

extolling an economy whose benefits are derived from exploitation of the non-white people. It is essential that there should ~~be~~ always be a world-wide campaign to win the masses of the people to the struggle for the complete eradication of racialism and apartheid.

Mr. Chairman, may I conclude by saying that we are fully aware of what we are up against. This armed struggle begins as always in such struggles with the oppressed people weak materially although powerful in the justice of their cause. We confront a wealthy and materially well equipped ~~an~~ enemy able to count on the help of many great nations. The struggle will be protracted and bitter. We are not engaged in an exhibition, a demonstration or a campaign to draw attention to our grievances. We are beginning a struggle for power. We wish to create a state and society in South Africa along the lines laid down in the historic Freedom Charter - the programme of the oppressed people of our country. We have been slow to anger as the record shows. We will not compromise with the oppressors. Apartheid must go! The people must be free! In our struggle we know we can always count on the members of this Committee, on the majority of the States in the United Nations and on progressive people the world over.

indigenous population of Zimbabwe who have always resisted colonialism and racial discriminatory rule.

Of vital importance to us is the recognition ~~of~~ we demand from the international community regarding the legitimacy of our struggle. Our guerrilla fighters are deliberately referred to as "terrorists" by countries and groups hostile to our aspirations. The implication is that we are not entitled to fight for our freedom with arms in our hands. Our ~~guerrilla~~ guerrilla forces are uniformed combatants engaged in a war of liberation. They are entitled to all the rights and ~~privileges~~ privileges of ~~combatants~~ combatants in accordance with the Geneva Convention. The execution of guerillas as common criminals is a grave international offence fraught with dangers for the Rhodesian and South African regimes. The United Nations must draw the attention of these regimes to the consequences of their illegal acts against our ~~guerillas~~ guerillas.

The South African Information Service has a vast resources at its disposal and is supported by powerful lobbies in various key countries. Through the radio; by means ~~of~~ of glossy well-^{produced}~~produced~~ magazines distributed free; by means of films shown free whenever requested and above all by

Since then a lot of water has flowed under the bridge.

The people of South Africa have sustained irretrievable loss in the passing away of its most distinguished sons in the last ten months. Last July, Chief Albert John Lutuli, Nobel Peace Prize Winner and President-General of the ANC, was killed in a train incident. It will be remembered that our beloved Chief made his last public address to his people, to Africa, and to the world, in Scandinavia. Before the nation had recovered from this loss we learnt of another. I refer to the death last month of Professor Z.K. Matthews, Speaker of the ANC and Ambassador of the Botswana Republic to the United Nations and Washington.

It is impossible to over-estimate the contribution of these two colleagues and friends to the political developments in our country in the last thirty years. The vast majority of the people in our country of all races mourn the loss of these most highly respected, wise and internationally famous men. History may yet record the regret of the powers that be in South Africa who for decades paid scant regard to the warnings of these great statesmen.

Mr. Chairman, the Committee is meeting shortly after the celebrations in which the fascist Nationalist Party was marking its twentieth year in power in our country.

South Africa is ready to use its military machine as a basis for the most unscrupulous sabre-rattling. In other words, twenty years of international attention has not done much to prevent South Africa becoming a seed-bed of war and aggression and a threat to the peace of Southern Africa. Are we justified in concluding that the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies have been useless?

Much depends on what was expected of international action in the first place. We in the African National Congress have ~~always~~ always believed that the honourable task of freeing South Africa rested firmly with the people of South Africa themselves. The task of international organisations was to assist the liberation movement. This still remains the fundamental position of principle from which all international action should be appraised.

As a result of the actions at the United Nations and in other international organisations ~~■~~ there is now an articulate, well-informed world public opinion on the apartheid issue. Many states have broken off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refrained from establishing them. In many countries legislation has been enacted boycotting all trade with South Africa; closing ports

Some people who are always slow to learn from the liberation movements but ~~we~~ proffer advice with alacrity imagine that this alliance ~~is~~ allegedly "complicates" the ~~xxx~~ situation in Rhodesia. We believe it has considerably assisted the development of the freedom struggle and our experience has already confirmed this.

The ZAPU-ANC alliance has very old ~~xxxxx~~ traditional and historical roots. Close co-operation has existed between our movements for a long time. Furthermore our enemies have worked closely together as is obvious to everyone. The ZAPU-ANC alliance ~~is~~ has also had the effect of showing up the disreputable role of Britain in the Zimbabwe events.

According to Britain herself the Ian Smith regime is one that has rebelled. In days gone by Britain would have put down such a rebellion by force. They are not prepared to do so today presumably because the rebels are their kith and kin. But even on their own argument it would be perfectly proper for any citizen subjected to the rebel regime to resist its commands and rule by force if necessary. The Ian Smith regime is maintaining itself in power by the exercise of illegitimate force. Yet Britain seeks to prevent the people from overthrowing such a regime by force and condemns our freedom fighters. Naturally we do not even accept that either Britain or Ian Smith have the right to govern Zimbabwe now or in the past. This is a right of the majority

and laws, acts in contravention of all declarations against racial discrimination. In this respect South Africa is unique, and justly deserves the wrath of all freedom-loving people the world over.

I will not bore the committee by tracing the developments in South Africa and abroad since the United Nations first took note of the apartheid issue. The organs of the United Nations, - the General Assembly, the Security Council and the specialised committees - have considered numerous petitions, documents and reports; heard thousands of speeches and adopted scores of resolutions. What has been the result of this unprecedented and minute study?

It should be said that the situation of the oppressed people in South Africa is no better today than it was twenty years ago. If anything the position is far worse. The South African regime has ignored all resolutions of the United Nations. It has become more strident and defiant in the face of international opinion. Not content with carrying out its pernicious policies within the confines of the South African state, the regime is now seeking to create an empire of its own. By a mixture of threats and economic blandishments South Africa seeks to create a bloc of client states in Africa subservient to and exploited by it. And should any African state be so bold as to assert its independence

The celebrations were held under a cloud caused by the growth of the national revolutionary armed struggle now enveloping the whole of Southern Africa. In August last year armed guerilla units of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress engaged the security forces of South Africa and Rhodesia. The fight for freedom in Angola and Mozambique; the struggle against Ian Smith in Zimbabwe; and the struggle against apartheid in South West Africa and South Africa itself constitutes a new and fateful phase. I believe it is essential that the United Nations, the international community and all our supporters in the fight against apartheid understand and appreciate the meaning and significance of events in Southern Africa today.

From its inception in 1946 the United Nations Organisation and its agencies have been concerned with the racial policies of the South African Government. And it is right that the world organisation should have concerned itself with the situation arising from the policies of the South African Government. Sometimes the plaintive cry arises in South Africa from supporters of White supremacy that in some way that country is being singled out unfairly when there is injustice in other parts of the world. The truth is that South Africa is the only country in the world which boldly, unashamedly and expressly, in its constitution

have any difficulty understanding the South African struggle for freedom. It is one of the most thoroughly documented in history. To any person or organisation who now asks "Why have you embarked on an armed struggle?" we can justly reply "Go and read the records of the United Nations of the last twenty-odd years and you will understand why."

It need hardly be said that the decision of the African National Congress and its allied organisations to call on the people to armed ~~struggle~~ resistance was not arrived at lightly. We are more aware than anyone that the South African regime is ruthless in its desperation to maintain white supremacy and privilege. The vast military machine built up from the wealth created by a largely African labour force will be utilised without compunction against our people in the days that lie ahead. But we have learnt from bitter experience that our only way out is to fight with arms in hand against our oppressors.

Those who would enjoin our people to continue on the path of non-violent struggle should study the history of our country. They will find that the apostle of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi, founded and perfected his methods in South Africa. Chief Albert Lutuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of the policies pursued by the liberation movement for decades. But there is a limit to the endurance

The time has arrived to challenge the right of the present regime in South Africa to represent the South African people at the United Nations. The Vorster clique has no credentials to represent the people of South Africa in the councils ~~of~~ of the world. The liberation movement of the South African people led by the African National Congress has more political and moral right to represent the people internationally than the Vorster group. In a very meaningful way our armed struggle is a process for the creation of a state based on democracy and non-racialism to replace the present white autocracy.

We have referred to the work~~at~~ done by the UN and other international agencies and also the actions taken by some states to implement resolutions of the UN. Despite the justifiable doubts about the efficacy of these resolutions owing to the resistance of certain powers, we consider that agitation in favour of their implementation is not only correct but essential. If a resolution is correct in principle to abandon it in the face of resistance by some states is wrong. What should be done is to insist that members of the UN carry out its resolutions. Nor is it correct to pose the issue as if political and economic sanctions are unnecessary or irrelevant in the period when armed struggle has begun. On the contrary, with the beginning of armed struggle the embarrassment and isolation of the South African regime in

practical politics. The position in South West Africa and particularly the events following the UDI declared by Ian Smith in Zimbabwe have demonstrated that the defeat of apartheid in South Africa is ~~xxx~~ essential for the freedom of all the countries in Southern Africa. South Africa openly defied the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia and will continue to do so. South African troops who have been stationed in Rhodesia since before UDI were ~~drastically~~ dramatically reinforced to assist the Ian Smith regime against the guerillas of ZAPU and the ANC. South Africa has been loudest in its threats to the Republic of Zambia in respect of events in Rhodesia - a territory that has nothing to do with South Africa. They now speak as if Rhodesia is part of South African territory.

When we urge that the situation in Southern Africa be seen in ~~xxxx~~ its Southern African setting this is not to argue that the position in each country is the same or that the strategy and tactics that must be followed in each is the same or indeed that they must be jumbled up and treated as one. This would be to give a ~~xxx~~ wrong emphasis. The issue is one of conception - of looking at the situation in Southern Africa as a whole. A notable event in this connection is the historic alliance of the ZAPU, the organisation representing the people of Zimbabwe, and the ANC, which represents the people of South Africa.

of a people. Mahatma Gandhi often said that he preferred violence to cowardice. And our own Chief stated after the Rivonia trial sentences:

"However, in the face of an uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - FREEDOM - no one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by use of violent methods; nor can they be blamed if they tried to create organised force in order ultimately to establish peace and racial harmony."

But the documentation in the United Nations does not stand alone as justification for our armed struggle. The right of any people to defend itself against aggression by force if necessary is one ~~well~~ recognised the world over. We consider that we are the victims of aggression by the South African regime.

The South African Government in its constitution, laws and practice excludes the majority of the people specifically from all participation in the government at legislative, executive and judicial levels. The law passed at the last session of parliament abolishing representation of the Coloured people means that both in theory and in practice the parliament of South Africa represents only the white minority.

to vessels flying the South African ~~u~~ flag and refusing landing and passage facilities to all ~~the~~ South African aircraft. In many international organisations South Africa is debarred from admission or participation. Cultural and sports bodies have in various ways reacted against the policies of apartheid.

To the extent that these actions did not achieve more the world is also aware of the reasons. The trading partners of South Africa - those states and financial interests that benefit from the continued oppression and exploitation of the African people have been thoroughly documented and exposed. The ANC Memorandum presented to the United Nations Seminar in Kitwe, Zambia, last year, was a detailed and systematic exposure of these countries and interests.

But there is an even more immediately relevant reason why we consider that all the mountains of documents and paper-work in the United Nations and elsewhere has been valuable. These studies, reports and resolutions adopted by the United Nations and other international organisations are the evidence, the justification, if any is required, for anyone who wants to know why the African people and their allies have embarked on a national revolutionary armed struggle for freedom. Not a single person in the world need

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STATEMENT OF MR. OLIVER TAMBO, ACTING PRESIDENT-
GENERAL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH
AFRICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
THE POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, AT STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN
ON THE 17TH JUNE, 1968

MR. CHAIRMAN, DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES AND GUESTS,

Permit me to express the gratitude of the organisation I represent, the African National Congress, at the invitation to me to address this session of the Special Committee on Apartheid during Human Rights Year and at Stockholm, Sweden. We all know the magnificent role that Sweden has and continues to play in the universal struggle for human rights throughout the world and it is entirely appropriate that this session of the Special Committee on Apartheid should be held in this country.

It is five years since I last addressed a committee of the United Nations. The occasion was the 379th meeting of the Special Political Committee on the 8th October, 1963. It will be recalled that we were then faced with the grim crisis of the Rivonia Trial at which Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other eminent leaders of the liberation movement were on trial for their opposition to apartheid. That those men are still alive today, albeit incarcerated on Robben Island, probably owes much to the manner in which the United Nations and indeed our friends all over the world responded to the challenge on that occasion.

all fields becomes a powerful support to the freedom fighters in the field of battle. It would be absurd both politically and militarily for international ~~pressures~~ pressures on South Africa to be in any way reduced at the time when the armed struggle of our people required that they be considerably increased. The impression ~~is~~ that South Africa ~~has~~ been totally unaffected by international pressures is one which the well-financed information service of that government has spent millions to induce. It is a massive international whistling in the dark which South Africa must not be ~~allowed~~ ^{allowed} to get away with. The recent hullabaloo over the exclusion of South Africa from the Mexico Olympic Games is an indication of how much the advocates of white supremacy feel international pressure. Therefore the demands for political, military, ~~and~~ social and cultural isolation of the present regime remain valid and must be pursued with greater effort, organisation and skill. Such pressures are now an essential part of the armed struggle for the overthrow of apartheid by the people of South Africa and are a support for our people.

It is also now necessary ~~more~~ more than ever to perceive the connection between the apartheid issue and that of freedom in the whole of Southern Africa. A few years ago it required expert study to see that the destiny of the whole of Southern Africa hung together. Today it has become a matter of