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Mr. President,

On behalf of The African National Congress and in the name of our National Executive Committee headed by Comrade President Oliver Tambo, who deeply regrets his inability to be with us here today, I wish to congratulate you on your unanimous election as president of the 42nd session of the General Assembly. Your country, The German Democratic Republic ~~(has and)~~ continues to occupy and play a crucial role in the international fight for the eradication of Apartheid.

I also wish to express our appreciation to His Excellency, Mr. Javier Perez de Quellar, Secretary General of The United Nations for his tireless efforts in the cause of humanity and particularly his commitment to the independence of Namibia and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

Mr. President,

His Excellency, the indefatigable Major General Joseph Garba, chairman of The Special Committee Against Apartheid has just given a truly analytical, and objective report on the situation in South Africa thereby effectively preparing the ground for what we hope will be a lively debate leading to action - oriented decisions. The Special Committee Against Apartheid must be highly commended for the invaluable contribution that it continues to make in the international campaign for the total isolation of racist South Africa and the eradication of Apartheid. We must also express a word of welcome to Mr. Satiros Massouris, Assistant Secretary General and Head of the Center Against Apartheid whom we

assure of our full co-operation in the action - packed days ahead.

Mr. President,

Like ^{our} ~~their~~ counter-parts, in other parts of Africa and the world, who have known colonial or semi-colonial; alien or racial domination, we, the oppressed people of South Africa have never ceased to yearn for, dream of and strive for freedom. Though the intensity of our struggle has tended to ebb and flow, there have occurred crucial junctions during which, years are the equivalent of decades in terms of the ground covered by the resistance. The period under review has been ~~starting in~~ [✓] such a momentous time in South Africa since September 1984 when the white minority regime moved its troops into the Black Townships in an attempt to crush the popular resistance to Apartheid. It is a period marked by the relentless mass resistance that ^{reached its peak in the wake of} must no doubt be traced to the birth of ~~The~~ United Democratic Front formed in 1983 to oppose the bogus constitutional dispensation - that vain attempt to co-opt the so-called Coloureds and Asians for use as second class allies in the perpetuation of white supremacy.

Mr. President,

The UDF's ~~principled~~ and universally acclaimed goal of the establishment of a non-racial democracy in a United South Africa for all who live in it, crowned by the overwhelming popular rejection of the regime's so-called new constitution, ^{facilitated the acceptance and campaign of this powerful organisation} facilitated its acceptance and campaign resulting in both the entrenchment and ^{as} broadening of its roots in the black community of South Africa and an ever increasing factor within the white community, particularly its youth.

In response to the call of the ANC, the Black youth has waged militant campaigns intended to render the country ungovernable and the system unworkable in the urban ghettos as well as the rural areas. The determination of racist South Africa's

so-called new constitution as null and void by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council was yet another tremendous victory for the UDF and its policy for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa. It is, therefore, not surprising to us that in spite of the state of emergency, *by the end of 1986* nearly 700 organizations had affiliated to UDF *he* ~~by the end of 1986~~.

Mr. President,

It will be recalled that when the UDF was launched it called for the participation of the working people in the resistance. UDF also expressed faith "in the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom". It also resolved to "strengthen the unity between genuine trade unions and freedom - loving people in the struggle for human rights". The inauguration of The Congress of South African Trade Unions at the end of December 1985 was therefore a major development in the current phase of our struggle. It meant that the most militant sector of our people had accepted UDF's challenge. As known to all, in spite of increased repression, harassment and intimidation, COSATU has launched *and endorsed several strikes* ~~strike after strike~~ including the recent ones of 20,000 postal workers and 360,000 mine workers. We share the view expressed today by many friends and foes, namely, that the South African situation will never be the same again after this tremendous show of working - class - power which has the potential of immensely increasing the capacity of the resistance movement.

It will be further recalled that the linking of the struggles of workers to the community struggles was the central theme of The Second National Congress of COSATU held in July 1987. It is important to note that it was at this Congress that COSATU adopted The Freedom Charter - the broad political platform that *+* was first adopted by the ANC and its sister organisations at The Congress of the

people on 26 June 1955. This important development ^{was} ~~is~~ in keeping with previous positions by several affiliate unions that have on their own adopted The Freedom Charter, or ^{carried out} ~~carried out~~ ^{important} ~~important~~ ^{political} ~~political~~ positions ^{decisions} such as the appointment of Nelson Mandela as the life President of The National Union of Mineworkers.

Mr. President,

The undaunted spirit and determination of the oppressed people of South Africa has manifested itself repeatedly and in various forms including, the refusal of the black youth to be muzzled by the draconian laws and repression of the second state of emergency declared in June 1986. In this connection, it should be noted that the banning of The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the ^{powerful} ~~poewrful~~ student voice since the 1976 SOWETO uprising has backfired, because in its place our valiant youth, on 1 March 1987, ^{and} at the height of that ignoble second state of emergency, launched The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). This is ~~(the)~~ ^{our} ~~the~~ ^{own} clearest testimony that the state of emergency has failed to suppress the struggle. The welding together of the black youth who constitute the cutting edge of the resistance movement and the future of our country has been another milestone whose potential in the strengthening of the democratic movement's capacity cannot be over-estimated. The adoption of The Freedom Charter by this ^{powerful} ~~umbrella~~ organisation whose membership extends beyond half a million was another watershed. The same may soon be true of another giant federation - that of women recently formed underground at the height of the state of emergency.

It is also important to note that the ANC has developed a capacity to integrate local struggles ^{such as the rent boycott and others} ~~e.g. wages, and rent~~ into the framework of the broader national

liberation struggle. ~~The armed action of our military wing Umkonto We Sizwe (MK)~~

It is against this background that the armed action of our military wing (Umkonto We Sizwe) MK recently reported through Magnus Malan's own admission as having increased by 300%, must be seen.

have according to the racist Minister of Defence's own admission increased by 300%. → 5(a)
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Mr. President,

One The most important development during the period under review is certainly the political successes scored by the mass democratic movement in general and the ANC in its campaign to isolate the Pretoria regime at home and abroad, in particular. Delegations of white institutions and groups that have defied the Pretoria regime and undertaken trips to hold consultations with the ANC in Harare and Lusaka have increased significantly this year. They now include the 6) mainly Afrikaner intellectuals, artists, writers etc. whose meeting with the ANC delegation in Dakar has been welcomed in various capitals and by many inter-state organisations as an important development. The ANC intends to continue on this path designed to reach out to and encourage large numbers of white compatriots to distance themselves from P.W. Botha's laager mentality, embrace the Dakar spirit and participate one way or another in the struggle for a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it - black and white.

These consultations have been held with a variety of groups yielding varying but encouraging results. We must reiterate our position that these are not intended as negotiations or beginnings of talks. This is but part of the ANC campaign of mobilisation intended to isolate the Pretoria regime at home and strengthen the position of the democratic movement committed to a non-racial(multiparty) democracy in a united South Africa. The Dakar group's acceptance of certain positions including the principle of one person one vote and the historical reasons for armed struggle is, indeed an important milestone.

The same can be said of the positions adopted by other groups following meetings with the ANC. These include the call on the regime to unban and talk to the ANC.

Mr. President,

The situation in South Africa has further deteriorated this year. The increased intransigence of the regime has manifested itself in various forms. We have recently witnessed the latest of the whites-only elections, a reaffirmation of the white supremacy doctrine, the imposition of ^{renewal + tightening} states of emergency, the increased detention of our compatriots and in particular, the hideous and wanton detention and torture of hundreds of our children, the press censorship intended to hide the regime's evil from the South African community in general and the continued destabilization of the neighbouring States.

This assessment of the current situation in South Africa by the African National Congress has been underscored by the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), the European Community, the Congress of the United States of America and the Commonwealth Conference. The Commonwealth Conference at its latest meeting in Vancouver made the following observation, inter alia :

" We consider that the crisis engendered in the region by apartheid has seriously deteriorated since our last Meeting in Nassau. Repressive measures resulting in more suffering and loss of life have been intensified within South Africa, and the toll taken by acts of war and destruction directed against South Africa's neighbours in an attempt to sustain and defend apartheid has continued to rise. "

The refusal of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to make common cause with the rest of the Commonwealth countries in the matter of sanctions against South Africa is clearly a prescription for violence as it denies the embattled and oppressed people of South Africa , the only remaining option for peaceful change in South Africa.

The President of the United States of America, Mr. Ronald Reagan, in his report to Congress pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 when speaking on the status of apartheid : October 1986 to October 1987 correctly said:

" I regret that I am unable to report significant progress leading to the end of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. "

President Reagan also observed that the state of emergency had not been repealed, instead the earlier decree had been tightened, press restrictions had been tightened and an increasing number of journalists including Americans had been expelled. Nelson Mandela and other key political prisoners had not been released. Instead the number of political prisoners detained by the Government has increased including a large number of minors. He also observed that no clear and credible plan had been devised for negotiating a future political system involving all the people equally in South Africa and that many legitimate representatives of the majority were still banned, in hiding or in detention. Nor had the Government of South Africa ended its military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring states.

Mr. President,

Bearing in mind the correct observations made by the President of the United States of America regarding the current situation in South Africa, we condemn the abuse of the veto by the United States, the United Kingdom (and [?] France) during the month of February. We submit that in our view that action was hostile and criminal to the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa and contrary to the letter and spirit of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. That Act called for the imposition of additional sanctions and for the initiation by the United States of similar action. The Administration of the United States of America, therefore, stands in violation of a Congressional Act, empowering and mandating appropriate action to the full extent of the law. That Act also called upon the Secretary of State to convene an international conference to implement multilateral sanctions against South Africa.

We commend the people of the United States of America and their Anti-Apartheid

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elected officials whose bipartisan action led to the overriding of the Administration veto and the adoption of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 - an important step towards the desired comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

We want to draw attention in particular to attempts such as the Swindall Amendments attached to the House of Representatives version of the draft of the Department of State Authorisation Act which seek to restrict the movements of the ANC and SWAPO in the U.S. as well as ^{to} discourage the UN from assisting these two liberation movements of the people of South Africa and Namibia. These would deny the right of the American people to access to the ANC and SWAPO who inter-alia are sources of information about South African and Namibia. Coming at a time when the Pretoria racist regime has imposed a total press ban on coverage of what is happening in South Africa, this would have the effect of drying up reliable information on South Africa at a time when nothing less than concerted action based on informed decisions will suffice to help avert the interracial bloodbath towards which Pretoria is edging South Africa and the entire region.

They include the position by some Dutch Reformed Church leaders who now reject the claim that Apartheid is justifiable on biblical grounds.

Mr. President,

On the international scene, a good [?]position of the period under review has witnessed the continued momentum in favour of sanctions against racist South Africa - the phenomenon triggered by the dramatic birth of the Free South Africa movement in The United States, the principled conclusions by the Eminent Persons Group in the face of Pretoria's intransigence and the consensus decision adopted by the Paris Conference on Sanctions. No doubt the main highlight of this development was the United States' Congress overriding of President Reagan's veto exercised in persuance of the insensitive policy of constructive engagement. We must never tire to thank the grass root anti-apartheid campaigners throughout the world especially The United States, The United Kingdom, The Federal Republic of Germany - the three countries that have repeatedly abused the veto power to shield racist South Africa from sanction proposed as the only peaceful measure to help avert a racial blood bath and compliment the liberation struggle by the people of South Africa and Namibia.

Mr. President,

The combined impact of the internal and external pressures on the Pretoria regime reached an unprecedented level early this year. In characterising this period we can safely speak of a psychological threshold having been crossed in South Africa. On the side of the oppressed our people cast aside fear for death and like their bretheren in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwae and Namibia put their lives on the line for freedom. On the side of the oppressor he admitted to himself that he had lost the strategic initiative which has passed into the hands of the people and that he can no longer rule by himself and in the old way. We are talking of

the irreversible process now seen by friend and foe as leading to the inevitable demise of the apartheid system.

In a desperate attempt to stem the tide of mass resistance at home as well as international pressure and sanctions, the Pretoria regime has embarked on a two-pronged approach. One was articulated by Magnus Malan the regime's Defence Minister a few years ago when, admitting that despite its military might the regime cannot win in the mainly psychological warfare waged by the ANC. It was on this occasion that he stressed the need for the regime's campaign being 80% political and designed to win the hearts and minds of the people and only 20% military. It is in pursuance of this campaign that P.W. Botha has publicly declared his regime's policy of co-opting " moderate blacks " with whom to share power.

The other approach of the campaign derives from the regime's loyalty to all the tenets of apartheid including the doctrine that whites are inherently superior to blacks, that apartheid enjoys divine inspiration and that as the representative of white, Christian and Western Civilisation , racist South Africa is the bulwark against the spread of communist influence in Africa.

The origins of this strategy can be traced to P.W. Botha's policy statement during the May whites-only elections when he declared the need to crush the ANC and the extra-parliamentary organisations before co-opting moderate Blacks with whom to share power. This campaign has taken the form of abduction of ANC cadres such as Ibrahim Ismail Ibrahim and Priscilla Nyanda from the Kingdom of Swaziland, the assassination of thirteen ANC activists and leaders including Cassius Make the late National Executive Committee Member and , as shown by the recent trial in London, the plan to kidnap fifteen ANC leaders including Comrade President Tambo. Parallel to this, the regime continues to spend millions of dollars in the propaganda campaign to discredit the ANC while promoting the ever-growing number of bogus groups being groomed for co-option.

This is indeed further proof that the Botha regime has neither the desire nor intention to engage in any meaningful negotiations. On the contrary, everything it does is directed at the destruction of the National Liberation Movement, the suppression of the democratic movement and the entrenchment and perpetuation of the apartheid system of white domination. It intends to impose its will on those it may be talking to and force them to accept its dictates. It is conducting a determined campaign to eliminate the ANC and the democratic Movement.

We call on the United Nations and the international community at large to meet this challenge by lending appropriate political support to the ANC which enjoys unparalleled authority in the country today. Attempts to co-opt Bantustan and other puppets toward a neo-apartheid solution must be defeated.

Mr. President,

The conflict in our country is between the forces of national liberation and democracy on the one hand and those of racism and reaction on the other. Any negotiations would have to be conducted by these two forces as represented by their various organisational formations. It is in this context that we call on the international community to join the ANC in rejecting without qualification the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) which the Botha regime seeks to establish through legislation to be enacted by the apartheid parliament and on the basis of the constitution condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council as null and void. The National Statutory Council seeks to entrench and legitimise the very structures of apartheid that our struggle, in all forms, seeks to abolish.

Mr. President,

The position of the ANC on negotiations is clearly stated in the October 9 statement of the National Executive Committee which states, inter alia, that:

" Once more we would like to re-affirm that the ANC and masses of our people as a whole are ready and willing to enter into genuine negotiations provided they are aimed

at the transformation of our country into a united and non-racial democracy."

However, in viewing the Pretoria regime's record exemplified by non-compliance ^{with} of the Nkomati Accord, the Lusaka Agreement and resolution 435, our statement further declares:

" Our region is fully conversant with the trecherous and deceitful nature of the apartheid regime. Taking this experience into account, we insist that before any negotiations take place, the apartheid regime would have to demonstrate its seriousness by implementing various measures to create a climate conducive to such negotiations. These would include the unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees, all captured freedom fighters and prisoners of war as well as the cessation of all political trials. The state of emergency would have to be lifted, the army and the police withdrawn from the townships and confined to their barracks. Similarly, all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly, speech, the press and so on, would have to be repealed. Among these would be the Riotous Assemblies, the Native Administration, the General Laws Amendment , the Unlawful Organisations, the Internal Security and similar Acts and regulations.

We take this opportunity once more to reaffirm that the African National Congress is opposed to any secret negotiations. We firmly believe that the people themselves must participate in shaping their destiny and would therefore have to be involved in any process of negotiations. "

In this context, the release of Govan Mbeki must be welcomed as an important development and victory not only for the South African patriots but also the justice-loving peoples of the world in general whose relentless campaign for the unconditional release of all the

South African political prisoners can no longer be ignored by the extremely isolated Pretoria regime. It is an important step in the right direction. And if it is to serve as a catalyst toward meaningful change, it must be immediately followed by the equally unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and all other political prisoners and detainees including children.

Mr. President,

As we meet here today, racist South Africa's full-scale invasion against the People's Republic of Angola continues with savage intensity. Pretoria's arrogance and desperate move to secure the Reagan Administration's active participation in this anti-African act has been underscored by ^{R. W. Botha's} ~~the~~ reported visit to the south of Angola. These can be no bigger challenge to the United Nations and the international community in general that must take immediate and appropriate action against the Pretoria regime. The repeated massacres committed by the Renamo armed bandits ^{in Mozambique} killing in cold blood hundreds of civilians call for equally urgent action.

Mr. President,

^{In conclusion}
~~At this juncture~~ and in keeping with the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the overwhelming support of the international community, we call upon the General Assembly, once again, to urge the Security Council to immediately convene to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Thank You.