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The conference takes place when the Pretoria regime's utterances and actions clearly show that it is determined to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia, consolidate the apartheid system in South Africa itself, and intensify the destabilisation of the Front Line States and its acts of aggression.

Mr President,

Although the Decade to Combat Racial Discrimination has not been wholly successful, there has been appreciable moral and political support for the elimination of racism and apartheid. The collapse of the erstwhile buffer zone in Southern Africa, in other words the independence of Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe has brought the freedom frontiers to the doorstep of South Africa. This, together with the growing struggle of the peoples in South Africa and Namibia, has pushed the regime into an unprecedented political and economic crisis.

The South African racist regime, acting out of desperation, has stepped up internal repression and is engaged in brazen acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African states. In this it is not alone. It has won the active support of a powerful friend and ally, whose utterances and actions in support of the Pretoria regime are justified by its global strategy and the need to counter the so-called spread of Soviet influence.

This Conference coincides with the resurgence of fascism and the increase of racism, not only in Western Europe. For instance, the *International Herald Tribune* of 30-31 July, 1983, reports that fascists in Italy and elsewhere in Europe are celebrating the 100th birthday of Mussolini.

Racism can be traced to the advent of colonialism and slavery. In order to rationalise and justify the untold crimes of plunder and genocide committed in foreign lands against indigenous populations, the colonialists and slave traders evolved theories that described people belonging to racial groups different from theirs as inferior and sub-human. The invading expeditions were described as pilgrimages or crusades to 'civilise pagans'.

Today, racial discrimination stands condemned as a violation of basic human rights, totally indefensible, a stain on any country or people who dare to accommodate and foster such practices in their society. Racism does not only affect those against whom it is directed. It is a cancer which tends to spread beyond national boundaries and poison the whole atmosphere of international relations. Hence the task is not only to destroy it at national level, but to give maximum assistance to those confronting this evil in all countries.

The conscience of mankind is still deeply disturbed by the fact that human beings could have been led to participate in some of the worst atrocities in the whole of human history under the Nazi banner. After the Nazis had exterminated over six million Jews, and at the cost of more than 50 million lives, they were defeated. Their defeat, however, did not uproot and destroy the ideology of racism and Nazism. For three years after the end of World War Two, the true followers of Nazism, united in the Nationalist Party which is today led by P W Botha, came to power in South Africa and set about the creation of a South African version of the Nazi Third Reich. Today the apartheid regime is the most brutal form of race tyranny the world has known since the days of Nazism.

There are important similarities between Hitler's Germany and racist South Africa ruled by PW Botha. Hitler's followers in South Africa have meticulously planned and ruthlessly built, on the basis of the same racial theories, a regime which is, in practically every aspect, an exact replica of Hitler's Nazi regime, replete with its 'final solution' of the so-called 'Native question'.

Permit us, briefly, to compare the two regimes. Three weeks after Hitler's advent to power, on 21st February, 1933, the Reichstag Building (Parliament) was set on fire in Berlin. One week later massive arrests of communists took place throughout Germany, with most communist party offices closed and property confiscated. Then, in May 1933, having persuaded President von Hindenburg to suspend certain sections of the constitution, Hitler banned the communist party. Thereafter all critics of the Nazi regime were branded communists, tools or agents of communism. This step marked the beginning of the Nazi racial dictatorship.

# GENEVA 1 - 12 AUGUST, 1983

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On behalf of the African National Congress and the millions of oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, we wish, through you, Sir, to thank the Secretary General Mr Perez de Cuellar, for the invitation extended to our organisation to participate in this historic conference. His personal hatred of the apartheid system and racism in all forms has not escaped the attention of our people. Whilst his resolve to bring about the speedy implementation of the United Nations resolutions and decisions to put an end to the apartheid system and achieve the independence of Namibia might earn him the international pariah's enmity, it certainly serves as a source of inspiration and encouragement to our people and the justice-loving forces the world over.

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We wish to add the voice of the African National Congress to the sentiments expressed by the distinguished delegates who have preceded us in saying how elated we are to have you, another ferocious anti-racist and singularly able diplomat from Latin America to assume the eminent office of President of this Conference.

We would like to convey the fraternal greetings and congratulations of Comrade President Oliver Tambo who expresses sincere apologies to you, the Secretary General and all the distinguished delegates for his involuntary absence. He has instructed us to convey through you, Sir, and to all the participants at this historic Conference, his regret that he is unable to personally convey the fraternal greetings of his colleagues Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and all other political prisoners languishing in apartheid jails.

Despite the exceptionally tight security measures and inhuman conditions under which they are incarcerated at the Pollsmoor Prison and Robben Island, you will no doubt be pleased to learn that Nelson Mandela is aware and appreciative of the moving manner in which a number of governments, organisations and cities observed and celebrated his 65th birthday on the 18th of July this year. They are aware of and strengthened by the honours bestowed on them as part of the campaign for their release. The granting of the Freedom of Cities like Olympus, Glasgow, Rome; the naming of public places in London and Leeds, the conferring of honorary degrees by universities such as Lesotho, Amsterdam in the Netherlands, City College in the United States, Brussels in Belgium, are but part of these gestures that serve to fuel the fortitude and resilience of all apartheid political prisoners.

Our people's attention and that of the freedom-loving forces of the world is today intensely focussed on this Geneva Conference. Their expectations as to its outcome are understandably high. The reasons are clear, and, in our opinion, merit the undivided attention and appropriate action by the representatives of the peoples of the world, whose massive presence we hail.

This conference has the task of formulating ways and means, including specific measures aimed at ensuring the full and universal implementation of the United Nations resolutions and decisions on racism, of taking stock of the results of our activities over the past ten years, of assessing our achievements, examining our shortcomings and setting out a programme of action for the struggle to wipe the scourge of racism from our planet.

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In both Nazi Germany and South Africa laws were passed to exclude Jews and blacks from certain categories of work; to prevent mixed worship or mixing on a social level; to deny trade union rights and collective bargaining; to deny both Jews and Africas property rights; to control their freedom of movement, of expression and opinion, sporting activities and so on.

Mr Chairman, we have in some detail tried to demonstrate the basic similarities between the Nazi regime and that of their followers, the Nationalist Party regime in Pretoria. The racial theories which form their basic ideologies are well known. Furthermore, we wish to emphasise that, despite talk about 'reforms' in South Africa — and supporters and apologists of the racist regime are actively promoting the falsehood that South Africa is changing in the right direction — despite the talk of reform, not a single one of these Nazi-like racist laws has been removed from the South African statute books. If anything, these laws are being implemented with ever-growing brutality, whilst new and more vicious ones are being enacted.

Today, the racist apartheid regime has demonstrated in bloody aggression and atrocities the danger it poses to the whole of humankind. In our condemnation of the racist aggression of apartheid South Africa, the inheritors of the mantle of Nazi Germany as indicated above, we must also note that these policies are supported by the United States policy of 'constructive engagement'.

In the words of our President, Oliver Tambo:

"Under the US policy of 'constructive engagement' there has been an increase in US investments, loans, and the financing of apartheid; new avenues of military and nuclear co-operation with the racist regime have been opened up — as for example the sale of Helium-3, which is used in the production of thermo-nuclear weapons and the sale of sophisticated computers and technology directly related to the nuclear research and development programme of the regime. 'Constructive engagement' has destroyed rather than saved life. For the black majority, infant mortality remains the highest in the world while life expectancy is the lowest in the world; unemployment of black workers has now reached the astronomical figure of 2½ millions — more than 20% of the economically active population; educational spending for blacks continues to be 20 times less than for white South Africans; more than 80% of the black people live below the poverty datum line; millions of African people have been denied their birthright and dumped in the bantustans ... All this is happening whilst the Pretoria regime is proclaiming a policy of reform. But it is not a policy of reform: it is a policy of ever more violence and repression. As Newsweek magazine (21st March, 1983) has stated, apartheid has a 'harsh new grip'. A 'harsh new grip' is part of the reality we have come to associate with 'constructive engagement'."

On the African continent, racism has manifestied itself as an offshoot of fascism and for every victory scored against colonial forces, the sphere of operation of racism has been reduced. Thus the victories scored by the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola against Portugues colonialism, the defeat of British colonialism in Zimbabwe, have greatly strengthened the prospects of complete elimination of racism on the African continent.

The question of Apartheid has occupied a prominent place on the agenda of the United Nations and its agencies for more than 35 years, and has been well documented and exposed to the international community. The task of the ANC at this important conference is not only to document the effects of

Similarly, in South Africa in 1950, the 'Suppression of Communist Act' was passed, the communist party banned and all critics of the Nationalist Party regime labelled communists or tools of communism. The definition of communism was so wide that anyone or any organisation opposing the regime could be – and hundreds have been – charged, listed or banned under this law.

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In South Africa one of the first laws enacted by the Nationalist Party government was the 'Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act' which prohibits marriage between whites and blacks and declares null and void any such marriage entered into outside South Africa. Introducing this law in Parliament, Donges, the then Minister of the Interior, explained that this law was necessary in order 'to check blood mixture and promote racial purity'. The following year, 1950, the 'Immorality Act' was passed, prohibiting sexual relations between black and white.

In South Africa the 'Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959' seeks to deprive all Africans of citizenship rights in South Africa. Several million black South Africans have already lost all rights to their South African citizenship, and, according to the stated intentions of the regime, there will in future not be a single black South Africa. They will all be citizens of the Bantustans, and therefore foreigners in the land of their birth, South Africa. This is part of the 'final solution' to the 'Native question' in South Africa. In Nazi Germany, at the Nazi congress in Nuremburg the 'Citizenship Law' was passed. It read as follows: 'A Reich citizen is a national of German or kindred blood only ... according to law only Reich citizens will have full political rights'. Overnight all German Jews became stateless.

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people as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

To help in achieving the eradication of the apartheid system, the African National Congress calls on the international community to:

- Increase political, diplomatic, material and other assistance to the people of Namibia, through Swapo, their sole and authentic representative, and to demand the immediate and unconditional implementation of the UN Plan in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and other resolutions
- Accelerate the campaigns for the release of all South African and Namibian political prisoners
- Demand that the apartheid regime treats captured freedom fighters as Prisoners of War under the Geneva Conventions of 12 August, 1949, and Additional Protocol One thereof, in accordance with Paragraph 17 of the UN General Assembly Resolution 37/69A of 9 December, 1982
- Fight for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations
- Demand the cessation of all collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field, in particular by certain Western states and Zionist Israel
- Prohibit all technological assistance or collaboration with the apartheid regime in the manufacture
  of arms and military supplies, and ensure the maintenance of an effective, mandatory arms embargo
- Prohibit all loans to and investments in apartheid South Africa, and the termination of all trade with the regime
- Impose a mandatory oil embargo, especially in the countries in which are based the transnationals and shippers who supply and deliver oil and oil products to the apartheid regime, to render the oil embargo effective
- Strengthen and render effective a comprehensive sport and cultural boycott of apartheid South Africa
- Expose and denounce as widely as possible the acts of aggression, subversion and economic sabotage through which the apartheid regime seeks to destabilise the Front Line, Indian Ocean and other neighbouring states
- Secure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the apartheid regime's armed forces and bandits from those parts of Southern Angola which they continue to occupy
- Stop the apartheid regime from recruiting, training, equipping, financing and rendering intelligence, logistical and other support to armed bandits and mercenaries, especially from Western countries
- Mobilise all countries to condemn apartheid as a crime against humanity
- Increase political and material assistance to the African National Congress, the vanguard movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, and recognised as such by the OAU
- Pledge all-round support for the African National Congress in its fight for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free and democratic South Africa by all means possible, including that of armed struggle

In conclusion the African National Congress would like to place on record our appreciation and thanks to all who have campaigned so actively over the past decade in exposing racism and apartheid, those who have fought untiringly to ensure that the world knows about the criminal apartheid regime and its activities, who have, at the same time, rendered invaluable assistance to the ANC, both material and political, and ensured that the struggle continues! For our part, we draw strength from the fact that we are joined together with millions of people the world over, who see our fight as their fight, and our victory as their victory. For our part, and in the name of the heroic, fighting people of our country, we pledge that we shall not betray the trust you have placed in us as the ANC, to spearhead the offensive for the overthrow of the illegal apartheid regime and to remove for all time this intolerable blight on human society. I thank you for your attention.

racist South Africa on the majority of its population, but to give our perspectives of how the international community can, in practical terms, assist our cause.

The genocidal forced population removals - demographic engineering on a scale equivalent only to Nazi Germany's liquidationist 'final solution' - in which more than three million of our people have been forced, often at gunpoint, into rural concentration camps and left to die; the more than half a million people imprisoned annually by the regime for being without a 'pass'; the starvation of millions of black people in the midst of plenty; the death from malnutrition and its related diseases of hundreds of thousands of our children; and the denial of South African citizenship to, ultimately, all black South Africans through the balkanisation of our country into so-called 'homelands' or 'independent national states', is well documented and available for all to read. It is not possible to say of apartheid, as was said by some after the full horrors of the Nazi holocaust became known at the end of the Second World War, that 'we did not know'. The whole world knows, but unfortunately some still condone and actively lend support to apartheid - especially the United States. Racist South Africa's policies and practices constitute a breach of international peace and security, especially in the region of Southern Africa. We in the African National Congress call on the international community and the world progressive forces to actively oppose the illegal apartheid regime. Just as the world forces united to defeat Hitler's National Socialism in all its bestiality, so let the world unite to assist us by all means possible to rid the world of the modern-day Nazis, to rid the world of the scourge of apartheid.

Over many decades Southern Africa has been the theatre of bloody conflict between the forces of revolution and reaction. There has hardly been a moment of peace. The cost in human lives lost, maimed and displaced, to say nothing of the destruction of material wealth, has been enormous. The regime is responsible for 50% of the world's legal executions. In 1980 alone 129 people were hanged.

In addition, thousands upon thousands have been mown down in cold blood. The catalogue of racist Pretoria's crimes against the people of Southern Africa is a grisly record of invasions, assassinations, massacres, destruction of the economic infrastructure of countries, attempted coups d'etat and general destabilisation. It is a record of barbarism. The daily experience of our whole region is one of violence, of continuing episodes of unceasing war that we have lived with ever since imperialism sent its first soldiers to our soil. Our land was taken from us by war, our independence was destroyed by war, and when we peacefully asserted our claims to the most elementary human rights, we were gunned down with the instruments of war. Now, when our people have answered the brutality of the racist and colonial regime with spear in hand, when the goals we seek are supported by the whole organised international community, we are attacked as obstacles to what is called a peaceful settlement of the South African problem. It is a matter of proud historical record that the people of the United States took up arms to wrestle power from British colonialism. Furthermore, the United States constitution underlines the right to do this. Yet, the US Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Eagleburger, says that whilst the United States accepts the need for a non-racial order in South Africa, 'it must be given and not taken'.

There is only one source of war in our region, and that is the racist and fascist regime. Apartheid is synonymous with war; it makes war on the people of our country; it shoots down children in the streets: it murders trade unionists and others in prison, and wages undeclared war against African independent states. The challenge that faces the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is great indeed, for we must intensify the struggle. Today, inside our country, combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, the ANC has been able to draw into mass action millions of oppressed people, resulting in ever-heightening resistance at all levels to the racist regime. At the same time the intensification of our armed struggle has led to an important qualitative development in our struggle for national liberation and social justice. Thus, despite being banned for over twenty years, the ANC has been able to impose its own legality inside the country. The Freedom Charter has become the rallying point for all democratic forces in South Africa, and its declaration that All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride; the preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; and all apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside is basic to the goals and aspirations of our

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people as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

To help in achieving the eradication of the apartheid system, the African National Congress calls on the international community to:

- Increase political, diplomatic, material and other assistance to the people of Namibia, through Swapo, their sole and authentic representative, and to demand the immediate and unconditional implementation of the UN Plan in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and other resolutions
- Accelerate the campaigns for the release of all South African and Namibian political prisoners
- Demand that the apartheid regime treats captured freedom fighters as Prisoners of War under the Geneva Conventions of 12 August, 1949, and Additional Protocol One thereof, in accordance with Paragraph 17 of the UN General Assembly Resolution 37/69A of 9 December, 1982
- Fight for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations
- Demand the cessation of all collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field, in particular by certain Western states and Zionist Israel
- Prohibit all technological assistance or collaboration with the apartheid regime in the manufacture of arms and military supplies, and ensure the maintenance of an effective, mandatory arms embargo
- Prohibit all loans to and investments in apartheid South Africa, and the termination of all trade with the regime
- Impose a mandatory oil embargo, especially in the countries in which are based the transnationals and shippers who supply and deliver oil and oil products to the apartheid regime, to render the oil embargo effective
- Strengthen and render effective a comprehensive sport and cultural boycott of apartheid South Africa
- Expose and denounce as widely as possible the acts of aggression, subversion and economic sabotage through which the apartheid regime seeks to destabilise the Front Line, Indian Ocean and other neighbouring states
- Secure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the apartheid regime's armed forces and bandits from those parts of Southern Angola which they continue to occupy
- Stop the apartheid regime from recruiting, training, equipping, financing and rendering intelligence, logistical and other support to armed bandits and mercenaries, especially from Western countries
- Mobilise all countries to condemn apartheid as a crime against humanity
- Increase political and material assistance to the African National Congress, the vanguard movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, and recognised as such by the OAU
- Pledge all-round support for the African National Congress in its fight for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free and democratic South Africa by all means possible, including that of armed struggle

In conclusion the African National Congress would like to place on record our appreciation and thanks to all who have campaigned so actively over the past decade in exposing racism and apartheid, those who have fought untiringly to ensure that the world knows about the criminal apartheid regime and its activities, who have, at the same time, rendered invaluable assistance to the ANC, both material and political, and ensured that the struggle continues! For our part, we draw strength from the fact that we are joined together with millions of people the world over, who see our fight as their fight, and our victory as their victory. For our part, and in the name of the heroic, fighting people of our country, we pledge that we shall not betray the trust you have placed in us as the ANC, to spearhead the offensive for the overthrow of the illegal apartheid regime and to remove for all time this intolerable blight on human society. I thank you for your attention.

racist South Africa on the majority of its population, but to give our perspectives of how the international community can, in practical terms, assist our cause.

The genocidal forced population removals - demographic engineering on a scale equivalent only to Nazi Germany's liquidationist 'final solution' - in which more than three million of our people have been forced, often at gunpoint, into rural concentration camps and left to die; the more than half a million people imprisoned annually by the regime for being without a 'pass'; the starvation of millions of black people in the midst of plenty; the death from malnutrition and its related diseases of hundreds of thousands of our children; and the denial of South African citizenship to, ultimately, all black South Africans through the balkanisation of our country into so-called 'homelands' or 'independent national states', is well documented and available for all to read. It is not possible to say of apartheid, as was said by some after the full horrors of the Nazi holocaust became known at the end of the Second World War, that 'we did not know'. The whole world knows, but unfortunately some still condone and actively lend support to apartheid - especially the United States. Racist South Africa's policies and practices constitute a breach of international peace and security, especially in the region of Southern Africa. We in the African National Congress call on the international community and the world progressive forces to actively oppose the illegal apartheid regime. Just as the world forces united to defeat Hitler's National Socialism in all its bestiality, so let the world unite to assist us by all means possible to rid the world of the modern-day Nazis, to rid the world of the scourge of apartheid.

Over many decades Southern Africa has been the theatre of bloody conflict between the forces of revolution and reaction. There has hardly been a moment of peace. The cost in human lives lost, maimed and displaced, to say nothing of the destruction of material wealth, has been enormous. The regime is responsible for 50% of the world's legal executions. In 1980 alone 129 people were hanged.

In addition, thousands upon thousands have been mown down in cold blood. The catalogue of racist Pretoria's crimes against the people of Southern Africa is a grisly record of invasions, assassinations, massacres, destruction of the economic infrastructure of countries, attempted coups d'etat and general destabilisation. It is a record of barbarism. The daily experience of our whole region is one of violence, of continuing episodes of unceasing war that we have lived with ever since imperialism sent its first soldiers to our soil. Our land was taken from us by war, our independence was destroyed by war, and when we peacefully asserted our claims to the most elementary human rights, we were gunned down with the instruments of war. Now, when our people have answered the brutality of the racist and colonial regime with spear in hand, when the goals we seek are supported by the whole organised international community, we are attacked as obstacles to what is called a peaceful settlement of the South African problem. It is a matter of proud historical record that the people of the United States took up arms to wrestle power from British colonialism. Furthermore, the United States constitution underlines the right to do this. Yet, the US Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Eagleburger, says that whilst the United States accepts the need for a non-racial order in South Africa, 'it must be given and not taken'.

There is only one source of war in our region, and that is the racist and fascist regime. Apartheid is synonymous with war; it makes war on the people of our country; it shoots down children in the streets: it murders trade unionists and others in prison, and wages undeclared war against African independent states. The challenge that faces the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is great indeed, for we must intensify the struggle. Today, inside our country, combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, the ANC has been able to draw into mass action millions of oppressed people, resulting in ever-heightening resistance at all levels to the racist regime. At the same time the intensification of our armed struggle has led to an important qualitative development in our struggle for national liberation and social justice. Thus, despite being banned for over twenty years, the ANC has been able to impose its own legality inside the country. The Freedom Charter has become the rallying point for all democratic forces in South Africa, and its declaration that All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride; the preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; and all apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside is basic to the goals and aspirations of our