

So far we have omitted reference to the role of foreign capital and other financial interest of Western countries in the South African situation. This question, however, has been thoroughly canvassed in statements, memoranda and reports now in the possession of the United Nations. What remains to be considered is action which must be taken to induce these countries to withdraw their support for the apartheid regime.

Vile in the African National Congress have always believed that the honourable task of freeing South Africa rested firmly with the people themselves. The task of international organizations was to assist the liberation movement. This still remains the fundamental position of principle from which all international action should be appraised.

We have in the past insisted on sanctions being imposed on South Africa. We believe this demand is more valid now, when the armed struggle is in progress than at any previous time. We interpret United Nations resolutions acknowledging the legitimacy of our struggle and calling for moral and material support for it as meaning, inter alia, that member governments should honour and carry out United Nations decisions on South Africa, including termination of trade links with that country. The least the United Nations can do is to enforce compliance with its resolutions by all member states and to consider appropriate action against those countries which undermine these decisions. Trade with South Africa by Britain, France, West Germany, the United States of America, Italy and Japan is no moral and material support for the liberation movement but a deliberate act designed to perpetuate a racist regime in southern Africa. As such it is a gross violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Other international pressures have been enforced in the past. It would be absurd for these to be in any way reduced at a time when the struggle of our people requires that they be considerably increased. The impression 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 to get away with.

External Mission I?

tried to create organized force in order ultimately to establish peace and racial harmony.

There have been other developments in the past few years bearing directly on the struggle against apartheid. The attainment of independence by Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho has occurred side by side with the implementation of an expansionist policy by the Pretoria regime, which has for its aim the establishment of an empire ruled over by the white master race, and consisting of a large number of small black Bantustans extending over the whole of southern Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Zambia refused to be part of this empire or to stoop to the status of a glorified Bantustan. Instead, she threw her weight behind the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and the rest of South Africa. This led the South African regime to strengthen its ties with the other members of the unholy alliance, particularly Rhodesia. Ian Smith admitted last year that if the South African Government had not given him assurances of support, he would not have proceeded with his of Independence (UDI). In fact, South Africa can be expected to have encouraged UDI to ensure the existence of a neighbouring white minority regime to which she is now in the process of exporting apartheid.

Declaration

Unilateral

The rest of independent African states bordering on South Africa are faced with a choice between supporting the racist regime and supporting the liberation movement and little else (tentative). The masses of the people throughout southern Africa, however, remain totally opposed to white minority rule and fully support the struggle of their brothers in South Africa. The attempts by the South African racist regime to blackmail and bully neighbouring African governments into allying themselves with it is a mean and selfish move to involve these governments in a bloody defence of its inhuman policies in the same manner that it has driven 220,000 whites in Zimbabwe into an unequal war with four million Africans.

With the growing scope and intensity of the struggle against the apartheid regime and other members of the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Salazar, the pressure on neighbouring

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endangers peace and security as muchlll South Africa as every-
where elselll the world this arrogant collection of powerdrunl:
race maniacs have now produced an apartheid measure which
deals with the African on the basis that he is purely and simply a
thing â\200\224a chattel in the control and service of the white man. He
is a labour unit not a living human being with personal and civil
rights; not a man entitled to freedom and the right to plan and
run his own life, and determine his own destiny. To these men
who boast of the strongest bonds of friendship between them and
the British and Americans, the African is at thest a slave in all but
name. They own and possess him, and have now evolved a scheme
for selling him.

No one can doubt any longer now that life for the African in
South Africa is not life. If it is, it is 'worth nothing. But we promise
in that event that no other life in South Africa is worth anything
- white or nonwhite. Let the United Nations and the world,
therefore, save what it can - what it cannot, will either be
destroyed or destroy itself.

2.3 THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Paper framed to the Special Committttt Against Afanhid mating in
Smrkkatm on 18 jun: 2963)

Twenty years ago a minority of the white minority in South
Africa, steeped in the dottrines Hitler sought to impose by- force
on mankind, seized political power from another section of the
white minority and immediately embarked on a vicious offensive
against basic human rights. Later that yearthe accredited repre-
sentative: of the world's governments, filled with the horror of
nazism and fascism, assembled at the United Nations and
adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Thus the year1948 witnessed the crystallization of two opposing
forces, the one resting on an international base, seeking to
advance human rights in all parts of the world, and the other
aiming at 2 studied destruction at human rights for all black

states to become actively involved increases, and the conflict progressively takes on the character of a confrontation between colonial and white minority rule, on the one side, and the combined numerical might of the supporters of majority rule in southern Africa, on the other. In this sense the armed struggle against apartheid is the struggle against white minority rule everywhere, and has become inseparable from the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe as well as being an essential part of the struggle for freedom from Portuguese colonialism.

It is these factors, among others, which explain the alliance that has been forged between the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The armed struggle launched by these two liberation movements in Zimbabwe has exposed not only the deep involvement of the Pretoria regime in the internal affairs of Rhodesia, but also its sinister designs against African states. Already the South African Prime Minister has repeated wild threats against Zambia. These threats have been followed up by the derailment of trains in Zambia, the blowing-up of a bus, the bombing of civilians and very recently the blowing-up of an important bridge. The existence of an active unholy alliance is responsible for the attacks.

It is clear, therefore, that even at this very early stage of the armed conflict the situation in southern Africa, precisely because it now directly involves South Africa, is beginning to have serious international repercussions. When the conflict springs up and spreads, as it soon must, over South African territory, the desperation of the apartheid regime can be expected to make itself felt in the rest of Africa. But let it be emphasized that having started the armed struggle, we shall pursue it with increasing ferocity until the monster of racism and exploitation has been completely destroyed. The probability of an international crisis resulting from our struggle will not deter us.

Vorster's threats have been triggered off by the fact that already the South African regime is paying heavily in blood for the crimes it has perpetrated against our people under its apartheid policies. Scores of South African troops have been killed by ZAPU-ANC guerillas in what are merely preliminary encounters in Rhodesia.

Thus predictably, the logic of an economic policy founded on racial discrimination has forced the South African regime to further tighten the iniquitous Pass laws by enacting legislation, such as the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, which more completely condemns the African population to the status of cheap migrant labour for white-owned industries. This law, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Sabotage Act, the 90-day and 180-day Detention laws, the Terrorism Act and numerous sections and sub-sections all combine to form a repressive umbrella under cover of which a reign of police terror has been unleashed and is sweeping through the towns and rural areas of South Africa. The people are being hunted and hounded out of their homes, from one segregated ghetto to another, and deported from towns and cities to the countryside, and in the country subjected to house-to-house raids in the course of which weapons of every description are seized and confiscated. Intimidation and victimization of opponents of apartheid has mounted.

In the meantime, the exploitation of people has become more ruthless as the economy flourishes in an unprecedented boom. While such diseases as tuberculosis are being eliminated among the whites in South Africa, they are taking a heavy toll of the among the Africans and other victims of white minority rule, and nowhere is this more evident than in the Bantustan territory of the Transkei.

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It is these and similar conditions, inter alia, that are at once the cause and the effect of the escalating racial conflict between the ruling white minority and the ruled black majority in South Africa, and it is important to warn again and again that this escalation, born of a policy that is strictly inhuman, can only be accelerated, far from being slowed down, by the lapse of time. By the year 1961 it had reached a level which led the African National Congress and the oppressed population of South Africa to decide on armed struggle as the next phase of the fight for freedom. That decision which it can now be said will always constitute an important chapter in any analysis of the current political situation in the whole of southern Africa, was not taken lightly. The massive loss of life it entailed the destruction of property, its implication for individual African independent states and for the

eration movement in South Africa, but also by the vast majority of United Nations member states - it might be useful to refer to some of the developments during the past five years.

The South African delegate to the General Assembly in 1983 presented South Africa as an island of peace in a turbulent world, with great strides being made not only in the general welfare of what are contemptuously termed 'Bantu', but also in the direction of 'Bantu self-government', the Transkei being cited as an example of guided progress towards independence. Since then, however, we have seen the barbarous 901135; and 18011351 detention Acts invoked to legalize police torture and secret murder in a desperate bid to suppress the liberation movement; there have been more political hangings and life imprisonments, as well as the greatest number of long-term political prisoners in the 20 years of fascist rule in South Africa; the State of Emergency in the Transkei, first proclaimed in 1950, is still in force in this so-called self-governing territory; the much-publicized policy of creating more Bantustans in South Africa has come to a halt in the face of the stubborn resistance of the people; and to the unprecedented collection of draconian laws that smirch the South African Statute Book, and despite the notorious Sabotage Act, there has now been added the infamous Terrorism Act.

These measures are not consistent with the prevalence of a state of cordial relations between a white master and his black servant. Nor are they adopted merely to maintain a status quo: or to destroy a subversive liberation movement. They seek to contain a swelling tide of revolution and revolt by the masses of the people against the entire system represented by white, racist minority rule. These measures are as inevitable in the short term as they are valueless and even disastrous in the long term: inevitable, because those who set out to reverse the course of human history and change the basic nature of living man must needs resort to methods that are increasingly offensive and intolerable to man; valueless, because these methods must fail and are failing; disastrous, because by their racist orientation, purpose and brutality, their gnawing effect is to hedge the future for the very white minority whose interests they purport to serve and protect.

people, and spearheaded by a clique of white-skinned men and women in South Africa.

It is fair to say that both forces have made great strides since that eventful year. On the one hand, hundreds of millions of people spread over Africa, Asia and the Caribbean islands have won their independence and regained their human dignity. A new Africa is being built on the ruins of a colonial era, and a once dominated, oppressed and humiliated two-thirds of the world now forms an integral and acknowledged part of the international community of peoples. This is an indisputable triumph of the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

On the other hand, the chains of bondage that bound millions of black people in South Africa 20 years ago have since been tightened to the absolute limit, the screws of oppression and exploitation have been driven in without mercy and racial discrimination permeates every sphere of South African life. Basic freedoms, few and far between in 1943, have been ruthlessly whittled away until today there are none worth mentioning. This, also, is an indisputable achievement for the doctrines of apartheid, superiority of the white skin and colonial domination, and is the more sinister because victory for reactionary forces is by definition the defeat of the forces for progress.

These achievements of 20 years of effort in two opposite directions lend special significance to the International Year for Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly, and underscore the historic importance which the African National Congress of South Africa -- together with its allies and sister political organizations and all genuine opponents of nazism -- attaches to General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII), adopted on 13 December 1957, authorizing the Special Committee Against Apartheid to intensify its efforts to promote the international campaign against apartheid.

In view of the oft-repeated claim by the fascist Government of South Africa that there is peace and calm in that country, and by the big Western Powers that the situation in South Africa in no way constitutes a threat to international peace and security -- claims persisted in despite constant warnings not only by the lib-

peace and security of the whole of Africa and the world were not lost to the African National Congress and its leaders.

But no one, familiar with the struggles of oppressed people: against colonialism and racial discrimination, particularly in the period since World War Two, no one conversant with the long struggle of the South African people, and no one who believes wholeheartedly in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights can seriously question the decision of the oppressed people of South Africa and their allies to embark on a national revolutionary armed struggle for freedom. For any who, may still be in doubt, it is necessary only to refer to the countless resolutions condemning and demanding the abandonment of the policies of apartheid, which have been adopted over a period of at least two decades by the United Nations, by its many committees and agencies by individual governments, organizations, conferences: and groups of men and women in every quarter of the world; to the numerous times that the apartheid regime has ignored and defied these resolutions and appeals; to the mountains of documents and paper work embodying studies revealing the horror of white rule in South Africa, all of which make our freedom struggle one of the most thoroughly documented in history; and finally, we need only refer to the sustained and mounting violence with which our peaceful and nonviolent struggles were treated, including the series of massacres inflicted on our people when they sought, unarmed, the restoration of their human dignity.

Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of non-violence who founded and perfected his method of struggle in South Africa, often said that he preferred violence to cowardice, and we may here recall the words of Chief Luthuli in 1984 {the isolation of Groutville, Natal, when he explained the new phase of the freedom struggle:

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 the use of violent methods; nor can they be blamed if they