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THOSE OF US ENGAGED IN THE MOVEMENT AGAINST RACIAL OPPRESSION, INJUSTICE AND TYRANNY HAVE BEEN INSPIRED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE DEEP CONCERN SHOWN BY THE PEOPLE, LEADERS AND VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA FOR OUR CAUSE.

THE PRINCIPLED AND CONSISTENT SUPPORT - MORAL, POLITICAL AND MATERIAL - RENDERED TO THE CAUSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND DIGNITY IN OUR COUNTRY HAS LEDDED TO THE INEDIRE MANY OF US THROUGH THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM WITH RENEWED VIGOUR AND DETERMINATION. WE RECALL WITH PARTICULAR PRIDE AND A SENSE OF DEEP SATISFACTION THAT MANY OF THE OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF INDIA VIEWED, AND STILL VIEW, OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE AS BUT AN EXTENSION OF THE EPIC INDIAN BATTLE FOR FREEDOM. THE NAMES OF MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI, PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,, SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD AND THEIR ILLUSTRIOUS SUCCESSORS AS MRS INDIRA GANDHI, RAJIV GANDHI AND OTHERS, TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION, BECAME HOUSEHOLD WORDS IN OUR COUNTRY. THEIR SPEECHES, WRITINGS AND UTTERANCES WERE EAGERLY SOUGHT OUT, READ AND STUDIED BY BUDDING LEADERS OF OUR PEOPLE WHO, OVER THE YEARS, APPLIED MANY OF THE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF THE INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE TO SOUTH AFRICAN CONDITIONS. NEEDLESS TO MENTION THAT THE WORK OF THE GREAT AND IMMORTAL GANDHIJI WAS STARTED ON SOUTH AFRICAN SOIL AND THAT WE COULD CLAIM, IN SOME WAY, TO HAVE "CONTRIBUTED" TO THE FREEDOM OF INDIA.

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MANY OF us AS THE INDIAN TRICOLOUR WAS HOISTED ON
THE RAMPARTS OF THE RED FORT IN NEW DELHI ON AUGUST 15, 1947.
WE ALSO SHARED YOUR AGONY DURING THE GRIM AND BITTER YEARS
AGAINST COLONIAL BRUTALITY AND SUBJUGATION.
INDIA'S FREEDOM FROM ALIEN RULE WOULD USHER IN, WE WERE CONVINCED,
THE ERA FOR THE TOTAL AND COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF COLONIALISM,
IMPERIALISM AND RACIAL DOMINATION ON A WORLD SCALE. YOUR VICTORY
WAS ALSO OURS. WE WERE NOT SURPRISED, THEREFORE, THAT EVEN BEFORE
THE ATTAINMENT OF FULL FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, THE INTERIM
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE TREATMENT OF SOUTH
AFRICANS OF INDIAN ORIGIN AT THE VERY FIRST SESSION OF THE U.N
GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1946. NOR WAS IT SURPRISING, IN SUBSEQUENT
YEARS FOR INDIA, NOT ONLY TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
APARTHEID POLICIES AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL
FORA BUT TO CONSCIOUSLY GALVANISE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST
THE PERNICIOUS SYSTEM OBTAINING IN OUR COUNTRY. INDIA'S SEVERANCE
OF ALL TIES - DIPLOMATIC, TRADE, CULTURAL, ETC. - WITH SOUTH
AFRICA AS FAR BACK AS 1947 WAS BUT A MEASURE OF ITS DEEP CONCERN
AND SUPPORT FOR OUR PEOPLE AND OUR CAUSE. IT WAS A PRACTICAL
EXPRESSION OF HER MORAL OUTRAGE AGAINST A PATENTLY UNJUST,
IMMORAL AND PERVERSE INHUMAN SYSTEM.
INDIA'S UNILATERAL DECISION TO APPLY SANCTIONS WAS, IN LATER
YEARS, EMULATED BY MOST OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. THIS
FOLLOWED A CALL MADE BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ISOLATE THE RACIST REGIME.

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SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, WE ARE PROUD TO NOTE, HAVE PLAYED A NOTABLE ROLE IN BRINGING THE MINORITY REGIME TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR THE REPEAL OF SOME OF THE PILLARS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ADD A WORD OR TWO IN APPRECIATION OF THE SPLENDID ROLE PLAYED BY MANY A MEDIA PERSONALITY IN SUPPORT OF OUR STRUGGLE. JOURNALISTS AND POLITICAL COMMENTATORS, AS WELL AS RADIO AND TELEVISION PERSONALITIES HAVE, FOR MANY YEARS, SOUGHT TO GIVE AN OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE. 3f HAVE BEEN HEARTENED AND ENCOURAGED BY THEIR PASSIONATE AVOWAY OUR CAUSE AND THEIR INTENSE DISAPPROVAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE OBNOXIOUS SYSTEM OF RACISM.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK HAS DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF AS A PERCEPTIVE OBSERVER OF \$"F SOUTH AFRICAN AND AFRICAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPES.

WE ARE :NDEBTIJ TO HIM FOR HAVING PERSISTENTLY KEPT THE SOUTH AFRICAgiggive AND UPPERMOST IN THE MINDS OF THE INDIAN PUBLIC.FOR NEALLY FOUR DECADES HE HAS USED BOTH THE WRITTEN AND SPOKEN WORD TO PUBLICISE THE PLIGHT OF OPPRESSED SOUTH AFRICANS AND MOBILISE SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE. WE ARE ALSO GRATEFUL TO HIM FOR UTILISING THE SERVICES OF RADIO AND TELEVISION TO MAKE SOUTH AFRICA'S INHUMAN POLICIES KNOWN TO AS WIDE AN AUDIENCE AS POSSIBLE. THE SERIES OF ARTICLES THAT FOLLOW GIVES A BALANCED APPRAISAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS SINCE FEBRUARY LAST YEAR. HIS OBSERVATIONS, NO DOUBT, WILL BE USEFUL TO THE STUDENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN PARTICULAR.

THIS BRIEF FOREWORD WOULD BE INCOMPLETE WITHOUT A FEW WORDS ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. SINCE THE UNBANNING OF POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS, LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, RELEASE OF SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE RETURN OF POLITICAL EXILES AND THE SIGNING OF THE GROOTE SCHUUR AND PRETORIA MINUTES BY THE ANC AND THE GOVERNMENT THE IMPRESSION IS BEING CREATED THAT THE COUNTRY IS FIRMLY ON THE ROAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE, NON-RACIAL, DEMOCRATIC AND NON SEXIST SOCIETY. BOTH NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY SOUTH AFRICA IS PERCEIVED AS HAVING REACHED A WATERSHED. MANY BELIEVE THAT THE COUNTRY IS ON THE VERGE OF FAR-REACHING CHANGES AND THE PROCESS OF REFORMS INITIATED BY PRESIDENT F.W. DE KLERK, IS IRREVERSIBLE AND TOTAL. IT IS ARGUED, THEREFORE, THAT MR DE KLERK SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO CONTINUE WITH THE REFORM PROCESS AND REWARDED ACCORDINGLY. AND THE BEST WAY TO SHOW OUR "GRATITUDE" WOULD BE TO HAVE SANCTIONS LIFTED TO PAVE THE WAY FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S RE-ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER WORLD BODIES. IN OTHER WORDS SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE BROUGHT IN FROM THE COLD. WE FIND THIS EUPHORIA MISPLACED: APARTHEID REMAINS INTACT, WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE STILL IN FULL AND TOTAL CONTROL OF ALL POWER - POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL. BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, REMAIN THE UNDERDOGS - HUNDED AND PERSECUTED, OPPRESSED AND ECONOMICALLY EXPLOITED, AND DENIED FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY THEIR WHITE COMPATRIOTS: THE COUNTRY IS WRACKED BY VIOLENCE IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT'S CONNIVANCE HAS BECOME QUITE APPARENT. NO SERIOUS ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO ARREST THE DETERIORATING SITUATION.

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ALL BLAME IS CONVINIENTLY PLACED ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE ANC AND ITS ALLIES.-THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS.

THE ANC IS OF THE VIEW THAT UNLESS CONDITIONS ARE CREATED WHICH ARE CONDUCIVE FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE BASIC PROBLEMS FACING SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY THERE CAN BE NO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS ON TALKS W ITH THE GOVERNMENT. IMPLICIT IN THIS IS THE REMOVAL OF ALL OBSTACLES IMPEDING THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. BESIDES THE NORMALISATION OF POLITICAL.ACTIVITY IN THE COUNTRY, THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, RETURN OF ALL EXILES ETC., THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE NEEDS TO BE ADDRESSED. IT IS QEEEEE CLEAR THERE CAN BE NO FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND THE FORMULATION OF IDEAS IN A CLIMATE OF SUSPICION DISTRUST, FEAR AND VIOLENCE.

FOR THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS TO BECOME MEANINGFUL IT HAS BECOME ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT THE STATE MAKES EVERY EFFORT - AND IS SEEN TO BE DOING SO - TO PUT AN END TO THE VIOLENCE IN THE TOWNSHIPS AND GHETTOS OF OUR COUNTRY.

NEGOTIATIONS DO NOT TAKE PLACE IN A VACUUM; THE TRANSFORMATION OF A PATENTLY UNJUST SOCIETY IS NO GAME WHERE POINTS ARE TO BE SCORED. SOUTH AFRICA IS AT A MOST CRUCIAL JUNCTURE IN ITS HISTORY. THE VERY FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY IS AT STAKE AND IF THE GOVERNMENT IS SINCERE IN ITS PROTESTATIONS TO HELP CREATE A NEW, JUST AND AN EQUITABLE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, THEN THE ONUS AND RESPONSIBILITY, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, LIES SQUARELY ON ITS SHOULDERS.

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THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE SEEN BY ALL SOUTH AFRICANS THAT IT IS SINCERE IN ITS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT. AFTER ALL, THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COUNTRY WERE CREATED AND EXACERBATED BY THEM. IT HAS TO PROVE ITS BONA FIDES. MERE STATEMENTS OF INTENT ARE NOT ENOUGH. BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS - VICTIMS OF A TYRANNY THAT HAS HAD FEW PARALLELS IN HISTORY - ARE DEMANDING i3i A PLACE IN THE SUN. THEY DEMAND THEIR FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS Egg - NOT IN SOME DISTANT FUTURE. FAILURE TO GRASP THIS FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH BY OUR WHITE COMPATRIOTS AND THE GOVERNMENT IN PARTICULAR CAN ONLY

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lgz;ggzzgi AN ALREADY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION - A SITUATION FRAUGHT WITH GRAVE AND INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES .

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT EVENTUALLY WISER. COUNSELS IN THE RANKS OF THE RULING CIRCLES WILL PREVAIL AND NARROW PARTISAN INTERESTS WILL BE DISCARDED FOR THE GREATER GOOD OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOUR, SEX OR CREED.

SIGNED: NELSON R MANDELA

DEPUTY PRESIDENT

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