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SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR WALTER SISULU.
DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS, ACCEPTING AN HONORARY DEGREE
AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, PHILADELPHIA,
PENNSYLVANIA, ON 12th OF OCTOBER, 1991 .

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BELOVED SISTER, PRESIDENT OF LINCOLN
UNIVERSITY; ESTEEMED MEMBERS OF THE
UNIVERSITY SENATE, FACULTY.

ADMINISTRATION, WORKING STAFF AND
STUDENTS, GUESTS AND FRIENDS:

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE
STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SEND
YOU THE WARMEST FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

MY DELEGATION AND I ARE GLAD TO BE AT
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY TODAY AND WOULD LIKE
TO THANK YOU ALL FOR THE SPONTANEOUS
WARMTH AND HOSPITALITY WITH WHICH YOU
HAVE RECEIVED US.

THE NAME - LINCOLN, IS WIDELY ASSOCIATED
WITH THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT AND THE
EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES. WITHOUT GOING
INTO THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THIS
ASSOCIATION, WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT IT

THRUSTS UPON LINCOLN UNIVERSITY THE ROLE OF LIBERATOR.

IN A MORE GENERAL SENSE, OF COURSE, THE TRUE VOCATION OF ANY UNIVERSITY IS THE FREE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS APPLICATION IN SUPPORT OF THE QUEST FOR THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE ALL-ROUND SELF-REALISATION OF HUMANITY. SO UNDERSTOOD. THE TRUE UNIVERSITY CANNOT FULFILL ITS FUNDAMENTAL MISSION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A REPRESSIVE, OPPRESSIVE, AND EXPLOITATIVE SOCIETY. TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO ITSELF, IT MUST THEREFORE BE AN ACTIVE FORCE FOR LIBERATION.

THE FACT THAT THIS INSTITUTION OF HIGHER LEARNING IS HEADED BY A SISTER IS A STATEMENT IN FAVOUR NOT ONLY OF WOMEN'S

LIBERATION, BUT ALSO IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN LIBERATION, IN GENERAL. I TRUST THAT WE ARE ALL AWARE THAT HUMANITY CAN NEVER BE TRULY FREE SO LONG AS WOMEN REMAIN OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED.

THE LATE DR KWAME NKRUMAH SPENT SOME OF HIS FORMATIVE YEARS AS A STUDENT AT THIS UNIVERSITY. HE THEN WENT ON TO BECOME A MAJOR POLITICAL ARCHITECT OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA. THE LATE DR XUMA ALSO WENT THROUGH THE ACADEMIC HALLS OF THIS UNIVERSITY AS A STUDENT. HE THEN WENT ON TO BECOME A PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. MOST NOTABLY IN THE YEARS BEGINNING SHORTLY BEFORE THE WAVE OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE BEGAN SWEEPING ACROSS OUR CONTINENT, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

SERVED AS A PROMINENT GATEWAY TO HIGHER EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. MANY OF THOSE STUDENTS HAVE GONE ON TO BECOME LEADERS OF THEIR PEOPLE. THEY HAVE GONE ON TO MAKE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MAKING OF RECENT AFRICAN HISTORY. THIS INSTITUTION IS THEREFORE INSEPARABLE FROM AFRICA'S EFFORTS TO CLAIM ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY AND IN ITS HISTORY.

WE ARE THEREFORE GLAD TO BE AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY WHOSE PURPOSE IS NOT ONLY CONSISTENT WITH, BUT ALSO SUPPORTIVE OF THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO ERADICATE APARTHEID AND CREATE A UNITED, NON-RACIAL, NON-SEXIST AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

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MY COLLEAGUES AND I' ON ROBBER ISLAND
WERE HEARTENED BY THE ARRIVAL OF THE
NEWS THAT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY HAD DECIDED
TO CONFER AN HONORARY DEGREE ON ME. I
AND MY COLLEAGUES ALSO SAW THIS GESTURE
AS AN AFFIRMATION OF, AND AN ACT OF
SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF OUR
PEOPLE FOR A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH
AFRICA.

AT THAT TIME WE WERE SERVING LIFE
SENTENCES FOR OUR COMMITMENT TO THE
IDEALS OF FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND
PROGRESS FOR ALL HUMANITY - REGARDLESS
OF RACE, COLOUR, CREED AND GENDER. YOUR
DECISION TO HONOUR ME, THEREFORE
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT SIGNAL THAT THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD NOT
FORGOTTEN THE POLITICAL PRISONERS OF

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APARTHEID. IT HELPED US TO CONTINUE
RESISTING AND STRUGGLING.

TODAY I CAN CONFIDENTLY SAY THAT IT WAS
PARTLY BECAUSE OF YOUR EFFORTS THAT I
AND SOME OF MY COMPATRIOTS ARE OUT OF
PRISON AND I AM STANDING BEFORE YOU. SO
ON BEHALF OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS
OF APARTHEID WHO HAVE BEEN RELEASED UP
TO THIS POINT, I MUST THANK YOU FOR YOUR
EFFORTS.

I MUST, HOWEVER, QUICKLY REMIND YOU THAT
MANY OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN PATRIOTS STILL
REMAIN IN APARTHEID JAILS AND THAT WE
MUST ACCORDINGLY INTENSIFY OUR
COLLECTIVE CAMPAIGN FOR THE IMMEDIATE
AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS OF APARTHEID. WITH NO

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LESS INTENSITY, OUR EFFORTS MUST ALSO BE AIMED AT SECURING THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL INDEMNIFICATION AND FREE REPATRIATION OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL EXILES. WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT WHATEVER VICTORIES WE SCORE, IN THIS REGARD, CAN ONLY ACQUIRE FULL AND LASTING MEANING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE TOTAL ERADICATION OF APARTHEID AND THE CREATION OF A TRULY FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

I AM AWARE THAT STUDENTS ON CAMPUSES IN THIS COUNTRY PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE HISTORIC CAMPAIGN THAT LED TO THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF NINETEEN ELGHTY-SIX. IN

THAT WAY, YOU THUS MADE A SIGNIFICANT
CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL
CAMPAIGN FOR THE TOTAL ISOLATION OF
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

THROUGH THIS AND OTHER FORMS OF
SOLIDARITY, YOU, ALONG WITH ALL OTHER MEN
AND WOMEN AND YOUTH OF CONSCIENCE
AROUND THE WORLD, HELPED OUR ALL-ROUND
OFFENSIVE AGAINST APARTHEID TO CREATE A
SITUATION WHICH HAS PLACED US WITHIN
STRIKING DISTANCE OF A NEGOTIATED
TRANSITION TO A UNITED, NON-RACIAL, NON-
SEXIST AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, TO UNDERLINETHE
FACT THAT WE SHOULD ALL GUARD AGAINST
FALLING VICTIM TO THE ADVANCES WE HAVE
WON. WE MUST RECOGNISE THAT THE NEW

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SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY, THOUGH FULL OF
PROMISE IS ALSO BESET WITH PROBLEMS, AT
LEAST, AS FORMIDABLE AS ANY WE HAVE
EXPERIENCED IN THE PAST.

ONE SUCH OBVIOUS PROBLEM IS THAT OF
VIOLENCE. THE MOST IMPORTANT IS THE
ATTITUDE OF THE PRETORIA REGIME TOWARD
THE NEED FOR PROFOUND AND IRREVERSIBLE
CHANGE IN THE DIRECTION OF DEMOCRACY.
PEACE AND FREEDOM IN OUR COUNTRY.
THE ENEMIES OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN
SOUTH AFRICA HAVE RESORTED TO THE
PROMOTION OF WHAT SEEMS, ON THE
SURFACE, LIKE BLACK - ON - BLACK VIOLENCE,
AS A WEAPON TO IMPEDE PROGRESS.
VIOLENCE IS NOT A NEW FEATURE IN THE
POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF APARTHEID.

APARTHEID LIKE ALL REPRESSIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, IS AN INHERENTLY DIVISIVE AND CONFLICTUAL SYSTEM AND THEREFORE A PERMANENT AND SYSTEMIC SOURCE OF VIOLENCE. THE MASS POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE WHICH ARE A STRUCTURAL RESULT OF APARTHEID ARE ALSO POTENT FORMS OF VIOLENCE. THE ENEMIES OF PROGRESS, ARE TODAY USING THEIR VAST RESOURCES TO INTENSIFY THIS VIOLENCE WITH THE DELIBERATE INTENTION OF PREVENTING THE EMERGENCE OF A POLITICAL CLIMATE NECESSARY FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN OUR COUNTRY. ONE OF OUR MAJOR PRIORITIES IN THE CURRENT PERIOD IS TO CONTAIN AND END THIS VIOLENCE. THE CROWNING EXPERIENCE OF OUR EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD WAS THE SIGNING OF

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THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD, IN
JOHANNESBURG, ON THE 14th OF SEPTEMBER,
THIS YEAR, BY MR NELSON MANDELA, MR F. W.
DE KLERK AND MR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI ON
BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.
THE NATIONAL PARTY AND THE INKATHA
FREEDOM PARTY RESPECTIVELY.
WHATEVER THE PROMISES OF PEACE RAISED BY
THIS ACCORD, ITS SUCCESS MUST PARTLY
DEPEND ON STRICT ADHERENCE TO ALL ITS
PROVISIONS BY ALL ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL
SIGNATORIES. BEYOND THAT, WHATEVER
PEACE IT BRINGS IS DESTINED TO REMAIN FAR
LESS THAN COMPLETE UNTIL THE STRUCTURAL
SOURCE OF VIOLENCE - APARTHEID, IS
COMPLETELY ERADICATED.

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IT IS NOW PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE THAT THE PRETORIA REGIME HAS BEEN SECRETELY FINANCING ORGANISATIONS WHICH ARE THE MOST ACTIVE AND VISIBLE INSTRUMENTS OF THIS VIOLENCE. SWORN AFFIDAVITS, COLLECTED, IN VIOLENCE-STRIKEN COMMUNITIES, BY THE CHURCHES, POINT TO THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRETORIA REGIME'S SECURITY FORCES - OR SECTIONS THEREOF OR PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS THEREIN, IN THE PROMOTION OF VIOLENCE.

ANOTHER PROMINENT FEATURE OF THIS VIOLENCE IS THE VISIBLE RELUCTANCE OF THE PRETORIA REGIME TO USE ITS VAST SECURITY STRUCTURES, RESOURCES AND EXPERIENCE TO STOP IT. THE REGIME'S PROTESTATIONS OF INNOCENCE HAVE WORN THIN IN THE FACE OF ITS APPARENT FAILURE TO BRING THE

PERPETRATORS OF THE SPATE OF POLITICAL
MASSACRES AND ASSASSINATIONS TO BOOK.
AS A RESULT OF ITS ACTS OF OMISSION AND
COMMISSION, THE REGIME CANNOT BE
EXONERATED FROM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
VIOLENCE. ITS COMPLICITY IN THE VIOLENCE
UNDERLINES A FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATION:
THAT THE REGIME IS GLARINGLY UNQUALIFIED
TO ASSUME THE ROLE OF REFEREE AND PLAYER
IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS. THIS IS
CONSISTENT WITH THE FACT THAT THE
PRETORIA REGIME CANNOT REALISTICALLY BE
EXPECTED TO PRESIDE OVER THE ERADICATION
OF APARTHEID. WHATEVER ELSE ONE MAY
WISH TO THINK OF THE REGIME, IT IS
DEFINITELY NOT SUICIDAL.

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HO:I VQIEHV HanS :lO El'ldOEld EIHJ. :IO CINVINEICI
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STAGE, ARE NOT ONLY PREMATURE BUT
COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

WE REGRET THE FACT THAT THE UNITED
STATES ADMINISTRATION, IN A DEPARTURE
FROM ITS RECENT TENDENCY TO TRY TO
CONSULT WITH LEADERS OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN PEOPLE ON ISSUES AFFECTING THEM,
HAS UNILATERALLY DECIDED TO LIFT
SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID SOUTH
AFRICA. WE ACCORDINGLY APPEAL TO THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE - ESPECIALLY STUDENTS ON
UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES, TO RESIST ALL
EFFORTS TO REMOVE REMAINING SANCTIONS.
PARTICULARLY THOSE IMPOSED AT STATE AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL.

I CHALLENGE ALL OF YOU AND - THROUGH
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, ALL THE UNIVERSITIES

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AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, TO
INTENSIFY YOUR ALL-ROUND SUPPORT SO THAT
WE ARE ABLE TO ERADICATE APARTHEID
WITHOUT UNDUE DELAY. AS A PROUD MEMBER
OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY OF THIS
INSTITUTION, I ALSO CHALLENGE LINCOLN
UNIVERSITY TO STRIVE ALWAYS TO EXCEED
ITSELF AND TO EXCEL NOT ONLY AS A BLACK
UNIVERSITY BUT ALSO TO ASPIRE TO BECOME
THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE UNIVERSITIES.
I THANK YOU ALL, ONCE AGAIN, FOR THE
ACADEMIC HONOURS YOU HAVE BESTOWED
UPON ME AND, THROUGH ME, UPON THE
STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. I
ASSURE YOU, IN ALL SOLEMNITY, THAT WE
SHALL ALWAYS STRIVE TO BE A WORTHY
MEMBER OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY.

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FORWARD TO THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID
AND TO THE CREATION OF A UNITED, NON-
RACIAL, NON-SEXIST, AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH
AFRICA. FORWARD TO A FREE, PROSPEROUS,
HUMANE AND PEACEFUL FUTURE FOR ALL OF
HUMANITY.