

We have no doubts in our minds that the continued incarceration of Nelson Mandela and other patriots, the judicial murder of opponents of

apartheid will

the centre of

remain

at

an

international

offensive against the arrogant racist ruling Clique.

We have no illusions at all about the viciousness which will ensue

as the regime approaches the last hours of its life. The violence inherent in that system has already wreaked havoc and continues to menace the countries of Southern Africa. Faced with the reality of

power slipping between its fingers, the apartheid racial regime has had to find a scapegoat for its impending demise. It found one

in

the

Frontline

states

and

other

independent

neighbouring

countries. It has subjected these countries to sustained campaigns of destabilisation; armed banditry and economic blackmail in an

attempt to subvert their sovereignty and convert them into greedy

boys of the machinery of oppression and exploitation.

The impact of this barbaric assault on the dignity and sovereign status of these countries has been devastating in terms of life and

social progress in general.

It is our firm conviction and the

conviction of the region as a whole that as long as apartheid continues, so long will freedom, peace, international

security and development be threatened in Southern Africa.

We wish to reiterate that the source of violence in South Africa,

Namibia and

the whole of

the

region can only be located

in
apartheid. We once more urge this conference and the nations of the
world that are not represented here, to see the struggle against
apartheid as their own, and having appropriated it as such, to
march
hand
in
hand
with
us
all
in
the
region
towards
the
destruction of this despicable crime against humanity.

Mr Chairman

At this moment, one of the most fondly cherished wish of all
people who love freedom; peace and progress, is that the hard-won

Through President Robert Mugabe's tenure of the chairmanship of that organisation,

the current seat of

the

Zimbabwe is

also

Movement of the Nehruvian Countries.

these reasons

Harare, Zimbabwe Cannot be improved upon as an appropriate venue for our conference.

For all

But the realisation of a truly democratic dispensation and the attendant emergence of a single reconciled people in Zimbabwe has not been seen as an example worthy of emulation by the racist regime in Pretoria. On the contrary, it has demonstrated by word and deed its determination to perpetuate white supremacist tyranny

in the vain belief that the acquisition of independence by Zimbabwe and other countries in the region was more of an accident than a

matter of historical necessity

In a desperate bid to translate this belief in the impregnable nature of the apartheid fortress into a reality, the Bethe regime has had

no alternative but: brutal repression and rely on. The apartheid

violence against the democratic movement, the clampdown on the

media and the continued imposition of the state of emergency inter-

alia, can only attest to the criminal character of a system that

continues to plague our country and this region with impunity.

As we speak to you today, over 308,000 combatants including children, have had to resort to a state of emergency

me in 1982)

order to pressure the regime to release them from its detention and torture chambers. Not uncharacteristically, the response has been typically fascist: forced feeding and continued incarceration in the interest of so-called law and order. Scores of anti-apartheid activists, some of whom are beginning to lose faith, lie waiting in the death row for the hangman to call their turn.

The whole country is bleeding under the scourge of apartheid and indeed this state terrorism manifests itself in the occupation of

the black townships by the SADF forced removals, the creation of

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The dismantling of the bantustan system

The withdrawal of the Pretoria racist regime's troops from the townships

The lifting of the State of Emergency

The declaration of unconditional amnesty for all political exiles

L

The right of free association be extended to all the people of South Africa

Finally, we reaffirm our principled solidarity with the struggles of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO; of the Palestinian people led by

the Western Sahara led by

the people of

the

PLO;

of

POLISARIO; of the people of El Salvador led by the FDR/FMLN.

We also reaffirm our solidarity with the struggles of all other peoples everywhere for a free, prosperous and peaceful future for

all mankind.

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oppressed

communities through the National Security Management System and the bloodletting carried out

the

opponents of apartheid in Natal. Taking all this into account, and of course, the long history of the regime's brutality, we believe that there is yet no sign that the regime is about to turn itself into its opposite, all protestations to the contrary are merely an attempt to prolong the lifespan of the moribund apartheid system. The perpetrators of

Ikhatha bandits against

their

madness by the knowledge that some western countries are reluctant to take punitive action against them.

these evil systems are encouraged in

South Africa underestimates herself to be still in communion with the international community.

Right now the bewildering judge is the

Delmae trial, whose judgement has criminalised virtually all legal

resistance to apartheid, will be strutting the streets of some European capitals like a hero from the battlefield.

But the manoeuvres of the Pretoria terrorist clique which enjoy the support of Britain and other allies in the west, cannot save it from its inevitable demise. By its own actions and policies, it has descended into a quagmire from which not even a miracle can salvage it. Its entire platform of reform has collapsed under the weight of popular struggle by the millions of our people under the leadership of their vanguard organisation the African National Congress.

Today we stand on the threshold of a new dawn.

We have stood

unflinchingly against all

attempts.

to blunt

the edge of

our

determination to liberate our country, It has taken ue many bitter years of etrUggle to be where we are today. It ie as a result of that struggle today we are able to say: there is a light at the end of the tunnel.

The structural (organic) erieie which has now eubmerged the regime is generated not only by our ability to rally the oppressed behind

the ANC, but eteme also from the audibility of our juet eauee

within the ranks of the whites in genekal and the efrikanere in particular. More and more of our white compatriots are beginning_ to realise that the prospect of a free and eecure South Africa

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apartheidâ\200\231e social

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With

rapidly diminishing. Things are beginning to fall apart for the
apartheid regime. The bantuetane are cracking at every jointâ\200\235 The
tricameral fraud is disgraced and the dream of yet anether ploy at
salvaging the eituation * namely the National StÃ@yggbry Council w
has been daehed to the ground as eur people, in their milliene,
demonstrated their rejection of the ethnic municipal elections laet
October.

It

is an exciting period for our people -

a period in which
apartheid is beginning to emoulder andia new democratic South
Africa to solidify. Of course, this happy development has not been

exclusively of our own makingâ\200\234 The role of the Frontline etatee,
theiñ\201mu, the United Natiene,

the Scandinavian eountriee,

the

Socialist community and indeed a host of our friends and alliee in
the western countries has euetained the effort and raised the level
of our etruggle to these commanding heighte.

It is our hope [and belief that this action of solidarity and support will continue to flow as the fortunes of the apartheid regime begin to dwindle both inside and outside the borders of our country.

We are confident that the resolution of the Namibian question will not be seen by the world as indicating a change of heart on the part of the Pretoria regime. We would like to believe that the fact that the focus in 1989 will be zeroed on apartheid South Africa shall be an inspiration to the international community and this conference in particular to rally even more ferociously behind the cause which we have cherished for so long.

Y

peace process by trying to provoke,

trick or tempt the other

parties to the process into violating some of its accords, It is not beyond sending out feelers to find out how the world would

respond should it violate any or all of the accordsâ\200\234 It may even

seek to/preee for some dubious military or other advantage by

trying to exploit the principled commitment of the other parties

to the peace proceee.

On Wednesday, 8th cĩ-\202â\200\230 February this year, Pretoria launched an invasion into southern engola. Serious thought must be given to whether or not that invasion may have been intended as a vehicle for any or all of the possible nefarious eohemee we have just

enumerated. Whatever the case may be, to preempt the poeeibilitiee

of eueh etratageme on the part of the racist regime, and thus to

â\200\231broteet the peace prooeee, Pretoria must be given no quarter!

es

the South West Africa Peace Prooeee proceeds and Pretoria

hopefully leaves engola and terminatee its illegal occupation of

Namibia, apartheidâ\200\231e geographical extension will be reduced to the

area contained within the frontiers of present day South Africa including the eowoalled bantuetane. In so doing, however, it will â\200\230 not be returning to undieputeo territory. ĩ-\201t home, our constantly

escalating etruggle is already engaging apartheid with an allround

offensive which

has plunged

the

raciet

regime

into

an

ever

deepening political and economic orieie, a new reality which even the racist regimeâ\200\231e intensifying reign of terror has not been able to reverse. It is not improbable that, oapitalieing on the obvioue

importance of the South West African Peace Proceee, Pretoria may try to put a price on its own participation in that process, the

price being (1) that the world turns a blind eye to whatever Crimes

the regime may be berpetrating or intende to perpetrate againet the South efrican people and (2) that apartheid be allowed, threugh

dialoguee

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other

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international ieolation, without having abandoned its intraneigent

oppoeition to the birth of freedom in South African eooording to

this scenario, Pretoria~would be eeeking to win legitimacy and to

to be deprived of. When he implies the need for the protection of group rights, he is, in a very thinly veiled manner speaking for the protection of white group rights.

Frederick de Klerk's positions represent nothing new. Apartheid has always insisted on grouping us along ethnic and racial lines and then distributing rights to the resultant groups in such a way that the white group ended up with all the rights while the rest of us were left virtually without any rights. Hence white privilege and black disadvantage.

Frederick

insistence

Klerk's

de

on

the

protection of group rights is a way of trying to achieve what apartheid, even with its bantustan system has hitherto failed to achieve: he is trying to enshrine white privilege with the consent of its victims. What he promotes is apartheid with a slightly less inhuman face. He is seeking to preserve white domination by new means. White domination is at the heart of apartheid.

One person one vote

thing among white South Africans. Why does de Klerk, like PW Bothe, reject its extension

new

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to all South Africans? among whites alone he finds it acceptable because it does not threaten white domination. Among whites alone, if, as it has always done, it leads to majority rule, that majority is white, White domination remains intact.

Extend one person one vote to all South Africans and it will lead to rule by the majority of South Africans who are black and white.

This,

like any majority which is less than fully white,

would
certainly threaten, even negate white domination. Hence de Klerk's
rejection of the extension of the franchise to all South
africans

Taken

uncritically,

de

Klerk

found

like

someone

ready

to

When change is closely examined, he turns out to represent
more of the same, The more apartheid found as if it is preparing
to change, the more it is determined to remain the same.

international community 1x3 euppemeht the efforts cĩ-\202â\200\235 the South African people in order to eheure an early end to the system of apartheid

South

Africa.

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To

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appeal

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intefnational community to:

1.

further increase allwround aeeietance and support to our

struggle against apartheid and for a united, nonwracial and democratic South Africa

2.

further increase ellwround aeeietanee and euppert ~ including especially economic and security assistance w to the Frontlihe and

independent

other

African

neighbouring

states

South

Africa.

But to support our struggle againet apartheid and to euppert the states neighbouring South efrica without denying the economic, scientific,

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â\200\230 tantamount to pouring water into a bottomless bucket. Therefore we call upon the international community, in particular the Soeialiet International to:

financial

military

making

means

and

war

of

1.

Intensify the campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on racist South Africa

2.

Pending the

imposition

of

comprehensive

and

mandatory

measures to:

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a.

strengthen existing package of sanctions and to dovetail them

in order to eliminate loopholes and overlaps;

campaign for the strict enforcement of the UN Arms Embargo
campaign for the strengthening of the Oil Embargo and its

strict enforcement

d.

the

campaign for the denial of landing rights to South African

aircraft

campaign to deny Pretoria racist propaganda access to Europe
and North America

We demand:

1.

2.

The immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and
all other political prisoners and detainees of apartheid

The unbanning of all our people's organisations

subvert international support for our struggle against apartheid,
the same apartheid which is responsible for the woe of the region.
To pre-empt this likelihood and to protect the very important South
West Africa Peace Process, the pressure that have been brought to
bear on apartheid should not be lifted. If anything they should be
intensified.

Pretoria has been known to attempt to purchase release from,
international pressure by dangling the carrot of

â€˜reformâ€™ and

suggestions of

â€˜readiness to dialogueâ€™ with the South African

people before the world, while it was, at the same time, using the
stick of repression ever more lavishly against our people; There

is likely to be more of

inspired by the
prospect of peace in the People's Republic of Angola and freedom

that as our people,

in Namibia, and strengthened by the even more favourable balance

of forces resulting from the peace process, redouble their efforts

to win their liberation,

thus further deepening the crisis of

apartheid. Pretoria must not be allowed to get away with it!

In a speech he made when he succeeded PW Botha as the standard
bearer of the

the African Nationalist Party earlier this year,
Frederick de Klerk declared himself in favour of a South Africa
free

where

conference he claimed that his Party was against domination of any
one group by

or oppression.

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others.

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predecessor, PW Botha, he rejected the possibility of extending what he called "one man one vote" to all South Africans. On both occasions he implied the need for the protection of group rights.

It takes very little effort to see that when he says his Party is against the domination of any one group by others, the "any one."

group

refers to the white minority.

This is

the same white

minority which, in the first place, set itself apart as a group,

for the purpose of dominating the rest of the people of South Africa. This is the same self-defined group which, under apartheid

has enjoyed all the rights which the rest of us were and continue

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Mr Chairman

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The African National Congress aieâ\200\224Ammaeweĩ-\201ĩ-\201ĩ-\201nwâ\200\235pieaEeamwĩ-\201fmĩ-\201mmnz

proteeeeeymthanĩ-\201fthe Socialist International and its Committee on

Southern Africa l%â\200\230 convening yeeâ\200\224lwwĩ-\201ĩ-\201ĩ-\201wâ\200\234 timely conference he

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the worldâ\200\231e attention on the scourge of

apartheid and the havoc it continues to wreak all over our region,

This particular conference occurs at a time marked by \$Â§\$eĩ-\201toue

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develOpmehte in our collective struggle against apartheid and its

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occupation Hot

Namibia4

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independentefrlcah etatee lQthe region We trust that the outcome

of ourdeilberatlone wlllâ\200\231help move these developments towards a

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Thie evehtĩ-\201 like ite predecessors, ie rooted in the tradition of friendship and eolidarity between the Socialist International and the peoples (ĩ-\202: our region ~* a tradition which is awn important

current in our etruggle.

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We are equallyxmnliï-\201eïï-\201edmLngiye our most profound gratitude to ZQNU

and the people of Zimbabwe for generously hosting this event and

for the warm and fraternal heepitality they have extended to our delegation. It ie indeed meet auepieioue that this conference ie taking place in Harare,

the capital city of Zimbabwe, a proud

member of the Frentline etatee~

We cannot help but ebeerve that our proceedihge will fall on the

sympathetic ears

of

the

Zimbabwe: people,

who

through bitter

experience knew what it meane to struggle for liberation. Having liberated themselves almost a decade ago undeewehewiï-\201eeïï-\201Âs?Â\$hlp 0f zmuu_eermthey eet out to preate a eoeiety in which all people could

live in harmeny and peace regardleee of differencee in race, colour

or creed. They have since steadfastly pursued this objective and scored some impreeeive eucaeeeee)deepite.Preteriaâ\200\231e campaigns to deetabiliee and abort that exemplary effort.

accords concerning the security of the People's Republic of Angola and the long overdue independence of Namibia, will be implemented

scrupulously, completely and without delay. A lasting peace in

Angola and genuine independence in Namibia will inevitably raise the odds against the survival of apartheid. The eradication of

apartheid will eliminate the regional threat to the sovereignty of

the independent African states in

the neighbourhood of South

Africa;

it will leave them at

last free to pursue vital and

frequently disrupted or delayed programmes of economic development

and social

progress without

fear

of

military aggression and

degradation from South Africa.

It has been said often enough that Pretoria did not go to the

negotiating table because of a sudden change of heart in favour of peace and freedom. If today Pretoria has become a party to the South West Africa Peace Process, this is because a very specific set of inescapable pressures have caught up with apartheid. These pressures are largely attributable to the decisive defeat of the

Pretoria racist regime in southern Angola, the inexorable-

escalation of the struggles of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa led respectively by SWAPO and the ANC, continuing solidarity among the Frontline States and between the Frontline States and the national liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa, the further growth of the global anti-apartheid solidarity movement and

the ever mounting threat of the total international isolation of

apartheid.

It is a major victory for all these forces that their collective pressure has compelled Pretoria to become a part of the peace

process.

Pretoria's track record of perfidy and lack of good faith is

legendary.

It is not unreasonable to assume that at this very moment, Pretoria may actually be devising stratagems to make the best out of what it sees as a bad situation, that is the peace process. The racist regime is not beyond trying to scuttle the

Aware that the political definition and grouping of individuals along ethnic and racial lines is what gives rise to intergroup conflict and the

resultant tendency of one group to dominate

its

others,

the ANC from

inception has always insisted that individuals be regarded first and last as an individual and that the rights of each and every individual be protected by the constitution without prejudice occasioned by race, colour, creed or gender. This is why we stand for universal adult suffrage for all our people in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, This is the way out of apartheid.

It is the surest way to prevent relationships of dominance between groups. It is the surest way to guarantee individual rights.

It is the yardstick by which the reforms of apartheid must be measured, In this light, de Klerk must not feel the world into entertaining false hope, The world must demand that he comes with something more substantial than trying to dress white domination in new clothes,

LES

taken

racist

Riding on the momentum of the South West Africa Peace Process Pretoria asked the

to mediate a negotiated settlement in Mozambique. Though this initiative was a nonstarter, given the atmosphere precipitated by the peace process in Southern Africa, and

of readiness to negotiate with its handpicked puppets, some people may be tempted to speculate that Pretoria is at last ready to talk business. Nothing could be further off the mark.

regime's seasonal

along with- the

hints

Our people's leaders are either in jail, restricted or in exile. The overwhelming majority are either banned or severely restricted. Thousands of patriots are still in detention without trial. They

Pretoria racist regime's troops still occupy the townships.

The

state of emergency which has been expanding and becoming more severe is into its fourth year. In short, Pretoria is far from ready or willing to negotiate except with itself.

It

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our

collective

pressure

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Pretoria

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negotiating

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Now- we

need even 'more pressure

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