

DRAFT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO OAU SUMMIT

Mr Chairman,  
Distinguished Heads of State and Government,  
Honourable fellow participants at this august Summit of the Organisation of African Unity,

Allow me to convey our deep gratitude for the opportunity to take part in this historic Summit of Africa's mother-body. We bring you greetings from the cross-section of the oppressed and democratic forces of our country, including especially our leaders and patriots within Pretoria's gaols. In their millions, our people are keenly interested in this Summit and the festivities to mark the jubilee of their organisation. In their own way, under the jackboot of a regime that despises everything African, the people of our country are marking the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the OAU - fired by the determination to realise the lofty objectives it set itself from its inception.

Allow me also to congratulate you on your election as Chairman of the OAU...

Over the past year, the Organisation has made tremendous strides in ensuring joint action around many an issue facing our continent. In the continuing efforts to rid Africa of the last vestiges of colonial and racist rule; in the endeavours to find a just settlement to the conflicts in the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and between Chad and Libya; in the joint search for a way out of Africa's crippling debt problem - and in many other endeavours - the statesmanship and skilful leadership of His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda, the outgoing Chairman of the OAU and Chairman of the Frontline States of southern Africa, was clearly manifest. We take this opportunity to congratulate him, and to express our confidence that his invaluable talent shall always stand Africa in good stead.



Mr Chairman,

To reach this historic moment, the people of South Africa relied to a great measure on the support of the Organisation of African Unity and its member states. To advance and advance decisively will require more decisive support to the struggling masses of our country and those among the member states of the OAU who are in the frontline of Africa's last liberation fight. We are certain that you will not fail us.

Finally, we would like to express our solidarity with the struggling people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the SADR, and the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

LONG LIVE THE OAU!

LONG LIVE AFRICA!



In the 25 years of its existence, the Organisation has had to contend with countless machinations aimed at undermining the aims it set itself. Racism and reaction shall always seek to divide, to block and reverse development efforts, to violate the sovereignty and independence of African states and to prevent meaningful international co-operation. In each country and region, the strategy of the coloniser consisted, and consists in, dislocating the efforts of the forces of freedom and independence - among the struggling peoples and their supporters. Inversely, it was, and will always remain, the joint endeavours of Africa and humanity, that would see to the demise of colonial rule. The stronger and more desperate the adversary, the more decisive should be the input of anti-colonial forces.

It is in recognition of this fact that, in his keynote address to the Ninth Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers in 1975 - after the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire - Mwalimu Julius Nyerere stated:

*"Whether, therefore, we are talking about Rhodesia, Namibia, or South Africa itself, the effective Authority is South Africa. This fact must be taken into serious account when Africa considers its future strategy".*

And that strategy entailed, and has to entail, the intensification of all-round support to the liberation movements and the isolation of the forces of racism and oppression. It is thanks to such support that we have reached the threshold of Africa's dream of total liberation. Yet precisely because of this favourable situation both within and without South Africa, the Pretoria regime - supported by its imperialist allies - acts with extreme desperation to salvage itself from *an ever-deepening political and economic crisis.* ~~a state of imminent collapse.~~

The Botha regime has intensified repression against all democratic and anti-apartheid forces. Having subjected the country to martial law for over 2 years, the regime continues to perfect its fascist regulations aimed at quelling the unending revolt of the people. Banning of organisations and activists, *numerous hangings,* detention and torture, <sup>^</sup> assassinations at home and abroad, and suppression of the media are the stock in trade. In occupied Namibia, the trail of murder and repression grows bigger by the day. Through these measures, the racists hope to *crush the popular revolt* ~~pacify the people~~ and regain control of the



situation. In a bid to legitimise itself, the racist regime couples its murderous campaign with pitiful noises about reform and the creation of dummy bodies. So surrounded with a coterie of black traitors, it would then proclaim itself the liberator. We, who have experienced bantustanisation, dummy parliaments and councils, know what an insult all this amounts to.

In southern Africa, the past year has witnessed aggression and destabilisation on a scale seldom experienced before. Pretoria's massive invasion of the People's Republic of Angola and intensified support to the counter-revolutionary bandits by the racists and their allies form part of the regime's strategy to roll back the gains of the African revolution. In Mozambique, so heinous are the crimes committed by Pretoria's surrogates that even Botha's allies can no longer publicly countenance <sup>them.</sup> Actions by fascist murder squads in the whole <sup>of Southern Africa</sup> region have been intensified, and ~~raid~~ <sup>murderous</sup> raids against the countries of the region remain high on the apartheid regime's agenda of aggression and destabilisation.

At the same time, the regime flies, from time to time, the kite of negotiation and accords. We in southern Africa, Africa and the world, who have lived through such experiences before, know that if and when Botha and his cohorts ever consider negotiating genuinely on any issue, it can only be as a result of the actual defeats they suffer in the theatre of action. And for them to so genuinely negotiate, they must not be left with any other choice.

The masses in South Africa know that it is only in struggle that a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa can be realised. Their resolve to attain this goal cannot be suppressed. Indeed, the acts of open terror by the Botha regime reflect to a great measure its frustration at having failed to quell the popular revolt. The African National Congress wishes to report to this august assembly that, in spite of all the difficulties placed in the path of democratic forces within South Africa, there <sup>continues to be</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>an</sup> steady upswing in the all-round upsurge of the people.

A few days ago, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (and other democratic forces) met at a historic emergency Congress and took far-reaching decisions on the course of action <sup>to be taken</sup> against the apartheid monster. In doing so, they were defying measures of the regime aimed at silencing popular



resistance. Among all sectors of the oppressed and democratic forces, there is a staunch determination to act decisively <sup>whatever</sup> ~~in spite of what~~ the regime does or omits to do. <sup>Progressively</sup> ~~These militant forces are being joined by ever-increasing numbers of religious bodies, traditional chiefs and other forces.~~ Gradually, all the oppressed and democratic forces - both black and white - are uniting into a mammoth coalition <sup>for the destruction of the apartheid</sup> ~~against the policies of the~~ ~~murderous Botha clique system.~~

While martial law has had some effect on the <sup>level of mass</sup> ~~popular~~ revolt, actions on various fronts have increased in number and quality. During the course of last year, strikes by black workers more than trebled; and 1987 witnessed the largest and longest strikes in such strategic sectors as mining, post and telecommunications and transport. In a number of these actions, mass and armed forms of struggle dovetailed splendidly.

The regime has been forced to admit that armed operations of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are on the increase. It has been forced to concede that it is suffering more and more casualties among its soldiers and police. And it can no longer hide the fact that a greater number of the combatants are actually trained within South Africa.

The revolt of the people and the armed actions of their army have yet to decisively weaken the fascist monster. But, the depth of crisis within apartheid ruling circles indicate that that day is not far off. Botha's crisis of policy has had a devastating effect on the confidence of the white community including Afrikanerdom itself. In contradistinction to those who seek solace in extreme chauvinism, more and more individuals even from the doyen of Afrikanerdom's intelligentsia are seeking out the democratic movement to contribute their share to the realisation of a just peace in what they have come to accept is our common home. On the other hand, some black soldiers and municipal police have dared to rise - driven by patriotic sentiments - against the tyrants. In the same measure as the regime plunges deeper into crisis, the authority and prestige of the African National Congress continues to grow.



Mr Chairman,

The grove of coniferous trees outside Africa House continues to grow and flourish. When the founding fathers - among them giants of all time such as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and Gamel Abdel Nasser - planted them on the 25th of May 1963, they knew that the symbolic trees would see their hailstorms, droughts and mild weather. They knew too that, in spite of whatever turn of events, Africa would not let the grove succumb.

Such has been the fate of this noble creation of the African people. 25 years on, the Organisation of African Unity flourishes. It has grown in size as a consequence of its efforts in fulfilment of the pledge to see Mother Africa liberated. It has grown in stature and influence on the continent and abroad for its adherence to the fight to secure for Africa and humanity a prosperous and peaceable environment. On the occasion of this, the Jubilee Summit of the OAU, we pay tribute and pledge our loyalty to the lofty and enduring vision of the founding fathers.

We in South Africa hold dear the timeless conviction enshrined in the OAU Charter from its inception, "that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their destiny"; and "...that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African people". For, these principles go to the very root of our denial in our land, and inversely, to the foundation of our determination to eradicate the scourge of apartheid.

The aims that the founding fathers set themselves and us: unity and solidarity; co-ordination and co-operation in development; defence of sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; eradication of colonialism; and promotion of international co-operation - are a profound source of inspiration to the peoples of our country and our subcontinent. In southern Africa, these tasks are even more intimately intertwined. As Africa takes the last lap out of centuries of oppression and colonial domination, the need to pursue these aims decisively - and as an integrated whole - cannot be overemphasised.