

in our country. For the majority of the people the elections were a continuing insult. We have never accepted that any fresh mandate was necessary for the continued perpetration of the policies of apartheid, and no new mandate was in fact given. At best, Mr. Botha felt conformed in his pursuit of the policies, not of reform, because that is not an issue, but of maintaining the status quo, in which a minority, a racial minority, rules over an unwilling majority without having, without asking even, a mandate from that majority. What is at issue are the structures which have been set up to maintain the status quo and no mandate has been given to tamper with those structures. On the contrary, there has been affirmation of resolve to maintain white domination in South Africa. Therefore, we would like to treat these elections as an insignificant episode.

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

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

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

II. STATEMENT BY MR. OLIVER TAMBO,

President of the African National Congress
of South Africa

Your Excellencies,

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

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

I should like, first of all, your Excellency, to observe that this is the last meeting at which I shall be privileged to participate in the activities and meetings of the Special Committee against Apartheid with you as Chairman. The period since you took over the Chairmanship of this Committee has been characterized by great develâ\200\224

mainstream of the liberation struggles We think the posture of the majority demonstrated during the month of May points to a very high level of 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 internal analysis as you so correctly pointed out, Mr. Chairman, it is the people of South Africa who by their own activity and sacrifice will put an end to the apartheid system. The rest of the international community can only compliment their efforts although that contribution is indispensable. Therefore, we are poised to make advances on the ground in the South African situation. And I think, perhaps in passing, one might observe that the May actions, the acts of rejection of the apartheid regime demonstrated during May have something to do, to put it at its lowest, had something to do with the acceptance of the people of South Africa of the strategy of the African National Congress and its leadership. The effect of the leadership by the African National Congress does not rest necessarily on the fact of its having been established so many decades ago and remain in the field for an equal length of time. It is a leadership which in the internal analysis must be tested on the ground reflected in the responses of the people to its direction, the direction it gives. We think there is unity around the objectives which the African National Congress has set. And it is a unity which transcends racial boundaries within our country. The African National Congress provides, so far at least, the only alternative to the apartheid system in terms of the Freedom Charter which constitutes its policy platform.

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

It is against this background, Mr. Chairman, that we are disturbed that the Reagan administration has chosen to embrace racist and unrepresentative apartheid South Africa as an ally at precisely this time. It seems to us that this declaration of the apartheid regime as a friend and ally can have no purpose other than to 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 internal 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

West Africa People's Organization will not accept entrenchment of white minority privilege in the constitution of Namibia. When it is constituted as a Government, South West Africa People's Organization will guarantee the rights of all the citizens irrespective of race, creed or colour.

IV. STATEMENT BY

H. E. MR. JAMES V. GBEHO (GHANA)

Mr. Chairman,

I wish to preface my statement with an expression of the thanks and gratitude of my delegation to Mr. Oliver Tambo, the President-General of the African National Congress for inviting me to be with us today and for making the important speech that we have just listened to. In his statement he has placed the struggle in its proper political context and I hope that we will be able to carry on the struggle against apartheid and the racist apartheid regime until victory is achieved.

Our thanks and appreciation go to the Administrative Secretary of South West Africa People's Organization whose statement recalled and reminded us of the basis on which we have to carry out the national onslaught on apartheid. I hope that we shall be better able to co-ordinate our efforts in the fight against apartheid until national Victory is won.

Mr. Chairman, even though we are meeting today in a group that is larger than the Special Committee against Apartheid, I hope you will nonetheless allow me to say a word of tribute to you. If I have been impudent enough to choose this public meeting to say a few words on behalf of all my colleagues in the Special Committee, words that echo the sentiments of all the colleagues here, it is because I believe that your contribution to the work of this Committee in particular and the struggle against apartheid deserves public acclamation.

Sir, common place as the transfers and perpetual mobility of diplomats are, it is still a very painful exercise for me, and indeed for many of your colleagues here, to contemplate the end of your services to the Special Committee as its Chairman. Your dedication to the work of the Committee has been outstanding and exemplary. Those of us who had the privilege of working with you in the Committee and also closely with you are witness to the enthusiasm, depth, wisdom and good grace with which you have led that Committee. But above all, Mr. Chairman, it is your personal conviction and involvement in the search for freedom, justice and racial harmony on our African continent that has impressed all who

the conferences of the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Countries and so on, that our role is supportiveul think that this is important. We have also heard from them how comâ\200\224plementary are the struggles in South Africa and Namibia. These struggles against a common enemy, the apartheid system of South Africa that persist in trying to perpetuate a colonial structure at a time when colonialism is no longer acceptable in Africa and the rest of the world. I think they have made our meeting this morning very memorable and I would like to propose that the proceedings of this morningâ\200\231s meeting should be published in a special pamphlet for wide circulation. If I see no objection it is so decided.

Apartheid will have to be dealt with at the United Nations and elsewhere as a special problem. Particularly in the United States here we will have to emphasize as the President of African National Congress did, that the struggle against apartheid is not the same as the struggle for human rights or civil rights in the United States. In the United States it was assumed that all Americans were citizens under the same constitution. The deprivation, the humiliations which people suffered in the United States, particularly in some states, were regarded as aberrations of the Constitution. But in South Africa you cannot protest; and we have seen here the President of the African National Congress who is an exile from his own country because he tried to protest the evil system of apartheid in his own country. There is of course a number of other differences, some of them very basic. For instance, in the United States everybody assumes equality under law, or at least under the Constitution; in South Africa seven-eighths of the population are being denied, are being stripped of whatever rights they had as South Africans.

We have a saying in Nigeria that â\200\234he who embraces a man who has fallen into mud cannot afford being soiled.â\200\235 The United States â\200\230 cannot be a friend of South Africa and expect to be a friend of Africans. No country can befriend South Africa and expect to be a friend of Africans.

This is a statement which I make with an urgent sense of responsibility and on the eve of my departure. And I do not leave here and go home in retirement. We intend to continue the struggle which we have joined here.

The second point which the Special Committee needs to make and make effectively in the United States is that the struggle for independence in Namibia and the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa are not within the context of East-West rivalry. I think the point was made by our two guest speakers. Even without the East-West rivalry, we will have been fighting for our independence because it is our right to do so. But we are very grateful to

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MR. OLIVER TAMBO, PRESIDENT

OF THE

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

OF SOUTH AFRICA

ADDRESSES UNITED NATIONS

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST

APARTHEID

UNITED NATIONS

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translate these declarations into effective international action in the immediate future.

The Paris Conference demonstrated without any shadow of doubt that the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia under their great national liberation movements enjoyed the overwhelming support of the international community. The Conference also showed that despite regrettable obstructions by some Powers, the Governments and organizations of the international community can take a whole range of actions and persuade recalcitrant Powers to respect the will of mankind. Our consultations today with Mr. Oliver Tambo and Mr. Moses Garueb will be followed soon by discussions in the OAU Council of Ministers and subsequently in the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity in Nairobi next week. The Special Committee has always recognized that the main role in the struggle for liberation belongs to the people of South Africa and Namibia themselves and that our responsibility as an international community, important as it is, is only supportive. We have always stressed that there cannot be liberation without a liberation movement. We have denounced those who have sought to designate movements and instruments to serve their so-called interest. In the particular case of South Africa it is true to say that the African National Congress of South Africa which is now headed by Mr. Oliver Tambo has a long record of struggle for freedom and justice. It will be observing its 70th anniversary in January 1982, having been founded in 1912.

There has been some popular misconception that the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa and Namibia has been motivated by ideological considerations. The little I have said

about the history of the African National Congress should convince anyone that the ANC was founded before the Bolshevik revolution and therefore the desire of the people of South Africa to regain their land and dignity as human beings and to enjoy equal justice in their own country does not depend on any prompting from any quarters. The ANC has led historic, non-violent resistance campaigns which have been recognized as such by the entire international community through the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to its late President-General, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, in 1960.

When the racist régime of South Africa escalated racist repression and made purely non-violent protest intolerable, the ANC embarked 20 years ago on an underground armed struggle. Mr. Oliver Tambo has been the leader of the ANC for four generations. He was a close collaborator of the late Chief Albert Luthuli in the non-violent struggle and subsequently of Nelson Mandela in the armed struggle. Since 1960 when he left South Africa at the behest of his organization, the African National Congress, Mr. Oliver Tambo has made a tremendous contribution to the building of a

opments which have helped to advance our struggle for liberation in southern Africa. The Special Committee against Apartheid under your leadership has been an authentic interpreter of events in South Africa, an authentic spokesman for the people of South Africa and an authentic informant for the whole world in regard to the details of events. Whenever I hear you speak on the South African situation, Mr. Chairman, I never feel that I could have done it any better. We have sought to ensure that the peoples of the world who support our struggle can represent us as effectively and effectually as you have done. We should like to say that we shall miss your voice in this Committee and in the international meetings, where you have spoken. But we share the conviction with all who are present here and all who have worked with you, that given your proven depth of commitment, we can rely upon you to pursue the struggle for liberation in whatever capacity you may be serving your country. I should like to take this opportunity to salute that country, Nigeria, for having consistently in its policies and actions underscored the vital importance of implementing decisions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement.

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

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

I should like to turn briefly, Mr. Chairman, to the situation in South Africa. One of the talking points in that situation is the elections which were held in April by the racist minority in our country. Those elections were presented to the international community as seeking a mandate by Mr. Botha for his policies of reform. Of course, it was a mandate sought from the white minority

our Socialist friends and our friends of the Nordic countries who have made the struggle a global struggle. No one can accuse many of us as being supporters of causes alien to our independence and freedom; but we are grateful to our Socialist friends for the support they have given to us and we will continue to rely upon them until the struggle is over. We have no apologies to make for that.

The third point which we will make is that the strategic minerals which some of our friends in the West value more than human dignity, belong to us. Even in South Africa, the mining companies have to apply for licences from the Government on the day before they are able to mine and export these strategic minerals to the West. Be they the minerals of Namibia or the minerals of South Africa, these minerals belong to the people of South Africa and Namibia. And when the people of South Africa and Namibia are independent, they will control these minerals, and those who value those minerals over and above the independence and dignity of the Africans will have to learn a new lesson. .

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I was privileged to attend one of the meetings that Mr. Tambo referred to in Washington. And the Americans who were there never failed to ask whether Nigeria intended to use oil as a weapon against America if America continues to pursue the present policy that it seems to be pursuing. I took the liberty of reminding them that it is not only Nigeria but we also have Algeria and Libyaâ\200\224that these three African countries provide 40 percent of the oil imports to the United States and these three countries are committed to the struggle for independence in Namibia and for freedom and justice in South Africa, and that these three countries were fully represented at the last meeting on sanctions against South Africa that was held in Paris and these three countries would be joining some of the other major oil-producing countries together with our friends who have interest in the tanker shipping industry to consult with a view to implementing the declaration of Paris.

In the months and years ahead we will be able to see whether the African countries enjoy the same rights as other countries in using whatever weapons they have to i-\201ght the causes they believe in. And I believe that the reports we heard this morning of an embargo on delivery of certain aircraft are because of what was regarded to be a violation of international law, but the lesson of that decision will not be lost on us and our American friends will also realize that what we are asking is exactly what they have just done today. And in the case of South Africa it cannot be different.

Sanctions are legitimate instruments under the Charter of the United Nations to be used by the United Nations, as Mr. Tambo said, to support legitimate causes. But under Article 41 of the Charter there is even some punitive aspect of the use of sanctions.

have followed your stewardship in the Committee in the last two years as its Chairman.

It would not be fair if I failed to associate your country, Nigeria, to this humble tribute. Nigeria has been independent for twenty-one years now, and in those twenty-one years it has been in the fore-front of the Struggle against apartheid and the racist minority régime of South Africa. Never once has it wavered in its determination to bring racism and racial discrimination, particularly apartheid, to an end.

To the Nigerian Government and people, therefore, I wish to record my thanks and gratitude, not only for the dynamism of Nigeria's leadership but more especially for having made it possible for you to contribute immensely to the United Nations effort against apartheid, especially to the activities of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

Mr. Chairman, if I bid you farewell today, I do so with a heavy heart on behalf of many colleagues who share the same respect and esteem for you as an indefatigable and wise leader. You have spent a large proportion of your time as Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations in mobilizing support, for the struggle against apartheid, in formulating resolutions to best pursue our fight against racism and provide humanitarian, legal and educational assistance to Our brothers and sisters who still carry the burden and the scars of repression and violence under an obstinate and transient racist régime. We recognize and acclaim this quality in a distinguished son of Africa. .

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Mr. Chairman, please accept the best wishes of all your colleagues here in whatever field you continue your distinguished service to Nigeria, to Africa and to oppressed people everywhere.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

by

H. E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark

Chairman of the

Special Committee against
Apartheid

It is very refreshing and I would even say inspiring to hear the authentic spokesmen of South Africa and Namibia tell us about their problems. It is even more challenging to note that they themselves are in charge of their struggle and that while they are appreciative of the role we play here at the United Nations and at

divided into those who are part of this régime and this Republicâ\200\224 the white minority and the rest consisting of all the black people in South Africa and a large number of white people who disassociated themselves from the anniversary activities. They represent the kind of South Africa envisaged by the African National Congress. They stand for the kind of republic which the African National Congress and other patriotic forces in our country are fighting to create. The rejection did not take the form of a negative display of lack of interest in the celebrations, but it was active and positive, taking the form of meetings all over the country, involving workers, women, leading churchmen, students and people in the countryside. In the meetings the message that came out was that of a people resolved to put an end to the status quo and to bring about a South Africa of all South Africans, united, nonâ\200\224racial, democratic and above all, friendly to its neighbours and bound by the decisions of the international community.

An interesting aspect of this expression of rejection was that the opponents of apartheid domination, the people who are struggling for liberation to end the colonial structure in our counâ\200\224try, acted in complete unity. Their action involved industrial strikes by workers, boycotts by various people including students, and it involved also armed action. For it is part of the strategy of the African National Congress and its allies in the liberation front to achieve a total 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 it is proper that what we consider an achievement should be mentioned to this Committee.

We have given priority to the pursuit of armed struggle in our country, but we have never seen an armed struggle developing with any effect outside of the mass mobilization, and the activization of our people, the unii-\201cation of the patriotic forces, in the country, as well as the encouragement of the democratic movement among the white population. The organization and the activization of the black workers into religious communityâ\200\224these are the elements in our strategy for moving forward.

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I think it is fair to say that we have achieved signii-\201cant progress towards the realization of these objectives. The religious forces ln our country which are numerous have come into the

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:

â\200\234We can no longer afford to ignore the legitimate demands of the blacks in South Africa and Namibia for their freedom. We owe it as a duty both to them and to ourselves to bring this pernicious system of apartheid to an ignominious end by acting collectively to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Mankind must once and for all dramatically and decisively repudiate this racist doctrine which seeks to undermine human civilization itself. We neglect to do so only at our eternal peril.â\200\235

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Pretoria-

Washington axis. It means that the South African problem will increasingly, rapidly, unfold and escalate into a raging war engulfing all of southern Africa. Certainly, the vigorous arming that is going on in our time seems to envisage and to be a preparation for an approaching world war. It is notâ\200\230being too speculative to suggest that southern Africa could provide the necessary spark.

into

The Vice-President went on to say that if need be Africa will â\200\230 seek and utilize whatever means is open to it to see through the i-\20lnal liquidation of apartheid South Africa. Even if the heavens fall

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the African National Congress greatly appreciates the role played by the Ambassadors of the non-aligned, the Socialists and other committed countries in the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime in support of the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa. We salute, in particular, the stance taken by the Foreign Ministers and Representatives of these countries during the recent Security Council debate on Namibia when they presented the irrefutable case for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa. And since the African National Congress considers the struggles 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 for the immediate implementation of the Security Council resolution 435. We further urge the speedy convening of the Security Council to impose sanctions against South Africa. And i-\20lnally, we call for the international mobilization towards the enforcement of sanctions so that we at last move away from the

mere adoption of resolutions and use sanctions as an effective weapon in support of the just cause of the people of Namibia and South Africa. I thank you, Sir.

III. STATEMENT BY MR. MOSES GARUEB

Administrative Secretary-General of

South West Africa People's Organization

Mr. Chairman,

Whereas the President of the African National Congress, President Tambo is addressing this august body under your Chairmanship for the last time, I on the other hand have the honour to address it for the first time and for the first time also under your Chairmanship. While that might be the case I would like to stress that we in South West Africa People's Organization join the African National Congress to commend you, in the words of President Tambo, for the remarkable achievements of this Committee under your very Vigorous Chairmanship. We would also like to associate ourselves with the many who think that your departure will not herald the end of your activities in support of the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and of Namibia. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks, on behalf also of the Central Committee of South West Africa People's Organization, for according me this opportunity to address this Committee. We would

about it. South Africa will remain a pariah of the international community as long as it practises apartheid, and it is the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Socialist countries and the Nordic countries that made South Africa a pariah State. No other power can remove this status until South Africa purges itself of this terrible stain and moral evil.

Administrative

So on behalf of the Special Committee, I want to assure you that we will stand by resolution 435; that resolution 435 is good enough for all of us. Those that have difficulties about it may have to seek redress elsewhere. I would, on behalf of the Special Committee, request the President of the African National Congress and the
of South West Africa
People's Organization to convey our warm greetings to their colleagues, to all those who are persecuted for the righteous struggle in South Africa and Namibia, and to all the freedom fighters who have sworn that South Africa and Namibia shall come to Africa and establish democratic societies in which all the people irrespective of race, colour or creed will live as equals in freedom, justice and human dignity.

Secretary-General

I. OPENING REMARKS

by

H. E. Mr. B. Akporode CLARK (Nigeria)
Chairman of the Special Committee against

Apartheid

11 June 1981

I declare open the 476th meeting of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid. This is a rather special and unique meeting of the Special Committee. First of all, it has been organized in co-operation with the African Group at the United Nations. Secondly, we are very privileged to welcome Mr. Oliver Tambo, the President of the African National Congress of South Africa and Mr. Moses Garueb, the Administrative Secretary-General of South West Africa People's Organization. This honour has fallen on the Special Committee by virtue of the fact that we are concerned with the problem of apartheid. Apartheid, which is no longer regarded as an African problem, but a world-wide problem; a situation characterized by the abhorred policies and practices of apartheid that have been condemned time and again by the United Nations and the Security Council as a crime against humanity; and is also responsible for the current defiance of the United Nations by South Africa over Namibia. So it is a very unique occasion that we should have such eminent spokesmen of South Africa and Namibia with us this morning.

I would also like to welcome the many delegations and organizations who have joined us on this occasion. I believe that it is appropriate that the Special Committee should consult with Mr. Oliver Tambo and our friend Mr. Garueb soon after the historic International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa which was held in UNESCO House, Paris from the 20th to 27th May. That conference was conceived and organized by the Special Committee in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity in order to mobilize effective international support for the struggle for liberation in South Africa and Namibia. The conference was held at a time when there was disillusionment in the United Nations and the international community over the triple veto which was cast by three Western Powers over a resolution designed to implement the decisions of the Security Council itself. The Conference brought together some 122 Governments and numerous international governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as eminent statesmen and women.

After several days of meetings, of consultation, the Conference adopted two important declarations by consensus. We need to

FOREWORD

Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) Visited the United Nations Headquarters on 11 June 1981, for consultations With the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, H. E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark, and for other meetings.

Mr. Tambo was on a brief Visit to the United States after leading the ANC delegation to the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at UNESCO House, Paris from 20 to 27 May.

Mr. Tambo has been a leader of the South African liberation movement for nearly forty years and succeeded the late Chief Luthuli as President of the ANC.

Mr. Tambo was founder-member of the ANC Youth League in 1944, Secretary-General of the ANC from 1954 to 1958 and Acting President from 1967 to 1978.

Born in Bizana District of Eastern Cape Province in 1917, he studied at the Anglican Boarding School at the Holy Cross Missionary School near Flagstaff. From there, with missionary sponsorship, he went to St. Peters Secondary School in Johannesburg where he set academic records completing his matriculation with a first class pass in 1938. Awarded a scholarship, he studied at Fort Hare College, graduating with a B.Sc. degree in 1941. He then remained in Fort Hare to qualify for a Diploma in Education but was expelled during a students' strike in 1942. St. Peters, however, disregarded his expulsion and employed him as a Science and Mathematics teacher. He returned to Johannesburg and taught at this school until 1947.

On his return to Johannesburg, Tambo quickly became drawn into a group of young militants pressing for a more militant direction in the ANC. These included Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Anton Lembede, A. P. Mda and C. Mbatha. Together with them, three of whom (Lembede, Mbatha and Mda) were also teachers at St. Peters, he participated in the founding of the ANC Youth League, serving for a while as its National Secretary.

During the critical period of 1948-1949, he became Transvaal President and National Vice-President of the Youth League. Politically astute and widely respected for his principled approach to all

So we need not be apologetic about our case for sanctions, and this was adequately and effectively demonstrated in Paris during the last conference on sanctions against South Africa.

And one of the last functions I shall be performing with your permission is to take the two declarations adopted by the Conference to Nairobi where they will be presented to the Council of Ministers and to the Summit of Heads of States and Governments for adoption.

Thereafter the various mechanisms for the implementation of the declarations will be set in motion.

Finally, I find it most rewarding and gratifying that my last major responsibility as the Chairman of the Special Committee was to help in organizing the historic International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa which was held in Paris and which I have been referring to. But above all, I am truly gratified that the last meeting that I have the honour and privilege to preside over has been this one, and that we have had the opportunity to hear the President of the African National Congress and the Administrative Secretary-General of South West Africa People's Organization speak to us about their problems, their problem which is also our problem; and for me in particular as a Nigerian, a special problem. As a Nigerian I do not see apartheid as a struggle of the South Africans alone; I see it as a world-wide struggle. And I am privileged to be a part of that struggle and I am proud to say that Nigeria is a part of that struggle.

This Special Committee has been established by the United Nations to help concert international efforts to secure the total elimination of apartheid and the liberation of the people of South Africa from racist tyranny. I would like to assure the President of African National Congress that this Committee will continue to do all within its powers to meet its solemn responsibilities and mandate in the light of the great advance of the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa so that their day of liberation will come soon. We followed very closely the "spring uprising of the school children of South Africa last year; we also followed the demonstrations, the strikes by workers, religious leaders and ordinary people against the inhuman system of apartheid. We would like to assure you, Sir, that this Committee will continue to remain at your disposal and I will continue to fulfil the mandate which the United Nations has given to us.

As to our brother from South West Africa People's Organization I wish to assure him that regardless of what we have heard from the United States Department of State, Namibia will not only be independent, but will be independent under the leadership of South West Africa People's Organization. There are no two ways

also like to thank both the Africa group and the Non-Aligned Movement as well as friends and comrades from other parts of the world who have responded to the Chairman's request for this meeting.

Namibia should have been seated around this table as a Member State by this time, but for the intransigence of the South African racist regime, in obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 through various delaying tactics. Namibia would have been here as a full fledged Member State had it not been for the ineffectual pressure put by the 16 Western countries, largely on account of their vested interest. Namibia would have been independent had they given the United Nations complete co-operation to implement the independence plan. So now, Mr. Chairman, we find that resolution 435 is, if anything, being trampled upon and is in the process of being destroyed. We know now for a fact that there is a plot to remove the United Nations from the decolonization exercise in Namibia as provided for under Security Council resolution 435. We are told that there ought to be a constitution if not a constitutional conference prior to the implementation of resolution 435. We are also told that Namibia's independence is conditional upon the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola. We are told that an independent Namibia must insure that there are certain guarantees for the white minority who are presently controlling the whole structure of the country. The problem, Mr. Chairman, is that we are being told a lot of things. Mr. Chairman, I mention all this because the struggle in Namibia is now at a very crucial stage. We do not see what is wrong with resolution 435. All the parties in the country have accepted this resolution and we in South West Africa People's Organization still consider it as the only basis for bringing about a peaceful solution in Namibia.

We believe that the United Nations has got a role to play and we can never be a party to any exercise that excludes the United Nations as is now being proposed by the Reagan administration.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to take this opportunity to impress this body here that South West Africa People's Organization will oppose any attempt from whatever quarter to alter resolution 435. We have no doubt that we have the whole United Nations support in this exercise. Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to say more; I would like to thank you finally for having given me this opportunity to make it firmly clear that resolution 435 constitutes the only basis for a peaceful solution in Namibia. South West Africa People's Organization will not accept an imposed constitution; South West Africa People's Organization will not accept Namibia's independence conditional upon the withdrawal of Cuban troops; South

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struggle is not just a civil rights struggle, it is an armed struggle will involve which is going to 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 rÃ@gime has had in the past; an ally which emerges at a time when that rÃ@gime is more hated in southern Africa than at any time in its history. When it has earned for itself a designation of international terrorist in that region, when it has taken increasing pride in raids and murders across the borders of South Africa, it is at that point that it seems to have qualii-\20led for embrace as a friend and ally. Alarmed by this development, and curious to know how the people of the United States responded to a situation that was of serious concern throughout Africa and throughout the entire community which has spent so much time and effort and even resources on the South African question, the African National Congress andâ\200\230 South West African Peopleâ\200\231s Organization responded to an invitation to speak at a conference of black leaders in the United States convened by Transafrika 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 Washington-Pretoria axis on the African scene. 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 of the Namibian and South African causes, should act with a sense of urgency. We believe that the Paris Conference laid a valid basis for urgent action, especially on the need for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, for unilateral and Collective sanctions, for an oil embargo and on the need for an emergency session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of sanctions. As part of the sanctions effort, we think there is a great need to explore immediately the ways and means whereby practical expression can be given to the decisions of the Paris Conference. We look forward to the forthcoming Ministerial Council meeting of 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 unions and other popular bodies have the capacity, if they have the will, to give effect to these decisions, and to ensure the isolation of the apartheid regime, both in relation to its policies and practices within South Africa and its recalcitrance on the Namibian question. But not so much as a penalty, or as a

problems, Mr. Tambo moved easily from a leading role in the Youth League to a position of influence in the ANC itself.

In 1946, he was elected a member of the Transvaal Executive Committee of the ANC and at the Bloemfontein Conference of December 1949, he was elected to the National Executive Committee. He has been returned to the National Executive Committee in every subsequent election.

Abandoning an earlier ambition to study medicine, Mr. Tambo decided to take up law and in the late 1940s, with the encouragement of Walter Sisulu, he was articled in a Johannesburg law firm.

In 1952, he qualified as an attorney and in December that year, in the midst of the Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws, he and Nelson Mandela established a joint practice. After the Defiance Campaign, he was in charge of preparation of a new ANC Constitution of 1957.

When the regime's banning orders necessitated Mr. Sisulu's withdrawal from the ANC leadership in mid-1954, Mr. Tambo took over as Acting Secretary-General and the following year was formally elected to the office. Though banned himself in 1954 and prohibited from attending gatherings or leaving the Johannesburg-Benoni area for two years, he was not ordered to resign from the ANC. He managed to continue to guide the ANC in the campaigns against Western areas removals and the introduction of Bantu Education.

In December 1956, Mr. Tambo was arrested and together with 155 other ANC leaders, charged with treason.

In 1958, after Chief Albert Luthuli was isolated by bans restricting him to his Natal home, Mr. Tambo was elected to the new position of Deputy President-General. The following year, new bans were imposed on him too prohibiting him from attending gatherings for five years.

By then ANC leaders had become convinced that a ban on ANC was imminent, to be followed by mass arrests and detentions. The National Executive Committee decided that Mr. Tambo should leave the country as soon as possible to serve as foreign spokesman. Mr. Tambo was still in South Africa when the Sharpeville massacre took place. He had just arrived in Cape Town for consultations when the Unlawful Organizations Bill was introduced in the white Parliament. He then left South Africa to set up the ANC offices abroad, and to campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

The arrest and imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others in 1963, followed by the death of Chief A. J. Luthuli in 1967, placed Mr. Tambo in the position of

leadership of the ANC at home and abroad. He is today the President-General of the ANC and Chairman of its Revolutionary Council.

In pursuit of his work abroad, he has, on several occasions, addressed the United Nations General Assembly, as well as Summit Conferences of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

He has travelled widely and met scores of Heads of State, many of whom have become his personal friends.