceptable to us and will never be acceptable

to us;

If the people of western Europe and north America today take
it for granted that they are ruled by governments of their
own Choice, it is because during the past three and half
centuries, they have drawn a sharp divide as to where tyranny
and dictatorship
start and stop and where democracy and justice

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already referred to David Livingstone's travels across the length and breadth of Southern Africa. History is my witness that everywhere he went, he was well received, protected, fed and generally assisted in his researches. It is a matter of record, on the other hand, that President, that Livingstone was vilified by the Boers of South Africa.

He was accused of being a gun smuggler and when the opportunity arose, a Boer commando was dispatched to ransack the house he lived in.

I bring this up not because I want to score points; rather I want to demonstrate that while it is true the whites in South Africa are, and indeed have always been, the carriers of western traditions, in reality they have those aspects of western traditions that have long been rejected by the vast majority of the people of western Europe.

Racial bigotry, genocide, plunder, and more besides are the vices that typified Western societies from the end of feudalism until the people of Europe said enough and demanded an end to slavery and the slave trade; to child labour and to unregulated working hours and conditions. To this day all these vices

continue in South Africa. When the backward elements of Western society revived slavery, genocide, racial bigotry and plunder between 1933 and 1945 many of the pre-war leaders of white

South Africa latched on and marched shoulder to shoulder with the Nazis.

Today the regime in South Africa finds itself in a favoured position internationally because it has managed to sell its more

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Many prominent people in Europe have become awed
by the prophecies
centuries of doing business in South Africa
have suddenly

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been Caught in

a mass hysteria according to which any day

now, Europe's industries are going to grind to a halt and
millions of its people become unemployed all because of a
regional war centre on South Africa.

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We want to belong

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that there are people in western Europe

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who know better, and WBO also have the courage of their

convictions to raise their Voices above the one-at\200\224man band.

The whites and their regime in South Africa are Europe's

prodigal son. It is Europe's responsibility to bring them to?

order. It Will be a painful process, there can be no doubt
about that. The sooner all our joint efforts are pooled together
84ml are brought to bear to crush the a apartheid system,
the sooner w 63. major trouble spot in thg world Will be
oleghed up.

Southern Africa is on the verge of'a oonflagration which has
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been brewing litergry for centuries, When it does blow up)

Europe will

indeed be without its much Cherished minerals.

ThÃ©ï¬\201, however will not be Leoauue of a resource war between
East and West. It will 'be a natural outcome of the chaos that
must of nece88lty fOliow ln tne wage oflin our Singleahanoed

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struggle to bring your prodigal sOn to book.

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begin. This is a right that all nations and peoples demand;
it is a right that we in South Africa are today fighting; and
dying for.

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We have been tortured by all Sundry especially in North
America on the evils of taking up arms to defend our dignity
and to fight for democracy in our country. Our View, and this
is also the view of the people of Southern Africa and of the
African continent, is that there can be no peace in South
Africa or in the Southern Africa region, until the forces of
democracy and liberation triumph over the apartheid system.
There are those who think that by a turn of phrase, or somehow
by sophistry, they can convince us that the Botha regime is
well along the path of democratising South African society.
Freedom and democracy can never be donated by the Oppressor;
it must be wrestled from him by the oppressed. This is the
lesson we learnt from the Boston Tea Party, from the American
War of Independence, from the American Civil War, and in more
recent times, from the struggle of all the people of
Europe against fascism and Nazism.
For a long time, the whites in South Africa have presented themselves
as the custodians of all that is best in western traditions.
They declare that they are Christians and therefore God-fearing
while we the Africans are, according to them, Godless savages
and barbarians.
The history of the whites in South Africa
speaks differently however. For years African communities have
offered friendship and hospitality to Europeans who have
ventured into their midst for honourable reasons. I have
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Reagan administration insists are not only usable but demands
that if Europe is to prove itself a worthy ally, it has to
deploy.

I think I am not wrong: when I saw a large number of the people

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of western Europe do not share this view of Washington's.

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You have accordingly reacted that has the wholehearted
support of our movement, the ANC; our people; and the people
of Southern Africa.

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We too are against nuclear weapons. we too are fully behind
the peace movement.

For Southern Africa, the theory of the impending resource war
has translated into the Reagan administration's policy of
constructive engagement
in its relations with the apartheid
regime.

If South Africa is the store house of the West's
strategic minerals, the argument goes, and if these supplies
are threatened, in the meantime as the United States awaits
the resource war to erupt, it must strike a working relationship
with Pretoria to facilitate the production and transportation
of these strategic minerals to America's stockpiles.Â\200\231
Since coming to office in January 1981, the Reagan administration
has done just about everything it could possibly

do to enhance South Africa's economic capability. (I need not
say anything about American military collusion with South
Africa because this was continued
even under the Carter
administration.)
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Southern Africa: Europe's Responsibility for Peace and Social Progress.

Introduction:

Over the past thirty years or so, the Southern Africa region has been evolving as one of the world's main centers of conflict and instability.

There must be few people in this hall who have not wondered

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While Southern Africa is moving. There must be even fewer

who can say they have not, at some stage since 1950, expressed

concern at the turn of events in my country, South Africa,

On the First of May of that year, 13 Africans were shot down

by the police in the Witwatersrand area for doing no more

than demonstrate for Freedom of Speech. As if that were not

enough, the government of the day which incidentally is South Africa's

the government of today responded to our protests to this massacre by enacting the following month The

Suppression of Communism Act. This particular law has since

been refined and rendered even here draconian. Today, renamed the Terrorism Act, it is an instrument that gives the South African

state a free hand to harass, intimidate; brutalise, and destroy

as it sees fit anyone, black or white who is not to its liking.

astonishment when I (we) learnt two and

It was in 1961 with

a half month ago from the a high official of the present

United States administration, Assistant Secretary of State for

Political Affairs Mr Lawrence Eagleburger that "South Africa

retains an independent judiciary and a distinguished bar

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lie

to the Reagan administration that western interests in Southern Africa are best protected by strong arm methods. In its enthusiasm over its newly acquired pet, the Reagan South Africa's administration has gone even further

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nest dreams

to invent the Linkage factor E: as a condition of South Africa's decolonisation of Namibia, and to demand that there must first be peace and stability in the Southern Africa region before the apartheid regime can be called upon to mend its ways.

To us this is the double talk that has since time immemorial been used to justify collaboration and appeasement.

But where does western Europe fit feature in their scheme of things?

Seen from our position at the centre of the storm in South Africa and in Southern Africa, many of the leaders of Western Europe have convinced themselves that only the Americans have all the wisdom that is to be had on the question of South Africa. The Contact Group of Five, for example, includes West Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, as well as the United States. But judging from its performance over the past five years, the Group has become a glibman band whose tunes are composed, conducted, and played by the United States. The other members of the group appear to have internalised their role as mere dancers. Occasionally there is a

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mur, barely audible, from the back of the stage from one or the other of the members of the Group. We in Southern Africa are dismayed to see how the leaders of western Europe have allowed their voices to be drowned in the cacophony made by

this one-man band.

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