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CLARION CALL TO ALL



OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID

**PRESS CONFERENCE WITH
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENT
OLIVER TAMBO
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
GREATER LONDON COUNCIL IN COUNTY HALL
MARCH 21ST 1984**

Ken Livingstone:

I would like to introduce you to Mr Oliver Tambo who has come here today to speak at the meeting we are holding tonight. We have been advertising and you may have seen the posters. We have called the meeting because the GLC has been quite clear in its own mind that we cannot tackle racism here in London and here in Britain while turning a blind eye to racism in other parts of the world, in particular in South Africa where Britain has such strong historical and financial links. Therefore, we see the struggle against racism here in London as part and parcel of the same struggle for freedom in southern Africa. It is with tremendous pride that the GLC received the news that Oliver Tambo agreed to come and speak in London tonight. Oliver Tambo is the person whose courage has been an inspiration to people from all over the world, who has fought and resisted the apartheid regime for year after year after year. It is important for those who live in Britain where conditions have been relatively civilised in terms of struggle between central government and its opponents, to know how much more difficult it is to struggle for justice and for human rights in many other parts of the world. Therefore I think we all feel very humble to have Oliver Tambo in our midst. We are very proud that he has agreed to come and take part in the activities of our Anti Racist Year.

We also have Ambassador Sahnoun who is the Algerian Permanent Representative and Ambassador to the United Nations, and vice-president of the Council on Namibia. We have Bishop Trevor Huddleston, who is the President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Bob Hughes, who is the Labour MP for Aberdeen North and who, as well as being our Opposition spokesperson on agriculture, is also the Chairman of Anti-Apartheid.

Having said that I'll ask Oliver Tambo to speak to you.

President Tambo:

Mr Ken Livingstone, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Ambassador Sahnoun, Honour-

able Mr Hughes, ladies and gentlemen. May I begin by expressing the thanks of the African National Congress and of my own self to the GLC, the leader and chairman of the GLC, for arranging this press conference.

We owe this day to a massacre that took place in Sharpeville, South Africa, many years ago now. It shocked the world because although there had been killings, pursued in the interests of preserving the apartheid system, nothing on that scale had occurred since the accession to power of the apartheid regime.

The record of events in southern Africa from Sharpeville to, shall I say, Nkomati, is a record of killings, massacres, armed aggressions by the South African regime, the use of armed bandits in African independent states. It has included invasions of independent African states. It has involved the destruction and devastation of people, the economy, and property. And it has led in its own way to the agreement which was signed on the borders of South Africa and Mozambique a short while ago.

The fountainhead of the problems of southern Africa is, of course, the situation in South Africa, the apartheid system. And therefore, the way to resolve the problems of that region is to address that situation in South Africa. It is a situation which has been in the focus of world attention, the United Nations, represented here by Ambassador Sahnoun, of the anti-apartheid movements throughout the world, principally the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. It has been the subject of debates in parliament. The whole world has organised and mobilised to face this apartheid system.

Today there has been much talk about peace in southern Africa, and I believe questions related to peace in southern Africa will feature in the discussions we are going to have here today. But the African National Congress, which has been at the heart of the struggle in South Africa, and because of the policies of the South African regime with regard to southern Africa as a whole, the African National Congress has been at the

heart of the struggle in the whole of southern Africa. It has reacted to current developments about peace and security by releasing a statement, portions of which I shall read for the purposes of the discussions we are going to have.

I will be elaborating more on these issues in my statement tonight at the meeting called by the GLC. The African National Congress has stated, and I read from our statement:

A just and lasting peace in our region is not possible while the fountainhead of war and instability in this area of southern Africa, the apartheid regime and the oppressive system it maintains in South Africa and Namibia, continue to exist. The Botha regime knows that no peace has broken out. Rather, it has resorted to other means to continue its war for the domination of southern Africa. The situation in our region continues to point to the correctness of the decisions of the Maputo Front Line States summit which was held in March 1982. That summit observed that the armed actions and the struggle generally by Swapo and the ANC must be intensified. It went on to commit the Front Line States to 'intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements, Swapo and the ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of the national independence of their peoples'.

Now that statement was made in full recognition of the fact that the destruction of the apartheid regime and the liberation of South Africa and Namibia constituted the fundamental prerequisites for stability and uninterrupted progress in our region. The commonly agreed position reaffirmed the obligation of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, to escalate their offensive using all means, including armed action, for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the masses. The statement goes on to say: 'We remain and shall remain loyal to this perspective'.

In this Anti-Racist Year proclaimed by the GLC, we are confident that those who support the elimination of the apartheid system and who seek lasting peace in southern Africa will double and re-double their efforts in seeking to isolate that regime, put pressure upon the regime and above all support the peoples struggling for justice, freedom and independence in southern Africa, especially the people of South Africa and Namibia.

I have read this statement in anticipation of the fact that you may be interested in some aspects of current developments in

southern Africa, and perhaps this is all I need to say by way of laying the basis for your questions

Ken Livingstone:

Thank you, Mr Tambo. We also have Ambassador Sahnoun, who as I said earlier is the Algerian Permanent Representative to the UN and vice president of the Council on Namibia. Ambassador Sahnoun.

Ambassador Sahnoun:

I have come to London to represent the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid which I am also a member of. I will be attending the meeting this evening organised by the GLC. On this occasion the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid met in urgent session and adopted a statement which I am going to read to you.

'The Special Committee Against Apartheid has been following with great attention, in accordance with its mandate, the recent developments in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole

It considers it essential to reaffirm that the primary cause of tension and conflict in southern Africa has been and remains the inhuman policy of apartheid pursued by the racist regime of South Africa. There can be no stable peace and security in the region unless apartheid is totally eliminated and the people of South Africa as a whole are enabled to establish a non-racial democratic state.

The South African regime, however, is continuing its efforts to enforce apartheid by brutal repression. It is proceeding in defiance of the international community and in the face of opposition by the great majority of the people, to impose the new racist constitution to dispossess the African majority, divide the oppressed people and consolidate racist domination. It continues to prevent the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia.

Its assurances of a willingness to accept non-intervention in neighbouring states — after causing enormous damage to the economies of those states through criminal acts of aggression, destabilisation and terrorism — require utmost vigilance by the international community.

The Special Committee considers that, so long as apartheid persists in South Africa, the international community has a duty to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa and assist the legitimate struggle of the dispossessed and oppressed peoples of South

Africa and Namibia for self-determination, independence and freedom. It must condemn the actions of governments, transnational corporations and other interests which, through their collaboration with the racist regime, encourage it in its racist, repressive, oppressive and aggressive policies. It must demand the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners in South Africa.

The Special Committee denounces the propaganda of the racist regime and its friends in favour of a relaxation of international action against apartheid. There can be no relaxation so long as the racist regime, with its enormous military machine and nuclear build-up, seeks to perpetrate racist domination in South Africa and establish its hegemony in the region.

The Special Committee recognises that the liberation movements and all those fighting for freedom in South Africa – including independent black trade unions, religious bodies, and other groups deserve even greater moral and material support at this critical time.

The Special Committee also calls for increased economic and other assistance to the Front Line States and Lesotho to overcome the effects of South African aggression and natural calamities.

The Special Committee, therefore, will re-double its efforts to mobilise governments and peoples of the world in support of United Nations Resolutions for the elimination of apartheid'.

This statement is being made public in New York at the same time. Thank you.

Bishop Huddleston:

I certainly don't want to waste your time because I have done a good deal of public speaking on this issue very recently. My only qualification for doing so is that I suppose I am the oldest representative here in terms of the anti-apartheid struggle. I have been involved in it for nearly 40 years both inside South Africa and outside. I have just come back from a visit to five of the Front Line States and therefore I know that what I say has their basic authority.

But you want to hear Mr Tambo, and I'm not going to waste your time by expanding at all on what he has just said. I would just like to say one word about the so-called Nkomati accord. It is of enormous importance for those who care about peace in southern Africa that the press and the communications media should stop talking as if the Nkomati accords were a step in the direc-

tion of reconciliation and peace. In fact, a historian writing about Britain 2,000 years ago got it exactly right. I am sure that you are good classical scholars, therefore I am going to quote it in his original tongue, Latin ... 'They make a desert, they call it peace'. That is precisely what has happened in the Nkomati accords, and it is of the utmost importance for everyone in this country that they should not be misled and we have to depend upon the media, upon the press, in this respect. There can be no question that Mozambique has been forced to an accord both by massive aggression and also by consistent destabilisation from South Africa. As Mr Tambo has said, the enemy is only one enemy – that is apartheid itself – and until apartheid is destroyed, there can be no peace in southern Africa.

Bob Hughes:

Ken Livingstone, may I first of all pay tribute on behalf of the Anti-Apartheid Movement to the GLC for all its done, not only during this Year Against Racism, but also over the years in which you have had any say in the matter ... Today's press conference coincides with the Lobby of Parliament taking place this afternoon in which we shall be putting very strongly to members of Parliament that they ought to take much closer interest in South Africa, that they should be aware of how the government protects South Africa at the UN in a whole number of ways, and how it fails to use legitimate pressure against South Africa both to stop its external aggression and indeed its internal aggression.

We have argued over the years that there are many close connections between Britain and South Africa, and many of the financial ones are well known. What has always been denied has been the very close military connection, and indeed the close intelligence connection. I was interested to see in the press the other day the South Africans complaining that their ageing Shackleton planes for which they can't get spares because of the arms embargo and Britain's own arms embargo, have reached such a state that they won't be able to carry out their surveillance of the South Atlantic. Because of that they say the intelligence that they have been providing both the United States and Britain will no longer be available.

South Africa is making it perfectly clear that it classes itself as what might be broadly described as Western democracies. I think we need to point out very clearly that racism is institutionalised by statute in South Africa. It has been institutionalised by statute since

the day in which the Treaty of Westminster granted independence to the Union of South Africa and it will continue to be institutionalised until we get rid of the apartheid system. That is why I personally, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, support very strongly the activities of the African National Congress and of Swapo of Namibia to end in the one case the illegal occupation of Namibia, and in the second case the equally illegal internal occupation of South Africa.

Ken Livingstone:
Open for questions.

John Battersby, Rand Daily Mail

Mr Tambo, statements by senior members of the Mozambican government and the heads of the Mozambique armed forces, and also recent statements by President Kaunda of Zambia, indicate an attempt by the Front Line States to redefine the role of the ANC as a civil rights rather than a liberation movement in southern Africa. It is argued by them that South Africa is an independent country and a member of the UN, and therefore the ANC should assert the principal of peaceful negotiations. Could you comment on that?

President Tambo:

Yes, thanks for the question. That is correct. We have been aware of the growing insistence on South Africa being an independent, sovereign African state. The people of South Africa do not regard this regime as presiding over an independent sovereign country because that independence and sovereignty is restricted only to the white population, a small minority of the people of South Africa. Therefore, if you see South Africa as simply a white country of 4½ million people, then indeed it is independent, it is sovereign.

You can enter into agreements with it. But then you are proceeding on the basis that 26-27-million people just don't exist. We reject that, totally. We say South Africa is one country. It has some 30-million people, but it is being run as if it was two countries, the one colonising the other. And among these 27-million are people who are now and again given 'independence', indeed, as if they were colonised people. So we don't accept that.

Now, in regard to civil rights. You can have civil rights in this country, or in the United States, because the constitution caters for everybody. The South African constitution excludes the blacks. They are outside the constitution. There is nothing they can do about decisions, policies of the South African regime. They don't belong. They are

fighting from outside this white state. That is not a civil rights struggle at all. If we were part of the constitution, if we were citizens like any other, then of course there would be rights to fight for, as there are rights to fight for in the United States. But in South Africa the position is different. Our struggle is basically, essentially, fundamentally a national liberation struggle.

Person asking question's name not clear:

Mr Livingstone, the GLC has a big portfolio of investments. Do you have South African connections in that portfolio?

Ken Livingstone:

All the direct South African investments were disinvested by the GLC ... We have now established a panel of members working through all the remaining investments so that any remaining investments in companies which have interests in South Africa we hope to disinvest from and move into other companies. We do not believe it would be right to have the GLC staff pension fund propping up the South African regime, and we are making progress on that. But of course many companies try and hide the nature of their investments in South Africa, so we often have to look for outside information to challenge the false information we are given by the companies. We haven't found any legal problems yet, but we are used to that.

Ms Letterer of Associated Press:

The journalists who covered the Mozambique South African agreement did in fact write about it as not perhaps a first step towards peace, but certainly as a disappointment for the ANC, and the fact that the ANC was now going to be kicked out of the country that it had been using most prominently to launch its activities against the South African government. I would like to know what in fact the ANC is going to do now that this agreement is in effect.

President Tambo:

Yes, well, first of all there is nothing in the agreement and certainly nothing has been said by the Mozambican government to suggest that the ANC is going to be thrown out of Mozambique. On the contrary, the Mozambican government has insisted that it will continue to support the struggle led by the ANC and support the ANC itself politically, diplomatically and morally.

Secondly, it is not true, it simply is not true, that the African National Congress has been launching attacks on South Africa from

Mozambique. There is not a single occasion when we did. Of course, we went through Mozambique, an African country, as we have gone through other African countries to reach our own country. We were allowed to do so. But we launched nothing out of Mozambique. We have launched no attacks from any country into South Africa. This is South African propaganda.

What are we going to do about this non-aggression pact which forbids Mozambique to allow transit to South Africans going back to their own country? Well, we have had many problems like that in the past and that is how we relate to it — as a problem to be solved. What we do know is that our actions have been planned and staged in South Africa. We will continue to do that. We will find a way of intensifying those actions. In fact this agreement is a challenge to the victims of the apartheid system. If we are required to stand alone, fight alone, as the British once did faced with an offensive from the Nazis, then that is what we are going to do. We are absolutely confident about it. Our people are ready to meet this challenge. It has never been the policy of the African National Congress to burden the neighbouring states of southern Africa with sacrifices that have to be made in order to destroy the apartheid system. They hate that system, and they have supported us out of their hatred of that system, knowing that while it lasted there was no freedom for them, no independence, no sovereignty, no peace, no stability, no progress. And if they are placed under constraint which restrict their capacity to support that struggle, a just struggle, a struggle of the peoples of the world, then the ANC will not complain. We understand.

Question from the Caribbean Times:

How do you view the impact of the United Democratic Front?

President Tambo:

It is a flowering of a great desire on the part of our people to unite in struggle. It is a very fitting response to attempts by the regime to perpetuate itself through the constitutional proposals or the new constitution. Our people have understood what this means, and they are fighting these attempts and demanding not amendments to the constitution, but its complete abrogation and the emergence of a new society — true democracy in South Africa, power for the people of South Africa of all races, not a white minority. So the UDF is the response of our times to attempts at the perpetuation of a crime against our

people and against humanity. It has had a tremendous impact and has reinforced our confidence in the certainty that the apartheid regime will be destroyed by the people of South Africa with the assistance of peace-loving, right-thinking peoples throughout the world.

CD Patel, from New Life:

It is all very well talking to friends like the GLC, but while you are in this country are you expecting to see Mrs Thatcher or anybody in the Tory government ...

President Tambo:

Well, of course I hope that since you are here you are doing something about influencing them to support our struggle and stop supporting the criminals who have brought crime over the whole region of southern Africa. I myself would have liked to meet the government of the United Kingdom, meet the Prime Minister and find out what she thinks about southern Africa and what Britain can do about that situation, but there are no arrangements for such a meeting ...

Could you comment on the boycott campaigns? (Name of journalist unclear):

President Tambo:

The interesting thing about the sports/cultural boycotts is that they have succeeded so far where other forms of sanctions have not been a success. They have demonstrated that if South Africa is effectively isolated then it will be in the interests of the people in South Africa who support the apartheid system, the electorate, ordinary people, white workers, it will be in their interests to do something about this system. So in the sports field a lot of apartheid barriers have crashed. Not all, but the fact that many have as a result of the boycott is a justification of the correctness of the cultural and sports boycott and we ought to intensify it. We ought to see that we are winning and should put on more pressure. The sports and cultural boycotts prove the correctness of the policy of isolating South Africa, imposing sanctions. What we have not succeeded in doing is to make the economic sanctions and other forms of isolating the regime effective. When they are the regime will make the kind of adjustments the international community is demanding.

Martin Bailey, The Observer:

... Do you think that Mozambique could justify the signing of the agreement given its security and economic factors, or do you

think it was not necessary to go as far ...

Secondly, I wanted to ask you a little about how ANC strategy will develop. You talked of the transit facilities; what other facilities are there for transiting ANC into South Africa ...?

Ken Livingstone:

I am certain you are not seriously asking Mr Tambo to discuss the movements of that nature at a press conference?

President Tambo:

Now that the second question has been embarked upon, I shall deal with it first. I did say a little earlier that we have had many problems of this kind. It has never been easy. We have made progress notwithstanding. But we don't rely for the development of our struggle in South Africa on the activities of those who are outside of South Africa. They are engaged in international solidarity work, which is vital. We are inside South Africa and I think time will prove that it doesn't help for South Africa to force countries to sign agreements which set them against the liberation struggle in Africa. It doesn't help, because the people who are fighting the apartheid system and that kind of crime are in South Africa, and this is where our strength lies. But as to the extent to which we can reinforce from outside, as ANC and as South Africans, the struggle within, we will solve that problem, and as I say time will show that the agreement has had no effect as far as that is concerned.

I don't feel disposed to discuss what the Mozambican government should or should not do in a given situation. They must take their own decision in the matter and take positions and pursue them as far as they think necessary from their point of view. I am not sure that in their position I would have gone quite as far as they have, but it must be accepted that the South African government, the South African regime, had decided to destroy Mozambique, to kill it as a state, and got pretty close to doing so. Mozambique, the leadership of Mozambique, were forced to choose, as it were, between life and death. They chose life, and life meant talking to the butchers of southern Africa, it meant hugging a hated hyena, and they had to do that. For the rest of us, we must accept that position, but defend our own positions, defend our struggle.

The international community has to recognise that Mozambique felt that they had to do what they have done. The international community must not forget that this is not

an agreement about the apartheid system in South Africa. That system is there, it is not a subject of this agreement. From the point of view of Botha, the agreement seeks to protect apartheid and we must make sure that apartheid is placed under increasing attack. The Botha regime will want to use this agreement as a stepping-stone to other agreements in southern Africa, and use southern Africa as a stepping-stone into acceptance by the international community. We must resist that. This is a new challenge, therefore, to the international community – to put the regime back into isolation. They are trying to climb out of it, they are trying to put the ANC into isolation instead, and we are calling on our friends to stop them. We are going to stop them by our actions inside South Africa, but we need much greater international support than we have had. And the Front Line States need that too, because if they had been supported adequately politically, materially, militarily, they would not have had to do what they must hate doing. Therefore, this agreement is a clarion call to all those who are the friends of southern Africa, of the Front Line States, to all those who are the opponents of the apartheid system, to do what they have not done so far, that is to come out in solid support, to move their governments to act against the apartheid system and in defence of the countries of southern Africa.

Ken Livingstone:

I think it is important to bear in mind just what our government and the American government would have said if forces from the Front Line States had intervened across the borders into South Africa and undertaken that sort of armed aggression. We would have had emergency debates in the House of Commons, there would have been emergency meetings of the Security Council. The double standard which is operating which allows South Africa to invade, to slaughter, to kill and to withdraw without a whisper of condemnation from the British and American governments is quite obscene. We also have to bear in mind that irrespective of whatever

The peoples of southern Africa know from their own experience that there can be no peaceful coexistence between freedom and independence on the one hand and colonialism on the other.

National Executive Committee Statement

changes are taking place in South Africa, changes are taking place in the rest of the world, and the net around South Africa is tightening. We have been invited as the GLC by the UN to go and address a meeting of the Council on Apartheid early next month and we will be explaining what actions we will be taking as the GLC both for disinvest-

ment from South Africa and companies that involve themselves in South Africa, our boycott of the people who have performed in South Africa from our own sports and cultural facilities, and I think that it is important that the moves that we have made here in London are taken up by other capital cities and other cities in Britain ...

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO
TO THE GLC ANTI-RACIST DAY MEETING
FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE MARCH 21ST 1984**

Twenty four years ago today, March 21st, 1960, 69 Africans were brutally murdered in the black township of Sharpeville, South Africa, when police fired on unarmed and peaceful demonstrators. Though these were not the first, nor indeed the last victims of such criminal action, that massacre galvanised peoples the world over and focused attention on the pressing need to combat and defeat the scourge of racism.

The designation by the United Nations of March 21st as the **International Day of Struggle for the Elimination of Racism** was a recognition that racism still prevails in many parts of the world, and that its elimination is the responsibility of us all. Apartheid, the most vicious and institutionalised form of racism, has been declared an international crime.

The fact that 45 years after the racist ideology of the Nazis plunged the world into war, and decades after resolutions have been passed calling for the eradication of apartheid, this meeting, along with thousands of others like it elsewhere in the world, has to take place at all, is a rebuke because clearly we have not done enough to confront the very racism we have gathered here to condemn.

We are, however, happy and honoured to be here today as guests of the Greater London Council. For if the occasion is a rebuke, it is also, we must believe, a pledge to struggle together against racism: above all in South Africa but also immediately around us, even in this old and proud city itself – indeed to fight racism wherever and whenever it manifests itself.

We extend our thanks to the Chairman, the Leader and members of the Council for

inviting us to participate in this important meeting. We should like to call attention to the profound significance of this International Day being marked on the initiative of the governing body of Greater London and with the participation of the national liberation movements of the Namibian and South African peoples – SWAPO and the ANC.

Mr Chairman,

This city has featured prominently in the history of our country. Our people have known London as the imperial capital that betrayed both its principles and the African people, when it gave South Africa a constitution which excluded the black majority from participating in the government of our country. To this day, the heir to imperial London continues to see the creature it spawned in 1910 as its ally. Flouting the demands of the international community, it chooses to maintain links with the racist minority regime, and uses its veto powers to protect that regime from action by the Security Council.

We are familiar also with another London: the City – which actively participates in our oppression. Its institutions pour investments into the apartheid economy and harvest the profits of our dispossession and exploitation.

But tonight, we are meeting with yet another London, which, with your permission Mr Chairman, I will call **People's London** – to distinguish and disassociate it from that centred in Whitehall and the City. This is the London that first forged links with the African National Congress 70 years ago, when it sheltered our then Secretary-General Solomon Plaatje. This is the London of Fenner Brockway, who met and welcomed Solomon

Plaatje at the time. It is the London we have known as the birthplace of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, which this year celebrates its 25th anniversary, and one of whose most prominent founders is its current President, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

By declaring 1984 Anti-Racist Year and adopting the Anti-Apartheid Declaration, People's London has become a formidable ally of all those who are engaged in combatting racism throughout the world and especially in South Africa. As citizens of an Anti-Apartheid zone, more Londoners will be mobilised into action to isolate the apartheid regime. Many have already responded to the campaign of the Anti-Apartheid Movement by boycotting South African wines, Cape grapes and Outspan oranges; by cutting sports and cultural links with racist South Africa; by contributing money to the British Defence and Aid Fund, and support to the ANC and Swapo of Namibia for their humanitarian needs. They have spoken out against apartheid at schools and universities, within the trade union movement, the political parties, the church, inside Parliament and indeed even at annual general meetings of leading British companies with investments in South Africa.

Yet their words and their work have not been enough. Others, so far more powerful, have had a different determination: to keep on friendly — and profitable — terms with the South African regime. The refusal of successive British governments to confront that regime is not a neutral act. It constitutes effective support for racial oppression; for what operates, against the vast majority of South Africans, as a police state; and for a policy of racist aggression against neighbouring states.

For, when we speak of apartheid we mean all these things, and more. Apartheid is not merely racial discrimination. Its central feature is not the segregation of public amenities — of park benches and post office counters. Apartheid means not only racism, national and racial oppression of the black majority in our country, but also the means found necessary to enforce it, and to defend and guarantee its survival in the face of powerful human and social forces moving against it.

Apartheid is a form of violence that operates, every moment of every day, against our people and the other peoples of southern Africa, to perpetuate a white monopoly of political and economic power. Apartheid is everything humankind opposes; and to ensure its survival, it finds it necessary to wage war within South Africa and across the borders.

Mr Chairman,

Recently, there has been a well-orchestrated attempt to present the apartheid regime as the architect of peace in southern Africa. In this propaganda offensive, the events of the past decade are wiped off the record and out of the recollection. Let me remind you of these events, so that you may understand that what Pretoria seeks is peace to preserve apartheid and secure white supremacy.

Less than a decade ago, there was a similar exercise. Then the air was thick with phrases of dialogue and detente. But even as the words resounded and hands were being proffered in apparent friendship, apartheid armies were secretly marching into Angola in the first of many invasions that were to follow. Detente was buried when the Pretoria regime's hypocrisy was exposed.

In 1976, the brutal massacre of defenceless children in Soweto and other South African townships provided confirmation, if such were needed, that despite its protestations of dialogue and detente, the character of the apartheid regime has not changed.

As Defence Minister, PW Botha had masterminded the Angolan invasion. After he became prime minister, attacks on our neighbours featured as a vital component of apartheid's total strategy for survival. No country on our borders has been immune from attack, either by the regime's forces or by bandit proxies such as Unita, MNR and the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army.

Military action, interspersed with economic sabotage and political destabilisation have been mercilessly pursued, as the regime has been supported by the 'constructive engagement' of the Reagan Administration.

Under the protection of its allies and collaborators, Pretoria was allowed to devastate the countries of southern Africa with impunity. There was little concern then for peace amongst those who are now loudest in their applause for Botha. To their eternal shame, they did nothing to deter aggression or strengthen the capacity of independent African states to defend themselves. Aggression was not only allowed, but even encouraged to succeed. Having ravaged the countryside, destroyed the economic infra-structure and weakened the political base, the apartheid aggressor now demands a high price for ending his aggression.

Even as it was escalating its aggression the racist regime offered its victims 'non-aggression pacts' — offers that were repeatedly rejected. For if peace was the objective, there was no need for such pacts, as no African country had even threatened, much less

attacked South Africa, and the sole and exclusive aggressive force in the region, the apartheid regime, needed only to desist from its aggression.

In attempting to coerce its neighbours into binding agreements, similar to those signed with its creature Bantustans, Pretoria is trying to define the limits of their independence and force them into accepting continued racist domination in southern Africa. Further, the regime seeks to inveigle independent African countries into joint action against the ANC.

The Munich agreement neither changed the character of the Hitler regime nor brought peace to Europe. No agreements imposed on the independent countries of Africa will change the nature of the Botha regime nor create peace in southern Africa. For us to believe otherwise would be to entertain a dangerous illusion: to agree with Pretoria that what has been achieved through aggression constitutes a peaceful solution which the world must endorse and applaud. Such a position would be intolerable for us, and it would be as disastrous as its precedents have proved. For, by adopting such an erroneous stand, we would be encouraging the Pretoria regime to extend its zone of an oppressive peace by intensifying further its aggression.

Pretoria's objective remains unaltered: peace to preserve apartheid, and freedom to continue its war against the Namibian and South African people. For, whatever the immediate results of the current manoeuvres, there is not even the presence of peace or justice in South Africa and Namibia. In Angola, all that Pretoria has agreed to, is the conditional withdrawal of its aggressive forces from the territory it still occupied. There is no offer of withdrawal from its illegal occupation of Namibia, nor to implement the unanimously agreed Resolution 435 which remains the only basis for a peaceful solution.

For the people of South Africa, there is neither the prospect nor the promise of peace. The reasons for Pretoria's aggression and therefore for the wars in the region lie within South Africa, and there they still remain.

The regime's war against the South African people has been waged for many decades. Despite severe repression, torture, imprisonment and death, resistance continues and even intensifies. The many attempts to purchase our right to self-determination have been rejected. Our people saw through the Bantustan fraud and continue to fight apartheid institutions even when they are manned by Africans clothed in the paraphernalia of

pseudo-independence. 'Coloured' and Indian South Africans are presently girding themselves to demonstrate their total rejection of the new constitution, that seeks to divide them from the African people and offers participation in the left-overs of the oppressor's table.

Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki have rejected unequivocally the recent offer that they would be released if they would agree to go and live in what is known as the 'independent republic of Transkei'. In their response to the regime's attempts to legitimise apartheid and secure recognition for the Bantustans, these national leaders, though imprisoned these twenty years, have reflected and articulated both the mood and temper of all political prisoners, and of our entire people. Their belief in the unfragmented South Africa of the Freedom Charter remains undiminished.

Today, people of all races are united in a broad democratic front of millions, determined to fight for the realisation of a democratic, non-racial South Africa. Our country is now the site of a gathering mass struggle reinforced by armed action by units of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Unable to come to terms with this reality, or to contain the situation inside South Africa, the regime has sought desperately for alternate solutions.

It is more comforting for it to attribute to external agitation the resistance that springs from our people's commitment to the cause of liberation. And, it is more reassuring for Botha to see our national liberation movement as a transient force, having its roots on foreign soil and drawing its main support from forces outside our borders.

Pretoria, therefore, concentrates its energies on trying to clear southern Africa of the ANC. It hopes that thereafter it will be safe behind its buffer zones. But whatever it, or anyone else may wish, the ANC will not go away. The ANC is not some force external to South Africa. It does not owe its birth, its strength and its survival for 72 years now, to some foreign power. Our national liberation movement sprang from the loins of the people, fathered by their dispossession, oppression and exploitation, nurtured by their belief in a just society, and tempered by years of struggle. So long as these conditions remain, so long will our people remain committed to liberate themselves and their country, and so long will the ANC grow in strength and effectiveness.

The apartheid regime has long failed to suppress us by terror. Everything it may try

in future will similarly fail to halt the struggle for the liberation of our country.

In spite of recent events, we are convinced that the peoples of our region are not prepared to purchase for themselves a peace that is a snare and a delusion, and at the expense of betraying the peoples in South Africa and Namibia. In much the same way, the people of this country refused, in their very love of peace, to turn their backs on the Nazi attack against the freedom of other peoples in Europe.

Indeed, the peoples of southern Africa are perfectly aware that the only guarantee of lasting peace and security for their countries is the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. Our inevitable victory will serve also the fundamental and permanent interests of all the peoples in our region, Africa and the rest of the world.

Mr Chairman,

Over the decades thousands of our people have given their lives for freedom. The nature of the system we fight will demand even greater sacrifices in the years ahead. Inevitably also, we will see larger numbers of whites in our country shedding their blood in defence of apartheid. We must accept this.

The state and the regime about which we have been speaking tonight are not abstract entities. They are real social institutions manned by actual people, with the whites occupying the commanders' posts. It is these posts that we have to attack in order to advance towards our victory.

We speak of this bloodshed neither with joy nor bitterness, but because the South African regime and its effective allies have willed that it should be so.

For 25 years now we have called on the world to impose sanctions against apartheid South Africa. We have made this call in the knowledge that were sanctions to be imposed, this would immeasurably shorten the life span of apartheid and reduce the loss of life that must necessarily accompany a struggle against it.

We have said that the decisive centres of power in this country, as elsewhere in the western world, have refused to heed that call. Instead, they argue that sanctions do not work and should not be imposed. In that event there can be no alternative to the escalation of the armed struggle.

We believe that the efforts of the international community should focus on removing all forms of support for our oppressors and on the total isolation of the apartheid regime. In such action, local authorities have a significant role to play, especially in countries

where national governments have refused to act against apartheid.

In the United States three states and more than 22 cities have taken steps to break links with apartheid. In Britain, London, Leeds, Sheffield, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle and Aberdeen are among the more than 100 local authorities which have already broken relations with apartheid and are co-ordinating their efforts.

We have noted with particular appreciation that as old links are broken, new ones are being forged with the oppressed people through their national liberation movements, the ANC and Swapo.

The GLC has taken sides in the conflict between racism and equality. We believe that by its deeds the GLC will help to arouse the population of this great metropolis and others beyond it, to recognise the grave international dangers posed by the apartheid regime, and act accordingly.

This Council has further elected to champion the cause of all those who are oppressed and suffer discrimination, because powerful interests have no regard except for the exercise of power itself, and for the maintenance of a social order that sustains that power.

The ANC is observing 1984 as the Year of the Women of South Africa. We are pleased to join with the GLC in drawing attention to the nature of women's oppression. As your Anti-Apartheid Declaration spells out, women are in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. The presentation of a manuscript of the Anti-Apartheid Declaration to our colleague and courageous fighter Winnie Nomzamo Mandela, on January 9th, was a timely act of much-needed solidarity.

For our part, we want to make it clear that our liberation as a people cannot be complete unless the act of national liberation contains within it the genuine liberation of women.

Mr Chairman,

Our principal task at this moment is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa. This is the task of the people of South Africa. This is the urgent call that we make to the masses of our people, to all democratic formations and to all members and units of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Relying on our own strength, through action, we will frustrate the schemes of the enemy of the peoples of Africa and the ally of fascists, and continue our forward march to the destruction of the system of white minority colonial domination in our country.

The central and immediate question of South African politics is the overthrow of the white minority regime, the seizure of power by the people and the uprooting by these victorious masses of the entire apartheid system of colonial and racist domination, fascist tyranny, the super-exploitation of the black majority and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

This question will be and is being settled, in struggle, within the borders of our country and nowhere else. We are entitled to expect that all those, anywhere in the world, who count themselves among the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces, will join hands with us to bring about this noble outcome.

Mr Chairman,

In declaring this day as the International Day for the Elimination of Racism, the international community has pledged itself to action against racism. On behalf of all those millions who suffer under this scourge, we must call upon the peoples of the world to redeem that pledge.

The powers pitted against all of us are formidable indeed. They include the Reagan Administration which is deeply involved in the scheme for an oppressive and therefore

illusory peace in southern Africa. But powerful as these forces may be, they cannot vanquish the millions of men, and women, peoples of all continents – Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and the USA – of various faiths and political persuasions, who are determined to see an end to all racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation.

Mr Chairman,

I have already said that in coming together on this day we are pledged to work against all manifestations of racism. We are confident that as we expand our action, and extend our unity to incorporate many more people, we will succeed in striking mighty blows against racism in London, South Africa and throughout the world.

Let 1984, London's Year Against Racism, be the year when in the capital cities of the world rhetoric gives way to action, and racism beats its last retreat.

Tonight, the spirit is abroad that the real peoples of South Africa and Great Britain have, together in this hall, signed an accord on which are inscribed in bold letters the words: **Let us march together to liberation and equality, justice and peace!**

Together we will win!

"The Pretoria regime is acting in the manner that it is, to try to extricate itself out of the crisis that confronts its racial and colonial system of apartheid. It hopes that after it has 'pacified' our neighbours and driven the ANC out of our region, it will then have a free hand to suppress the mass democratic movement of our country and thus create the conditions for it to spin out its intricate web of measures for the refinement and entrenchment of the apartheid system.

Our principal task at this moment therefore is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa. This is the urgent call that we make to the masses of our people, to all democratic formations and to all members and units of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Relying on our own strength, through action, we will frustrate the schemes of the enemy of the peoples of Africa and continue our forward march to the destruction of the system of white minority colonial domination in our country.

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The question will be and is being settled, in struggle, within the borders of our country and nowhere else. We are entitled to expect that all those anywhere in the world, who count themselves among the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces, will join hands with us to bring about this noble outcome ..."

Extract from the Statement of the National Executive Committee, March 16th, 1984

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