

Ts J1'mr President,

Distinguiehed delegates and guests,

We feel that j1;ie incumbent upon us to reiterate once again that the ANC has never been an obstacle in the search for a peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems. Quite the contrary! We turn~ ed t0 armed struhmle after we had satisfied ourselves-thet we had

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nd means of peaceful change. As recently

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judwemeht, participated in the vCHWOHWelth Ihitietive

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over D3 the mine eminent neâ\200\230eonu, in the

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belief that

as long as one feeble flame of hepe remained we should not allow if

to he extinguiehed. Bethe and his colleagues in the racist parlia-

'ment stamped out t,g7.â\202~:t lu,t remaining spark in an orgy of bombings

and airborne attacks on the morning of May 19th. Good intentions  
are no longer sufficient in the face of such intransigence. Those  
who

seriously seek peace must now

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wreckers of peace. No other honourable course remains open.

In the last instance it is the people of South Africa themselves  
who will define and build the institutions of freedom in our country;

The Ad has never ~onee7v

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7f international support as a means

of bringing down the apartheid system. We have always recognised  
that the principal theme of struggle is South Africa itself and  
the pre-eminent agent of change is ourselves. International action  
can however complement the actions of our people and thus hasten  
the day of our liberation.

We have been compelled to employ the  
instruments of war as a means of suppressing violence. The search  
for peace can only be successful if it is pursued  
in association  
with and in

support of the national liberation movement.

The complete overthrow of the apartheid system is the precondition  
for the achievement of a genuinely free society based on the

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It is inQGd a

,3L3Lâ\200\2301el honour, to me personally and to the 3â\200\230130, the

I have been

invite d to

e 3s the 1986 conference of the I.L.O.

This occassion,

which

coincides with the Second International

conference

3333h3t Apartheid South africa, can be

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and its imp11cat10hs for our re3ion

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decades the ILO has been seized with the question

Of racial 30min

ation and exploitation in South Africa.

It has el~

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concern into concrete actions which include

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the trade union movement in South Africa.

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The ILO was  
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115y charged with the responsibility of defend-  
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Spit e Of the 313\*  
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Theee letter-ï-\201ey \

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storm~tr00pere have been given oarte blenc}

to murder, meim and burn out members and eupgorters of the demo-  
cretic movement. They have to beer reeponeiblity for the reign of  
terror that prevails in many parts of Natal, in parts of the Transâ\200\224  
veal and more recently in Crooeroads. The existence of these and  
the repressive violence of the regulmr forces of the racist state  
has imposed upon our peeple the  
duty of creating organs of self-  
defence and mess reeietenoeThere is nothing new in the violence  
that pervades tie Black townships. What has significantly changed  
is that it ie no lonÂçer ene~eided. As modern weapons replace the  
stone as the principal weapon of eelf-defenoe; we can expect to wit  
neee more and more

reeiet tr00pe losing tmeir lives in armed

Clashes with the peeple.

Thoe who find thie turn of events particularly disturbing have a  
moral obligation t6 act epeedily to contain the levels or violence  
that will he found necessary to dismantle the system of apartheid.  
It is abundantly clear that so Ken; es the regime's cagecity to  
resist change remains undtminiehed, so much greater will be the  
level Of Violence.

Apartheid neeeeeeeTiWy enteile a large meeeure of Violence against  
the veet ma Dritv 0? South Afrieene. The physical and psychic  
wounds it inflicts eetÂ«\* on its Victims fer exceeds the violence

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whicW may he required to destroy it. In (Um effort

to demonstrate

the neeeeelihetity of ite power, the Pretoria regime has  
piled

3 a grisly record of meeeaeeree. In the teeth of the murderous pre-

J.U.

cision of the enemy's arsenal our people remain uncowed. Those who  
Sincerely wish to break the continuum of violence must of neoeeeeitâ\200\230  
tees its primery source, the system of apartheid.

institutions of national sovereignty and popular power envisaged  
in the Freedom Charter. The seizure of power by the people of South  
Africa will transform

our country from a feared and despised region  
into a good neighbour, at peace with itself and with others,  
making a valuable contribution to our common problems.

The Oppressed people of South Africa have embarked on the last phase  
of a trying but uplifting march to their freedom. We have boldly  
stated

our claim to a fuller and freer life and nothing will  
deter us from reaching our goal. This period in the history of

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South Africa must come to a close with the total destruction of  
the apartheid system. Peace in our region is attainable only through  
our freedom; and our freedom is the sole guarantee of peace in our  
region.

The Struggle Continues!

Victory is Certain!

Mr President,

We can only hope to discern the features of the new South Africa that will surely be born at the close of this phase of our struggle in rudimentary institutions of popular power that are being forged in the crucible of actual struggle. While the mass uprising that has swept through our country has laid waste many of the institutions of domination and Oppression, it has also been a creative process in itself, revealing the resourcefulness of the people. In practice at the grass roots, ordinary men and women have begun to infuse meaning into the big words "self-determination", "freedom" and

justice by rediscovering the simple virtues of democratic discipline. As the people reappropriate the power to shape and determine their own lives, so have the mechanisms of apartheid been dismantled. Popularly created courts, whose primary

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south Africa. A National hducation Crisis Committee is

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seized with the problem of devieihQ a "peeOple's ;dLleet:Lonâ\200\235 based  
on the fertfnlpÂçtlon and Cwootetron be tween p.lents, teachers and

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stuaehts. At the centre of this burgeoning democratic process

is the black worhihQ cleee ~ the Oppreeeed millions of town

and country, who refuse to be consiQned to the footnotes of history

It is the traQic irony of our situation that we have been forced

to waQe war in order to hrlhQ about the preconditions for peace.

The Oppreeeor reQime hes ADD stood by idly to watch its state'

apparatus beinQ dlemehtled. It has resisted change With all the

force and

while it can muster. In addition to the SAD? and the

Pollee force, the reQime hes enlisted into its ranks gangs of

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eeeesins, vl1lwntee and hes ceiled into existence private armies

wtlr2neo equiped and often lee by its own officers working under-

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the 110 the efore one is Speaking indirectty to every continent.  
Our mastery of technology hee greatly reduced the distances that  
uepereteed nation from neton in the pest. All reoogniee that ours  
is inĩ-\20leed a very emell planet, wnoee cepecity to sustain life in  
large meeeure ueoenwe on ale11r815e balance between the need to  
contihouely improve the quelity of human life and  
respect for  
nature.

Yet, deepit

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these impreeeeive achievements, it is equally  
true that there are still vast differences in life chances  
both

within and amongst the WWTous countries Of our world.

The ILO is among the 11Â»\_3w Jutetnetlonel

instruments the t has

coneietently Striveh

to narrow the gap that eeperetes the haves

from the heve-note; the rich from the poor; the power:â\202-ul from the  
powerleea

South Africa,

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, encapsulates the kontrasjs

we have referred to within the borders of one oountry.It is indeed  
a country characterised by extremes. On the one hand, immense power  
wielded by a handful of wea-thy corporations; aÂ¢ithe Opposite end  
the most dehilltetlm; nowerleeenees, impoeed on the many, as a  
condltloh for the well;h ehd gower of the former. Cheek by jowl  
with

â\200\230e mornifioeht etvetgoexs of central Johannesburg one finds  
tee miserable 'meteh~h X houeee' of Soweto, standing row upon row  
along unlit Mwa ctreetea ln the Shadow of the glittering make-  
beiL Leve~world oalled Sun City are the destitute dumping grounds of  
WinterVeLd, where men, women and children  
the bitter cold of 11Â¢ :Wreld winters with little more than a tent

elize condemned to fend of

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A Stoneâ\200\231s throw from tl le verflowum grain silos of the

maize 111Hĩ-\2021e children die of malnutrition.

Suelil00htraete are of course not unique to South Africa. But it 13Â¢

South Afrloe alone that this cleavage runs Consistently el0hg lines

of race and Skinwoolaur; 1S ent:rmlnched in legislation and state-  
backed practice; and is underwritten by armed force. It is the  
tensions generated by tHiS cleSVSQS that are the crucial ingedient  
ln the crLSlS ttat QripS South Africa today. In its deSperStion to  
SSlVS e thlis oalpwolJ inequitable and OppreSSive system, the'regim  
has reSorted to S Slv Qe ccmoaln of 011111 repression, which each  
passing day claims  
Scores SlelSck lives.

Not content with the bloodletln~ to which it has subjected our  
people, the BOthĩ-\202â\200\231TH'lHG Seeks to internationalise the conflict  
by launching hSids SCCSOSS its borders and armed invasions into  
nei;hb ran states. Even as we Speak racist trOOpS are in occupaâ\200\224  
tion of VSSt tracts of territory in soutnern Anl7.Qola; Pretoria's  
forceS SSS poised to St:rL{S ScorOSS the fronteir into Zimbabwe; and  
the teQime arroate5lunto :ltSelf tâ\200\230le right to attack any country,

Two decades aQo, my predeoeSSor in this office, Chief Albert Luthu}  
launched an internatiÂ»nal.uUlSpl anl11S for the imposition of  
Sanctions on apartheid south Africa. At that time we referred to NM  
po0110 iSS of the raciSt reQime as a threat to world peace; There  
are few today who call into queStion the VSrScity of that chSractel

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That the pSrnicious doctrinSS Sf 1u0lwm still poison relations  
SmonQSt the QQOJlG Of our GNUWlCy Sno thSt the upholderS of that  
SVStem threaten t0 plunge the entire swuthern cone of our continent  
into S regional coanSfretion

one of tile greatest tragedies of

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our timSSS. Yet this lS a tragedy SSS impose upon us by cruel and

UHCi¬\202fli¬\201g fate, lnS rSSlSt, Sat Wlth lmpunlty preelsely oecause tnej

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have received assurances, finalized in a number of diplomatic

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and explicit statements, that they have nothing to fear

by way of reimbursement from the most powerful states in the west.

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faith in its 3Mp priority in military technology and

conventional~military force, Pretoria is engaged in the export of

counterrevolution along a frontier that st

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Uganda in the east, to the Atlantic in the west. It is a matter of

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record, which even its best friends no longer care

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to deny, that

the Pretoria regime is the chief nrâ\200\230an19 us centre of regional  
tensions throth its policy of destabilisation and

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Botha himself, 113 lea<i-\201UV mlilitary comm'herb and other promlnent

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fiwures 11 hls admingtratien have repeatedly announced their deterÂ«  
mination to continue alon3 1.119 courte. Their commitment to the  
presgrvation of raeist dominatiOL

is backed by a resolve that

SJirkS at no action a no matter how bame or cï-\201mihal - that will  
serve their objectives. There 19,therefore,ho realistic prOSpect  
of peace in our re310h 31 tom; 31 the apartheid re3ime remains in  
place.

we have 030991- as 0u1 theme lar teeay. hemocrdcy dS the.uoad to a  
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Last1h3 Peace 1h mouterh africaâ\200\235. Ours is a message of hepe. But

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It is our belief that hepe too 19 not ordained from on h13h. It  
Sprln3g from the confiaence we invest in human action and its oapaÂ»  
city to make and remaxu OUR world. Tyranny can and Shall be conunI  
ed as long as there are mem 31L women With the ooura3e to enter th6  
listS a3ainĩ-\\201t 1tâ\\200\\230TLe Lr3emcv 01 the present and potent 191 dB n3â\\200\\230ers  
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