

QAfetr-FeR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

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

The African National Congress greets you all in the name o-f the people o-f 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 in prisons of apartheid, and also in the name of Fetros Mashingo, Naphtali Manana 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 aQarthei.d crime against humanity.

* The International Conference was organized by the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, at the UNESCO House, Paris. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania was President of the Conference.

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Mr. President, your election to preside over and guide the proceedings of this crucial conference accords not only with your own talent and vast experience, but also with the shining example of 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. We congratulate you

When the General Assembly decided to call this conference in co-operation with the OAU, 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, apartheid 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 the oppressed people of South Africa and with the actual realities of the situation in southern Africa.

We therefore believe 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 apartheid South Africa under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

It would then become the responsibility of the Conference to discuss and agree on the means and methods that the world community must adopt to 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 more 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 to defend

apartheid; they do not want technology and licences, skilled personnel and finance to flow to assist the apartheid regime; they do not want their rugby teams to tour South Africa, their cities, such as Nice, to be twinned with apartheid cities such as Cape Town; they do not wish to warm themselves with South African coal extracted under conditions no better than those so vividly described by Emile Zola. This momentous step by the French people heralds, we hope, the death knell of the monstrous alliance with the self-confessed successors of the Nazi regime which but a short 40 years ago occupied this city and this country.

We wish to reiterate our congratulations to Fracois Mitterrand on his election, and express the hope and conviction that the new Government of France will respond by bringing to an end the self-seeking alliance that has thwarted international action against apartheid for so long, so that France can join the overwhelming majority of nations which has in fact already imposed sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

In this regard the statement to the Conference made by the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Mr. Lionel Jospin, is the new voice of France signalling the dawn of a new era in the relations between the French Government and the peoples of Africa in general, and of southern Africa in particular.

Purpose of sanctions

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 so often on the United Nations agenda, or remained there for so long.

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.

- the apartheid regime stands today in breach of United

Nations General Assembly, Security Council, and

International Court of Justice decisions over its illegal occupation of Namibia;

- the apartheid regime stands today in breach of almost every single clause of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- the apartheid regime stands today judged as a criminal

under the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;

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- the apartheid regime stands today in breach of the United Nations Charter -for its repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours.

Let us, therefore, at the outset of this Conference be very clear about the nature of the problem with which we are dealing. We are not discussing a normally law-abiding 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 to be seen as a way of reforming apartheid, nor merely as a gesture of disapproval. Sanctions are a weapon that the international community can and must use against the racist regime - a weapon that can weaken Pretoria's capacity to maintain its aggressive posture. Sanctions are a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa, and denying the regime the means through which it can sustain and perpetuate itself.

Sanctions will not and cannot be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid 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 southern Africa. Unless the international community can do this, the repercussions of the conflict will almost certainly engulf us all.

Sharpening conflict in South Africa

As we meet here, the widest coalition in South African history has come together to boycott the celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of the white Republic. The degree of polarization in South Africa is revealed in the differing perspectives towards these celebrations.

To the majority of the population 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. It is rejoicing in the fact that the entire African people have been made aliens in their own 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 a victor's dance to express its

satisfaction that it has removed by assassination such patriots as Vuysile Mini, Joseph Mduli, Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu; that it has incarcerated for long terms and for life national leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed

Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Harry Gwala, Zephaniah Mothopeng and

others, and that it is today poised to assassinate more freedom fighters adding to the thousands it has killed in Soweto, Langa, Elsies River, Matola, Kassinga and elsewhere.

The conflict inside South Africa is sharpening. At every level, the mass of the population is finding ways to show its opposition to the apartheid system. In schools, factories, rural settlements, squatter camps and townships, in every walk of life,

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 apartheid 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

militarized sectors of the economy, and the scale of manpower mobilization for military purposes, all attest to the fact that South Africa is now in the control of a particularly dangerous politico-militarist clique. This makes a race war an imminent possibility, and the resolution of the conflict in South Africa therefore becomes a major issue in international relations.

AH[es of apartheid regime

It is 20 years since South A-frica was expelled -from the

Commonwealth and in the period that has -followed it has been

ejected -from almost every i nternat i onal organization. But even as it has been isolated it has received increased economic and military support -from some Western countries. This collaboration has been central to the development o-f South African militarism and the sel-f-con-f i dence with which it has been demonstrated in an escalating war o-f aggression against neighbouring States, and in shackling Namibia into the apartheid nexus in gross violation of decisions o-f the world community.

The countries that have built the South African war machine and buttressed apartheid have also deployed every political and diplomatic tactic in an effort to shield the regime from 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.

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It is important to know why they have acted in this way
Why do these countries -fly in the -face o-f world opinion and rem.s.i
adamant in their claim that dialogue rather than isolation is th
correct policy against apartheid South Africa?

For us, the answer is obvious. The dispossession of the

African people took place in the large measure during the perioc

when South Africa was a colony of Britain. Capital, technolcg.
and skills from all three veto casters participated in laying ths

foundations of the apartheid economy. They helped to shape the

institutions and mechanisms for the exploitation of labour that
make investment in apartheid so uniquely profitable. Links wi
these three countries have helped to ensure that apartheid remains
profitable. Not surprisingly, therefore, these three wish to
preserve apartheid.

Moreover the so-called 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 ths

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

the? United States has publicly described ap_artheid South Africa a; a -friendly country, a war-time ally, and a partner in the de+enc < o-f United States strategic interests.

We are astonished at the conscious distortion of historical
â– fact to justify embracing the Botha regime. Far from being
wartime ally, Botha and the party he leads allied themselves wit!
the Nazis and opposed South Africa's entry into the war. The
Nationalist Party shares with the Nazis a common ideology and

brutality, and has taken upon itself the mantle of Hitler. It h?-
become a fountain of that ideology and maintains close links witt
Fascist and racist groups in many countries including the Unitec
States.

Common Qbi.ecti.ves of Botha and Reagan

Since Botha and Reagan have proclaimed themselves as alii â– â– â– =.

we must consider what are their common objectives in souths*" r
Africa. What interests, and most importantly whose interests,w;;
this alliance promote?

For the imperialists and racist South Africa alike, t'

ultimate objectives are: to regain economic, political an'

military control over the entire southern African region and tc
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 independent African countries,
â– from the world progressive forces in order to weaken them, the

destabilization and the overthrow of their legal governments.

Thirdly, the attempt to transform the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans into military zones as an extension of the NATO alliance.

Within this strategy the maintenance of the apartheid system is an a priori condition and its success requires, as an indispensable element, the strengthening of the apartheid regime.

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 veto casters cloak their real motives with a veneer of concern for the peoples of southern Africa.

So-called changes in apartheid

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 apartheid 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

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 not 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 apartheid domination. Thus any move made by Botha is a reaction to the strengthening forces of liberation and is a defence of apartheid. Such moves are a justification not for relaxation, but for the intensification of the offensive, both domestically and internationally.

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 Africa and be disastrous for the independent States neighbouring South Africa.

The call for sanctions was initiated inside the country by the majority of the people of South Africa, and has since been reiterated on a number of occasions. The OAU and other progressive forces responded to this call from the South African people, and we now have the support of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world as expressed in the General Assembly.

There is no possibility of the people of South Africa ever accepting the status quo and acquiescing in their own oppression and exploitation. There should no longer be any doubt that nothing can deter the South African people from continuing this liberation struggle until victory is won. To achieve this objective no sacrifice is too great, no price too high.

We know that a bitter struggle lies ahead. We can see that already the war has spilt over our borders as Pretoria threatens and attacks our neighbours. The OAU, 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 long as apartheid continues to exist.

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 regime's 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

black labour in the apartheid economy and wish to continue doing so.

These countries opposed sanctions initially because they claimed concern for the black people of South Africa. Now 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 apartheid repression and brutality have grown, and the only people not to have suffered in the process has been the white minority.

Mr. President, the evidence is incontrovertible.

Opposition to sanctions in the Security Council or in the Parliaments of 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 Botha regime and to preserve apartheid. The specious arguments have been put up to justify this action and to try and deter action by those countries which support the liberation struggle.

Appeal by ANC

At this International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the African National Congress appeals to the international community:

- we ask those countries which have already imposed sanctions to take action to widen their scope, to make them all-embracing and strengthen the enforcement machinery;
- the ANC makes a special appeal to all oil-producing States to join in the embargo already imposed by OPAEC and OPEC members and others, and further to take effective legislative and administrative measures to ensure that their embargoes are water-tight - or should I say oil-tight. The international oil companies and tanker fleets have been supplying embargoed oil to South Africa. We urge

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

- the ANC appeals to those governments which have hithert

refused to impose sanctions until the Security Council made them mandatory now to act. A Security Council resolution can make sanctions mandatory, but it is also the sovereign right of every country to choose to impose sanctions. It is within the domestic jurisdiction of every government to take effective measures to stop all commercial, financial, economic, political, technical, military, cultural an

sporting links with racist South Africa.

In making these appeals to States to act without waiting for the Security Council decision, we do not suggest that th

attempt to secure mandatory sanctions be abandoned. On the

contrary, our efforts in that direction must be increased. One 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 collaborators as the allies and protectors of apartheid -

Mr. President, since the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid 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

remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and, are ineffective, there would have been no need to cast vetoes:

why flog a dead horse? The veto was used precisely because sanctions can 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.

Cofaborators must be forced to choose

Apartheid's col laborators must be made to realize that they cannot defend racists and claim to be non-racist. They cannot support apartheid and preach freedom. They cannot exploit 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 profits from apartheid. They cannot be involved in repression in South Africa and in development elsewhere. They cannot allow their arms and products to be used in aggression against South Africa's neighbours and expect to be absolved from blame and accepted as friends.

So I make this final appeal to all those who support the liberation struggle: put these choices before the col laborators.

They must be forced to choose between links with apartheid and relations with the majority of the international community, between links with apartheid and links with Africa. Col laboration must be made unprofitable, and it will cease.

I have made these appeals on behalf of the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa, and all the peoples in the war zone 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 aggression, 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 for in the United Nations Charter. If sanctions are not imposed on so blatant an offender and so persistent a violator of the Charter as apartheid South Africa, then the efforts of the

international community towards a peaceful resolution of

international problems will have proved an exercise in futility.

Finally, Mr. President, we pledge the solidarity and

support of the ANC and the fighting people of South Africa to SWAPO, 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 OAU, 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!

African National

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(south africa)

Office of the President

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT O. R. Tambo

On the Occasion of the 60th. Anniversary of the South African Communist Party

July 30th. 1981

Comrade ... Chairman, Your Excellencies, & Comrades:

Let me commence by thanking you, Comrade Chairman, and the SACP for inviting the African National Congress to be a party to this occasion and in particular, for the opportunity of sharing a platform with the Communist Party of Great Britain, represented here by the General Secretary Gordon McLennan and with the Communist Party of Ireland, represented by Comrade Michael O'Riordan.

These are our allies^ they are part of the international movement of solidarity which gives us strength and confidence in the certainty of final victory. These parties, together with other communist and workers parties around the world, are parties which we can always appeal to for solidarity in the conviction that they will respond.

It is a great pleasure for us, a great honour to participate with them on an occasion of great significance in our struggle in South Africa

You Comrade Chairman and Comrade General Secretary of the SACP have shared hundreds of platforms together in our lifetime in South Africa

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and in many parts of the world outside our country. Today, we -atem-a <*

platform on an occasion which takes our reflections back across a span of 60 years, in which we can recall great names that have ensured that our struggle shall continue and is continuing today..., names that shall always be honoured in our history.

We share this platform in another significant context, for me in particular. I have the great pleasure today of repeating on behalf of the African National Congress and our people in general, our congratulations to Comrade Moses Mabhida on his election some while ago, to the position

of
General Secretary of the SACP.

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We utter these congratulations with a sense of confidence, knowing his background, knowing his role in our struggle especially in the discharge

of his tasks in the ANC, his absolute loyalty and his understanding - profound understanding- of the character of the South African situation and its problems - Confidence, because he succeeds one of the great

giants of our struggle in the position of General Secretary of the SACP- Moses Kotane; whose contributions alone, to the building up of the forces

that can resist fascist onslaught on any scale is acknowledged by all who have worked with him, such as I have, and by all who have read about him.

We are confident that you Comrade Moses, will prove yourself a worthy successor, and perhaps in the fullness of time we shall likewise name you among the giants of our struggle.

Comrade Chariman, I should like to pay a special tribute to you today. It is 60 years since the SACP was formed. It is several decades since you have been involved in the front ranks of our struggle, inspiring everyone around you, inspiring younger generations, first among the volunteers in situations that threaten arrest, torture, imprisonment; never missing where there is struggle to be waged.

You were awarded the title Isitwalandwa by our nation not as a formality but in recognition of your services. This was more than 25 years ago.

Your presence here, and chairmanship of this particular meeting enables

us to recall with great clarity the various revolutionaries with whom you associated in your period of service to our people and our country.

On the anniversary of the founding of the South African Communist Party, I bring the greetings and felicitations of the NEC of the African National Congress, and the good wishes of all those engaged in the liberation struggle and all the oppressed in South Africa.

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founding of Umkhonto we Siz weA is the Year of t^hie Youth*Â©! r y.

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"ie hail y&a in the name of these contingents, which together with the S.A.C.P. comprise a fighting alliance that represents the power of the South African revolution in the making.

â– e salute the S.A.C.P., Â«=; particularly in the name of the in

combatants who have fallen^hthe course of our struggle as well as on behalf of the national leaders and militants -jd held in the enemy's prison^h.

C /fy Cthe dedication and

r.Te congratulate the S.A.C.P. on this occassioⁿl foryfc^hcommitment of its leaders and cadres that has ensured its survival these - infctuitVe- alesfÂ»e.r<*-fcÂ«.

jO years despite repression and'attempts to destroy it.

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e applaud your achievements^hfor the S.A.C.P. has rot only survived, but is today stronger, and increasingly makes more significant contributions to the liberation struggle of our people.

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The ANC speaks here today, not so much as a guest invited to address a foreign organisation. Rather we speak on our own. For it is a matter of record that for much of its history, the SACP has been an integral part of the struggle of the African people against oppression and exploitation in South Africa. We can all bear witness, that in the context of the struggle against colonial structures, racism, and the struggle for power by the people, the SACP has been fighting with the oppressed and exploited.

Notwithstanding that it has had to concentrate on thwarting the efforts to destroy it, cadres of the SACP have always been ready to face the enemy in the field. Because they have stood and fought in the front ranks, they have been amongst those who have suffered the worst brutalities of the enemy, and some of the best cadres have sacrificed their lives.

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your achievements are a part of the liberation struggle,

Your heroes are ours, our victories, those of all the oppressed.

The relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an

accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable

development. For, as we can see, similar relationships have not

emerged in the course of past liberation struggles in Africa.

To be true to history, we must concede that there have been ...

difficulties as well as triumphs along our path. In the last

decades, our two organisations have converged towards a shared

strategy of struggle. Ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing

of documents and representing agreement by leaders.

Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle.

There have built it from our separate and common

experiences. It has been nurtured by our endeavours to counter

the total offensive by the National Party/against all opposition

r-.r. the very concept of democracy. It has been strengthened
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through. resistance to the vicious onslaught against both the
ANC and the SACP by the Pretoria regime; it has:>r<Â»n fertilise I
the blood of countless heroes many of -adbBM- are unna ie 3 n mg.

It has "been reinforced, by a common determination to destroy the enemy and by our shared belief in the certainty of victory.

This process of building the unity of all progressive and democratic forces in South Africa through united and unified action received a particularly powerful impetus from the outstanding leadership of Isitwelandwe Chief Albert J. Luthuli, as President General of the AUG. The process was assisted and supported by the tried and tested leadership of such stalwart revolutionaries as Isitwelandwe Yusuf Dadoo and Isitwelandwe the late Moses Kotane, revolutionaries of the stature of J.B.Marks and Bram Fisher.

Today the ANC and SACP have common objectives in the eradication of the oppressive and exploitative system that prevails in our country: the seizure of power and the exercise of their right of self determination by all the people of South Africa. We share a strategic perspective of the task that lies ahead.

Our organisations have been able to agree on fundamental strategies and tactical positions, whilst retaining our separate identities. For though we are united in struggle, as you have already pointed out Comrade Chairman, we are not the same. Our history has shown that we are a powerful force because our organisations are mutually reinforcing.

It is often claimed by our detractors that the ANC's association with the SACP means that the ANC is being influenced by the SACP. That is not our experience. Our experience is that the two influence each other.

The ANC is quite capable of influencing, and is liable to be influenced by others. There has been the evolution of strategy which reflects this two way process.

In fact the ANU, was quite within its rights to tell the SACP that we are sorry we cannot release Comrade Moses Mabida from his tasks in the ANC - find another comrade to be General Secretary. Yet we agreed he would make a good General Secretary for the SACP. He was not grabbed.

This kind of relationship constitutes a feature of the South African liberation movement, a revolutionary movement, a feature of the SACP which helps to reinforce the alliance and to make it work as it is working.

It is a tribute to the leadership of the SACP.

We are therefore talking of an alliance from which, in the final analysis, the struggle of the people of South Africa for a new society and a new social system has benefitted greatly.

I A correct understanding of these roles, and respect for their

/ boundaries had ensured the survival and coasoli'..a*.;> o . o â- . co-operation and unity.

programme cs*' the SACP vs i-Ls unreserved&^ipportS and

participatAfe in the struggle for national liberation ini, i, â- Â« wrH. by the

ANC_! in alliance with the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress and other patriotic groups of democrats, women, peasants and youth.

The strategy of the African National Congress sees the main content of the South African revolution as the liberation of ^ the largest and most oppressed group: namely the Black population.

And lay Black I do not mean what our enemies have elected to designate as Black - namely just the Africans. By Black, we mean all the oppressed.

Those who were formerly called Non whites and which we prefer to call Black.

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Of course-'efaaase does not suit the enemy to club all the oppressed and exploited together. It is better for aSAxthe enemy that this Vast majority be split up into what they call Blacks and then Indians and Coloureds That fits iheir strategy - serves the interests of their strategy best. But I am talking about the oppressed population as the Blacks.

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nhilst concerned to draw inland unify^all progressive and democratic forces in the country, including those amongst the whites, our priority remains the maximum mobilisation of those who are the dispossessed, the exploited and the racially oppressed. CL.

That is only a priority, for v/e recognise that victory requires that we build up maximum unity of the the forces for progress. Indeed we need to

break up this white racist clique, win friends Has. from among the ruling class and isolate the facists. Then a united people of ^outh Africa can 1 deliver the final blow, crush the colonialist structures and move to a new South Africa.

The poverty of our people, the incidents of malnutrition, unemployment and other manifestations of the criminal policy, the criminal system under

which v/e live, demand that our people should fight with everything they

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have, all the time;to destroy the system.tffTo this end the ANC has sailed upon the people to resist this oppressive and exploitative system at every

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using every occasion^ 'iFTe response has been nationwide.

People in a LI walks o*** life and races have,U,d toy; ther in

opposition to the fascist regime. Almost every township has been
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faced with rent strikes / Fare increases are met with 'safe boycotts.

Youth and students have maintained their action against the educa-
tion system and found widespread support from parents.

Though many of these actions are local and focus on an
immediate issuethey are not directed at seeking piece'meal and
at best temporary redress. These actions are not an end in them-

thZ+i!^~t_ ", jr.

selves butyyjpart of the struggle for a new social syste:nx^ cHj~r ^ 7

The ANC has called upon and enco iraged v/orkers to use
their labour power, not only to imorove wages and working

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conditions, but also to destroy the exploitative system:J.=s?uÂ«Ls~
Z^ssÂ±issss&~, Workers have been and are responding to this call.

In the process, employers have been dismissing large numbers of
the poorly paid and brutally exploited strikers.

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The right of/.workers to withhold their labour is universally
recognised as fundamental. The ANC is dete^n^rT^d
the right of South African v/orkers to strike^ Firms which
victimise strikers do so at their peril. They must be
aware^ that they dismiss their workers at the risk of dismissing
their profits. /, .n -k ^e- /Â£ xJ~,

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The objective of our struggle in South Africa., as set out
in the Freedom Charter, encompasses economic emancipation. It is
inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of
the wealth of the country to the people as a whole. To allow; the
existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to
feed the roots of racial supremacy and exploitation, and does not
represent even the shadow of liberation.

It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy
that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy;
and our drive towards national emancipation must include economic
emancipation..

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Mr. Chairman, exploitation and repression are brutal. But they have not deterred or cowered us. On the contrary, throughout the country, the struggle is generating a climate of defiance, in which people are going into action without thought of torture, arrest or even death. They are asserting their right to freedom of association and speech, their right to strike, and most importantly for the right to govern.

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^ Tliey do so in the context of^raass struggle,^}}monstratÂ\$U5Jg the success of our strategy of reinforcing popular actions with armed force -- as was shown most forcibly during the nationwide campaign of boycott and rejection of the white republic in May of this year.

The ANC and its allies feEFfiSe recognise^ that in our

situation in South Africa^ armed struggle is an absolute ii.iperative But we have always seen mass mobilisation as essential to the growth and development of armed struggle,

We acclaim it as an achievement, that in both areas of

activity - the mass struggles as well as armed action-there is now ample evidence of expansion.-

Umkhonto we Sizwe has emerged as a force to reckon with. And yet, we all know that before we can hope to bring the enemy down, the scope and scale, as well as the ou^of the i nnfrons r of this our people's army, must be ^stepped up, gruaLI*-.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has won its first Â@reat victory - namely, that the enemy has proved unable to stop its growth, its expansion and the â€cy increasingly effective striking powers of our guerrilla army.

That is a victory whichve must build on. To say that/is to pronounce the Eafc challenge posed for our revolutionary alliance. Â£ i Unless we build on that/wi^IT? lose the victory itself.

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For even as the unity of the oppressed has grown and strengthened so too has the offensive against us. As we stand poised for new advances, the onslaught grows, more fierce.

As the apartheid regime has sought ways to preserve itself, power in South Africa has increasingly become concentrated in the hands of a particularly dangerous and authoritarian politico-military clique, which tries to retain control through the unashamed and overt use of institutionalised violence and the escalation of brutal repression.

Hot content with waging war against the South African and Namibian people, the regime has embarked upon an undeclared war against neighbouring states.

In repeated breaches of the BN charter and of international law, the territorial integrity of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique,

Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe is violated by the regime, the political stability of independent states subverted, and economic development

retarded and sabotaged.

In opening this meeting, Comrade Chariman, you have drawn our attention to the new crime of aggression against the Peoples Republic of Angola. We should like to especially associate the ANC with the resolution adopted here today. And to add, that your view Angola's closest friends should rally to its defence Africa must act against

the aggression against Africa. We consider the situation demands an emergency meeting of the OAU to decide upon concerted measures to be taken to drive South African troops out of Angola and out of Namibia.

We should not omit to emphasise and underscore, the special role of the new administration in the US, in relation to this aggression.

There has been some consistency in the behaviour of the South African regime ever since Mr. Reagan appeared on the scene. The first signs of a new arrival in the arena of international relations was the fact of the Geneva Conference being torpedoed.

A state had been reached when all concerned had agreed including South Africa, and at that moment the Reagan Administration appeared on the scene. The first evidence of that was the collapse of that Geneva conference. It was succeeded by an attack on Angola

an attack, an invasion against Mozambique when our people were butchered

and assassinated in Matola.

Now as pressure grows for the implementation of Res. 435 to resolve and finalise the Namibian question, the greatest ever invasion in mounted against Angola.-the greatest certainly, since the mid 1970s Backing all this up is surely that administration which proclaims itself as an ally of South Africa, which labelled the national liberation movement as international terrorism to be eliminated and liquidated. It is in pursuance of that policy that by way of liquidating SWAPO, the South African regime is being assisted and encouraged and equipped to try and destroy Angola.

In condemning this aggression, we must also condemn with equal vigour the allies of the criminal regime & South Africa.

For our part, we declare our indissoluble unity with the people of Namibia in their struggles. We support SWAPO and we will do everything in our power to ensure the success of their struggle.

We have in the past declared our solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa especially when they come under attack by our immediate enemy. We proclaim this support today for the people of Angola.

The ANC has received and continues to receive international support and solidarity from a variety of sources. We must today, acknowledge & especially, with appreciation, the very significant support we receive from the socialist countries. You have mentioned many of these countries -

all of them without exception have given freely by way of supporting our struggle and meeting our demands.

We appreciate in particular that they and some African countries have not hesitated to deliver weapons to peoples fighting for their liberation. The enemy likes to squeal that we have been fighting with inferior

.. Soviet made weapons, or communist made weapons. It does not matter

what weapons they are. But we are glad to have them, and shall continue to use them if they are effective - and they are*

This support has been given during the liberation struggles in southern Africa, and has been extended to the independent states that OLPK.

have been forced to defend their victories.

The devastation wreaked in southern Africa by the Pretoria regime places an added responsibility upon the liberation movement.

For, it is only after the seizure of power in Pretoria, that the people of southern Africa will be able to concentrate all their energies and resources into consolidating their independence, furthering economic development and promoting, social change. Until the Pretoria

regime is defeated, for Namibia and South Africa there is no prospect. The

peace or security in and the defeat of that regime

For a revolutionary movement, anniversaries cannot only celebrate the past. We must recall and acclaim our history, but more importantly, we must use the past to arm ourselves for the future: to learn lessons

and to strengthen our resolve and commitment.

The founders of the African National Congress vested in the organisation the historic responsibility of uniting the South African

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That task has devolved upon each of our members and cadres, and to it, has been added the isolation of the Pretoria regime and

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the mobilisation of all possible support for our liberation struggle.

The ANC's capacity to unite our people and to lead a unified liberation struggle is one of our most formidable weapons, and it is consequently a prime target of the enemy.

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It is only as a united force that we can move forward.

It is as a united people that we shall "be victorious.

To move forward, we need to move forward toward victory. An essential of forward movement is that we[^] SaM together axot work for the highest level of mobilisation <^our people inside South Africa and of the international acommunity[^] For the consolidation and expansion of our underground organisation in our country[^]

C[^]Mkshould aim at planting Umkhonto we Sizwe and spreading it among the popular masses, so that the masses become the active expression of our armed struggle.

We need to work together for the fulfillment of the objectives elaborated in the Freedom Charter.

We need, in other words, to consolidate further our alliance and ensure its maximum effectiveness

On an occasion when we are observing the 60th. anniversary of the SACP, we are bound to give some thought to struggles, many of which have taken place since the SACP was established. Today, in the anti-imperialist struggle, we have won new allies like the struggle^{W^} of the people of Palestine. We have firown up new enemies*oA£ peoplesyljiije those: who

murder civilians in Beirut. We have seen the unutterable brutalities of the junta in Si[^]alvador - the ruling facists in Guatamala.

We have seen fcftgx8xx how the US has sought its allies among? these enemies of freedom and democracy and progress. And wA® ssend out on this

South African day, our greetings, our solidarity and oujj[^]support to those whose struggles place them in the same trench[^]we occupy.

We greet Polisario and Fretelin

But finally, let us once again/ greet our own/Gommunist party
LOSE LIVE THE SACP!

LONG LIVE THE ALLLDANCE BETWEEN THE ANC A ND SACP!

LONG LIVE THE UNITI OF ALLfc PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN THE REST OF THE WORLD!