

iQiTERNATIONAL

MOBILISATION

AGAINST A PAKI 'HEID AND FOR THE II EERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

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UN Secretary General's Report

Accelerate Process for Dismantlement of

THE United Nations General Assembly

has received a report from the Secretary

General Javier Perez de Cuellar unders-

coring the point that the process for the

dismantlement of the apartheid system be

accelerated".

The report was made on 1 July 1990 in response to a Clause in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly in December 1989, requesting the Secretary General that he report on the progress made in the implementation of this Declaration in the first six months of this year.

The Declaration, inter alia, had encouraged the people of South Africa to join together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. The Declaration dealt with fundamental principles for a new constitutional order, with the creation of a climate for negotiations with guidelines to the process of negotiations and with a programme of action in pursuance of the objectives of the Declaration,

Apartheid System

The Secretary General's report embodies the report of a United Nations Team sent by him to South Africa to make an on the spot study of the situation there in the context of the measures to be taken by way of implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid.

The Secretary General took this step as he felt that his report should be as factual as possible. Keeping this in view, he, while in Windhoek on 20 March 1990, sought the agreement of the State President of South Africa for a team of senior United Nations officials to visit the Republic of South Africa at an appropriate date. While agreeing to this suggestion, the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, made it clear that this was without prejudice to the position of his Government on the question of non-interference in the internal affairs of South Africa.

On the basis of this understanding, the Secretary General sent a team to South Africa which remained there from 9 to 19 June 1990.

The Team, led by Mr Abdulrahim At Farah.

Under-Secretary General for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, comprised Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary General for the Centre against Apartheid, and four other senior officials.

In addition to his meeting with President de Klerk, the Secretary General had the opportunity, on a number of occasions, of discussing with the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations developments relating to the situation in South Africa. The Secretary General also met, on two occasions, with Mr Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the African National Congress. The first meeting took place in Windhoek last March and the second one was held in New York on the occasion of Mr, Mandela's Visit to United Nations Headquarters on 22

June 1990.

In his meetings with President de Klerk, the Secretary General was informed of the new policy that the South African Government had begun to implement for the dismantlement of the apartheid system

Mr. Mandela also provided the Secretary General with an assessment of the situation and the position of his movement on some of the salient features covered by the Declaration.

The information assembled in the report of
(Continued on page 2)

The Big Question in South Africa

THE whole process of negotiations in South Africa is threatened by what has come to be known as the big question " - whether the government of President de Klerk's is in a position to control its security forces, including its police, and prevent them from aiding and abetting the In/etha violence.

The African National Congress has been stating clearly and categorically for quite some time that the violence in Natal by the In/etha vigilantes had the support of the South African security forces. In a statement on 26 July 1990 the ANC said that it was alleged that the South African police were deeply embroiled in the preparations of In/etha vigilantes and their supporters to carry out attacks in the townships around Johannesburg. The ANC is particularly alarmed by these reports and wishes to bring them to public attention. As the criminal actions of vigilantes in Sebokeng this weekend demonstrate, there is a sinister and well-orchestrated campaign afoot to spread the violence that has plagued Natal beyond that province. The persons behind this plot are receiving active assistance from elements in the police. The purpose of this unholy alliance is to terrorise the people in the most militant townships into submission, to stray and disrupt the people's organisations, and to undermine the prospects... i, of the negotiations process between the ANC and the South African government.

The ANC statement then gave the substance of its charge against the South African government for not preventing police connivance with and involvement in the In/etha violence: it should be a matter of grave concern that while the South African government speaks of peace to the people of the world, inside South Africa elements of its security services are deeply implicated in fomenting violence and participating in carnage. The charges of police involvement with In/etha vigilantes are too numerous to be ignored. "

The ANC again called upon President de Klerk to take immediate steps to put an end to the violence by taking firm action against the police officers who stood by while the vigilantes attacked the people. The ANC has expressed its alarm at the serious situation. It is now for the international community, including all anti-apartheid movements, to take note of the alarm, and the warning that the violence carried out with police connivance could jeopardise the whole negotiations process. It has happened before when similar tactics were undertaken by colonial authorities in some other lands - employing the stratagem of masterminding communal internecine violence - to unnerve, outmanoeuvre and destabilise liberation movements there. It has happened before when an imperialist power weakened a strong liberation movement in a vast country it ruled, by engineering communal violence there; ultimately the liberation movement was forced to accept an imperialist partition plan that shattered the country's unity and brought disastrous consequences for its people - carnage and migration of millions of men, women and children, who were uprooted from their ancestral lands and homes.

The struggling people of South Africa must defeat every attempt to destroy their goal of a democratic, non-racial, non-fragmented country.

International Mobi/isu/iou a 2
Towards Democracy in South Africa
Desmond Tutu

In this article, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a leading figure in the struggle against apartheid, expresses his determination that the suffering people of South Africa will achieve democracy ultimately. The article is based on an interview given by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to (lnest'o Courier (June 1990).

Freedom and human rights are major issues in Eastern Europe today. lsni! that also the case in South Africa?

- Yes. and the movement towards li'eetlotn and respect for human rights in Eastern linrope is as exciting as the potential lur the same moyeinent in South Afriea.

However, there are clear (litterenees between the two situations. The oppressittn ot the majority at people in South Atriea has been on the basis of race. The iniquity of raeisni is that it leads people who feel superior to others to treat them as less than human. So raeists taeing niass protests are, for example. less hesitant in ordering poliee or troops to kill (letnunstrators than rulers who feel they would he killing their eonipatriots. In most East European eonntries e the exception being Romania _ the rulers appear to hate been more restrained than in South Altriea, In addition many people in Eastern Europe have had more opportunities to control their lives and to participate in economic development than our people have had in South Africa. There has been a tradition of democratic experience in previous eras in many East European countries In South Africa our people have sat? leretl raeial oppression lor three hundred years. They have eonstantly struggled to he able to participate in a (lenioeratie system hnt they hate neyer aehiex'etl it. lieononiieally, tor the wholetit the industrialized era our people haye heen (lenietl opportunities tor learning antl tor jt)l)S lieeanse ot the eolonr ot their skins. As a result. as we begin tosee a tletnueraey emerge in South Atriea. we are going to neetl massive internai lit)ll&tl assistance to give the opportunities tor intlustrial (levelopiient which our people have never hatl throughout their history:

Is there, in your opinion, a link between (Ie-mocracy and development?

- Development(lepentlson(lentoeraey, People are (leeision-niaking ereatnres. (iml has giyen them free will and they must be able to exercise eontrol over (leveloptnent through a tletnt)eratie political system it they are to feel tally itn olyetl in it. Development which is iniposetl on people in a paternalistic way. on the basis of his; brother knowing what is good tor people, will fail. In South Africa in particular, is there truly a movement towards democracy? To what extent is the system of apartheid coming to an end?

- In many ways. we are now where we were in lfttitt. ()tn' political organizations are again tinhanned and able to operate more treely than in the past thirtyyears, ltttt black people still hat. e no yoteand the cure olapartheitl is the tlental (ll political power. Also. the laws which form w hat we call the "pillars Ot apartheid" are still tirnily llit Dismantlement of Apartheid System...

(Continued from page /)

the United Nations Team that Visited South Africa, taken together with that provided by Member States. as contained in annexes I and II respectively of the Secretary General's report. presents a comprehensive picture of developments against which the General Assembly will be able to measure progress achieved so far in the implementation of the Declaration.

In the chapter entitled, "Observations". the Secretary General's report said:

"The Secretary General has been greatly encouraged by the positive developments that have taken place within South Africa since the beginning of this year. The bold and courageous policy to which President de Klerk has committed his Government opens up distinct possibilities for the dismantling of the apartheid system. Equally encouraging and statesmanlike has been the vision and forbearance displayed by the black leadership which, despite long years of injustice and oppression, has renewed its commitment to a peaceful process for ending apartheid and building a non-racial and democratic society.

"The fact that the Team was able to meet with whom it wished. travel where it desired. and to receive freely the views of all on political issues arising from the policy of apartheid, demonstrates, by itself, a significant change in the political climate.

Most of the measures required by the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa to create a climate for free political activity, the measure relating to the lifting of the ban on political parties and movements has been implemented in full. Other measures have been implemented in part. While it is evident that an important process has been set in motion, many believe that the Government should implement all measures in their totality to create the appropriate atmosphere.

Issue of Violence

Parallel with the need to establish an appropriate climate for the negotiations is the urgent requirement to end the violence. The issue of violence, not least in Natal, urgently needs to be addressed at the highest level since, if it is allowed to continue unrestrained, the consequences could well present serious difficulties for the political process. The Secretary General therefore appeals to all parties to do whatever is necessary to end the violence and to work together to build a peaceful South Africa.

"It is quite clear from the report of the Commission that a substantial body of public opinion is anxious to see that the process for the dismantling of the apartheid system be accelerated.

"Some of the data in the report illustrate vividly the grave social injustices that have been inflicted by apartheid on the black population.

The Secretary General would strongly encourage any measures aimed at redressing the social and economic inequalities, particularly in the area of housing, education, employment and health.

Such measures would go a long way towards addressing effectively glaring inequities and instilling public confidence in the democratic process and in national institutions."

The Secretary General's report devotes several

eral pages to the work of the UN Team in South Africa In fact, this report einhotlies within itself the report of the alter.

Demand for Removal of Pillars of Apartheid

()n matters enhancing or obstructing the process of ending apartheid, the UN Team observed: iAll political muyenients. orgnanizai tions and groups with whom the Team tnet weli comed the declared intention of the State President to embark on a poliey for the dismantlement of the apartheid system, and to this end, It) engage in a democratic process to develop a new constitution. Most believed that until the pilv lars of apartheid were removed racial (liserinii nation would continue to divide the nation and No, If 7 August 1.9.90

.rtit/i/H's/m/i /)es//io/it/ 'IiI/il place.'l'hetlitterenreltetween nowantl lfttltlis that the wlntevt-ontrt:lletl goyerntnent says It is pre-paretl to negotiate the sharing ot power and to reeonsitler lltt tse laws ltttt we hax'eyet it) see what it is going tttolterSottonithetntinttityietx'otwhat the goyenitnent is ollering. we are stantlingon the thresholtl ol Itllt'tt'silll tl possibilities. lint Ironi the point ot View at what our people want. then, yes, there is truly a niox'enient tt iWEtttls tlenioeraey. We aretletertninetltoeahiet'eitiantlweshallaeltieveit nltiniately, No one. least ot all the South :Xtriean goternniett. will stop as

A re there specific forms, specific conditions, for a democratic evolution in the South Afri-can conlexl? Will the principle of Wine per-son. one vote" be viable between communi-ties that have been hostile for so long?

7 l)('ttttt(raey tlepentls on Itntversal lranehise. Without the H)I(' . there is no (i('ltttt('t'tt(') antl no prospeet ol (ttroperation (intone eontnttnities, Protet'tion tor exert inrlxithial irrespeetix'e oi eonnnnnity. is provided he a hill of rights. enlot'eetl lty inrlepentlent eont'ts Hi law. ()nly once the human (tienitx ot all South Africans is guaranteed bx equal rights ran we expet't to see trite eo-t iperatit)ll Iietxxeen St tl tl ll Africans begin to develop trorn xxhateyer eoniniunih they eonie. the eanse oi htman rights and soeial justice xxottl tl not he serxetl.

They all tireetl the removal ot the pillars of apartheid. nanteh the ltopnlation Registration Aet. tlie liantl At ts the titonp Areas Act and the Resertatinn ot Separate Amenities Aet. as well as all other laws and the praetiees that entt'enehetl raeial ttiseriiaination. .Xt the same time. it was tearetl that it no eoneoniitant pro-gratnntes uere nntnetliately established to ad-dress the glaring soeial antl eeononite inequali-ties that were the leeaex ot apartheid. the prtr eess ttmattls ereatine tlie netx Sonth Atriea eonl tl he ohstrnetetlf'

In its "('onelntlineS Remarks". the l N 'lieant's report said.

"There is a general perception) that the path taken by the Government offers real promise for constructive political discus-sion and represents a significant change from the position of its predecessors. Yet, there is also a widespread belief that a number of additional steps are required to establish an atmosphere favourable to free political activity. Apartheid laws. repressive security regulations, and per-

sistent violence, including that prevailing in Natal, continue to adversely affect domestic tranquility. as well as the sense of security and well-being of the people. So long as racial attitudes persist and apartheid structures at the local level remain, the process for change will encounter difficulties."

The 1 W Secretary General's report includes in separate Annexes information provided by Governments relating to the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid since its first adoption. The Commission received information from the South African government. The statement made by V ANC leader Nelson Mandela to the Special Committee against Apartheid at the UN Headquarters in New York (11 22 June 1990. and the text of the Document on Apartheid adopted by the General Assembly on 11 December 1989.

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International MU/N/Istl/IUN - .3

In this article, specially written for the International Mobilisation, Prof. Howard L. Parsons gives the quintessence of the great impact of Nelson Mandela's visit to the United States of America in June 1990.

NELSON MANDELA landed in the New World as a free man, flying through the borderless air space of our one human globe. bringing in his very presence and his thoughts a message of struggle, freedom. and peace.

Yet, as the masses of the world well know, he was not always thus free to travel, to speak, to work for the liberation of his own country, South Africa - still to be united, democratic, and non-racial - as well as, at the same time, for the liberation of the peoples of the world.

In 1962 South Africa's Bureau of State Security, with the collusion of the CIA. arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced Nelson Mandela on the charge of inciting an illegal strike and leaving the country without a passport in 1963-1964 he was tried again, with others, for alleged sabotage, and sentenced to life imprisonment. For more than 27 years he has been a prisoner of conscience in South Africa, confined to a cell 25 meters square - a physical confinement that by unintended irony magnified the world-wide scope of his spiritual commitment. his undaunted dream of a free people in a world of free peoples

For all these years the progressive world has watched and worked for his release - a release that would be a major leap forward toward the triumph of the people of South Africa, colored and white, over the hatred and violence of apartheid. His imprisonment, project, and faith have embodied the cause of his people their principal organ the African National Congress, and the freedom-loving peoples of all the world. Freedom for one person. for one people, is a sign and promise of the freedom of all. That is why in speaking to the US. Congress Mandela asserted that the Representatives would be uproud" to call the new South African nation a friend and an ally"; for this striving for liberty and human rights, for prosperity and peace among the peoples, is a "universal striving"

Nelson Mandela has come to America. His gentle manner, his measured thought, the steel of his conviction, the integrity of his commitment, and the magic of his charisma have moved the hearts and minds of the masses of the American people, the Modern-Day Moses"

More than three-quarters of a million people, black and white. welcomed Mandela as his motorcade moved from Kennedy Airport through Queens and Brooklyn to lower Broadway in the largest ticker-tape parade in the history of New York City.

Mayor David Dinkins called Mandela a modern-day Moses."

Marlon Brown, an 18-year old Brooklyn high school student, said his African-American youth group saw Mandela as a role model for all the people."

A public school teacher in Bedford-Stuyvesant wanted her second-grade pupils to see a living hero and heroine" - for Winnie Mandela has

shouldered her share of the burden of battle. Bernard Yehti, an African-American college student, Observed that the demonstration is tnot just a Black thing. This is an all-people thing. We're all in prison until the South African Blacks are free."

Jimmy Mitchell, an elderly deliveryman, because of the crush of the crowd on Broadway, could not catch a glimpse of the conquering hero. Yet he said, tI saw Mandela in my heart, and he touched my heart more than any individual. This moment summed up the feelings of a lifetime?

Mandela reciprocated the feelings of empathy and common purpose. At Yankee Stadium he told the crowd of 50,000, tFrom behind the gr-Mounting Up On Wings Like Eagles

Nelson Mandela Meets America

Howard L. Parsons

Professor of Philosophy, U.S.A.

nite wallsi political prisoners could hear loud and clear your Voice of solidarity We are winning because you made it possible."

Among some local and district trade unions - oi the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers of America. the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. the United Mine Workers of America, and others - support for the South African liberation movement against apartheid has been solid and consistent. Richard Trumka, President ofthe United Mine Workers of America. said: The AFL-CIO has always been a supporter of sanctions and now we have the ability to move, these sanctions to a higher leveli"

Mandela told a group of trade unionists at the AFL-CIO building in Washington: "The fact that today We approach the day of liberation is due in large part to the support we get here, We know that many of you have demonstrated in front of the South African Embassy and have been arrested. We will never forget! We are among our brothers and sisters, our comrades in arms. We are at home."

This widespread warmth and enthusiasm - from the people of a system built on the sweat and blood of slaves and still profiting from institutionalized racism - may seem paradoxical. Yet Mandela's dignity, candor, concentrated principle. and total confidence in his cause has won the respect of even some self-serving politicians. While ever alert for photo opportunities with this popular public figure, some at least have shown that their buried better natures could rise part-way to the shining idealism oi Mandela and do so without political lossr At times, in momentous matters, and now in the worlds history as never before, abiding by principle is the best practical policy, and we can believe that it one does right the consequences will fall out favorably for all. The world is in such condition now that not to move with good will and with all deliberate speed toward freedom and equality. justice and cooperation, democracy and peace would put in jeopardy the whole human enterprize.

More to the point, the preponderant American public. reported in the polls as apathetic. depressed. anxious, and troubled by too much or too little goods, by owning or owing and not by being, has discovered in this freed African prisoner a fresh vision of what is good and pure.

of what human life on this flawed earth might be
- "his clenched fist hoisted higher/than hope/
for all to see and follow."

Meeting with US. Officials

In the face of this enormous popular admiration for Mandela's lifetime anti-apartheid struggle, members of the US. government found themselves compelled to accept - at least in words - the principle and end of justice - though then to shift the ground and to question the means of achieving it. The US. administration has agreed to Channel \$42 million to the ANC - but on the condition of the suspension of VIOLENCE in the context of negotiation. On 26 June 1990 President Bush demanded that all sides in South Africa must give up violence.

it is an Odd and brazenly hypocritical demand coming from a government second to none in recent decades in depredations on other lands and peoples - a government that since 1798 has conducted or sponsored Close to 200 violent interventions and invasions into other countries. the most recent victims being Nicaragua Grenada, Libya, and Panama, This is no model of pacifism to be preaching to a people under the gun of a police state - a people toiling laboriously' to secure their inalienable right of freedom. With a monopoly on violence on its instruments and its courts, the South African white government has long made Vicious use of it - institutional personal covert. overt, legal, and illegal.

Further, Mandela argued when a repressive government steps up repressions, "the people have no alternative but to resort to Violence." As for negotiation, the ANC has proposed as its preconditions the release of 1000 political prisoners by the government. the return of 20.000 exiles. the repeal of repressive legislation, and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal province- in short. the cessation of state violence against the people it is the ANC, not the other side, that has a "total commitment to peace." it wants and works for the end of violence

Those who worry about violence in South Africa, said Mandela to the US. Congress. should focus their attention" on the ideologists of racism who are the source of that violence. The party truly devoted to democracy and peace is the ANC It calls for law and order - the law that upholds the fundamental human rights" of equality. liberty. and the pursuit of happiness" and does not beat and bloody them with clubs and bullets: and the order that sets itself as absolutely contrary to the disorder of the state whose forces "turn their weapons against the Citizens" daring to assert their rights To that law-making body the US Congress. Mandela pleaded:

We are engaged in struggle to ensure that the rights of every individual are guaranteed and protected, through (1) democratic constitution, the rule of law. all entrenched bill of rights. It must be enforced by an independent judiciary, as well as (2) multi-party political systems

Some members of Congress expressed alarm over Mandelais friendliness to Fidel Castro of Cuba Muammar Qaddafi of Libya, and Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In response to Ted Koppel of ABC (American

Broadcasting Corporation), Mandela said that
he had t'no time to be looking into the internal
affairs of their countries" and those men all ttsup-
port our struggle to the hilt." A little reflection will
reveal that what these leaders have in common
Welson Mandela was iuerl the biggest
licker-tape welcome In t re history of New
York City

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- beyond and because of their oneness with the South African freedom struggle - is their opposition to the repression and injustice of all imperialist regimes and their leadership of long downtrodden peoples in the US. The liberationists wish to separate the ANC from its triennialness from these militant leaders and their peoples. They must separate the ANC from its own principles of freedom and leniency and thus separate themselves from the settler principles, to which they are bound by American tradition - and decent appearance, to the contrary.

But Mandela was not put off by the criticism. skepticism. and protest. In his address to the American Congress he sought and found the common human ground that his people and the American people share - coming "in the expectation and knowledge" that the "humanity" of his people would be reaffirmed and enlarged by open and unfettered union with the nations of the world,"

Apartheid - Unspeakable Crime
against Humanity

What is it that the people of South Africa demand. need. try to: visualize. and light? It is (leniency - human rights for one and all "without regard to race. color. creed, or sex" the right to vote and to be voted for in "all elective organs of state" - the right of freedom for all to decide their own destiny and to throw off "the terrible fate of all black persons in our country under the system of apartheid?"

Apartheid is an unspeakable "crime against humanity": it imposes "hunger and deprivation" on the people: it humiliates them. And here emerges the universal human bond that binds the people of South Africa to the people of the United States - the demand for democracy, the striving toward it, and the fearless affirmation of it. Why did we go to jail. why did we sacrifice? - Mandela asks. And he answers: Because we could not act against the will of the people and against our conscience. because we could not be overcome by fear and self-serv-ation. And this struggle for democracy and human rights" is going on not only in our country but throughout the world," both today and in long times past, under many conditions of oppression. as those against which the campaigns of the American people have been waged.

We could not have made (III) our nation through literature in the human giants such as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln (and Thomas Jefferson and not been moved to art as they were moved to (1d,

We could not have heard of mid admirer! John Brown, Sojourner Truth. Frederick Douglass, W E, B. Dubois, Murders Garter. Martin Luther King, Jr. (and others and not be moved to (1d us they were moved to (MI.

We must not have known of your Neelam-lion of Independence and Hot electric/ to join in the struggle to guarantee the people's life, liberty (UK! the pursuit of happiness.

What Congressman, however the heart of kindness be hardened by greed or sensitive thought he wrinkled up in still reaction. could fail to be touched and moved by this appeal to the noblest aims of the American tradi-

tion? And who could fail to understand on the ground of such principles that the American sanctions against the white minority domination by apartheid - a racist tyranny," as Mandela called it before the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid (in New York), - must by all means go on unabated and indeed be increased?

Homage to Boston: Cradle of American Revolution

Mandela likewise paid homage to Boston, the mother and cradle of the American Revolution, which nurtured in its bosom the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. as Mother Atria now nurtures her own offspring of freedom. Mandela thanked Boston for eating for his children and grandchildren (luring his long (leaves of) inheritance, Reaching across the centuries of time. the (distances of geography. and the alienations of (Mass history. he identified a racial link between the American Revolution of 1776 and the South African Revolution of 1948: "We lower our banners in memory of" (the first person to fall in your revolution. "Attnks, a runaway slave whose African ancestors were shipped to the New World in chains. was shot by the British colonial power in the Boston Massacre. Soweto. shall we see your tree at last! () inartyret ('llllt 't'll of' the stains and (lusty laments of Atria and the States, shall we live to see that illl 'Q'illl Day when your unrelenting souls shall arise from long silence and proclaim to us you are satisfied with the triumph of our cause? "

In his address to the people of Lesotho. Mandela was more explicit: "The kinship that the ANC feels for the people of Lesotho goes deeper than skin color. It is a kinship of (shared African experience and our kinship as Yl 'lltts of blind prejudice. And the kinship of a ('Hlltlltllt enduring movement against that prejudice and toward ltt 't 'tlltllt,

Mandela reintroduced the concept of the racial (human) origins of their own country - a country in which they take pride though not always properly we atll. not knowing or feeling its revolutionary history; wherein. as .leterson noted, "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants" You were born, Mandela recalled to the Congress, in the travail of sacrifice. in love of liberty, in dying "in the War of Independence the Civil War and the war against nazis and fascism," For the same end. he observed our own people to continue to (lie to this day Victims of armed agents of the state": and the (leniency we 'seriously" seek "is an outcome for which many of us went to prison. here (let in police cells, on the gallows, in our towns and villages. and in the countries of Southern Africa."

What (do we owe such a state that is designed to rob us of our dignity and life.) Better to be obedient to the best in our beings. to truth and justice, to liberty and solidarity. to our brothers and sisters. to our children and the generations to come, to the people's movement of liberation throughout history, than to such desecration and insult to human life Better to resist that state with all our might. and to organize ourselves to replace it, and to set up in its stead a more humane governance that will be our own, one

wherein we can take pride and of which we will take care,
Could any honest American escape out from under the inexorable weight of the logic of Mandelals thought, that the American and the South African Revolutions are two of a kind, strong and lasting strands in the same texture of historical struggle - that the South African cause is not distinct from ours (if we be true to our fathers' and mothers, heritage), that to honor and defend the one is to honor and defend the other?

Warning to White and Privileged Minority

As he described the World that is and is becoming, Mandela's prophetic words prefigured the world to come. Let the white and privileged minority of the whole world take note it not tremble: the peoplesoteolor, who now eoniprize two-thirds of the planet's population and who stiller and have suffered for eenttiries antler the most grievous burdens of poverty antl ineun ity and death, are on the march for their place in the sun of equality and abundanee, By the middle of the next century they will be the name-rieal majority in the United States. And even before that (lay the brutality of the system of domination by the power of white wealth and No. If - August 19.90

exploitation will begin to collapse and the peopleot this nationithelaststrongholdofworld imperialism and raeisnr Wlll at long last stir and move to join the human rae.

ls it not a contradiction and affront to reason that this toforeigner. this gray-hairetl Atriean, this man whose age is ()l(l when reekonetl by years, this ('om'ietetl criminal in the eyes of the state, now a prisoner risen troni the oblivion of long-(ltitwtittll (luress A shoultl strike sueh a deep ('ltttrtl of sympathy antl awaken such a flood of hopetnl energy in the Anteriean people?

Yet this spontaneous unity of aim and will is no nnsterx'. It is an illustration that while as indi. vitlnals we all live in a world of time and space, as partienlars who come into the proeession of history and pass out of it. some universals endure antl reetir aecross theehanges ottiineand the perishing of particular individuals and eul-tiires, Snell are the deepest demands of our existence - our neetls to live. to enter into mutual t'are antl peae with others. to work and create. to nourish the diversity of individuals. to do justice and to love mercy. to sustain a relation of llt ilistie resonanee with the natural environment. to provide Well for tuture generations: and our elainis and responsibilities necessary for the satisfaction of these needs When someone somewhere in the worltl stands tip for these neetls antl rights - whether he or she be black or white otth or young. African or American. imprisoned or free. past or present - we feel it is we ourselves. oiirown universal human nature. our human rate that stands up. That particular identity (louhletl antl enriehetl by itlentity with another tleatl or alive. eaneels the isolation by which (litterent tinies (lix'itle us and Cheats death of a eoniplete Victory over the individual. Then we know that we are not alone: we live in a kind of eternity that conquers the separations of time and the wreckages ot death. We become one with

those it me dead anti those yet unborn. with the far-
away antl the unseen. We weaye a fabric of
tht night. menu it"): and lit me through the otherwise
tatteretl tangled. anti disconnected world of
events. a historic community of creators sharing
hoth setback and success. both grief and joy.
How many are the members of that noble
army of martyrs and heroes who have gone
before and among whom Nelson Mandela is
now numbered! The prophets of ancient Israel.
.lesus ot Nazareth. Spartacus ot Thrace, John
Ball. .lan Hus. .leanne D'Are. Thomas Muenzert
Toussaint l,'()LiVertLire. Eugene Debs. Rosa
Ltixenibttre Mahatma tiandhi Ho Chi Minh.
Martin Luther King. ilru and all revolters against
l)ttll(lLth.SlilVCS and eolt inials and other kinds -
all eall to mind our meaning. our destiny. and the
vocation ot humanity.

"Their Cause is Not Theirs Alone"

We revere Nelson Mandela as we (to these
others not only for qualities of personal charac-
ter, sueh as righteousness. eotirage. and perse-
Veranee tinder persecution - but also for the
transpersonal principles that he inearnates. As
'llhoreau saitl ot John Brown. their cause is not
theirs alone but belongs to iiiultittides: we trea-
sure them as trustees and bearers of our raeeis
niost preeions needs and l()llglllg8. who from the
darkness t)l prison cells and even from the grave
sounded like heralds the golden trumpet notes
of our triumphant tuture.

At Riverside Chureh, where he joined in the
jubilation of more than 1ltltttt as throngs danced
in the aisles to the African beat of the toyi-toyi,
Mandela, with every right of a prophet, invoked
the language of another prophet, Second Isaiah,
oi the tith century B C: tWe shall mount up With
wings like eagles, we shall run and not be weary,
we shall walk and not taint."

Mount up. () prophetic eagle front the Cape of
racism to the high V'Cl(l of equality. from the dark
dwelling of segregation to the clear air of frater-
nity, front the fenced bush and walled ghetto to a
land open and wide, from the long night of apar-
theid to the glorious morning of freedom!
And we who have wings mount up with yOU-

V11. 3 - August NW!

III/ernun'onu/ 1'11'I0I11'11s11/1o/1 - :3

Nelson Mandela Addresses

Nelson Mandela addressed the special meeting of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid convened in his honour at the UN Headquarters in New York on 22 June 1990. It was, in fact, an address to the United Nations as a whole, as this meeting was attended by top officials of the United Nations and permanent representatives of practically all the nations accredited to the world organisation.

Those who sat on the dais at the meeting were the President of the General Assembly Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria), Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid Ibrahim A. Gambari (also from Nigeria).

Mr. Gambari in his speech of welcome hailed the event as of ugreat historic significance to the Special Committee and to the United Nations as a whole".

Published here is the text of Mr Mandelats address to the special meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid. In the address, the ANC leader called on the international community not to relax its sanctions against South Africa until apartheid, a crime against humanity, was totally eradicated.

WE FEEL e. 5pec12111V' 1lonoul'ed2111d privileged to 11211' e the possibility today 10 st2111d 211 this 11211-11011211 place to speak to 2111 111 you 111111 reple- sent the people 5 of the world W112111111111stg121te 1111 to Vou Mr (1121111112111 the Spet 1211 (0111111111111 2.1g2111151Apartheid the Stcret21rV' (11111111211 211111 2111 Member Statesofthe()1g21111221110111111'11121k111glt possible 1111 115 to be here.

The tragedy is 111211 111121111215 created the need for 1111s g21t11e1'111g2111d 11121de 115ee111 11211111211 that we must gather 111 this historic meeting1 place is the 121(ttottheeoutinuiug1'111111111551011012111111111 against humanity. How much better it would have been 11 we were 111111111111,I to celebrate 21 vittorV' 11111211111 21dre21111 fulfilled, the triur11p110tjustice me 21 tV'r21111111211 112151 the 1e2iliz21tio1101 the 1151011 enshrined 111 the United Nations (11211'rte and the L 111V'ers211 Declaration (1111111112111 Rights. 11 will 1111 ever 11111121111 2111 indelible blight on 11111112111 historV' 111211 the apartheid (Time (-1111 occurred. Future generations will surely 21sk:

w1121t error was 11121de that this system est2111-lished 1151111111 the wake 111 the 211101111011 11121 111112 1'ers211 Declaration of 11111112111 Rights"?

It will for ever rel1121111 2111 accusation 211111 21 challenge 10 2111 111e112111d women of conscience 111211 it took 215111111; 215 it 1121s before 2111 of 11.5 stood up to say enough 15 211111111311. Future gene 121110115 will sureiV' inquire: v11121terror w215 11121deth21t 11115 system established itself 111 the 21111111121111 of the 1112115 211 Nuremburg1

These questions will 2111.511 11ee211125e when this august body. the United 11211111115. first discussed the South African question. 111 191113, 11w215 discussing the issue of racism They will be posed because 111es spur to the est21btish111e11t (11 this ()1- ganization W215 the detel'111111a11011012111humanity never again to permit racist theorV'2111d practice to dragoon the wor Id into the deathly clutches of

war and genocide

And yet for 2111 that, 21 racist tyranny established itself in our eoulltrV'2 As theV knew would happen who lefused to treat 111115 1112110r21s a quaint 111510111211 aberration this tyranny 11215 claimed115ow11(011(121veofVltt111151thasestahw lisheditsownbrutalworthtlyt11e11u111belofci111 dren 11 has killed and the orphans, the widows and widowers it carlclal11121sits unique creation United Nations

And still it lives on, provoking strange and monstrous debates about the means that its victims are obliged to use to rid themselves of this intolerable scourge, eliciting arguments from those who choose not to act, that to do nothing must be accepted as the very essence of civilized opposition to tyranny.

We hold 11 21s 2111 11111012111111 principle 111211 rac-15111 1111151 he opposed by 2111 the 111e2111s 111211 111111121111V' 1121s 211 its 1115111 15211, Wherever it occurs it 11215 the potential to result 111 215V'511111121tic2111d e0111prelle11s11'e (12111121111111u1112111 rights to those who are discii1111121ted against. This is because 2111 r21cis111 is inherently 21 challenge to 11111112111 rights because it denies the View 111211 eV'erV' 11111112111 being is 211111151111 otequ21t worth with 21m other because it t1e2115 entire peoples 21s suh-111111121112

Apartheid: A Crime against Humanity

This 15 why it was correcttoc1121r21cterizet11e apartheid s_V'5tel1121521cri111e21g21111st1111111211111V' 211111 appropriate 111211 the international 1111114 11111111itV' should decide 111211 it should he suppressed and punishment meted out 21122111151 its perpetrators, We pay tribute to this ()1g2111iz211 11011 211111 its Member States 10111115211111other decisions 2111(1211'1111115 it took to expunge this crime.

We 211511 take this opportunitV' to salute the Special Committee against Apartheid which 11215111111112111111521V't1rV'1111p11r121111111stru111e1111111 our snuggle 21g21111stthe iniquitous 2111doppres-sive policies of the South Atrieran G(11'ern11lent2 We salute 211511 the States 111211 11121ke up its 111e1111)ership. which 11211'e been unrelenting 111 their resolve to contribute everything they could to ensure 111211 the world W215 mobilized to 21ct 21132111151 the apartheid system2 111 this connection 211250. Sir. allow 115 to express 21 Wcli-dCSOrVct1 tribute to your 1Clt2111'1112111 01 Special ('0111111ittce 21112111151 Apartheid)col111trV,Nlge1121 Whit11 you so 211)l_v represent 215 did your predecessor 111 this 11111101121111 ottie,e His lxcellelleV Major (Sen-er211 Joseph (32111121, current President oi the (1111101211 Assembly, under whose leadership the United Nations Declaration on South Africa was adopted by consensus 211 the sixteenth special session 01 the General Assembly 121st Decemher (1989),

That Declaration will go down 111111istorV'21s one 01 the most 1111pol't2111t documents 111 the struggle of the 1111111112111011211 e111111111u1111V' 21g211nst21p2111heid The fact 111211 11 was adopted 11V'c011sel1sus was itself 21 telling blow against the apartheid 5Vste111 211111 21 111211 stat ement underlining the unity 011111ew011d eon1111111111V (111 the South African question 21nd its resolute 111111,

We look forward to the 11111011111211 the See?

let211'VI-(Jerle1211 01' the United Nations wilt sub-11111 dealing with the question of the 1111ple111e115 121111111 oi the Declaration 11151111111 Africa. This report will 211.51) be 1111101121111 to the extent 111211 11 will provide a basis for further decisions by the United N21110115 regarding future action (111 the question of apartheid.

Apartheid System Remains in Place

What must howeVelbe clear is 111211 the apartheid system remains 111 place None of the prime lples laid down ln the Declaration 1121s 11eeni111ple111eutedto111'01'111ew1121tt11e1)ee1211 12111011 characterized as 2111 111ter1121t111112111V' acceptablesolution01111111SouthAtrieanques-111111. Similarly. the profound 211111 irreversible 111211112115 which the Declaration visualized have 1101 yet occurred.

The conclusion 110111 these observations would seem ele211' to us. it 15 111211 nothing which 11215 happened 11151111111 Atric21c2111s 1111211611 5111101111111051110115111211 t1115()rg21111iz21tio11 11215 taken 111 115 struggle against apartheid We therefore stronglyurge111211thereshould1121110 relaxation0121211511111;111e21sures.Thes2111c11011s t1121th21V'e1)eeI11mposed11V't11eUI1itedN2111011s 2111d11V111(111'11111211(3(11'er11111e1115 5110111d1'e11121111 111 place

We 21150 urge 111211 the United Nations should doel'erV'ti1111g 111115 power 10 11121111121111 the 11111tyit achieved when it adopted the Declaration 011 South Africa 121st December. We therefore hope 1112112111 Men111erSt211es wiltcontinuel021e1111c011-cert so 215 not 111 111121161 2111V' 5111121111111 111 which thosewho21reopposedtocl12111ge11111111col111trV' 11nd 1111c11111'21ge111er1t to resist change, because some countries would have destroyed the c011-sensusthat1121sheel121cl11eV'ed.1111111.5 leg211d,we take this opportunity once more to c2111 011 the countries 01 the European C11111111111111V'. which are holding 21 summit meeting 111 21 few d21ysi tillle, the111seh'es to remain 12111111111 10 the pur-poses 111 the Declaration to whose elaboration theV' were 1121111 211111 1111 which they Voted.

Process of Negotiations

Atthe11111121111111111ANC,t111eprocesst121s11legu11 which could 1e21d 10 21 just political settlement 111 11111 country. At 0111 well-k111flvV11111leeti111g111C21pe "l(lv111 211 the beginning 01121551 1111111111 1M21V' 151911, we agreed with the South African C101-1111111111111 1111 the renloV'211 01 the 011st21eles to negotiations which are identified 111 the Declara-111111. The process (11 1111plemell1tillg 111211 agree 111e11t 1121.5 started, hut 21s this distinguished gathering knows, 21 101 still 1111112111125 to be done before we c2111 s21V' 111211 21 e11111211e conducive to negotiations 11215 been created.

We therefore still 11211'e some distance to travel before we undertake the further steps outlined 111 the Declaration, leading to negotiations for the adoption1112111ew,den10c1'21tic constitution The f21et 111211 21 good beginning, was 11121de 111 Cape Town should 1101 lead 115 to conclude 111211 further progress is21ssul'ed (11' that we will not have to confront 11121101 obstacles 111 future, 111 1111.5 regard, we w0uld like to reiterate what we have said before. that we helieV'e that Presia dent De Klerk 21nd 1115 colleagues 111 the leadership of the ruling party are people of integrity. We 211'e 01111e View 111211 theV' wili211)ide 11V deeie 510115 th21t211'e21r1'1V'ed 211 111 the course 111(1111'dis-

el15si011s 211111 negotiations. This, 111 itself, 15 2111
i111pol't2111t Victory (11 0111' 011111111111 struggle
because 11 15 that struggle which 1121s 11121de the
cost of maintaining the apartheid system too
111911211111 helped to convince the ruling group 111
(1111' eountrV' th211e112111ges c211111oloilgerbe resist-
ed,
Threat from White Extremists
11 is. however. also true 111211 there are 1112111V'
among our white compatriots who are still c0111-
111111ed to the m21111te112111ce 01 the 0111 system of
white minority domination. Some are opposed
because of their ideological adherence to r211w
15111. Others are resisting because theV 111211
der11loelatic majority rule. Some 111 these are

International /llol)i/i'surion - (i
.Ve/soli .lIu/irIe/(I (ll l/Ie lini/er/ N(lliolis. it'il/l SU(lI't'lUH' (jeliem/.lur/er l
lere: (/e ('ue/lur (/e/l) tl/lr/
l'resirlen/ o/ (Ieneru/ :lssemhly Joseph N. (ior/m.
armed and are to be found within the army and
the police,

Outside of these State agencies. other
whites are working at a leyerish pae to estab-
lish paramilitary groups whose state(l aim is
the physical liquidation of ANC. its leadership
and membership, as well as other persons or
formations which these right-wing terrorists
see as a threat to the continued existene of
the system of while minority domination, We
cannot afford to underestimate the threat that
these defenders of a brutal illlrl continuing
reality pose to the whole process of workingy
towards a just political settlement
The ANC is determined to do everything in its
power to ensure speedy movement forward
towards the peaceful abolition of the apartheid sys-
tem, To this end we are engaged in many initiatives
within South Africa aimed at bringing into the pro-
cess of negotiations all the people and the repre-
sentative political formations of our country. We
have to overcome the mistrust that exists on both
sides and reinforce the understanding that the only
victory we should all seek is the victory of the
people as a whole and not the victory ()f one party
over another

It is obvious that none of these, processes
can be easy, We are, however, inspired by the
experience of the people of Namibia and our
comrades-in-arms of the South West Africa
People's Organization (SWAPO), who also
overcame the divisions and the mistrust gen-
erated by the apartheid system, carried out a
peaceful political process within a relatively
short period of time and are today a proutl
nation of independent people. We take this
opportunity to salute the representatives of tlle
Namibian people who are present in this Hall
and acknowledge the debt we owe them for
the contribution they have lllthlC to our own
liberation.

We also salute the front-line States of sou-
thern Africa and the rest of our continent for
their own enormous contribution to the
struggle against apartheid, which has brought
us to the point today when we can say that the
victory of the struggle for a united, democratic
and non-racial South Africa is within our grasp,
Tribute is also due to the non-aligned coun-
tries and Movement and the peoples of the rest
of the world for their own sterling efforts in
pursuit of the common cause. What we must
once more urge is that all these forces should
maintain their unity around the perspectives
contained in the United Nations and Harare
Declarations on South Africa. How fast we pro-
gress towards liberation will (lependl on how
successful we are in our efforts to sustain that
united resolve,

This is for us a inoyingt moment because we
know that as we SlEtIHL here we are among
lrientls 2111(1 people of conscience. We know
this because we know what you (li(l over the
(leades to secure my release and the release
of other South African political prisoners front
ltr'etoriais dungeons. We thank you most since-
rely for this. especially because you have thus given

us the opportunity to join hands with you in the search for a speedy solution to the emergency - the challenges facing our country, our region and continent, and humanity as a whole, Commitment to Democracy, Justice and Peace

We know also that you harbour the hope that we will not relent or falter in the pursuit of that common vision which should result in the transformation of South Africa into a country of democracy, justice and peace. Standing before the nations of the world, we make that commitment, strengthened by the knowledge that you will light our way side by side with us until victory is achieved.

We also take this opportunity to extend warm greetings to all others who fight for their liberation and their human rights, including the peoples of Palestine and Western Sahara. We commend their struggles to you. Remember that we are all moved by the fact that freedom is indivisible, and that the denial of the rights of one diminishes the freedom of others. We thank you for your kind invitation to us to address this gathering and for the opportunity it has given us to pay homage to you all: to the Secretary-General, to the President of the General Assembly, to the Special Committee against Apartheid and to the United Nations itself for the work that has been done to end the apartheid crime against humanity. The distance we still have to travel is not long. Let us travel it together. Let us, by our joint actions, vindicate the purposes for which this Organization was established and create a situation where its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will become part of the body of law on which will be based the political and social order of a new South Africa. Our common victory is assured.

No. 3 - August 1990
Achieve

In this address to the joint session of the Houses of Congress of the United States of America in Washington, DC. (26 June 1990), ANC leader Nelson Mandela visualised a democratic South Africa where the objective of growth with equity would be ensured.

Published here is the text of Mr Mandela's address to the U.S. Congress in which he appealed for US. help to build a new South Africa: "We shall need your support to achieve the post-apartheid economic objectives which are an intrinsic part of the process of the restoration of the human rights of the people of South Africa. We would like to approach the issue of our economic cooperation not as a relationship between donor and recipient, between a dependent and a benefactor.... This relationship should, however, be one from which your people should also derive benefit, so that we who are fighting to liberate the very spirit of an entire people from the bondage of the arrogance of the ideology and practice of white supremacy, do not build a relationship of subservient dependency and

fawning gratitude."

IT IS A FACT of the human condition that each shall, like a meteor a mere hriel passing moment in time and space. flit across the human stage and pass out of existence. Even the golden lads and lasses. as much as the chimney sweepers, come. and tomorrow are no more After them all, they leave the people. enduring multiplying. permanent, except to the extent that the same humanity might abuse its own genius to imolate life itself. And so we have come to Washington in the District of Columbia, and into these hallowed chambers of the United States Congress, not as pretenders to greatness. but as a part of a people whom we know to be noble and heroic - enduring. multiplying. permanent. rejoicing in the expectation and knowledge that their humanity will be reaffirmed and enlarged by open and unfettered communion with the nations of the world.

"Our People Demand Democracy"

We have come here to tell you, and through you, your own people, who are equally noble and heroic, of the troubles and trials. the fond hopes and aspirations. of the people from whom we originate. We believe that we know it as a fact. that your kind and moving invitation to us to speak here derived from your own desire to convey a message to our people, and according to your humane purposes, to give them an opportunity to say what they want of you, and what they want to make of their relationship with you,

Our people demand democracy Our country, which continues to bleed and suffer pain. needs democracy. It cries out for the situation where the law will decree that the freedom to speak of freedom constitutes the very essence of legality and the very thing that makes for the legitimacy of the constitutional order

It thirsts for the situation where those who are entitled by law to carry arms, as the forces of national security and law and order, will not turn their weapons against the citizens simply because the citizens assert that equality,

.V0. 3 - Angus! 1.0.9!)

Nelson Mandela's Address to U.S. Congress
on Post-Apartheid Economic Objectives
in a Democratic South Africa
liberty and the pursuit of happiness are funda-
mental human rights which are not only inalien-
able but must, if necessary, be defended with the
weapons of war.

We fight for and visualise a future in which all
shall, without regard to race, colour, creed or
sex, have the right to vote and to be voted into all
elective organs of state. We are engaged in
struggle to ensure that the rights of every indivi-
dual are guaranteed and protected through a
democratic constitution, the rule of law, an
entrenched bill of rights, which should be
enforced by an independent judiciary, as well as
a multi-party political system.

We are acutely conscious of the fact that we
are addressing 2111 historic institution for whose
creation and integrity many men and women
lost their lives in the War of Independence, the
Civil War, the war against nazis and fascism
That very history demands that we address you
with respect and candour and without any
attempt to dissemble

What we have said concerning the political ar-
rangements we seek for our country is seriously
meant. It is an outcome for which many of us
went to prison, for which many have died in
police cells, on the gallows, in our towns and vil-
lages and in the countries of Southern Africa,
Indeed, we, have even had our political represe-
ntatives killed in countries as far away from South
Africa as France.

Unhappily, our people continue to die to this
day Victims of armed agents of the State who are
still determined to turn their guns against the
very idea of a non-racial democracy. But this is
the perspective which we trust Congress will
feel happy to support and encourage, using the
enormous weight of its prestige and authority as
an eminent representative of democratic prac-
tice

To deny any persons their human rights is to
challenge their very humanity To impose on
them a wretched life of hunger and deprivation
is to dehumanise them, But such has been the
terrible lot of all black persons in our country
under the system of apartheid The extent of the
deprivation of millions of people has to be seen
to be believed The injury is made that more into-
lerable by the opulence of our white compatriots
and the deliberate distortion of the economy to
feed that opulence The process of the recons-
truction of South African society must and will
also entail the transformation of its economy.
We need a strong and growing economy that is
able to address the needs of all the people of our
country that can provide food, housing, educa-
tion, health services, social security and environmen-
tal protection that makes human life human that makes life
joyful and not a protracted torment with hope-
lessness and despair:

Many-sided Strategy of Economic
Development in SA.

We believe that the fact of the apartheid struc-
ture of the South African economy and the enor-
mous and pressing needs of the people, make it
inevitable that the democratic government will
intervene in this economy, acting through the

elected Parliament. We have put the matter to the business community of our country that the need for a public sector is one of the elements 111 a many-sided strategy of economic development and restructuring that has to be considered by us all, including the private sector.

The ANC holds no ideological positions which dictate that it must adopt a policy of 1121-tionalization. But the ANC also holds the View that there is no self-regulating mechanism within the South African economy which will, on its own, ensure growth with equity

At the same time, we take it as given that the private sector is an engine of growth and development which is critical to the success of the mixed economy we hope to see in the future South Africa. We are accordingly committed to the creation of the situation in which business people, both South African and foreign, have confidence in the security of their investments, are assured of a fair rate of return on their capital and do business in conditions of stability and peace

We must also make the point very firmly that the political settlement, and democracy itself, cannot survive, unless the material needs of the people, the bread and butter issues, are addressed as part of the process of change and this a matter of urgency. It should never be that the anger of the poor should be the finger of accusation pointed at all of us because we failed to respond to the cries of the people for food, for shelter, for the dignity of the individual,

We shall need your support to achieve the post-apartheid economic objectives which are an intrinsic part of the process of the restoration of the human rights of the people of South Africa. We would like to approach the issue of our economic cooperation not as a relationship between donor and recipient, between dependent and benefactor,

We would like to believe that there is a way in which we could structure this relationship so that we do indeed benefit from your enormous resources in terms of your capital, technology, all-round expertise, your enterprising spirit and your markets. This relationship should however be one from which your people should also derive benefit so that we who are fighting to liberate the very spirit of the entire people from the bondage of the arrogance of the ideology and practice of white supremacy, do not build a relationship of subservient dependency and fawning gratitude

One of the benefits that should accrue to both our peoples and to the rest of the world, should surely be that this complex South African society which has known nothing but racism for three centuries should be transformed into an oasis of good race relations, where the black shall to the white be sister and brother, a fellow South African, and equal human being, both citizens of the world. To destroy racism in the world, we, together, must expunge apartheid racism in South Africa. Justice and liberty must be our tools, prosperity and happiness our weapon

You know this more than we do that peace is its own reward. Our own fate born by a succession of generations that reach backwards

into centuries. has been nothing but tension, conflict and death In 21 sense we do not know the meaning of peace except in the imagination. But because we have not known true peace in its real meaning; because, for centuries generations have had to bury the victims of state Violence. we have fought for the right to experience peace.

()n the initiative of the ANC, the process towards the conclusion of a peaceful settlement has started According to a logic dictated by our situation we are engaged in an effort which includes the removal of obstacles to negotiations T his will be followed by a negotiated determination of the mechanism which International Mobt/lsulr'ori _ 7 will draw up the new constitution.

This should lead to the formation of this eons titution-making institution and therefore the elaboration and adoption of 21 democratic constitutioni Elections would then be held on the basis of this constitution and, for the first time, South Africa would have a body of lawmakers which would, like yourselves, be mandated by the whole people

Despite the admitted commitment of President de Klerk to walk this road with us and despite our acce ptanee of his integrity and the honesty of his purposes we would be fools to believe that the road ahead of us is without all the hurdles. Too many among our white compatriots are steeped in the ideology of racism to admit easily that change must come.

Tragedy may yet sully the future we pray and work for it these slaves of the past amongst the whites take up arms in a desperate effort to resist the process which must lead to the democratic transformation of our country For those who care to worry about violence in our country, as we do. it is at these forces that they should focus their attention, a process in which we are engaged

We must contend still with the reality that South Africa is a country in the grip of the apartheid crime against humanity, The consequences of this continue to be felt not only within our borders but throughout Southern Africa which continues to harvest the bitter fruits of conflict and war, especially in Mozambique and Angola. Peace will not come to our country and region until the apartheid system is ended. Sanctions Must Remain in Place

Therefore we say we still have a struggle on our hands. ()ur common and noble efforts to abolish the system of white minority domination must continue. We are encouraged and strengthened by the fact of the agreement between ourselves, this Congress as well as President Bush and his Administration that sanctions should remain in place The purpose for which they were imposed has not yet been achieved.

We have yet to arrive at the point when we can say that South Africa is set on an irreversible course leading to its transformation into a united, democratic and non-racial country. We plead that you cede the prerogative to the people of South Africa to determine the moment when it will be said that profound changes have occurred

and an irreversible process achieved,
enabling you and the rest of the interna-
tional community to lift sanctions.
We would like to take this opportunity to
thank You all for the principled struggle you
waged in the U. S. Congress which resulted in
the adoption of the historic comprehensive
Anti- Apartheid Act which made such a deci-
sive contribution to the process of moving our
country forward towards negotiations. We
request that you go further and assist us with
the material resources which will enable us to
promote the peace process and meet other
needs which arise from the changing situation
you have helped to bring about.
(Continued on page 1/ 1

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Beyond Apartheid: Towards

Majority Rule in South Africa

Joseph N. Garba

In this article. the President of "10 UN General Assembly (1989-1990), Mr Joseph N. Garba, gives his views on a 11051-apartheid situation in South Africa.

The article is based on Mr (iarha's address to the Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. in April 1990, entitled uBeyond Apartheid: Towards Majority Rule in South Africa". He prefaced the address by saying that it was based largely on conjecture and in part on empirical evidence, "an exercise undertaken with great hesitancy. but at the same time with great optimism".

Published here are extracts from Mr Garba's address in which he enunciates what a post-apartheid South Africa might be like.

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South Africa at the Crossroads

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ii successive Supreme Court decisions. beginning with the landmark Brown versus Board of Education. South Africa's ease could hardly be any different. Separate infrastructural arrangements did not work with apartheid and certainly will not work in a majority-ruled South Africa. even if the attempt to create such a system is predicated on white demands for guarantee of their property rights and material prospects.

' Today, South Africa remains an African State in which political and other forms of subterfuge are ably employed to ensure the domination of a minority group over a majority. _ .

The contrast between an apartheid State and a black majority-ruled State is that with apartheid, whites held all the trump cards, to the exclusion of blacks.

In a majority-ruled South Africa, blacks will, of course, be in the leadership; they will enjoy privileges and freedoms previously denied to them, but only in partnership with whites and other races. The 'any exclusion rule will no longer apply - either in precept or practice, for what is envisaged in South Africa is a non-racial democracy.

To achieve that non-racial democracy. even in the most minimal terms. will demand of the black leadership certain sacrifices, They must in the face of frustrations and distractions from radical blacks. exhibit mature judgement and embrace a political process that will allow admission of whites and minorities to other ranks into the leadership ranks. This ought not be too difficult given that within the ranks of anti-apartheid organizations such as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Black Sash. there are whites. Secondly. it is impossible for all blacks to be part of the leadership cadre and improbable that all whites. particularly those who have been. or are now in leadership positions, will vanish overnight. Whereas in the cases of Zimbabwe Namibia and even Zambia, the relatively few whites who feared black rule had found a safe haven in South Africa: in post-apartheid South Africa, they will have no white enclave to run to, An emigration to Europe will only end in frustration There they will have to compete economically and politically with their fellow whites without the buffer and cushion which the apartheid State offered them because of their colour.

Having focused mainly on what I perceived as being the possible outlines of a post-apartheid South Africa, I must now address what would, perhaps in time prove most crucial to administering such a Government.

It is often taken for granted that majority rule would be black rule. While there is no doubt that blacks are in the majority in South Africa, there is need to analyse what the configuration would be because even today, with apartheid still in place very clear differences exist between the 'black' and 'white' factor, and of course. the obvious inclination of radical whites to resist any attempts at changes that will deny, whittle away: or undermine those privileges they enjoy under apartheid. will pose the most difficult problem in a post-apartheid

iSouth Africa

For blacks, they will continue to be fractious as they have been over the years. Tribal and tribal political differences, long exacerbated by apartheid policies, makes this divisiveness inevitable. It can be expected that they will continue to be so, at least to the degree that political, tribal and even economic considerations play a role. To believe that the desire for order among them will prevail when majority rule has been attained, may well prove to be an illusion.

Having said this, let me say that the prevailing situation is one in which an equipoise has been achieved in the relationship between the two contending parties, namely: the Pretoria Government and the blacks who, I believe, are represented in the main by the African National Congress. This special and delicate balance, while not all-embracing, has grown out of an implicit arrangement that the basis for resolving the apartheid question lies solely in a negotiated settlement. But even with this process, there are obvious pitfalls which is why both parties have approached negotiations cautiously.

As has been widely speculated, and as evidenced by the recent March 1991 call off of negotiations by ANC, the negotiation process will be difficult, as would be the eventual transfer of power from the apartheid regime to its successor. To achieve a balanced political process, however, those who aspire to assume leadership are bound by duty to guarantee certain rights just as they must address some inevitable constitutional questions. The ANC, if it must continue to assume the role of being the main interlocutor with Pretoria, will have an added burden of responsibility in this regard.

Example of Post-Independence

Zimbabwe

I have followed with keen interest the comparison some analysts have made between South Africa and post-independent Zimbabwe and indeed their envisaged scenario for the recently independent Namibia. I do not entirely agree with the often peddled conclusion that because Zimbabwe has opted for a one-party or unitary system of Government, that Namibia and South Africa after apartheid will inevitably go that same route. I am, in principle, in disagreement with the theory that a unitary State is undemocratic. Secondly I believe that while there are obvious similarities between South Africa and Namibia, there are equally obvious political differences.

I have been directly involved in the negotiation processes that led to Zimbabwe's independence. I feel comfortable in saying that there are similarities between South Africa and Zimbabwe and that whatever differences that may exist between the two countries, while crucial are not in any way insurmountable. Put another way, the South African apartheid question even in its uniqueness can benefit immensely from the Zimbabwe experience.

Six Major Political Issues

(1) On the purely constitutional issues, therefore, I believe that like Zimbabwe, a post-apartheid South Africa must address six major political components and issues. The first, which is

where we are presently, is eradicating apartheid: the second transforming of the economy to alleviate poverty: the third is preventing reaction from exacerbating ethnic differences. The remaining three are: ensuring popular participation in governmental decision-making: guaranteeing observance of legality by government officials and keeping the machine of governance going while effecting fundamental transformation.

I admit readily that the transformation of the economy to alleviate poverty is perhaps the most difficult. Inherent in that transformation will be the question of nationalization of certain industries on the one hand and the guarantee of white economic rights on the other. As we are all aware, Nelson Mandela has, on different occasions since his release, raised the question of nationalization and that has in turn raised a lot of hue and cry.

Inferences have been made about post-independence Zimbabwe and the alleged failures of unitary Governments particularly those of Africa that nationalized industries and suppressed free market economies. Additionally, the mention of nationalization of industries have been characterized as misguided and unproductive. One is forced to ask how this could be since the apartheid regime itself runs a system in which the key industries are all virtually nationalized. The argument has International implications.

It has been said that were nationalization to take place, it would not be practicable since those who would take over do not have the requisite skills to run the highly complex business organization.

I personally find the logic behind this contention faulty and presumptuous. I do not know nor have we been told that nationalization would be tantamount to the expulsion of whites who either own or run the highly complex industries. Rather, I envisage tighter controls that guarantee a productive economy, not one that is deserted by the white managers of high-tech industries simply because they no longer call all the shots.

Whatever the anti-nationalization group may say, let me add that nationalization in the South African context cannot be different from the nationalization undertaken in other independent African countries such as my country, Nigeria. Nationalization or its variations, while always subject to extensive debate, remains the only way of redressing the anomalies and inequities that are prevalent in a post-colonial set-up, and which are obvious now and will continue to be in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Selective Nationalization
Imperative

My contention is that selective nationalization in South Africa is imperative if there is to be a concerted and effective redistribution of wealth essential to secure the minimum of economic justice for the long-deprived majority. Instituting such measures would in turn enhance the growth through the development of

social services and related infrastructure
While not an end by itself such selective nationalization can actively stimulate aspects of economic growth.

Without Very much that a post-apartheid South Africa can politically and economically sustain itself if economic power continues to rest with a private sector that is totally white controlled and dominated. Nationalization in a post-apartheid South Africa, therefore, must be seen for what it is; the bringing of key and major monopolies financial institutions and mines, which sustain the State, directly under the State control, to ensure a more equitable use of the country's resources. Failure to take this step would only foster a structurally deficient system in which the political and economic policies of the new State would not necessarily complement one another, Currently, the debate on what should be negotiated encompasses the political and the economic, But I am inclined to believe that the debate is not so much about who controls the political system that emerges after apartheid South Africa, as it is who controls the economy and thus the purse

The result will, of course, be a tacit compromise arising from the various positions held now by the Government, ANC and the white business community. While the Government is preoccupied with the need to negotiate, and ANC with the emphasis on equitable and just redistribution of the wealth, the business community is steadfastly defending the status quo and, in principle, the virtues of South African capitalism. a capitalism that thrives on exclusion of blacks except as a largely unskilled labour force,

It is my contention that none of these positions would in the end stand its ground to the total exclusion of the others. Reaching a settlement in this matter will therefore, entail lengthy negotiations aimed at guaranteeing the interest of everyone, Negotiations will highlight the mutual interest of all parties and attempt to articulate an acceptable agreement for future cooperation between blacks and whites irrespective of the eventual racial composition of the postapartheid Government

(Continued on page IN)

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IN BRIEF

Conference in India

Demands Continue

Sanctions

An international conference in India organised by the World League ('onneil antl the All India League antl Solidarity ()rganisation in tlttlv lftfttt has called for the continuation of sanctions against South Africa by all govt'mtntls until the total (lisntaitlnt,x ol the apartheid system. The (ionference attentletl hy delegates hotn 35 countries in its main tloenntent sailt in regard to South Africa: ml'he t'onleience welcome the general ltt'lltl oltlet'elt ipnient in South Africa following the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the ban on the African National (on gress antl other political organisations. It Views the preliminary talks antl Impending,t negotiations between the ANN antl the Pretoria regime as a positive (levelopment antl expresses solidarity with antl support to the South African lt'eer (loin struggle tt (lentantls the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners antl (letainees, lt titties upon all governments to continue sanctions against South Africa until the total (lisntantlingI of the apartheid system."

United Nations Sports Register: the Special (Vonnitteeagainst Apartheid hastleettletl to continue phllisling its Register of Sports ('onr (t'oH/I'Ituer/ lmm page .9)

South Africa today remains a force to be reckoned with in Africa. the only hlight on its political antl economic strength itlltl tortttnes being,t its apartheid policies

South Africa's Future

South Africa remains the ultimate paradox of a self-sufficient State that is in turn hamstrung by its prosperity. For it is indeed, the economic fortunes of South Africa and the unwillingness of whites to share or relinquish such economic powers that have sustained apartheid to this day. It is this same economic consideration that has made it impossible for many Western countries to either impose sanctions on South Africa or sever their trade links entirely.

The existing political situation notwithstanding. it is safe to say that South Africa is very well positioned to assume the role of an economic leader antl a power house of both regional antl continental (levelopment it and when it resolves its political anomalies.

Today and for the foreseeable future, South Africa (does not only have the highest industrial economic growth rate, but outranks the collective economies of other African States in several categories. It's an instance. in the area of steel production, South Africa produces 37 per cent of Africa's output thus outranking the collective output of several (l antl fourth ranked Algeria. Libya and Nigeria with an output of 15 per cent. Similarly, in the field of energy production, South Africa outranks the rest of Africa, with its output of 54 per cent of the electricity generated in Africa as compared to the combined output of 15 per cent generated by other African States.

With a gross national product of (inll of well over \$120 billion, a high rate of employment

and a diverse agricultural sector which makes
it almost self-sufficient in food (South Africa is
tailed with South Africa, and to achieve the strict
adherence to the policy of sports isolation of
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mical development of the country (the elimination of apartheid).
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Lhasa gone to these lengths to show that eco-
nomically'. a post-apartheid South :Xfrica holds
an enormous promise for growth and develop-
ment of its people irrespective of their race.
Perhaps it will be best to end this address in
(listening to the area which would be salient
and most closely watchetl and lisenssetl in a
postpartheid South Africa. ll'he apartheid
regime had over the years tittSlSltttl changes in
its policy and llltlt't'tl hannel ANt' illltl South
African ('onnnnist Party, in part on the pie-
mise that they ax'owett eonnnsist. t'onterir
porary glottal politics hat'e ot late mntlerninetl
any inclination of (itwerntments to insist on
tlogntatie ideological stancees. (liven the npt'i
sings against eonnntnism in its most sacred

(ittarters. it is ttnloresetuihle that a postiaparr
theitl South Atria WUtl(l nntler Illitjttt'ilV rtte
opt tor a hartlline Marxist (iotttt'titttttttl
hitherto learetl hy tnany in South Atria and in
the West. Rather, I envisage a tlenioeratiealh'
eleetetl tiot'erntnent as we witnessed in Nttlltli
hia, whieh WUtltl opt for a Inixetl eeononiV,
AnythingI else Wt)llltl he. at the least, anaehro-
nistit:

lignallyt l (l()) envisage that the eonstittttion of
an emergent post-apartheitl South Atria will,
like that of Namibia, endeavour to guarantee all
those rights that were denied to hlaeks under the
apartheid system, while ensuringI that whites (lo
not in turn suffer any form of reversed oppres-
siont

No. 3 - August 1.9.90

2t April tfth lle addressed a public meeting
attended h_v over 100 representatives from
anti? apartheid organizations, aeatlemies, stu-
dent organizations and other NGOs eon-
eernetl with development programmes for
southern Atria on the role of the international
eotnnntnity in dismantlingapartheid,withspe-
eial regartl to the llnitetl Nations l)eelARATION
on South Alria a(loptetl hy consensus hy the
Speeial Session of the (ieneral Assembly in
l)eeenther limits

Mr, Ahrons also hrietetl two regional work-
shops ol antiapartheitl movements and soli-
tlarity groups He met with Dr. Paehai, the
Human Rights ('onnnissioner tor Nova Scotia
as well as university ottieials to (lisenss joint
etltteation programmes in support of South
Atrian SltlthlllSL

New Mexico (USA): At the invitation of the
(llaos Artists against Apartheid. Mt, Alxlenmour
Ahrous tt'entre against Apartheid). visited New
Mexieo tlLSA.) from 29 April to Kl May 1990.
where he leetnretl at the University of Santa Fe,
openetl a tnulti-ntetlia event in 'l'aos antl briefed
a coalition of antiapartheitl organizations in
Mhttqnerqne.

He also met with Mr, 'l'oney Anaya. former
(it n'ernor ot New Mexieo. Mr. .leanteter Mayor of
lame iltltl eonintnity leaders in the region. In
the eonrse ol these aetit'ities. he revieed devel-
opments in South Alria and international etlorts
lll support ol the t CV l)eelARATION on South Africa.
ineltttling programmes for humanitarian, legal
itlltl etlneational assistanee tor victims of apar-
theitl,

United Kingdom: Nearly half ol the British
population is opposed to liltng sanctions against
South Atria eonelntletl an independent study
hy the Harris Poll. lne. eonnnissioned by the
Southern Atria ('oalition.

Beyond Apartheid... -

Conclusion: Benefits of a Post-
Apartheid South Africa

I started this atltlress by saying that any think-
ing ahottt a post-apartheitl South Atria can only
be a matter of eonjeetnre at this stage. But I think
that we ean only look sensibly at South Africa
heyontl apartheid as a State with the outlines we
ean now see. 'l'here ean only be one South
Attica. non-raeial, (lentoeratie. A South Africa
that will replieate the taeial tolerance in law that
today exists in the United States and other multie
raeial eonntries. A South Africa that might even
assttne its nienihership ol the United Nations

tieneral .-Xssenthly.

What are the benefits of a post-apartheid South Africa to the rest of the world? I believe firstly that South Africa has a debt to pay to the rest of the continent. It's so long as the rest of the world been told of the sophistication of the South African economy and the intelligence of its peoples. Africa north of the Limpopo has been depicted as areas of political instability and economic stagnation. The truth, however, is that the failure to implement Cecil Rhodes' plan of a Cape-to-Cairo railway produced a shift in the centre of gravity to South Africa itself. Consequently, independent African countries in central and southern Africa have of necessity had to deal with the apartheid regime, providing it with the propaganda ammunition that it used to (re-)ignite the struggle against apartheid. . (Given the present economic realities, the truth is that a free South Africa needs the rest of Africa. With the opening up of Eastern Europe and the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union, South Africa may well find itself no longer the most attractive source of strategic minerals. The bogey of communism they have used to create captive markets in the West is evaporating. In our interdependent world, South Africa, in spite of its relative prosperity and economic sophistication, its technological superiority, will find that it will either swim together with the rest of Africa or sink with it.

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No. 3 - August MUU

BOOKS

Preaching Through
Action to End Apartheid
Father Huddleston's
Picture Book

Published in 1990 by Kliptown

Books, 64 Essex Road.

London N1 8LR, England

Price £ 10.95 pp. 144

THIS book gives a glimpse of the life and work of a British clergyman who did not confine himself to preaching the gospel in mere words. but took the unusual course of performing deeds. joining aet'ons. in the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa. it brings out effectively the priests' dauntless participation in this struggle against the apartheid system. which violates every tenet of the Christian faith and every norm of human civilization.

Profusely illustrated with rare. historic photographs of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. the book tells the story of the life of Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, who spent many years in South Africa. first as a Prior and Priest-in-Charge of a number of townships like Sophiatown. Orlando. and later as Provost of the Community of the Resurrection. South Africa from 1919-1956.

After his return to Britain Trevor Huddleston became active in the British Anti-Apartheid Movement: he has been its President since 1981. He is also Chairman (since 1983) of the International Defence and AM Fund for Southern Africa. an anti-apartheid organisation, based in Britain.

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11 volumes of the struggle against the brutality of apartheid)

The book is titled, Tallier Huddleston's Picture Book. The text of which is taken from an interview he gave for a recent film about his life. Makhali - The Dauntless ()net The text therefore was not written but comprises the "spoken word" which enables a reader to have instant rapport with the remarkable personality of Trevor Huddleston. while the pictures speak the truth. with all the pain. suffering, sacrifice involved in combating this great evil, this vile system. . He was the first to call for a cultural boycott of South Africa. as long ago as 1955. which later found worldwide support and was extended to include a boycott of apartheid sport. Today the United Nations keeps registers of all artists and sportsmen who perform in South Africa and they have contacts with the apartheid regime. As a prime mover in the campaign for the imposition of economic sanctions. he condemns . outright the role of the British government in opposing them. He says that sanctions had begun to bite quite severely into the South African economy. Nevertheless, Great Britain continues to invest in South Africa in order to trade with South Africa. in spite of the recommendations of the EPG (Eminent Persons Group set up by the Commonwealth), in spite of our isolation in this way, It's not the only country that does so, of course: the Federal Republic of Germany does the same, France does the same, anti Israel does the same. Nevertheless, Britain has got the long

est history of total commitment to South Africa economically" .

He raised this question of sanctions at his meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, telling her that he was just not prepared to accept that this situation in South Africa should go on like definitely.

This is how he records the conversation: "She then said." well. /1()11111(111/(/.Y()u()11d1'L (J11(/111/1()11 and how do you think (iprn'l/Iet'd will erit/P'lsru'rl, As to when. we ought to have done ('1 years ago; il'snota mutteroftomorroie event But, as to how. (111(k)111/J'YUII(WUti/I'll('S(Ult'll'())IIS/())Ilv()' . iS/redial- lellgetl me on (he Issue of'sunetl'ons. 21/(1/11115 (1/)/e to soy lo her I/Io/ l/ie ()II/_t' ul/mn-c way of bringing uporl/Iel't/ lo (Il1 (val is by solutions. To u'/II'('1 s/ie replied (IS usuo/i LS'rI/Idiolis (loot u'or/e. ' / sur'rl. Wt'l'111tl . "lli'm's/er, it's item'stmuge for too to sot l/It/l bemusent ()Vt'()(l1ZS'(IgU')()II (11(7II/ to llm Il'r't/i Argentina ot'er l/Ie HI/le/(mtls (Illd the (WM Hrs! Ilil'ugyoil os/eet/ lor u'us solutions. And)(HI got them miller re/ut/uulbt from NIH Untied Slates o/ .llmerrm (1 1831) um/ from tlieEuro/Jerln lito/io/mk' Continually (EH ') (Im1 I/ie C'omniorr ll err/l/It llou t'ome solutions don't zeork I'l'you _i'om'se//os/eet/ lor/liem. ' '()/1, Ks/IUstI/d, 7/10! was a teor siluoh'rui. ilsurrl. 1571 '1 there (I trursiqu/ion in South glfr/t (I ...111/I(tll you /I(11'(' them (South :l/I'I't'ou troops) III(II'(/llillglilll()it'l/Ig()/1 (1nd oa'u- mine (1 prot'i/it'e. bombing loans in Zimbabwe (III(/ Bo/su'uno oriz/Zunibiu. is that not (1 u t(lrsitu- (rlionj). it 'e t/I't/H'I gel uny /in'//Ier. needless to say. I)!!! lier/iosl'rio/i on solutions has remained unal- lerer/ unr/ so has IIII'IIUU. "

'I'rex'or Hll(1(liCSl())ll spoke strongly against the British government's support to the apartheid regime (luring his recent visit to Nigeria. He said that Britain in particular would remain com- (leinnetl by history as one nation which failed to ('onfront the eyil of apartheid when it actually hatl the wherewithal to do so. (On thatoeasion Trevor Hutidleston reeeivetl from President lbrahiin Babangitla Ol Nigeria the national honour of that eountry. the Grand Commander ot the Order of the Niger.

Trevor l iudtlleston records with pride his participation in the "great historic movement", the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Coir gress oi the People at Kliptown, just outside Johannesburg (26 June 195:3)i "This story has been told many times. but it was a very great meeting because it was the largest multiracial gather'ng ex'er heltl in those days."

In a reininiseent account of the leading personalities of the liberation struggle of that time, he says: "But I am sure Kliptown will always be a real la itlniark in Afriean history. Everyone was there who eould get there. Of course Chief Luthuli was supposed to be there - he was then the President oi the ANC e but he wasn'tallowed to be there as he was restricted and banned. Yusul Datloo oi the Transvaal Indian Congress was ui able l(1 go for the same reasons. I suppose I was the only one of the Isitwalantiwet award winners who was able to get there. because lwas white and because I was a clergyman. At that time! think e ergynien were regarded as harmless. Butl have tried to alter that in the course, of my life!" Treyor Huddleston ('ounts many leaders of the A C as his lrientls, ()liyer 'l'ambo. Nelson Mantle a. Walter Sisulu and Albertina Sisulu, and

others active in the struggle against apartheid, like Desmond Tutu.

This fascinating book will provide a new inspiration to all those who are active in the movement against apartheid, in the struggle to wipe off this blight which disfigures humanity.

(This award is the highest honour awarded by the African National Congress B.V.

International Mobilisation _ 11

Mandela in US. Congress...

(Continued from page 7)

The stand you took established the understanding among the millions of our people that here we have friends, here we have fighters against racism who feel hurt because we are hurt. who seek our success because they too seek the Victory of democracy over tyranny. And here I speak not only about you. Members of the United States Congress. but also of the millions of people throughout this great land who stood up and engaged the apartheid system in struggle, the masses who have given us such strength and joy by the manner in which they have received us since we arrived in this country.

We went to jail because it was impossible to sit still while the obscenity of the apartheid system was being imposed on our people. It would have been immoral to keep quiet while a racist tyranny sought to reduce an entire people into a status worse than that of the beasts of the forest. it would have been an act of treason against the people and against our conscience to allow fear and the drive towards self-preservation to dominate our behaviour, obliging us to absent ourselves from the struggle for democracy and human rights. not only in our country but throughout the world.

Tribute to US. Leaders

We could not have made an acquaintance through literature with human giants such as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson and not been moved to act as they were moved to act. We could not have heard of and admired John Brown, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, WEB, Du Bois. Marcus Garvey. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others, and not be moved to act as they were moved to act. We could not have known of your Declaration of Independence and not elected to join in the struggle to guarantee the people life liberty and the pursuit of happiness

We are grateful to you all that you persisted in your resolve to have us and other political prisoners released from jail. You have given us the gift and privilege to rejoin our people, yourselves and the rest of the international community in the common effort to transform South Africa into a united. democratic and non-racial country. You have given us the power to join hands with all people of conscience to fight for the victory of democracy and human rights throughout the world.

We are glad that you merged with our own people to make it possible for us to emerge from the darkness of the prison cell and join the contemporary process of the renewal of the world

We thank you most sincerely for all you have done and count on you to persist in your noble endeavours to free the rest of our political prisoners and to emancipate our people from the larger

prison that is Apartheid South Africa,
The day may not be far when we will borrow
the words of Thomas Jefferson and speak of the
will of the South African Nation. In the exercise of
that will by this united nation of black and white
people, it must surely be that there will be born a
country on the southern tip of Africa which you
will be proud to call a friend and an ally. because
of its contribution to the universal striving
towards liberty. human rights. prosperity and
peace among peoples

Let that day come now. Let us keep our arms
locked together so that we form a solid phalanx
against racism to ensure that that day comes
now. By our common actions let us ensure that
justice triumphs without delay. When that has
come to pass, then shall we all be entitled to acknowledge the salute when others say of us.
blessed are the peacemakers.

Thank you for your kind invitation to speak
here today and thank you for your welcome and
the attention you have accorded our simple
message.

Thank you.

lII/ernulin/m/ iilo/u'li'qum/I 7 12

UN Appreciation of

Intematlonal Mobilisation

United Nations has expressed its appreciation of the WPC

publication, Illlerlluliru/u/ .iln/H'l/su/IUII (against .li/MIH/IUH/ (III(/ lor' the Liberation o/Suu/liem :t/m-u, for its ttinvaluable contribution' t0 the international campaign for the elimination of apartheid.

This appreciation has been expressed by the UN Assistant Secretary General Sotirios Mousouris, who heads the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, in a letter to Mr Bhagat Vats, Editor in the World Peace Council, at its Headquarters in Helsinki, Finland.

Mr Vats has been responsible for the editing and production of lnlw'nulionul .t/o/M/ilsunrm. since it began to be published in 1980, in cooperation with the UN Centre against Apartheid.

Mr Vats was also Editor of Milt ltvx/mt/it'tcs', journal of the World Peace Council, from 1975 till April 1990, when thejournal had to cease publication due to financial reasons.

Mr Sotirios Mousouris's letter:

Dear Mr. Vats,

I am writing to you to express my appreciation for the excellent work you and your colleagues at the World Peace Council are doing in publishing uInternational Mobilisation".

Publications, such as yours, are an extremely important element of the international campaign against apartheid. The clear and concise manner in which your magazine delivers the facts and reports on the actions of the United Nations and other bodies concerned with the dismantlement of the apartheid system is an invaluable contribution to that campaign.

On behalf of myself and my colleagues at the Centre against Apartheid, I send you our best wishes and encouragement for the successful continuation of your work.

Yours sincerely,

Sotirios Mousouris

Assistant Secretary General

Centre against Apartheid

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.uumu CAA/MM/j/895 27 July 1990

war Mr. Vets

No. .3 - August I.W(Il

S.A. Police Supports

lnkatha Violence

African National Congress. United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions have accused the South African Police of involvement in the recent wave of lnkatha violence in some of the townships, outside Natal. According to UDF and Cosatu, the police collusion in hikatha attacks was more than evident as the police did not act on a Cosatu warning of plans for both Scbokeng and Soweto rail attacks. The South African weekly newspaper, New Nation in its issue No. 33(17 to 23 August 1990) had this writeup on its front page:

tLate flash: There is increasing evidence that the violence that has swept across the East Rand and spread into Soweto is the result of a well-orchestrated campaign.

On Monday night (6 August 1990). pamphlets purportedly issued by Cosatu, but obvious forgeries. were distributed in Soweto hostels to incite Zulu speakers.

Aiid.ollTuestlay, take pamphlets issued in the name of the ANC tried to give the impression that the ANC was calling on people to attack Zulu speakers. All of this bears the hallmark of a sophisticated destabilisation campaign.

While it is clear that Inkatha does not have the infrastructure to coordinate such a campaign on the Reef, the question must be asked: who is behind the campaign? The S.A. government is known to have developed a capacity for destabilisation."

The South African newspaper, The Weekly .VI(Ii/(17 to 19 August 1990) in an article entitled "Behind the Violence" posed a number of pertinent questions.

"The shock of the week's bloodshed lay largely in its sheer bloodiness. It lay also in the timing. It was almost incomprehensible that this should happen a week after the signing of the Pretoria Minute (by President de Klerk and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela), with its promise that real negotiations about the constitutional future of South Africa could start soon.

Is it a coincidence that Inkatha supporters began their attacks on commuters at Soweto's Inhlanzane station days after the Cosatu/UDF/Sayco (South African Youth Congress) Week of mass action against the war in Natal?

Is it a coincidence that Inkatha begins to reassert its presence in the Transvaal only weeks after its decision to constitute as a national political party and as the deadline for the launch of ANC branches - August 26 - draws near?

Is it a coincidence that pro-ANC groups are being drawn into violent conflict at a time when the organisation seeks to minimise violence and prove the power of disciplined non-violent mass action?

Inkatha leader Buthelezi has emphatically denied that Inkatha is the aggressor in this contest and that he is exporting violence from Natal to the Transvaal.

Perhaps the last word should be that of Buthelezi's former right-hand man, Dhlomo, who warned that the situation had to be faced that Buthelezi still had some support - but more than that he has the potential to destabilise the region of Natal right into the era of a new South Africa?

INTERNATIONAL

MOBILISATION 7

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I am writing to you to express my appreciation for the excellent work that you and your colleague at the World Peace Council are doing in publishing "International Mobilisation".

. Publications, such as yours, are an extremely important element of the international campaign against mm. The clear and concise manner in which your magazine delivers the facts and reports on the actions of the United Nations and other bodies concerned with the dismantlement of the mad system is an invaluable contribution to that campaign.

On behalf of myself and my colleague at the Centre against me,

I send you our best wishes and thank you for the successful

continuation of your work.

Yours sincerely,

Mr . Bhagat Vat's

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