

A collection of keynote speeches and contributions
made towards the liberation struggle of South Africa

DIPLOMACY FOR DEMOCRACY

*Mfanafuthi Johnstone (Jonny) Makhatini, Special Representative of
the African National Congress to the United Nations (1977 -- 1987)*



A collage of the interior and exterior design of the Waterkloof Diplomatic Guest House.



Preface

THE DEPARTMENT of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) distinguishes itself as a learning organisation that creates an enabling environment where knowledge and expertise, including personal experiences of seasoned South African diplomats are captured in print for young aspiring South African diplomats to reflect on our achievements in the bilateral and multilateral arena. The department, through the DTRD, has published various books on the development of South Africa's foreign policy.

- *Speeches that Positioned South Africa in the Global System 1990 – 2010* by the current and former heads of state
- *Closing the Gap between Domestic and Foreign Policy*, DTRD 2009 Annual Conference
- *Women in Leadership, Inspiring Futures* by HE Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa
- *South Africa's Position on Multilateral Issues at the United Nations* by HE Ambassador DS Kumalo
- *Reconciliation and Healing in Rwanda, The Experiences of a South African Ambassador*, HE Ezra Sigwela
- *100 Days in a Mission*
- *The Ambassador's Diary*
- *Gender, Culture and Protocol in the Diplomatic Service.*

The department decided to honour one of South Africa's most revered leaders, Mr "Jonny" Mfanafuthi Makhatini. The book titled, *"Diplomacy for Democracy, a Collection of Keynote Speeches and Contributions by Mr Jonny Makhatini at the United Nations in New York, towards the liberation struggle of South Africa"*, provides an insight to Comrade Jonny's supreme struggle to highlight the injustices, brutality and inhumanity of the former apartheid regime.

The book is an essential must-read for South African diplomats young and old and contextualises the African National Congress' foreign policy principles that would form the foundation for a new democratic, non-sexist and non-racial South Africa.

November 2012





FOREWORD

MINISTER MAITE NKOANA-MASHABANE

IT IS A PRIVILEGE to write a foreword and tribute to Comrade Jonny, who is regarded internationally as one of South Africa's greatest sons who dedicated his entire life to the struggle against apartheid. He espoused a new South Africa underpinned by the principles of the Freedom Charter of 1955. It is for this reason that for his entire life, he was a strong proponent of non-sexism, non-racialism and non-discrimination and supported all forms of equality and freedom for all – irrespective of race, colour, creed, religion, gender and socio-economic and political orientation.

This person was Johnstone “Jonny” Mfanafuthi Makhatini – an astute diplomat, intellectual, dedicated husband and a father. He was a mentor to millions, an excellent orator that on the machinery of the apartheid Government at the United Nations (UN) from 1977 to 1987, brought to the world's attention, the inhumane, racist and repressive system of apartheid. Comrade Jonny's collection of speeches is an essential must-read for any student of international relations or prospective South African diplomat. It clearly highlights the injustices of the apartheid regime, and also lifts out the African National Congress' (ANC) commitment to a peaceful resolution of the South African national question.

To understand the intellectual thinking behind this great man, one need to pause and ask, where did this humble servant of South Africa come from?

Johnstone “Jonny” Mfanafuthi Makhatini was born in Durban on 8 February 1932. Those who knew him and struggled side by side with him tell us that he was a gifted, bright and talented debater with an aptitude for languages. He attended school at Adams College in Durban where he trained as a teacher and taught at Mzinyathi in the Inanda area.

Known variously as Comrade Jonny, Bhut' Jonny and Bra Jonny, Jonny Makhatini demonstrated his organising skills and oratorical genius in mobilising protest action under the ANC Youth League at a time when the National Party was busy establishing its racial policies by force. He simultaneously pursued his law studies, with all the inherent danger to himself from the prevailing draconian establishment.

He became politically active when Bantu Education was imposed in African schools and subsequently resigned from the teaching profession and pursued part-time studies at the University of Natal.

He was one of the key organisers of the historic Pietermaritzburg Conference of March 1961, which was addressed by, among others, Nelson Mandela. In 1962, under orders from the ANC, Jonny left South Africa as one of the first group of cadres sent for military training in Tanzania.

In Tanzania, they were surprised to meet Nelson Mandela, who they thought was in South Africa. He was tasked with leading a group of trainees who were to undergo training in Morocco. He was instructed to remain in that country upon completion of his training to receive new groups of trainees, thus becoming the ANC's representative in that country. This was the beginning of diplomatic work by Makhatini in the service of the people of South Africa.

He quickly learnt the French language, which enabled him to discuss the oppression of the people of South Africa with a wide range of people in both English and French-speaking countries. He thus gained a tool, which he used effectively to further the cause of the people of South Africa and the liberation of the black majority. During his sojourn in Morocco, he struck a close friendship with African liberation movement leaders such as Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, Marcelino Dos Santos of Mozambique and Agostinho Neto of Angola.

When Algeria obtained her independence in 1963, the ANC opened a mission in that country. Jonny Makhatini was transferred to join the then Chief Representative, Robert Resha, during which time Algeria hosted most of the liberation movements and was a centre of political activity, including support for the liberation struggle. The diplomatic work of Jonny and Robert raised the status of the ANC to unprecedented heights.

Johnny became the ANC Chief Representative in Algeria in 1966. He extended his diplomatic work to cover France and later became a popular personality in the solidarity movement. At this time, he was emerging as one of the ANC's most accomplished diplomats. From his Algerian base, he visited the Western European capitals, carrying out the work of the ANC.

Jonny became a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1974. In 1977, he was appointed Chief Representative of the ANC at the UN, and to the United States of America (USA). His arrival in the USA coincided with the mushrooming of anti-apartheid movements on several university campuses, driven largely by the anti-war student moment. This was at a time when he was already known in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the UN. In both these multilateral forums, Comrade Jonny earned the reputation of being the articulate champion of the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa. These are some of the sterling qualities which contributed to his appointment as Head of the ANC Mission to the UN, and subsequently in 1983, as Head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs.

The number of exiles from South Africa increased after the banning of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and was increasing further in the aftermath of the Soweto student uprising in 1976.

Jonny had a unique flair for diplomatic work and this flowered during his years at the UN. He was well known at the organisation, where a few diplomats escaped his influential tongue. This was a time when the ANC was accused of dominating the UN, thanks to the persuasive abilities of Jonny Makhatini



Celebrating the life of Jonny Makhatini

AMBASSADOR AUBREY NKOMO (retired)

THE FOREWORD by the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, HE Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, to this well-deserved memoir on the singular contribution of Johnstone "Jonny" Mfanafuthi Makhatini through diplomacy, under the aegis of the African National Congress (ANC), is a succinct tribute that is germane to remembrance of this hero of the struggle for liberation and the attainment of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united South Africa. I shall endeavour to provide here some context with regard to the parameters of Bhut' Jonny's work at the United Nations (UN), in particular, and in the United States of America (USA).

As an ANC activist, Bhut' Jonny became a key youth and student organiser in Durban. Notable contemporaries in that effort included Dr Bernard Magubane, Adv Sydney Dunn, the late Ernest Galo, the late Dr Anthony Ngubo, the late Dr Elkin Sithole, the late Dr Mazizi Kunene, the late Adv Kgalake Sello and the late Dr E Fred Dube.

This is the period when, as a student at the University of Natal – having been expelled from Fort Hare for political activity – I first met and worked with him. The year 1960 was a tumultuous one in the history of South Africa. The Sharpeville Massacre occurred on 21 March; on 30 March, a State of Emergency was declared; following the banning on 8 April of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), there was massive detention of leadership; and on 5 October, a white-voters-only referendum was held to declare South Africa a republic. These were the circumstances in which the ANC and the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) had to operate.

Jonny Makhatini's organising and negotiating prowess, and his oratorical talent in mobilising protest action under the ANCYL while simultaneously pursuing his law studies, were demonstrated to great effect. He was one of the principal organisers of the historic Pietermaritzburg Conference of March 1961, which was addressed by Nelson Mandela, and of the highly successful anti-fascist Republic Strike of May 1961.

Bhut' Jonny was one of the first group of cadres sent out of South Africa from the then Natal for military training in 1962. He proceeded to Morocco, where he received his training. Thereafter, he was directed to stay there to welcome new trainees. He thereby effectively became the ANC Resident Representative in Morocco. He learned French and immediately embarked on political mobilisation in North Africa and Western Europe.

In 1963, following Algerian independence, he was instructed to join Robert Resha, then the ANC's Chief Representative in Algeria, and succeeded him in 1966. Bhut' Jonny was severely injured in a car accident in Algeria in 1969, after which, to the astonishment of all concerned, he could speak only in his mother tongue, isiZulu. He had to learn and master English and French afresh. His success in so doing is a tribute to his resilience and resourcefulness.

During his time at the UN and the OAU, Jonny established relationships for the ANC with government representatives, numerous organisations and peoples throughout the world, especially in Africa. He paid special attention to the solidarity movement in the USA and won over millions of supporters for the struggle of the people of South Africa, among who were prominent Americans and civil rights leaders.

Following the National Consultative Conference of the ANC, which was held in Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985, he returned to Africa to give personal attention to his responsibilities as Head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs. He travelled extensively without stop to perform the work of the ANC throughout the world, with one objective in mind – to contribute in liberating the people of South Africa.

His monumental work schedule and commitment to the struggle for liberation took a toll on his health. He diligently followed his demanding work schedule despite advice from his colleagues that he needed to slow down. Some days prior to being hospitalised, he had returned to Lusaka from a strenuous mission in Egypt, Mali and Nigeria. Although he felt unwell during this mission, he nevertheless continued, demonstrating utmost dedication and loyalty to the cause of the oppressed majority of this country.

On 3 December 1988, Johnstone Mfanafuthi Makhatini passed away after being admitted at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka, with complications arising from a diabetic condition.

On that day, South Africa lost an indefatigable leader, an illustrious diplomat and a dedicated freedom fighter. His legendary and towering accomplishments have earned him a permanent place of honour in the annals of South African diplomatic history. In recognition of his contribution as a catalyst in ending the apartheid system, the South African Diplomatic Guest House has been renamed "The Jonny Makhatini Guest House".

It is hoped that through this book, readers will be able to understand and appreciate the contribution of Comrade Jonny Makhatini to the liberation of the oppressed people in his country. This is the first edition of this kind by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation.

It is a book that we all have to cherish at all times as it gives us a better understanding of where we come from. It is through such publications that we will be in a position to contribute to the empowerment of all people for the future of this country. I hope you enjoy the read, and most of all, it is my wish that it adds value to your life. This is a book that should serve as an inspiration to all of us in this country. It is through this book and many other related publications that we pay homage to this indomitable giant whose vision of a democratic South Africa is worth celebrating.

I commend this memoir on the work of this incomparable diplomat and soldier in the cause of the South African people to all readers and we dedicate this compilation of his speeches to his memory.

Jonny Makhatini played a critical role in the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which was established by the UN General Assembly in 1963. It was the first UN committee in which the Western powers declined to accept membership. The situation in South Africa at that time was grave and the Government was becoming increasingly repressive. The Special Committee's original mandate was merely to review the situation in South Africa. However, the Chairperson, Ambassador Diallo Telli of Guinea, declared at its first meeting that the reviews by the Special Committee must be a basis for action by the UN and its member states. In that connection, he stated the following:

The present Government of the Republic of South Africa offers for all time no other future to its non-white population than perpetual subordination. Though it describes itself as engaged in a struggle for the survival of the white population, it deliberately imperils their own safety and offers them no other destiny than a hopeless struggle for domination.

... South Africa has been described as a microcosm of the world. Its racial groups are derived from or have close kinship with the peoples of many member states. South Africa could be an example to the world if all groups within the country were permitted to live together in amity, on the basis of equality.

The Special Committee recognised that the struggle for freedom was the responsibility and prerogative of the South African people, under the leadership of their liberation movement, and that the role of the UN, its member states and anti-apartheid movements was secondary. In 1974, Ambassador Edwin Ogebe Ogbu of Nigeria, Chairperson of the Special Committee, noted the following:

When the white minority in South Africa abandons its dream of perpetual domination over the Africans, and when it is ready to seek, hopefully by concerted international action, to negotiate with the genuine representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people the destiny of the nation as a whole, I have no doubt that the African people of South Africa will show their traditional tolerance and magnanimity.

It was in this context that Bhut' Jonny was appointed as Chief Representative of the ANC at the UN in 1977, with responsibilities in respect of the USA as well. His arrival in the USA coincided with a mushrooming anti-apartheid movement on several university campuses that was driven largely by the anti-war student movement. There had been an exponential increase in the number of exiles from South Africa with the banning of the ANC and PAC in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto student uprising. At this time, the struggle in South Africa was intensifying and the international mobilisation effort was growing at a fast pace.

Jonny Makhatini was surrounded by a highly motivated group of ANC cadres, who were articulate in their own right and well versed in the mores and politics of American society. Assisted by this collective, he galvanised the South African exiles in the campaign to enlist the support of the universities in the USA and their student bodies; members of Congress, in particular the Congressional Black Caucus; members of state and local governments; and important lobby groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the American Committee on Africa, Crossroads Africa, the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and many eminent individuals such as Judge William Booth, Mrs Coretta Scott King, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Mr Prexy Nesbitt, Ms

Jennifer Davis, Ms Gay McDougall, and countless others, to increase pressure on the US Government and to urge US companies to disinvest from South Africa, with the aim of crippling the South African economy and weakening the Government.

During his tenure in the USA, he was continuously engaged in the search for international consensus and action by the UN to bring about an early end to apartheid. While totally opposed to the policies of apartheid of the South African Government, the UN had always recognised that a solution would need to be negotiated by the South African people themselves, taking into account the legitimate interests of all segments of the population. To that end, Bhut' Jonny worked closely with the frontline states, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. He also collaborated closely with the South-West Africa People's Organisation, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and Zimbabwe African National Union, which later joined forces to form the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front in support of their struggle for national liberation.

As part of that effort, southern Africans in academia read and published papers, and held workshops in cooperation with enlightened American counterparts. They persuaded their colleagues to join them in teaching university courses dealing with the politics of liberation of southern Africa with a view to creating a receptive American public opinion in learned circles that could lead to a positive view in support of the struggling peoples in southern Africa, in particular Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa and South Africa.

As has been noted by Ambassador Dumisani S Kumalo, many of the hundreds of organisations engaged in the USA were local – operating in one city or state or within one institution such as a college or church. There were active groups in virtually every state and city in the country. In the USA, some groups were exclusively African-American, others were ethnically mixed. Some organisations were specifically formed with an African-related agenda; others already existed and took up the cause of African self-determination. Politically, they were also diverse, ranging from faith-based organisations to anti-imperialist, Communist and Socialist. Frequently, those organisations formed coalitions to achieve a particular goal such as the adoption of a divestment policy by a particular state, city or institution.

By the 1970s, a major focus of the anti-apartheid movement was economic links, especially US banks and companies doing business in apartheid South Africa, illegally occupied South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the then Portuguese territories in Africa, in particular Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

As has been further noted by Ambassador Kumalo, an early successful campaign was against Polaroid, maker of instant cameras that used a special self-developing film, which was being used to create the apartheid passbooks in South Africa. The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement (PRWM) demanded that the company disengage from South Africa, make a public statement in both South Africa and the USA confirming its position on apartheid and contribute its profits made in South Africa to recognised African liberation movements. When the company did not respond, PRWM called for a worldwide boycott of all Polaroid products. The PRWM continued the boycott campaign in line with the call for sanctions that had been issued by the ANC. When proof of Polaroid's continuing clandestine supply of film to South Africa was made public, the company ended its relationship with its distributor and all direct sales to South Africa.

Ambassador Kumalo has recalled that for decades, apartheid South Africa had relied on transnational corporations for capital and technology. Finding their way blocked by policy in Washington, activists seeking to stop corporate collaboration with apartheid developed other strategies for exerting pressure on the corporations. A major focus of that effort was the divestment campaign, aimed at moving individuals and institutions to sell their holdings in companies doing business in South Africa. There were campaigns against specific corporations, including Chase Manhattan, Citibank and Manufacturers Hanover (major lenders to South Africa); Mobil and Shell (which sold petroleum products to the police and military); Ford and General Motors (which sold vehicles to the police and military); and IBM and Control Data (which sold or leased computers to the Government, including the military and prisons). Some campaigns, such as those against the oil company Shell, were international.

He has noted that in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto student uprising, and again with intensifying resistance in the 1980s as black South Africans mobilised to make the townships ungovernable, government declared a State of Emergency in 1985 and used thousands of troops to quell the unrest. As the international community gradually came to recognise the importance of the struggle being waged, television audiences throughout the world were able to watch more frequent reports of massive resistance to apartheid, the growth of a democratic movement and the savage police and military responses. Faced with growing resistance in South Africa and mounting pressure at home, US companies began to withdraw, and by mid-1985, US banks effectively stopped making loans. This reduction of foreign capital significantly impacted on the apartheid regime and supported the democratic movement. The combination also helped generate the thrust for victory in 1986 when passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was won over the veto of President Ronald Reagan even though the Republican Party controlled the Senate at the time.

A Centre against Apartheid was established in the UN Secretariat in January 1976. Under Bhut' Jonny's remit, the UN imposed cultural and sports boycotts against apartheid South Africa and promoted cooperation in international action against apartheid, including through the holding of regional conferences. The organisation was unable to take binding measures to exert pressure on the racist regime because of the vetoes of the major Western powers against any mandatory sanctions against South Africa – except for the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in its Resolution 418 (1977) in November 1977, acting for the first time under Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN and following its determination, having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government, that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related matériel constituted a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Steeped in the socio-economic, political and cultural principles of the ANC, Bhut' Jonny was the dynamo that lobbied for and spurred on the myriad efforts that led to the adoption of various resolutions of the UN General Assembly, including the following: the International Anti-Apartheid Year, 21 March 1978 to 20 March 1979; 1979, the International Year of the Child; 9 August 1981, the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia; 1981, the Declaration of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa (Paris); the 1983 International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa; and the 1987 International Conference on "Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa".

Following police violence against a series of demonstrations by students and other groups in South Africa in 1983, by its Resolution 473 (1980), the Security Council strongly condemned the South

African regime for further aggravating the situation. It called on the regime to end violence against the African people, and take a series of measures to eliminate apartheid and grant equal rights to all South Africans. It urgently called for "the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders with whom the regime must deal in any meaningful discussion of the future of the country".

Bhut' Jonny's voice and admonitions served as a constant reminder to the international community to, at the very minimum, uphold those decisions that they had affirmed and decided on. He was at pains to reject the false mantra of some Western powers that sanctions would hurt the very people they were intended to help. He considered that fig leaf nonsensical, time-wasting and fraught with ulterior motives designed to maintain the status quo under the domination of Pax Pretoria. In that regard, he urged the Security Council to consider that the longer it failed to act, the more Pretoria would be encouraged to engulf the entire southern African region in a horrendous bloodbath.

He precluded no UN member state as a potential ally, irrespective of its position on South Africa. Following the adoption of Resolution 418 (1977), he made a most memorable and pointed statement, in which, he observed, among other things:

We maintain that the international community has, through countless United Nations decisions, sent a barrage of clear signals to the apartheid regime – signals which have been systematically confused by the Western powers for reasons well known to all of us. Our position was that the time had come to send clear and unconfused signals to the oppressed struggling people of South Africa and its potential allies, the peoples of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany. That is of vital importance to our people whose struggle has entered a decisive phase. They need to know whether those who have always been friends and allies of their enemy have changed their traditional position. Our people must know whether the highly orchestrated bid for the so-called negotiated settlement in southern Africa points to a change still in the pipeline and not yet consummated or is it a change of tactics towards the objective that remains the same, that is, the perpetuation of the status quo in a camouflaged form.

The three triple vetoes (cast by France, the United Kingdom and the United States on 31 October 1977 in connection with the Security Council's consideration of three draft resolutions on the question of South Africa) confirmed in the clearest terms that whatever the Western powers pretend to be doing in support of our struggle is calculated in terms of pounds, dollars, francs and deutschmarks and not based on principles. Our people have once again been told that economic sanctions and the withdrawal of investments would harm the economies of the Western countries. In other words, they have been told to continue to shed their sweat and blood to ensure the continued prosperity of the white minority in South Africa and the "mighty few" in the West represented by the transnational corporations. It is important to stress that our people have come to the conclusion reached by their counterparts in various countries that have been placed in a similar situation, that genuine freedom cannot be granted, it can only be grabbed.

In part because of the efforts of the UN, and through the dedicated and highly focused work of Jonny Makhatini, a majority of Western countries came to support sanctions against South Africa.

While reluctant for many years to take national measures in the absence of binding Security Council decisions, several Western countries were eventually persuaded to enact such measures, however limited. Notably, by its Resolution 569 (1985), the Security Council urged members of the UN to adopt a wide range of economic sanctions against South Africa. The resolution was, however, non-binding.

The heavy workload following his relocation to Lusaka as Director of International Relations took its toll on Jonny Makhatini. His untimely passing from a challenging illness left an immense void in the ANC, and in the hearts of South African compatriots and justice- and freedom-loving people the world over. His uncompromising and selfless dedication to the attainment of a South Africa in which all, irrespective of race, colour or creed, would enjoy equal rights will for generations be remembered as a beacon of hope and a shining light to be emulated. His indomitable spirit looms high in the pantheon of the struggle for liberation in general, and the emancipation of women in particular.

I humbly salute this giant, whose abhorrence of the barbaric apartheid system seemed to catapult him to an ever higher trajectory of action. The myriad of the apartheid system's inhuman and draconian laws was no deterrent to the ferocious commitment of this indefatigable icon.

Sithi halala! Makatini. Robala ka kgotso Ntate.

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DIPLOMACY FOR DEMOCRACY

A collection of keynote speeches and contributions made towards the liberation struggle of South Africa by Mfanafuthi Johnstone (Jonny) Makhatini, Special Representative of the African National Congress to the United Nations (1977 — 1987)

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Background

JONNY MAKHATINI was born in Durban on 8 February 1932. He was a bright and gifted child, and a talented debater at school. Jonny was articulate, with an aptitude for languages – qualities he developed from his mother, Mama Jali, who was a well-known radio personality.

Trained as a teacher, Jonny taught at Mzinyathi in the Inanda area, and was soon active in organising opposition to the imposition of Bantu education in South African schools. Rather than serve under this hated system, he resigned from the teaching profession and registered as a part-time law student at Natal University.

He was actively involved in all the African National Congress (ANC) campaigns of the period and was arrested on numerous occasions. Jonny was one of the principal organisers of both the historic Pietermaritzburg Conference of March 1961, which was addressed by Nelson Mandela, and the highly successful anti-fascist Republic Strike of May 1961.

In 1962, Jonny was among the first group of volunteers from Natal to be sent out of the country for military training. In 1966, he succeeded Robert Resha as Chief Representative in Algeria, and soon extended the activities of his mission to cover France, where he became a well-known personality in the circles of the solidarity movement. By this time, he was beginning to emerge as one of the ANC's most accomplished diplomats.

Jonny worked as the ANC's director of the Department of International Affairs during the 1980s. He was also a long-standing member of the ANC National Executive Committee. He was an indefatigable organiser and campaigner on behalf of the ANC and worked tirelessly and travelled ceaselessly throughout Africa and many parts of the world in pursuit of the liberation movement.

Valerie met "Jonny" Makhatini in Washington, DC while she was a student at Howard University. She had gone to the airport to drop off a friend and on the way back to her car she ran into Jonny who was about to enter the airport. He commented on her "beautiful legs" and immediately apologised, saying he couldn't help himself. After introductions, they chatted a bit and exchanged numbers. And so began a telephone courtship as he was stationed in New York at the time. They later got married and had a daughter, Nandi.

He was already a well-known figure in the Organisation of African Unity and United Nations (UN) circles, where he earned a well-deserved reputation as an articulate champion of the cause of his people. It was these qualities that contributed to his appointment as head of the ANC Mission to the UN in 1977 and later, in 1983, as head of the Department of International Affairs.

Jonny's unique flair for diplomatic work flowered during his years at the UN. All UN diplomats knew Jonny Makhatini and few escaped his persuasive tongue.



Jonny Makhatini, Nandi, Oliver Tambo and Valerie.

Jonny passed away on 3 December 1988 in Lusaka, Zambia, after being hospitalised due to complications from diabetes.

In 2007, Valerie received the Order of Luthuli on behalf her late husband from the then President of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, for his excellent contribution to the cause of freedom, opting for exile to raise international awareness about the ravages of apartheid and mobilising support for international pressure on the apartheid State.



1977

25 MARCH

Statement at the 1992nd meeting of the United Nations Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, allow me to associate myself and our organisation, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, with the views expressed by previous speakers regarding your dedication to the cause of freedom, justice and world peace. We congratulate you most heartily on your assumption of the presidency of the council. We are confident that, under your leadership, the council will not fail to help to advance the cause of the oppressed peoples of Africa.

The situation in South Africa now presents a major crisis, not just for the people of South Africa and the African continent but for the whole world community. The question before us today has in one form or another been on the United Nations (UN) agenda for the past 30 years. Numerous resolutions have been adopted, both in the General Assembly (GA) and in the Security Council, in an effort to facilitate the downfall of the South African racist regime. That regime has been repeatedly condemned for its barbarous and indefensible policy of apartheid. It has been condemned many times as a threat to international peace and security. Yet, the UN has still to take effective action against apartheid. The flow of noble words and resolutions continues unceasingly, but nothing results from it. No real action has been taken. Indeed, as time passes and the crisis in South Africa grows more serious, we are asked even more insistently by some to accept rhetoric as a substitute for action.

Mr President, four days ago you condemned apartheid as an affront to mankind. You are not the first one to have done so. A number of leading statesmen have in the past used equally strong language to condemn apartheid. We recall, for example, the speech by Sir Alec Douglas-Home at Manchester on 24 April 1964, in which he equated the problem of racism with the danger posed by the atomic bomb. Many others, including men like Dean Rusk, have had strong things to say against the South African regime. We have welcomed those pronouncements in the past, as we do yours now, as a prelude to the implementation of resolutions democratically adopted by the UN.

It has been clear for many years that the South African crisis could eventually become a world crisis. Delegation after delegation in the Security Council warned that the international community cannot afford to ignore the situation in southern Africa. Repeated attempts were made to persuade the council and its permanent members in particular, that the only way to avert a major crisis was to take action against the minority regime in South Africa, action which would force that regime to recognise the realities and to establish a time-table for the transfer of power to the majority. These warnings have been ignored. Many member states have demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle of the South African people. The council, however, has held back from taking action against the South African Government. On occasion, when it was clear that a majority of members intended to take action, their efforts were thwarted by the use of the veto.

Today, we see the results of this temporising. South Africa has gained invaluable time, which it has used to build its economic and military strength. Far from abandoning apartheid, it has shown it-

Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makhatini, of the African National Congress of South Africa, met with correspondents at the United Nations Headquarters, 6 December 1977.



self absolutely determined to preserve the status quo. South Africa, faced with a greatly intensified struggle on the part of the South African people, has today become a volatile and dangerous force on the African continent. Its enormous power has become a standing threat to every independent state south of the Equator.

It is against that background that we must ask whether the UN can afford to wait any longer to take effective action against apartheid.

There was a time when it seemed that the international community would take the kind of action demanded by the Charter. I recall how, in the early 1960s, each session of the GA and each series of Security Council meetings would raise the expectations of our people to lofty heights. They were happy witnesses to the progressive and apparently irreversible collapse of alien rule in Africa. They watched one African nation after the other take its rightful place among the community of nations. And they were convinced that South Africa's liberation was also on the agenda and that they would, thanks to their own efforts and to international solidarity, soon be free from bondage.

There were several other factors that suggested that their hopes would be fulfilled. The unprecedented destruction of human lives and property, which had been experienced during the Second World War was still fresh in our minds. The world's horror at what had happened seemed an assurance that all nations, irrespective of their political or ideological affiliations, would make common cause and help to crush the cancerous evil which was rearing its head in South Africa. There was a nearly unanimous view that apartheid was not only repugnant and indefensible but also a crime against humanity. The massacre at Sharpeville had profoundly affected the conscience of the world. People saw in it a sign of things to come and were appalled. Thus South Africa, which had once enjoyed a certain respectability as a founding member of the UN, became increasingly isolated in the international community.

The stage seemed to be set for measures which, together with the efforts of the South African people, would force the racists in South Africa out of power. In the mid-1960s, the internal situation in the country seemed to favour the success of such action. The ANC organised a national strike to protest the proclamation of a fascist state. The most ruthless repression was mounted to crush that strike by force of arms, and a consensus developed in the country among ANC members and their supporters that the time had come to change the methods of the struggle. It was decided to abandon non-violence in favour of armed struggle combined with political agitation. In late 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe – that is, the Spear of the Nation – the military wing of the ANC, was formed. It immediately announced itself by organising a country-wide campaign of sabotage.

Pressure was increasing at the time for UN action against the racist regime. Resolutions were adopted in the GA in the aftermath of Sharpeville, calling for the severance of all diplomatic, economic, military and cultural ties with South Africa. We saw such resolutions as an important beginning, as an indication that the international community would play an active role in helping to isolate South Africa. We thought that the UN would lend its active support to our struggle and thus hasten the downfall of the apartheid regime.

The Security Council seemed poised on a number of occasions to take action. In 1964, it constituted an Expert Committee to study the feasibility of mounting various kinds of sanctions against South

Africa (Resolution 191 [1964]). The report of the Expert Committee indicated clearly that South Africa was vulnerable to UN action and that it could be seriously hurt, for instance, by certain kinds of economic sanctions. The council never acted on the report.

There have been many similar cases in which the UN has begun to take specific steps to put pressure on South Africa and then withdrew from further pursuit of the matter. Paradoxically, as the crisis in southern Africa has become more serious, as the liberation movement has demonstrated that it could pose a real threat to the power of the minority regimes, less and less has been heard about translating UN resolutions into action. As the situation has become more and more unusual, the doctrine of business as usual has taken command. It is hard to escape the impression that the successes of the liberation struggle have been seen less as part of a process of ending injustice and oppression than as a "threat" to the interests of certain powers, and particularly the interests of the major Western powers.

It must be said clearly that, in our view, this is now the core of the problem. South Africa's actions over the last 10 years have demonstrated clearly that the racist rulers of our country are determined to try to maintain the system of exploitation and oppression, which now lies so heavily upon the shoulders of our people. Far from being made "more humane", apartheid has been given a new and more horrible form, combining the primitive laws and customs of an exploitative society with the ruthless efficiency of a modern police state. And South Africa, sensing that apartheid is now truly threatened, has turned its energies to the creation of a powerful military machine with which it seeks to dominate the whole southern African region. South Africa has built a garrison state, a new laager equipped with the most modern and deadly weapons, equipped indeed with a military nuclear capability.

This new and more arrogant posture on the part of the apartheid regime has been made possible by the growing support which it is receiving from other countries, support which is partly invisible but absolutely critical for the present regime. These countries, under the guise of business as usual, have in fact been helping to finance and arm a power which is moving away from any possibility of reason or reform. It is clear that they are doing so because they believe that, by arming and protecting South Africa, they are also protecting their own interests in the southern African region. Thus, South Africa has been made a surrogate colonial power in Africa. It is expected to perform the function of local gendarme. There is no need to demonstrate the short-sightedness of such policies. It is obvious enough that such calculations fail to take into account the dynamics of the liberation struggle. They assume what cannot be assumed, that the apartheid system can survive. In the long run, the people of South Africa will wrest their freedom and independence from the country's racist rulers and make their own future.

The important point for the council is that South Africa could not survive as it does today without the support which the Vorster Government receives from other countries. This points the way to effective action by the UN, for, if that crucial foreign support for apartheid were to be withdrawn, the present regime would have no option but to begin the dismantling of apartheid. It would have no power to resist the efforts of the South African people to free themselves. That is the true and only way to peaceful change.

It is a sad comment on our deliberations here that we are being asked, even at this late date, to believe otherwise. For indeed we are being asked to wait yet again for our freedom. Not because the

from Sharpeville ...



to Soweto, June 1976 ...

props which hold up the apartheid regime are to be torn away, but because some believe that “with time” they can persuade those who now rule South Africa to change their very nature, to abandon the system which has for so long been the basis of their unprecedented power and privilege. Is this really a credible proposition? Can today’s rulers of South Africa, who shoot down children in the streets and claim that detainees are under orders to commit suicide, really be expected to abandon their whole way of life willingly, or even for a few hundred million Eurodollars?

Apartheid is a system of power, a particular form of economic and social organisation originating from settler colonialism. It is based upon and institutionalises the most extreme kinds of inequality in every sphere. Such a system cannot be made into its opposite. It cannot be turned into a democracy, and it cannot assure economic justice which must mean, at the very least, a decent and reasonably equal chance in life for every citizen. Apartheid means perpetual bondage for the vast majority of South Africans, and it will continue to mean perpetual bondage even if the political plastic surgeons produce a new neo-colonial version of that system.

I hasten to say, however, that, disappointing though the past record of the Security Council may be, we remain convinced that this series of meetings potentially marks a turning point. While we have always had reason to denounce what we saw as the imperialist global strategy for world hegemony in which South Africa was being armed to the teeth and assisted in producing an atomic bomb in order to play the role of a regional gendarme, we are today heartened by certain pronouncements made by the new Washington Administration, as well as the steadily growing humanitarian support from the Western European countries, support that we hope will soon reach the level of that given by the Nordic countries. We hope that the former United States (US) Administration’s position under Memorandum 394 on the reported project of establishing a naval base at Port St Johns in the Transkei and other covert activities, will soon be the subject of public renunciation. We also call on the governments of France and the Federal Republic of Germany which, together with the former US Administration, permitted nuclear collaboration with fascist South Africa, in addition to supplying genocidal weapons, to put an end to that collaboration. Finally, we request the council, in keeping with the recommendations of the GA at its 31st session, to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter and impose mandatory economic sanctions and an arms embargo against South Africa, and pronounce itself against any so-called internal solution arrived at with the bantustan authorities.

The ANC was founded in 1912 in the wake of a heroic resistance waged by our forebears against colonial conquest. In the same manner as our fellow Africans in other African countries, which are free and independent today, we in South Africa are resolved never to accept perpetual bondage. After 325 years of white supremacist policies, we are resolved to strive for self-determination in our fatherland. We recognise, however, that the whites in South Africa, having severed cultural ties with their respective mother countries, now consider South Africa their home. And indeed it is their home. The principle of the equality of peoples is therefore a cornerstone of the ANC policy, as it is of the Charter of the UN. We believe that the principle of self-determination must have equal validity for all.

Our fundamental objectives were set out in the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955. That document was embraced not only by the ANC but also by its allies, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples’ Organisation, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. It faithfully reflects the spirit and idealism of the Charter of the UN. The preamble of that document states:

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic State, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together – equal, countrymen and brothers – adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together,



sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

Let me further indicate the principles on which the Freedom Charter was based: “The people shall govern” – “All national groups shall have equal rights” – “The people shall share in the country’s wealth” – “The land shall be shared among those who work it” – “All shall be equal before the law” – “All shall enjoy equal human rights” – “There shall be work and security” – “The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened” – “There shall be houses, security and comfort” – “There shall be peace and friendship”.

Those are the principles for which we stand, the principles which we strive to make a reality in our country. It should be abundantly clear that there is no way in which those principles could be applied in an apartheid system. There is a fundamental incompatibility between the Freedom Charter and the system of exploitation and oppression so painstakingly pieced together by the present rulers of South Africa. There is no way in which such a system, especially in the present circumstances, could be modified and made to accommodate the just demands of the South African people. No African parliament sitting on a foundation of transnational corporations could accommodate those demands. The principles of the Freedom Charter can only be realised in a free and independent South Africa, when the repugnant system of racism has been entirely dismantled.

It is clear, therefore, why the decision of the ANC and of the people of South Africa to wage an armed struggle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime is irreversible. The songs of “peaceful change” are simply the means by which some seek to beguile us and to sow confusion in the international community. We shall continue our struggle because the South African regime has left us no alternative. We should, of course, have preferred to see change come by peaceful means. Our record, crowned by the Nobel Peace Prize award to our late President, Albert Luthuli, is eloquent proof of that.

However, the regime has consistently and stubbornly stepped up its reign of terror. Its fascist intransigence, today characterised by the wanton murder of thousands of defenceless men, women and schoolchildren, as well as the assassination of political detainees in prison cells and torture chambers, has sown seeds of revolution throughout the length and breadth of the country.

As they enter the decisive phase of the struggle, at a time when the independence of Mozambique and Angola has changed the balance of forces to the detriment of the Vorster regime, our people are confident of victory. The role of the international community is actively to support this struggle and facilitate the elimination of the threat to peace and international security which the apartheid regime constitutes. It is for that reason that the ANC hails the resolution adopted by the GA at its 31st session (Resolution 31/6-I) , which declares the Pretoria regime illegitimate and reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle by the people of South Africa, by all possible means, for the seizure of power. We request the council to endorse this position



1977

25 OCTOBER

Statement at the 2 037th meeting of the United Nations Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, our delegation attaches a great deal of importance to the fact that this session, whose historic task is to choose between action against apartheid, on the one hand, and inaction in favour of that inhuman system, on the other, meets under your presidency.

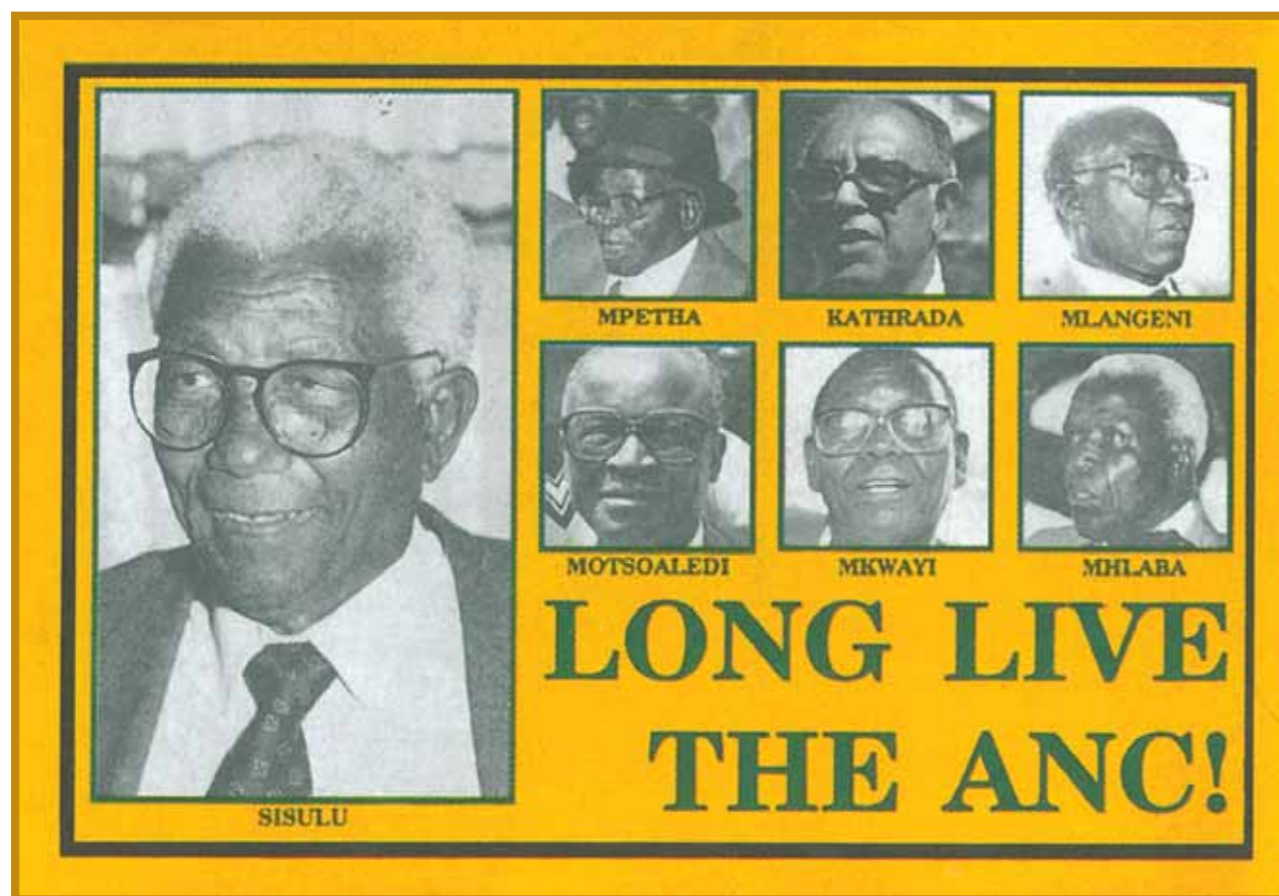
The strong ties that bind the peoples of South Africa and India are well known to historians and international statesmen. Our two peoples have for centuries fought against a common enemy and for a common goal – the right to self-determination. As part of the British imperialist exploitation, at some stage, between 1860 and 1866, about 6 300 indentured Indians were transported to Natal, South Africa, from Madras and Calcutta. Little did the British colonialists realise that they were forging a situation that has resulted in the cementing of unbreakable brotherhood and solidarity between our two peoples. This has manifested itself in various forms, especially in the active role played by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa, as well as in the fact that, at the very inception of the United Nations (UN), India requested the inscription on the agenda of the problem of white supremacy in South Africa.

I am pleased to say that the oppressed South African people of Indian origin have remained loyal to this tradition. Under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), they continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with the African and coloured peoples, as well with a steadily growing number of white democrats. One of them, Mac Maharaj, a well-known veteran of this struggle, a few days ago had the opportunity to petition the Special Committee against Apartheid on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners. This was after his recent escape from restriction following the termination of 12 years of imprisonment on Robben Island, in the same section as such of our illustrious leaders as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, the latter also of Indian origin, and Arthur Goldberg, a white, for whom the beginning of the forthcoming General Assembly (GA) debate on the question of apartheid on 7 November will mark the 15th anniversary of their condemnation to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

Mr President, because of your country’s resolute and unrelenting fight against apartheid, as well as your personal commitment and experience, we are confident that, under your presidency, the council will adopt prompt and far-reaching punitive measures commensurate with the challenge before the international community today, thereby restoring the waning credibility of the organisation.

At this stage, I should like to depart briefly from my prepared statement. In keeping with African tradition, we have always been brought up to respect our elders. I speak following the representative of Saudi Arabia, who has, I believe, in good faith put before the council what he considers pragmatic resolutions of the problem. I should be failing in my duty if I did not state that for the blacks in South Africa the principle of the right to self-determination was as precious as it is all over the world, and if I did not also recall that this principle of the right to self-determination of the South African people had





been endorsed by this organisation on several occasions, in particular by the council, and, finally, if I did not state that the organisation had correctly rejected the policy of bantustans. To advocate the transfer of blacks from South Africa to Namibia would be tantamount to supporting bantustanisation, which we reject since that policy is the cornerstone of apartheid. It seeks to deprive the African people of their birthright, and I will seize the first available opportunity to recommend to my leadership that we discuss this problem with the friendly country that His Excellency represents. I have had occasion in the past of being part of a delegation that met with the late King Faisal, who assured us of his support; I am therefore convinced that the remarks made by the representative of Saudi Arabia today were made in a good spirit, but we should always ensure that our positions harmonise.

This series of Security Council meetings has been convened at the request of the 49 African member states. We sincerely appreciate this swift action, which undoubtedly is hailed throughout the length and breadth of the African continent and welcomed by the justice-loving forces in the capitalist countries, and which enjoys the active support of the peoples and governments of the non-aligned and socialist countries. The ANC sees it as proof of Africa's determination, at this decisive stage of our struggle, not to remain idle in the face of Vorster's unfolding programme of repression in South Africa and aggression beyond its borders, in preparation for what he described in the ultimatum he put in 1974 to the international community to accept Pretoria's apartheid or face an alternative "too ghastly to contemplate", as well as what he threatened in the wake of the 1967 Israeli aggression, when he declared: "Israel ate up the Arabs before breakfast; we can eat up black Africa before lunch".

The gravity of the subject before the council today is without parallel. The closest example one can think of can only be of a hypothetical nature: humanity would probably have been saved from

the holocaust into which it was plunged during the last world war if, in the 1930s, Adolph Hitler had dared to throw down so open a challenge to the international community as John Balthazar Vorster has done. For the benefit of those who might be inclined to find this equation an exaggeration, it is important to recall not only the ideological affinity and alliance of these racial bigots, but also that, if Hitler was better armed, his arsenal was not half as sophisticated as Vorster's and definitely excluded nuclear weapons. Vorster's internment for his part as the General of the Ossewa Brandwag, a secret fifth-column organisation with a membership of 250 000, as well as his statement in 1942 that his organisation stood for Christian nationalism – called fascism in Mussolini's Italy and national socialism in Hitler's Germany – must be borne in mind in considering the urgency of the action to be taken by the council.

Like Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri, the representative of Tunisia and spokesman of the African Group, I do not intend to dwell on the countless barbarous crimes that have been committed and continue to be committed by the Vorster regime in the alleged defence of Christian, Western and white civilisation and as the alleged bulwark against the so-called penetration of communism in Africa, as Vorster never tires of claiming. However, it is important to note that this series of Security Council meetings provides the opportunity to those countries – especially the United States (US), France, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Israel and others whose record of collaboration with the apartheid regime is well known – to abandon this policy instantly and make common cause with the peoples and governments of the world, in order to complement the efforts of the liberation movement to crush this cancerous system of apartheid and thus help prevent the poisoning of race relations for decades to come. The time is long overdue for them to demonstrate – not in words, not in rhetorical declarations intended as opium, perhaps, for the exploited, but by immediate and concrete action – that Hitler's erstwhile disciple, today the hangman of the South African and the Namibian people, the co-oppressor of the people of Zimbabwe, the aggressor of the Angolan and other states in the subcontinent, is not their regional gendarme. It is time to renounce by deeds statements made by some Western statesmen and strategists that the West cannot afford to go beyond verbal condemnation of apartheid because it is dependent on South Africa for trade, raw materials and strategic arrangements.

In sounding a warning to the Western countries that to this day are still trying to adjust to the situation in Angola and Mozambique, where they backed the losing horses by supporting Portuguese colonialism and later the puppet organisations, I shall quote our President, Oliver Tambo. Addressing the World Conference for Action against Apartheid held at Lagos (in August 1977), he declared:

The racists and fascists in southern Africa for the time being enjoy the support of what they regard as powerful forces. However, we are armed with a just cause and a will to be free. Behind the struggle of our people for the seizure of power we have the peoples of the world represented at this conference, the invincible concerted international support of the anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces of the world, composed of the democratic, socialist and progressive peoples and states.

I should like at this stage to affirm, in the name of the ANC, that support of our organisation is support for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter, which I request the permission of the President to circulate to members of the council, was adopted by the oppressed people for the establishment of a just and

equitable society. It states, among other things, that South Africa belongs to all those who live in it and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

If the murder of Steve Biko, the detention of Percy Qoboza and Donald Woods and the banning of all non-violent organisations known to some leading Western diplomats do not prove the fascist character of the Vorster regime, I can only repeat what I once said to Ambassador Andrew Young, that is, that if his activities as a civil rights leader in the South had been carried out in South Africa against apartheid, he would have been incarcerated on Robben Island, convicted under either the Suppression of Communism Act or some other draconian legislation. For, according to the regime's legislation, any person who strives for social, political and economic change is a Communist.

The UN has been paving the way for action against the apartheid regime since 1960 when, in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre, the Security Council called upon the South African regime

... to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. (Resolution 134 [1960].)

In 1963, in its Resolution 181 (1963), the council did not stop at strongly deprecating the policies of South Africa in its perpetuation of racial discrimination but went further and called upon it to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid. It also solemnly called upon all states to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa.

In the same year, in its Resolution 182 (1963), the council expressed the conviction that the situation in South Africa seriously disturbed international peace and security.

In its Resolution 282 (1970), after recalling its resolutions on the arms embargo, the council expressed the conviction that the situation resulting from the continued application of the policies of apartheid and the continued South African acquisition of arms and military equipment from a number of member states and by local manufacture of arms and ammunition under licences constituted a potential threat to international peace and security. Further, it recognised that the extensive arms build-up of the military forces of South Africa posed a real threat to the security and sovereignty of independent African states opposed to the racial policies of the South African regime, in particular the neighbouring states.

In its Resolution 311 (1972), the council recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa in pursuance of their human rights as set forth in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and called upon all States to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa.

Finally, in its Resolution 392 (1976), the council strongly condemned the South African regime for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people, including school children and students and others opposing racial discrimination, and reaffirmed that the policy of apartheid was a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbed international peace and security.

The countless condemnations of and appeals to the South African regime by the international community through the UN have been ignored with impunity. The same goes for the appeals to some states, which have continued their economic, diplomatic and military collaboration with the Pretoria regime. The result has been the intensification of repression and repeated massacres, as well as the aggression against Angola, the continued occupation of Namibia, economic and military support for the Smith regime, economic aggression against Lesotho, the repeated violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of land-locked states such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and the blessing of the repeated acts of aggression committed by the Ian Smith regime against Mozambique and Zambia.

To the overwhelming majority of member states – except for the major trading partners, some of whom have increased their military collaboration with the Pretoria regime by furnishing it with licences which enable it to be virtually self-sufficient in the production of war equipment and supplying it with the technological know-how for producing atomic weapons – the South African regime constitutes a threat to peace and international security. This position of the Western countries has become indefensible in the light of the regime's new Defence Act, in terms of which it arrogates to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the Equator. Its bellicose position, which went to the extent of dismissing the President of the United States as irrelevant, and indeed saying this of all the countries that have hitherto delayed action by the international community on the basis that they have the collective leverage to exert pressure on Vorster, must be seen against the background of its nuclear capability. It is now up to the Western countries to take the initiative by expanding the punitive measures provided for in the four draft resolutions submitted by Benin, Libya and Mauritius on 29 March this year (S/12309 to S/12312).

We welcome the proposals made by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri and other speakers, such as the representative of Benin, that nothing less than the immediate imposition of economic sanctions and a mandatory arms embargo, as well as the oil embargo, would be an adequate response to the challenge facing the international community. As Ambassador Mestiri has correctly pointed out, despite the fact that the Vorster regime has launched a war of aggression against the oppressed South African people, relying upon weapons from the West, we are not asking the Western countries to send troops to South Africa. As our President said at Lagos:

Our people, under the leadership of the ANC, recognise and accept the challenge with which history has confronted us. Our revolution can only be the product of our own efforts and we shall not shirk our duty. The assistance and support we ask of the world, by implementing these proposals, can help create more favourable conditions for victory which cannot be denied our people.

In conclusion, I wish to say that today the attention of the world is focused on the deliberations at this meeting, and we are confident that the council will rise to the expectations of progressive mankind.

UDF UNITES - APARTHEID DIVIDES



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
FORWARD TO PEOPLES' POWER!



1977

4 NOVEMBER

Statement at the 2046th meeting of the United Nations Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, I should like most sincerely to thank you for giving me the opportunity to express the viewpoint of the African National Congress on the outcome of this series of council meetings, the first of which was convened by your eminent predecessor, Ambassador Jaipal, in response to the request of 49 African countries.

On behalf of our organisation, I also wish to convey warmest congratulations to you on your assumption of the post of President of the council for the current month. Libya's active and unwavering commitment to our struggle and your personal experience, dedication and indefatigable contribution in all forums which have been seized and continue to be seized of the problem of mapping out the correct strategy as well as ways and means of complementing the efforts of the liberation movement to attain the overthrow of the apartheid regime and the seizure of power by the people is to us a firm guarantee that the council will under your guidance live up to our expectations.

Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, whose statesmanship and selflessness in presiding over so controversial a series of meetings helped to preserve the essential spirit of reconciliation.

For the benefit of a body such as the Security Council, whose *raison d'être* is the preservation of peace and international security, it is, I believe, necessary and imperative that at all times truth should override diplomatic niceties or considerations of personal friendships.

The council was convened on an emergency basis, following the escalation of the reign of terror in South Africa. For the ANC and the overwhelming majority of the representatives who spoke here, the issue before us was not how to react to the current crackdown on 18 organisations and two newspapers and the detention and banning of some individuals. The issue before us was the long-overdue concrete and effective punitive measures to be adopted by the council against the regime whose apartheid rule has created a situation which constitutes a threat to international peace and security. I believe that it was for that reason that the three African members of the council limited themselves to the draft resolutions which they had introduced on 29 March this year. In so doing, they enjoyed the full support of the African countries and the liberation movements. After all, the council had been seized of this matter for seven months following the resolution on the matter adopted by the General Assembly (GA) at its 31st session and the subsequent request for a two-month delay presented by the five Western countries members of the council.

The negative vote cast by the three Western permanent members, joined by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany, came as no surprise to us. Their position is in keeping with their persistent violation of countless resolutions calling for the total isolation of the apartheid regime. However, I must be honest and say that we thought that they would have demonstrated their avowed indignation and that of the peoples which they represent by at last joining justice-loving and peace-loving mankind and supporting the other three draft resolutions.

We listened attentively to the arguments which they advanced for not doing so. We half agreed with Ambassador Andrew Young and other representatives of the Western powers who stressed the need for a clear and unconfused signal which was expected to come from the council. However, we parted ways when it appeared that they were talking of this signal being conveyed to Vorster.

We maintain that the international community has, through countless United Nations decisions, sent a barrage of clear signals to the apartheid regime – signals which have been systematically confused by the Western powers for reasons well known to all of us. Our position was that the time had come to send clear and unconfused signals to the oppressed struggling people of South Africa and its potential allies, the peoples of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany. That is of vital importance to our people, whose struggle has entered a decisive phase. They need to know whether those who have always been friends and allies of their enemy have changed their traditional position. Our people must know whether the highly orchestrated bid for the so-called negotiated settlement in southern Africa points to a change still in the pipeline and not yet consummated or is a change of tactics towards the objective that remains the same, that is, the perpetuation of the status quo in a camouflaged form.

The three triple vetoes confirmed in the clearest terms that whatever the Western powers pretend to be doing in support of our struggle is calculated in terms of pounds, dollars, francs and deutschmarks and not based on principles. Our people have once again been told that economic sanctions and the withdrawal of investments would harm the economies of the Western countries. In other words, they have been told to continue to shed their sweat and blood to ensure the continued prosperity of the white minority in South Africa and the “mighty few” in the West represented by the transnational corporations.

We are in a war situation. We may be excused if we use as our criteria for judging friends or foes what people do either to strengthen our striking power against the enemy or to strengthen the enemy's striking power.

It is for that reason that we wish to state quite categorically that the resolution that has just been adopted is too little and has come too late. The council, representing the international community, has missed an opportunity to erase from the surface of the earth the iniquities portrayed in the picture behind you, Mr President. However, we feel that, while it is too late for peaceful change, there is still time for the Western countries to join us in a common struggle, a common battle against the common enemy.

It is important to stress that our people have come to the conclusion reached by their counterparts in various countries that have been placed in a similar situation, that genuine freedom cannot be granted, it can only be grabbed.

The resolution adopted today, as I have said, falls far short of our expectations, but we maintain that, if it is true that some changes are in the pipeline, it serves as a basis for effective action which we hope will be undertaken before it is too late.

At this juncture, I should like to associate our delegation with the position expressed by a few members of the council, particularly the African members, that is, we hope that in the near future there

will be moves towards setting up a watch-dog committee to ensure the strict implementation of the limited measures that have just been adopted.

We thank all those who have stood firm with us in calling for the appropriate and overdue measures, and we wish to express the hope that the council, which remains seized of this issue, will, next time it meets, surprise us and our people by sending the appropriate signal to the Vorster regime. To achieve that, it is important that we speak the same language. For us, the situation is characterised by expropriation, hunger, super-exploitation and social deprivation and maintained by the ever-escalating reign of terror and aggression against neighbouring states constitutes a threat to peace and international security and calls for economic sanctions and a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter.

There has been much talk of Canada having “hijacked” India's draft resolution; we do hope that the next draft to be hijacked by Canada will be that on economic sanctions.



1977

15 NOVEMBER

Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly

MR PRESIDENT, allow me to extend, on behalf of our President, Oliver Tambo, warm greetings and sincere apologies to you and to all the representatives gathered in this assembly. He apologises for his failure to be with you today owing to pressing obligations dictated by the rapidly unfolding situation in our country.

Mr President, the task assigned to me by our National Executive Committee, to congratulate you on your election to this eminent post, gives me great pleasure. Your experience and dedication to the cause of human progress in general and African liberation, in particular, is well known. You represent a country which, in the struggle against Nazism, produced unsurpassed heroes and paid tremendous sacrifice in defence of the universally cherished goal of freedom. Our people and our movement, the African National Congress (ANC), take great pride in Yugoslavia's example. The indefatigable role of your great leader in the non-aligned movement is long and distinguished. It is for these reasons that we are confident that, under your presidency, the deliberations of this important debate will be crowned with success commensurate to the expectations of our people and progressive mankind.

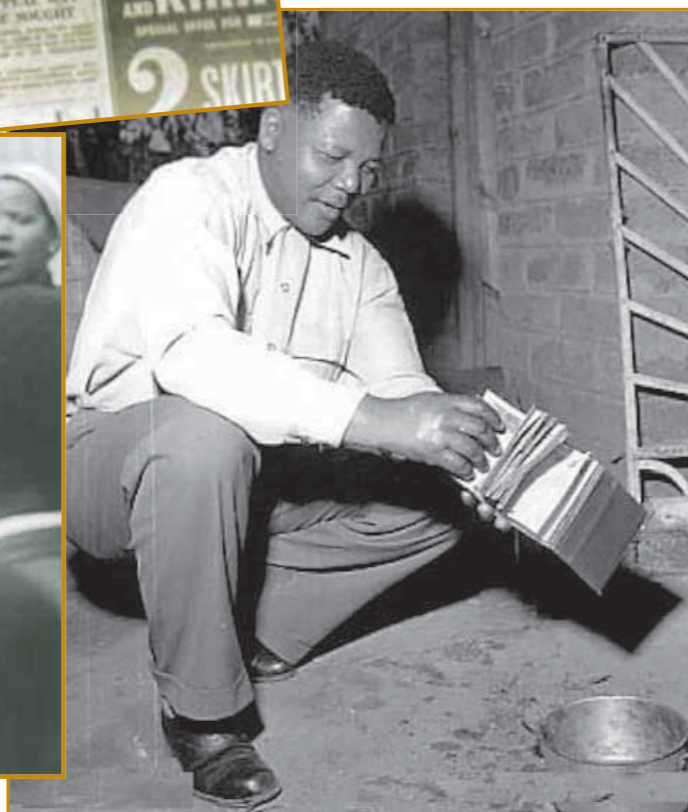
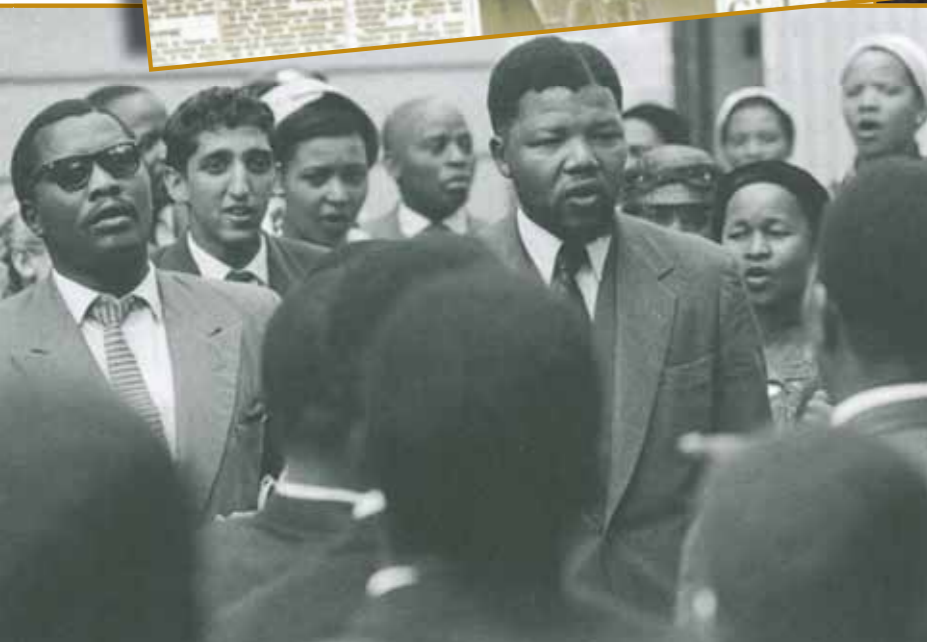
It is the second time in the history of the United Nations (UN) that the ANC is accorded the opportunity to address the General Assembly (GA). To us, this further testifies to the importance that the UN attaches to the problem of apartheid, which it has declared its special responsibility. And it is of historic significance that this year 1977 marks the 25th anniversary of the debate on apartheid by the UN – an event which followed the arrest of 8 500 ANC leaders and activists during the defiance campaign launched on 26 June 1952 and as a result of the request by the ANC to the late Pandit Nehru, whose birthday, 14 November, coincides with the beginning of this debate. It is equally significant that 7 November, the date initially set aside for the opening of this debate, also marked an important occasion, the 15th anniversary of the sentencing to life imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, later joined by Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Arthur Goldberg and others today incarcerated on Robben Island for their part as leaders in the struggle against apartheid.

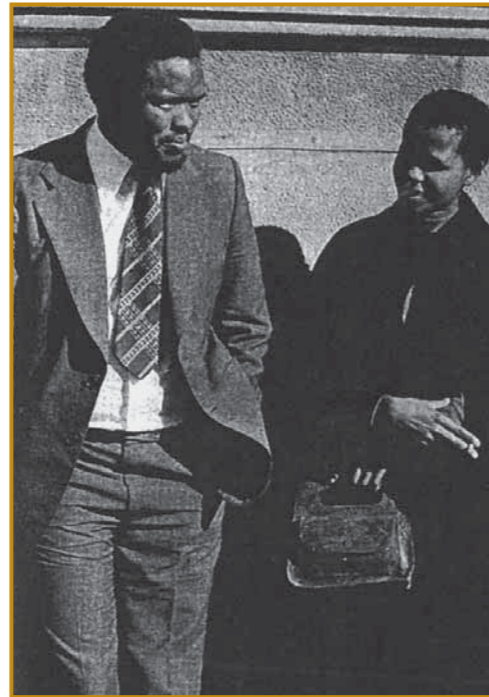
The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa has entered a decisive stage. This can be attributed to two developments: first, the triumph of the worldwide anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles, which drastically changed the balance of power in favour of the liberation forces in the world, including our country; and secondly, internal developments within South Africa itself – developments that are characterised by ever-escalating plunder, exploitation and repression.

The ANC would like to seize this opportunity to salute the representatives of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea, whose glorious struggle was a beacon and exemplar and proved, once again, the old truth that just struggles are mutually self-supportive. We also cannot overemphasise the historic importance of the successful struggles waged by our comrades-in-arms, the brotherly peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. This victory changed the geopolitics of the region and exposed the inherent vulnerability of the white supremacist

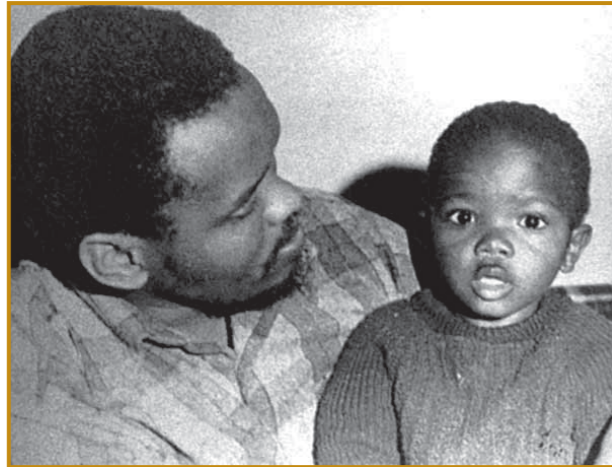


In the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela and seven others were convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.



Steve Biko with
Mamphela Ramphele.

Biko and his son Samora.



redoubt. The imperialist strategy, which was based on the continued existence of Portuguese colonial domination, of the Ian Smith illegal regime and of racist South Africa's vaunted impregnable military and economic power, was decisively smashed. Since then, the imperialist powers, determined to preserve their monopolistic interests in the region, are now scrambling for new positions, using new methods and flying new banners.

The events of 16 June last year, which started as the rejection of slave education, have escalated to a general revolt against the entire system of apartheid and have plunged the country into a general crisis. Daily, parents, workers and peasants have, through individual and collective efforts, demonstrated an unequalled zeal and determination to win their freedom. Schools, bantustan institutions, police stations, police informers and agents have all been targets for destruction. With the soaring inflation and deepening economic crisis, the country is, for the first time in its history, facing the problem of unemployment within the white working class. The colossal expenditure on arms has exacerbated the regime's balance-of-payments problem. The colonial war the regime is waging in the illegally occupied Namibia is draining its manpower and causing a haemorrhage of its shaky financial and manpower resources. This is further aggravated by its full-scale military and economic support of the Ian Smith illegal regime. Added to this is the extremely costly invasion of Angola and continued military and financial backing of the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) against the People's Republic of Angola.

We highlight these developments in order to show the momentous nature of the recent decision taken by the South African regime, which has called for the all-white general elections a year before they were due in order to ride the wave of panic and repression that has reached an unprecedented height in the country.

Faced with the growing and daring activity of our underground militants at a time when its informer infrastructure is in shambles, the regime no longer stops at detaining and banishing the captured activists but has resorted to the policy of systematic assassination of political detainees. The cold-blooded murder of Steven Biko is the latest in the series of these heinous crimes, which have taken the lives of 44 heroic sons and patriots of our country.



The continuing upsurge is not accidental, as our President, Oliver Tambo, stated in Lagos:

They are born of harsh realities of the pernicious system and mark a new and decisive chapter in the long and bitter struggle led by the ANC. No people who are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their inalienable right to self-determination can ever be suppressed and subdued even by the most powerful military monster.

It was Victor Hugo, the eminent French philosopher, who stated that the one thing that was stronger than all the armies of the world was an idea whose time had come. The workers' upsurge which preceded the student uprising confirms this old truth.

There has been a fallacious assumption about the recent and ongoing development in South Africa. It was suggested that this represented the break with and rejection of the traditional leadership and a new and alternative force. But today, we are happy to note that there is a general awareness and acceptance of the fact that these are but currents in the broad mainstream whose vanguard is the ANC and its allies. In South Africa, since the advent of the white invader and settler, every generation has found itself in duty bound to raise the sacred and historic struggle to ever higher levels. Chief Albert Luthuli, our late beloved President, told our people that our struggle would always demand "courage that rises with danger". The youth of Soweto, Queenstown, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and other parts of our country, joined by their coloured and Asian compatriots, are only responding to Luthuli's call. When the annals of this era are written, it will be said that this was indeed a glorious hour.

After the Vorster regime had murdered Steven Biko and summarily outlawed 18 organisations and proscribed the publishing of *The World* and arrested its editor, Percy Qoboza, and banned Donald Woods, editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*, the Security Council convened an emergency meeting. After more than a week of deliberation, the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK) and France vetoed three of the four draft resolutions introduced by the African group on 29 March this year. They were joined in that hostile act by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany. That diplomatic defence of the Pretoria regime, whose system of apartheid has been condemned by the international community through the UN as a crime against humanity, is taken very seriously by the ANC, the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa and progressive mankind.

The pompous virtue displayed after the adoption of the symbolic mandatory arms embargo should not be allowed to absolve those powers of their complicity with the apartheid regime. The oppressed people of South Africa and the ANC, which spearheads their struggle, have watched with alarm the strategy of the US, France, the UK, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany in the case of Namibia as well as the Anglo-American strategy in that of Zimbabwe – a strategy based on the Vorster regime's playing the role of arbiter. This is unquestionably an attempt to give the Vorster regime legitimacy and international respectability. Having armed it to the teeth and systematically undermined all efforts by the UN aimed at minimising the bloodshed and loss of human life in South Africa and having provided it with the technological know-how to produce nuclear weapons, those powers are now projecting themselves as champions of the right to self-determination in southern

Africa and in South Africa itself. They even campaign against the commendable role of the countries that have always complied with the UN calls for active support for the liberation movement against apartheid.

In the past 20 years, investments from those countries and members of the European Economic Community made them full partners of and accomplices in apartheid, and they enjoy all the economic super-profits drawn from the sweat and blood of our people. Today, the Vorster regime has – rightly or wrongly – openly dared those countries to impose economic sanctions. “Pik” Botha, the regime’s Foreign Minister, is reported by *The Star* of 15 October to have said that if economic sanctions were imposed on South Africa, Pretoria would finally say to the world: “Go to hell”. In the meantime, the regime has invoked sweeping measures to compel and control the production of strategic goods on a war-time basis by the multinational corporations operating in South Africa. The question that we now pose to the US, the UK and France, taking into account their veto record and their usual claim of being in possession of powerful economic leverage, is this: Are they going to let the multinational corporations under their jurisdiction comply with Vorster’s repressive and aggressive programme? Was that part of the plan that they consciously pursued in violating the UN resolutions calling for the withdrawal of investments?

We mention these developments to underline the weakness of the “mandatory arms embargo” recently adopted by the Security Council in its Resolution 418 (1977). The triple veto exercised on the three draft resolutions calling for mandatory economic sanctions and the withdrawal of investments reveals not only the moral obtuseness of those powers but also their hostility to the aspirations of the African cause. The battle lines are clearly drawn in southern Africa and in South Africa itself and the situation demands immediate and decisive action and cannot be mitigated by sanctimonious virtue and meaningless gestures.

The position of the ANC since 1959 when, through its late President Albert Luthuli, it called for economic sanctions, revealed its consciousness of the fact that these measures could only complement our struggling people’s own efforts. The success of our revolution, as our President, Oliver Tambo, has stated on numerous occasions, can only be the product of our own efforts, and we shall not shirk our duty. The assistance and support which we ask of the world cannot supplant the need for us to wage our struggle. However, by implementing mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, this world body can help to create more favourable conditions for victory over settler colonialism and apartheid, and that help cannot be denied our people.

There is also some talk in certain circles to the effect that the isolation and ostracism of the apartheid regime only serves to push the so-called Afrikaner back into the laager. The analogy of the laager episode is used to confuse international opinion and to justify continued economic, military and nuclear collaboration. The battle of the so-called Blood River from which this analogy is taken was but an episode in the expansionist wars of colonisation and European settlement. Since then, and thanks to imperialist collaboration, the successive minority regimes have consolidated the most anachronistic racist system the world has ever known. And the analogy of the laager is used to conceal this fact.

The relevant and appropriate analogy is in fact the Great Trek and not the laager. The Great Trek of 1835 and 1836 was the Boer reaction to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and, ultimately, the abolition of slavery in South Africa in 1834. In his manifesto, the trek leader, Piet Retief, in giving

reasons why his party was leaving the Cape to wage wars of colonial conquest and expropriation, declared: “We shall establish such relations as will ... preserve proper relations between master and servant”. This was the *raison d’être* for the Great Trek expansionist campaign later articulated by the then President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, when he said: “The black man had to be taught that he belonged to the inferior class, which must obey and learn”.

There is no difference whatsoever between these outrageous policy utterances and what Vorster and his henchmen are saying and planning today. The acts of aggression against the neighbouring African states, and particularly the invasion of the People’s Republic of Angola, are proof of expansionism and not the withdrawal into the laager. The same can be said of Vorster’s statement that “Nothing is going to prevent us from becoming the leaders of Africa in every field”. This in fact seems to be part of the global imperialist strategy based on arming the apartheid regime in order that it can play the role of gendarme in the subcontinent and bulwark against African freedom – which is called Communism in Pretoria and some European capitals. This point is well understood by President Kaunda, who in 1967 declared:

Apartheid is on the offensive. The old commando spirit in South Africa is being implemented to extend the boundaries of the influence of apartheid. The Boer trek is still on and is now instrumental to the wider concepts of neo-colonialism, the pillar on which the minority regimes find their livelihood and derive their confidence.

President Kaunda’s analysis has been vindicated by the regime’s new Defence Amendment Act, in terms of which the Pretoria regime arrogates to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries.

We wish at this stage to reiterate once more that apartheid, a system founded on the strong Calvinist doctrine of predestination, is not amenable to change or reform. The architects and supporters of apartheid, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the whites in South Africa, as the 30 November racist elections will prove, fanatically believe they are a God-chosen race assigned the godly mission to keep in subjugation the inferior people they conquered, thanks to God’s will. Professor de Kiewit, a South African historian, explains the Boer belief about the historical developments related to the colonial conquest of the African people as follows:

According to their belief it was more than their arms that made them prevail over the natives and their superiority depended on more than their intelligence or their institutions. Their superiority was born of race and faith, a quality divinely given which could not be transmitted to other races or acquired by them. “The black stinking dogs” as Van Riebeeck called them, suffered from an inferiority predestined and irreparable, which fixed their place in society of white man.

This has remained the fundamental tenet of the white supremacists from that day to this, and the Dutch Reformed Church, which with its Calvinistic fundamentalism and its emphasis on predestination and the writings of the *Old Testament*, was and remains the spiritual rock on which apartheid is founded. It was this Church and the Bible which nourished the Trekboer and today provides the spiritual justification of apartheid and assures its flocks that the laws of the State derive from God and are therefore beyond question.



1977

9 DECEMBER

Statement at the 2 053rd meeting of the United Nations Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, in the name of the African National Congress (ANC), the warmest fraternal congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the council during the last month of this eventful year and on the eve of what we believe will be declared International Anti-Apartheid Year by the General Assembly (GA) at its 32nd session. Indeed, we are singularly happy that you, a tested brother and comrade-in-arms, whose experience, dedication and skill as the doyen of the African ambassadors and the representative of a country whose active commitment to our struggle is well known, should assume this office at a time when the council at long last appears to be poised for action against the apartheid regime.

The unanimous adoption of the resolution on the setting up of a committee to monitor the implementation of Resolution 418 (1977) marks the first but an extremely important point on our joint scoreboard. We are mindful and highly appreciative of the fact that this is the result of the magnificent and indefatigable role played by your two immediate predecessors, Mr Jaipal of India and Mr Kikhia of Libya, under whose able guidance the council, depending on the political will of all parties concerned, has made considerable progress towards performing the task expected of it by the international community for decades now. Your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and freedom fighter have helped us to achieve the goal of our unanimous decision this morning. And as we approach International Anti-Apartheid Year, during part of which the council will be presided over by Mr Harriman, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and representative of Nigeria, whose illustrious Head of State, General Obasanjo, has recently and solemnly committed his country to action not only against the apartheid regime but also against its collaborators, we are convinced that today's decision is yet another landmark in ever-escalating international action towards the total ostracism of the Vorster regime.

I thank you most heartily for allowing me to speak on behalf of the ANC. Our position on Resolution 418 (1977) is well known. We maintain that the content of that resolution is too little and has come too late, and this has been confirmed by a series of statements by the Pretoria regime's authorities. But, as we said on the day it was adopted, we welcome it as constituting the basis for future and more meaningful action, such as economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter and strict observance of the limited arms embargo it sets out to impose.

On the subject before us today, since our position has been repeatedly confirmed by the fascist Pretoria authorities, who openly boast of self-sufficiency and the assurance of continued supplies of war equipment, as the representative of China said this morning, quoting Botha, the Minister of Defence, we hold the strong view that this resolution is the last test of the sincerity of the Western countries.

The gravity of the military collaboration between some Western countries (and South Africa), of which the council has been seized since 1963, was ably expressed by our late President Albert Luthuli

Vorster is invoking this spiritual justification when he dismisses as irrelevant Mr Jimmy Carter, the President of the US, presumably together with the leaders of the other Western powers who tell us they can as his friends persuade Vorster to accept majority rule. The same spiritual justification continues to nourish the regime in its campaign to engage in wanton killing of unarmed demonstrators, including children, as well as the torture and murder of political detainees.

When the time comes for it to use genocidal weapons, including the apartheid nuclear bomb – arms the Western countries have supplied and helped to produce internally in order to unleash open aggression beyond its borders – it will still claim this spiritual justification.

The Western countries have fooled us for decades now. They cannot fool us forever. To them we say, there is only one way to cleanse their indefensible record, and that is immediately to put an end to their deception and duplicity. They must stop blocking the implementation of economic sanctions and a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII. They must support the ANC, the sole authentic liberation movement in South Africa that spearheads the broad alliance of black patriots and white democrats committed to the creation of a democratic state that will secure the birthright of all the South African people, irrespective of colour, race, sex or belief.

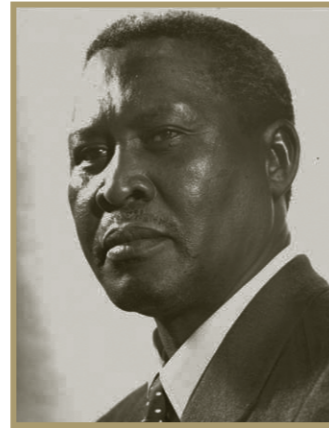
They must abandon their futile attempts to promote puppet alternative organisations to rival the ANC which, thanks to its long history of struggle and principled and relentless championing of the true aspirations of the people, enjoys the unchallenged support of the people. Its principled and correct position of uncompromising opposition to both white and black racism has earned it worldwide support and makes it the only viable alternative to the apartheid regime.

The Western countries and all member states must resign themselves to the reality that obtains today. They must accept the fact that there can be no peaceful solution to the apartheid problem. They must support the position adopted by the assembly at its 31st session and recognise the legitimacy of the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa. They must all follow the example of the Netherlands and join the Nordic countries in their progressive move toward aligning themselves with the forces which love justice and peace and whose opposition to apartheid is translated into concrete action such as political, financial and material support to the ANC.

Finally, it is necessary at this stage to spell out once again what the real issues are in South Africa. There is a tendency in some circles to draw false parallels and analogies regarding our struggle. Our struggle is for the armed overthrow of the apartheid regime, the seizure of power by the people and for the reconstruction of our society. The ANC has always been conscious of the fact that racism is not its own justification but is an instrument to maintain super-exploitation of the black people over the last 500 years. Though racism as a doctrine has assumed a life of its own, it is first and foremost an instrument for an exploitative purpose. The victims, their land and their natural resources are systematically plundered, exploited and expropriated. The struggling people of South Africa, whose status is that of a colonised people, are not only striving for the elimination of excesses of the present system. Those who persistently insist on reformism or peaceful solution are obviously bent on perpetuating the status quo in a disguised and neo-colonialist form.

when, in a statement addressed to the international community in general and to Britain in particular – then the major supplier of arms to South Africa – he said:

To the nations and governments of the world, particularly those directly and indirectly giving aid to this contemptible regime, I say: Cast aside your hypocrisy and deceit; declare yourself on the side of oppression if that is your secret design. Do not think we will be deceived by your pious protestations so long as you actively support the tyranny in our land. The test is your stand on the principle: No arms for South Africa. No expression of concern, no platitudes about injustice will content us. The test is action – action against apartheid.



That statement was made in 1961 by Chief Lutuli, after winning the Nobel Peace Prize. Later, he was assassinated in what we maintain and will soon prove were mysterious circumstances. Particularly now that the world is receptive to information about the brutal crimes committed by the apartheid regime since the Steve Biko case, we shall soon prove that Albert Lutuli, a man of great stature, was not hit by a train. We have been making a study of the case and we maintain that he was killed and then put on the railway line so that it could be declared that he had been killed in a train accident.

It is important to recall that, since Lutuli made that appeal, there has been a great deal of action in support and in defence of apartheid in the form of economic, diplomatic, military, cultural and nuclear collaboration, despite the countless GA resolutions and the 1963 Security Council voluntary arms embargo. As the racist regime frantically stepped up its arms race in preparation for full-scale internal repression and external aggression, so did some Western powers step up the delivery of sophisticated military hardware and the furnishing of licences to ensure the regime's self-sufficiency and the perpetuation of apartheid, that unique racist system and instrument for super-exploitation which has now become an integral part of international imperialism.

So great is the scale of this collaboration that there is only one way for some Western countries to escape the verdict of first-degree active complicity, at what might very well be a South African Nuremberg after the holocaust the neo-Nazi Pretoria regime is being armed for by some of those Western countries. That way is to give their full cooperation in ensuring that the supervisory committee established under the resolution adopted this morning is made fully effective. Although this would not absolve them completely from the charge of systematic collusion in the criminal acts of the apartheid regime, we maintain that it would serve as a strong mitigating factor, strengthened by the fact that in most cases those agreements were concluded by the administrations and governments that preceded those represented at the council meeting today.

We stress the need for clear and meaningful terms of reference, which we hope will be given to the committee concerned, because we have in the past been duped by these guilty powers, which have mastered the technique of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. We could quote so many instances, including that of the 1963 voluntary arms embargo, after which the supplies of genocidal weapons continued unabated, either overtly or covertly, and despite our protests and condemnations, this was either denied or defended with such arguments as were often heard in

certain Western circles, for example: if we do not do it, the Americans will do it; if we do not do it, the Germans will do it, and so on.

The most important example of the deceit we have been subjected to relates to the measures adopted against the Ian Smith regime, and it is at this juncture that I should like to express our disappointment at what I heard from several representatives this morning who maintained that the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had set a precedent. We maintain the contrary, that if the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia is to serve as a guide, it should be only if we agree that it was riddled with so many loopholes that it was never intended to be effective. If we are serious – and we believe the members of the Security Council are at last serious – we shall, we hope, make sure that the loopholes that are to be found in the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are not repeated in the envisaged committee. When the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia was made a closed committee that takes decisions on the basis of consensus, it was tied hand and foot right from the beginning. Let us be frank: in such a situation the principle of decision by consensus is tantamount to giving veto powers to all members. The holding of closed sessions by that committee also, in our view, enables the guilty parties to pursue their policies of deception and covert complicity.

If we sound over-pessimistic, it is because of our past experience. We are none the less encouraged by the sense of urgency manifested by the members of the council following the adoption of Resolution 418 (1977). The unanimous adoption of today's resolution designed to set up a committee to monitor the strict implementation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa is indeed encouraging. Since it coincides with the intensification of repression by the Vorster regime, on the one hand, and the growing resistance by the South African people under the leadership of the ANC, on the other, we have reason to believe that, this time, the Western members of the council intend to make this belated and limited mandatory arms embargo effective.

It is for that reason that, when the time comes – in the immediate future, we hope – for the council to define the terms of reference of the new committee, we hope there will be unanimity in ensuring that the shortcomings to be found in the Committee on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia will not be repeated. To this end, we hope that the envisaged committee will hold open public hearings of experts in the various fields and that decisions will be taken by vote. We maintain that this would help to ensure the education of public opinion in Western countries, thereby strengthening the position of those convinced of and committed to the urgent need to ostracise the South African regime in all fields, in the same way as the community of nations ostracised the Hitlerite Nazi regime in response to the appeals of world statesmen, including eminent figures like President Roosevelt.

Finally, and in support of the position taken by the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, who spoke on behalf of the 49 African member states, I wish to appeal to the members of the council to consider immediate action with a view to the imposition of economic sanctions against the South African regime under Chapter VII of the Charter and the extension of the recently adopted mandatory arms embargo to cover oil and petroleum products, as it is clear to all and is confirmed by South African legal and military experts that oil is a strategic product. No one can deny that the South African and Rhodesian planes and tanks and other vehicles used by those regimes to commit genocide in southern Africa would in no time be grounded if and when the council took the appropriate decision to help to curb the threat to peace and international security constituted by the two regimes.

Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makhathini, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, speaking at the Special Committee against Apartheid, which concluded the hearing of statements marking the 15th anniversary of the establishment, and also the 10th anniversary of the assassination of the United States civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr, and Ms Elizabeth Sibeko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania.



1978

31 JANUARY

Statement at the 2 059th meeting of the United Nations Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, we congratulate you most heartily on your assumption of the presidency during the month that marks the beginning of the International Anti-Apartheid Year. That this council meeting takes place under your guidance is of great importance to the organisation, for it was in your brotherly country, Nigeria, and under the chairmanship of Mr Joseph Garba, the Commissioner for External Affairs, that the international community took far-reaching decisions to further the advancement of the struggle against apartheid. To ensure the necessary follow-up and endorsement by the General Assembly (GA) of those decisions designed to complement the efforts of our people, whose struggle has entered a decisive and irreversible stage, the Commissioner for External Affairs joined us here in New York to present those decisions to the GA.

This was not the first proof of your country's resolve to play an active role in the struggle for the total and real independence of our continent. This commitment was eloquently proved in 1975 by Nigeria's act of solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola when, acting in concert with other nations that love justice and freedom, Nigeria helped the Angolan people under the leadership of the *Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola* to stave off apartheid expansionism. It is because of this brilliant record that, despite the highly orchestrated imperialist campaign, whose objective is now crystal clear, we remain convinced that Nigeria's muscle will always be harnessed to advance the African objectives in the whole of southern Africa. And it is for that reason that we are confident that, under your guidance, the council's deliberations will be crowned with success in the form of decisions whose effect will be to further the isolation of the Pretoria regime and to strengthen the striking power of the liberation movement.

The African National Congress (ANC) attaches a great deal of importance to the resolutions and decisions adopted by the GA at its 32nd session. The list also includes those draft resolutions vetoed by three permanent members of the Security Council as well as those unanimously adopted by the council. Throughout the long history of our struggle, we have never been so confident of our victory. We have reached a stage that is characterised by the irreversible and ever-growing militancy and determination of our people to confront the apartheid monster gun in hand and not to betray the active solidarity that progressive mankind the world over is increasingly lending us in support of our just struggle.

It is now common knowledge to all who follow the South African situation closely that Umkonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, the military wing of the ANC, is not only present and thriving in the thicket of the angry masses throughout the country but has begun to deal heavy blows against selected enemy targets. The Pretoria officials have been constrained repeatedly to admit this. The ANC's politico-military organisational capacity continues to grow while the enemy's spy network has



been considerably incapacitated by the elimination of some key collaborators. This is coupled with the mounting of sophisticated forms of communication, such as the periodical leaflet bombs in the big cities. Such daring action, carried out under the noses of the fascist police and troops, has sown widespread panic in white community circles. The myth of the omnipresence of the fascist police and that of the stability of the apartheid system are beginning to crack, and statements by people like Jimmy Kruger, the so-called Minister of Justice, attributing the urban unrest to the ANC, which he describes as a wily snake, serve only to boost tremendously the morale of the oppressed and to break that of the oppressor white community and bring it to the lowest ebb. The growing number of white draft-dodgers who refuse to take up arms in defence of apartheid and prefer to leave the country testifies to that. On the other hand, the same can be said of the massive growth of ANC influence inside the country. The writing on the wall is becoming menacingly clear to the average white, including those hitherto blinded and deafened as a result of the profits and comfort drawn from the sweat and blood of our people.

The worsening economic crisis resulting from spiralling inflation and unprecedented white unemployment operates in favour of the revolutionary situation obtaining in our country.

What of the awareness and unity of purpose at the mass level? The ANC is indeed proud of what it owes to its founding fathers, of what it has nurtured and consolidated through-out its long and problem-ridden history: that noble idea and objective of serving as a spearhead of a broad united front, today emerging as the powerful and invincible force at the service of our revolution. This will no doubt guide our people at this crucial period when they have reached the crossroads, as Gatsha Buthelezi said in *The New York Times* of yesterday.

The position taken by the so-called Asian and coloured communities, rejecting the regime's diabolic scheme of separate parliaments aimed against the ANC strategy based on a broad united front of all blacks as well as white democrats, clearly demonstrates the level of awareness of our people and their determination to close ranks and direct their combined striking power against the common enemy. They do so mindful of the ANC's steadily growing influence and strength inside and outside South Africa. What is more, they are aware of the ANC's fortitude and principles on the basis of the Freedom Charter which sets out the guidelines for a democratic state based on the will of all the people, and one that will secure to all their birthright, without distinction as to colour, race, sex or belief.

All that, as well as the contradictions emerging in the bantustans like the Transkei, constitutes the scenario we find in the wake of the racist general elections at which the white community massively renewed Vorster's mandate to drown in blood the young and adult blacks who dare to challenge the status of bondage.

In the face of all that, as well as of the growing international isolation of the regime, Vorster and his henchmen have stepped up the reign of terror. It is at this juncture that I wish to draw the council's attention to the imminent danger that scores of freedom fighters are facing in the prison cells throughout the country where they are detained, awaiting or under trial, accused of being members of the ANC. While the killing of detainees in the cells and torture chambers continues unabated, the regime's hang-men are today poised for a big operation, following the cold-blooded murder of Steve Biko and the exoneration of his assassins.

In considering the appeal we are making, it is important to recall that, according to United Nations (UN) statistics published in the mid-1960s, South Africa was then responsible for 47 percent of world executions. The abundant evidence of frame-ups and the coercion of witnesses clearly shows how determined the racist police and prosecutors are to hang all the freedom fighters who are facing trials. The revelations at Steve Biko's inquest serve as sufficient proof of what should be expected.

I turn now to the Pretoria trial. At the end of September 1977, the regime closed its case against 11 men and one woman accused of ANC organisation and sabotage activities. The accused are: Mosima Gabriel Sexwale, 24 years; Naledi Tsiki, 21 years; Lele Jacob Motaung, 44 years; Simon Samuel Mohlanyaneng, 23 years; Elias Tieno Masinga, 24 years; Martin Mafefo Ramokgadi, 67 years; Joe Nzingo Ggabi, 48 years, whose 12-year imprisonment on Robben Island had recently terminated; Petrus Mampogoane Nchabeleng, 50 years; Nelson Letsaba Diale, 41 years; Michael Mpandeni Ngubeni, 42 years; Jacob Seatlholo, 47 years; and Paulina Mamagotla Mohale, 26 years.

Widely described as the most important political trial since Rivonia in 1964, it has been dubbed "the main machinery trial". Some of the accused are alleged to have been part of the central underground structure of the ANC in Johannesburg. After five days of giving evidence, Ian Rwaxa, the chief State witness, said he had been repeatedly assaulted by the security police while in detention before making a statement and that he had given untrue evidence to the court. He said he had been beaten and kicked until he bled from his nose and mouth, and that an attempt had been made to strangle him with a cloth. During that assault he had lost consciousness twice and, on recovery, had been threatened with death unless he cooperated. He had been shown Mosima Sexwale, one of the accused, lying naked, bound and shivering, in another cell; and had himself been forced to sleep naked, without blankets. He told the court of further assaults by the police and of seeing another of the accused, Lele Motaung, who could not sit because of pain in his buttocks. All this can be found in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 1 July 1977. Eventually he made a statement:

I wrote what the lieutenant told me to write – he told the court.

And when he asked the judge to make an order protecting him from the police, the latter said he had no powers to do that.

Later, three men – Super Maloi, Matheson Morove and Billy Masethla – refused to give evidence and were gaoled for six months. Another witness, Newton Mosime, retracted the evidence he had given, saying his original statement had been made after assaults in the Rustenburg police station. Alec Nchabeleng refused to give evidence against his father. All this was published in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

We could go on and on for hours, giving more and more astounding facts concerning this and dozens of other trials. Suffice it to say that the same thing happened at the trial of the Pietermaritzburg 10, who were sentenced on 25 July 1977 to terms ranging from seven years to life imprisonment, having been found guilty of charges related to the establishment of an escape route for the ANC recruits to leave the country, the recruiting of 43 persons for military training abroad and communication with the ANC exiles.

By and large, the same goes for the Springs Six, reported as being apparently ANC supporters and charged with offences arising from sabotage incidents and the explosion of a "bomb factory" in a Soweto house, the indictment alleging the discovery of a machine pistol, 10 blocks of TNT, 40 kilograms of explosives, plus hand grenades and bullets, and an ANC publication.

The list of such trials of ANC groups and individuals is very long. These gallant freedom fighters, who look to the Security Council for support, can be saved from hanging only by prompt action by the council. They are waging a just struggle which has been endorsed as legitimate. They are held by a criminal regime and face execution for their part in spearheading the struggle which the council has declared the special responsibility of the UN. We plead for a resolution demanding their immediate and unconditional release. And part of the action during this International Anti-Apartheid Year should take the form of campaigning for according prisoner-of-war status to the captured freedom fighters, while the regime's officials, emissaries, supporters and apologists should, in our view, be declared and treated as war criminals.

In considering the action to take in the face of these brutalities, the council should take into account the fact that, whereas violence against the black population has always been part of the South African way of life, the orgy of violence now going on in the prison cells is unprecedented. Hundreds of political suspects are systematically and savagely tortured. And although physical assaults remain part of the interrogators' arsenal, long periods of solitary confinement, deprivation of food and sleep and various combinations of physical and psychological torture have become prevalent. Detainees are kept in dark cells for months, in total isolation and at the mercy of the Security Branch. At times, they are questioned continuously for several days, denied any rest, threatened with death, forced to do exhausting exercises, to stand on bricks or crouch on imaginary chairs, until mind and body become too tired to distinguish between illusion and reality. And, of course, nobody has the right of access to detainees or to information, even confirmation of detention. People just disappear. Such provisions are described by one official, Brigadier JJ Swanepoel, as a "mighty weapon". Van den Bergh, the head of BOSS, the Bureau of State Security – a co-detainee of John Vorster during the Second World War – hails these draconian measures as "making available to them legislation which did away with hampering restrictions". He said that in 1971; the situation has since worsened, to a point beyond description.

On the statement delivered before the council by Mr Donald Woods, we have so much to say, but we prefer to say little because we would have wished a dialogue with Mr Woods.

Perhaps it was naive of us to have looked forward to Mr Woods using the opportunity denied to our movement by the regime to endorse publicly and convey in clear and unambiguous terms to the South African public the position of the UN, which is committed to the regime's total isolation and support of the liberation movement for the overthrow of apartheid and the seizure of power by the people. Instead, Mr Woods spoke of his plea to present the real case for the real South Africa – insinuating, in a way, that what has been going on all these years has not been the presentation of the real case for the real South Africa, the role played by the liberation movement and other forces, all of you here included.

I choose to say little because one risks misinterpreting Mr Woods to the point of seeing his so-called real case of moral force as aimed at negating the position of the UN against apartheid.

In regard to what Mr Woods says about the moral force to bring change, we wish to point out that the ANC cannot be faulted in the use of passive resistance. It gives first place to no one but itself in the pursuit of this method of struggle, which indeed it pursued up to 1960. It was in the face of fascist violence that the ANC, which had opted for this form of struggle as a tactic, came to the painful decision to close this chapter. Mr Woods would do well to recall the role played by Chief Albert Luthuli – a role so important that he won the Nobel Peace Prize. Mr Woods will recall also that the launching of Umkonto we Sizwe – the Spear of the Nation – on 16 December 1961 was the result of a unanimous decision by the ANC leadership, including Luthuli, who had arrived back in South Africa on 15 December, following the 12 December Nobel Award ceremony in Oslo. The following day, South Africa vibrated under the explosion of bombs. That was the ANC reply to the international community: that the decision it had taken was irreversible.

The ANC is at ease in pointing out some of these reservations concerning the role of Mr Woods because he is one of many white democrats who have found a political home under the umbrella of the liberation movement at large. But we do not understand some of his positions.

On the question of the draft resolutions before the council, our position is well known. On arriving in New York, we were expecting that the council would be presented with a case that conformed with the expectations of the international community and the struggling people of South Africa, that is, that one draft resolution on the oil embargo against the Pretoria regime and one on economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter would be presented and considered.

This leads me to the question of the veto, because so far we have had no evidence that the Western powers have abandoned their traditional habit of vetoing such draft resolutions and leaving some of us wondering whether this is not a systematic defence of the apartheid system, which has now become an integral part of international imperialism.

Paradoxical as this might sound, we have now taken the position of welcoming these vetoes because the veto helps to clarify the position by unmasking the false friend and identifying the enemy of the African cause. It also helps to clarify the position at the mass level in those countries that have a record of protecting the apartheid regime. It facilitates our task in mobilising the mass support of the people, our natural allies, in all those countries, because in the final analysis it is the people of those countries who will help their leaders play a role aimed at ridding the world of the scourge of apartheid, which threatens peace and international security. Without constant pressure from the people, those who are convinced as to the urgency of a change of attitude are left in a weak position. We have, however, accepted the proposal that the two draft resolutions I have mentioned should be presented some time in March in order to meet the Western countries half way and to give them the opportunity to vote in favour of limited resolutions, including one which takes the form of a measure calling for the cessation of new investments. In this respect, I am happy to have received assurance that the African Group will present the two draft resolutions some time in March.



1978

10 APRIL

Statement at the 377th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, to pay tribute to Paul Robeson on his 80th birthday

TO THE AFRICAN PEOPLE throughout the length and breadth of the continent, the peoples of the Third World in general, and the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa in particular, Paul Robeson was more than a legendary artist whose unparalleled talent always inspired the downtrodden blacks with confidence, pride and the spirit of self-assertion. To our people, Paul Robeson was also an outstanding and selfless freedom fighter, political leader, whose single-minded dedication to the cause of the black man throughout the world, and human and social progress in general, made him a target of the most vicious persecution by the reactionary forces in the United States (US); the forces that were committed to the perpetuation of exploitation of man by man.

In his extensive travels and professional performances abroad, Paul Robeson won himself unparalleled fame, respect and influence. If he had sought personal growth and wealth, if he had remained unconcerned and silent over the sequels of slavery and the plight of the blacks in the US, the plight of the colonised people in Africa and the world, he would have been acclaimed by the dominant group in this country, through its powerful media which it owns and controls, the greatest roving American ambassador of the time. But Paul Robeson was made of finer and sterner stuff. He spoke out. He clearly and unequivocally declared his stand, and the virulent campaign conducted against him only served to temper and steel his commitment and immensely increased his fame and prestige.

Any appraisal of Paul Robeson shows that his internationalism, his all-embracing humanism, was developed through his deep communion with the Afro-American heritage. To the African National Congress (ANC), this day is of special significance because of his close association with our struggles. As you recalled, Paul Robeson attended the meeting of the Coordinating Committee of Colonial Peoples in London in 1949 – at which the ANC was represented – and travelled from London to Paris, with Dr Yusuf Dadoo, to represent the Coordinating Committee at the World Peace Congress.

In South Africa, Paul Robeson is considered an outstanding champion of the emancipation of the country. No doubt, when the time comes, since victory in South Africa is now as certain as sunrise, he will be one of the first to be honoured by our people ...

Paul Robeson: Yes, all Africa remembers that it was Litvinov who stood alone beside Haile Selassie in Geneva, when Mussolini's sons flew with the blessings of the Pope to drop bombs on Ethiopian women and children. Africa remembers that it was the Soviet Union which fought the attempts of Smuts to annex South-West Africa to the slave reservation of the Union of South Africa ... if the peoples of the Congo refuse to mine the uranium for the atom bombs made in Jim Crow factories in the United States; if all these peoples demand an end to floggings, an end to the farce of "trusteeship" in the former Italian colonies ... The Soviet Union is the friend of the African and the West Indian peoples.



United Nations General Assembly Debate on Apartheid

Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makhathini, African National Congress of South Africa, addresses the General Assembly during a continued debate on the policies of apartheid in relation to the South African Government, 24 November 1978.



1978

24 NOVEMBER

Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly

IT IS WITH GREAT PLEASURE, Mr President, that I extend to you greetings and congratulations on behalf of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC) and express our conviction that under your guidance, thanks to your diplomatic experience and commitment to the cause of justice, the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly (GA) will be crowned with success.

In five years' time – in 1984, to be exact – Africa will be commemorating one of the saddest and most challenging chapters in the history of the human race. It will be the 100th anniversary of the Berlin Conference, when some Western powers met and carved up the map of Africa to satisfy their imperialist ambitions. I remind members of the assembly of that event not only because the problem of apartheid is part of the monumental injustice which ensued, but also because those who oppose the measures being proposed today for the solution of that problem are the same countries that met in Berlin; they are the same countries that for centuries have engaged in the unbridled plunder and exploitation of the riches of the African continent and are determined to perpetuate the status quo in southern Africa.

For South Africa, the years from 1870 to 1894 were most tragic years. It was during that period that Britain launched a series of wars, which eventually led to the subjugation of the various chiefdoms and kingdoms into the present-day South Africa. And in 1910, our people were handed over as a present to the white-settler State, then known as the Union of South Africa. The same strategy was carried out in Rhodesia, and after the First World War the people of Namibia were handed over by the Western powers – by Britain, to be exact – to the misrule of South Africa. In return, South Africa would continue to send a booty of diamond and gold to the city of London and to Fort Knox.

It is therefore crystal clear that the roots of apartheid are to be found in colonialism and capitalist exploitation.

We remind the representatives here of that historic event because this debate takes place during the International Anti-Apartheid Year – something that has been hailed as proof of the international community's determination to intensify the campaign for the isolation and the weakening of the apartheid regime. And yet, the events that have taken place recently in southern Africa and in some Western capitals, particularly Washington, raise the question whether or not the collaboration between some of these Western powers and the Pretoria-Salisbury racist regimes has reached the stage of an unholy alliance.

The dominant feature, which is cause for the gravest alarm, is the ever-growing intransigence and the frantic arms race, as well as full-scale war preparations, of the racist regimes, undoubtedly encouraged by the persistent diplomatic, economic and military and nuclear collaboration by some Western powers. The list is very long. However, the major and most incriminating factors are the



cancellation of the much publicised United Nations (UN)-supervised elections in Namibia and Zimbabwe and the stepping up of the Pretoria-Salisbury programme to install puppet regimes and to impose a neo-colonialist solution in those territories. The invasion of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana and the savage killing of refugees, including women and children, are part of the grand design to rob the people's struggle, led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Patriotic Front, of imminent victory.

The Salisbury-Pretoria axis dreads the SWAPO – Patriotic Front victory that will lead to the genuine independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe and the inevitable explosion of the powder keg on which the South African regime is sitting.

Smith's visit to Washington and an invitation reported to have been extended to Botha by President Carter make us ask the following questions. Is the United States (US) a friend or a foe of the people of southern Africa in their fight for self-determination? Are the US and the other four Western Security Council members friends or foes of the Pretoria regime? The answer to those important questions lies in the manner in which they vote on draft resolutions put forward in the Security Council, such as those on mandatory sanctions and an oil embargo against South Africa. It depends on how they have always voted, each time the Security Council has considered an arms embargo. It depends on their attitude and position towards the stand taken by those seeking to make Security Council Resolution 418 (1977), adopted last year, effective by closing the existing loopholes – and the fact that loopholes do exist is shown by the recent case of arms smuggling through third-party countries. It depends on what the Foreign Ministers of these countries said in reply to Botha's statement about

16 June 1988: the National Anti-Apartheid Action and Lobby Day in Washington, DC. Speakers included the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Senator Paul Simon of Illinois and Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts.



... the ideals for which the West stands, especially the democratic principles of individual and political freedom, which are as dear to us as they are to you.

Did the Secretary of State of the US, Mr Cyrus Vance, or any of the ministers of the countries that are part of the community of nations that has declared apartheid a crime against humanity challenge that statement? We know what Botha said on that occasion and what he continues to say about South Africa not being bothered by the possibility of economic sanctions, while assuring his racist supporters of continued supplies from the West despite the possible economic sanctions, as in the case of the arms embargo. When Botha says South Africa is part of the free world and reminds the five powers of how it fought together with them, not only to preserve democratic ideals, but actively to oppose communism, what is the answer? The answer to this lies in the role of the Western transnational corporations, which continue to concentrate heavy investments in South Africa in the most technologically advanced sectors, producing transport and electronic equipment and heavy machinery and other products such as chemicals and oil. It is unnecessary to stress that these sectors have important strategic significance because the Pretoria Fascist regime concentrates on using the most modern military equipment to supplement its limited manpower.

The traditional policy has always been to exclude blacks from the Army because it is feared they constitute a potential fifth column. The Pretoria regime has also tried to automate skilled civilian jobs in order to keep blacks out of critical posts while freeing whites for other roles, including military work. Equipment supplied by US firms – in particular computers and sophisticated transport and electrical goods – has helped the regime to achieve these aims. Many of the products of US subsidiaries

and affiliates in South Africa, such as oil, are of direct significance to the military programmes of the racist regime. There is a fast-growing, intimate integration of US and other Western multinational corporations into South Africa's military-industrial complex.

Those companies do not stop at heavy investment in the most technologically advanced sectors in South Africa. They go further and use the country as a base from which they export throughout the region. In many cases, they have developed raw material sources in other southern African countries in cooperation with South Africa and private interests.

The Western powers have made a good deal of motion in southern Africa, but there has been no movement. The so-called peaceful resolution of the conflict in southern Africa is no nearer. The white settlers are as intransigent as ever. This is because the Western powers base their entire strategy on the preservation of South Africa. It need hardly be said that the scope and volume of the Western interests are immense. South Africa is but a branch plant of British, American and other Western firms. It is in fact but an imperialist outpost on that continent. A recent study in the US Congress has revealed that more than half the US senators have shares in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa. Examine any of the prospectuses of the major firms in South Africa and you will see that most of the English "Sirs" and "Lords" are directors of the major South African companies.

David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, has openly admitted that the British Government takes a negative attitude to the imposition of sanctions on South Africa. In a statement he made recently, he said:

We are not in a position to allow ourselves such a luxury.

Apart from the economic and political considerations, the imperialist policy of alliance with the racist regimes in southern Africa is determined by military and strategic issues.

South Africa is being made an important part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) strategic plans for the Indian Ocean. It is this knowledge that explains South Africa's intransigence. Ian Smith's illegal regime was supplied with oil by a British oil company for 11 years.

This brings us to a point at which we wish to commend the Special Committee against Apartheid – and I refer here to the presentation of two reports – and to state that it is no wonder that in some circles there is a growing concern that the current upsurge in Iran may bring about a situation that may stop the flow of oil to South Africa.

The imperialist powers are not interested either in bringing down Ian Smith or in arranging for elections in Namibia. Their interest in these regimes makes that impossible. What the Western powers are attempting to do is to prevent the further spreading of the liberation struggle in South Africa. They want to prevent the coming into power in Namibia and Zimbabwe of the national patriotic forces led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Patriotic Front, which would lead those countries to genuine independence and social and economic progress.

Listen to what Mr Brzezinski, the Special Adviser on National Security to President Carter, has said about South Africa:

What we are trying to do is to encourage a process of change which will oppose what otherwise looks like a rather apocalyptic alternative. We are trying to get the South Africans to rethink the historical destiny of their own country so that through change that society can survive.

We have already pointed out that the entire Western strategy is based on cooperation with South Africa, whose stability the West considers a "must". In the meantime, South Africa since 15 June 1976 has experienced a continuing crisis. Almost daily the regime makes announcements about increased infiltration and action by the forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, which is the military wing of the ANC. They make announcements about actions in the northern Transvaal and along the borders with Swaziland. The regime also admits to the discovery of arms caches in the urban complex around Johannesburg, in Natal and around the Durban-Pinetown urban complex. Our movement has improved and strengthened its underground infrastructure. Umkhonto we Sizwe has improved its capacity to initiate and sustain armed activities inside the country. This is no idle boast designed to stimulate the enthusiasm of representatives here. The racist regime daily admits that this year alone its forces have been constantly engaged in clashes with the forces of the ANC. Just last week, on 13 November, a unit of Umkhonto engaged the South African forces, which, in spite of mobilising helicopter-borne crews, have not been able to track down the ANC forces. This follows the armed clashes announced in August.

The ANC would like to declare to the entire world that the momentum of the armed struggle in South Africa is in the ascendant, and very soon our forces, like those of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia, are going to be active throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

The ANC is encouraged by the positions that have been adopted by this body, recognising as legitimate all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people and the creation of a democratic state in South Africa.

We call upon the peoples of the world to monitor carefully the designs of certain circles in the West, circles that are trying to prepare public opinion for eventual intervention in support of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Recently, a scheme to supply arms to South Africa, involving the United Kingdom (UK), the United States (US) and Canada and the island of Antigua, was exposed in this country. These countries have recently voted in favour of the arms embargo against South Africa and yet they allow their soil to be used for a nefarious trafficking in arms to South Africa.

Up to now nothing has been done to punish the perpetrators of this criminal act, nor has anything been done to the oil companies or the officials in the British Government who encouraged sanctions-busting. The ANC calls upon these nations to put an end to this duplicity and to adhere to the letter and spirit of Security Council Resolution 418 (1977). We also call on them to stop blocking the efforts of the international community aimed at facilitating the struggle by imposing all-embracing sanctions under Chapter VII. Finally, we warmly welcome the proposal made by the representative of Madagascar calling on the UN to draft and adopt a declaration on active solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa and their liberation movement, in their just struggle against apartheid and in the creation of a democratic state.

We maintain that this would be in keeping with the ideals embodied in the Charter of the UN.



1979

26 MARCH

Statement at the 2 137th meeting of the United Nations Security Council

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) of South Africa sees the repeated and universally condemned aggression committed by the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes against Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique as the direct consequence of the inhuman and anachronistic system that the people of southern Africa are fighting, weapons in hand, to eliminate. It is for that reason that we deem it necessary to join in the debate now going on in the council. Our thanks go to you, Mr President, and to the representatives of Gabon and Zambia for making it possible for our movement to put on record its position at this crucial stage in the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa and the security of the continent.

Mr President, it is singularly significant that the council is meeting under your presidency to examine the question of wanton aggression against the People's Republic of Angola by the South African apartheid regime.

Your personal dedication to the fight against the monstrous system of apartheid is well known. The depth of the commitment of your country, as clearly demonstrated in 1975 when the then newly-born People's Republic of Angola was the victim of premeditated and full-scale invasion by the same fascist apartheid regime, has since been a source of encouragement to our oppressed and struggling people. For, like all true Africans and true friends of Africa, they know that this imperialist-backed invasion was intended to reverse the course of history and to facilitate the perpetuation of their enslavement. And they remember with pride the uncompromising anti-colonial and anti-imperialist position taken by Nigeria and other countries, which love justice and peace, whose active solidarity enabled the heroic people of Angola to inflict a humiliating defeat on the Pretoria racist regime and to offset its diabolical scheme of transforming the newly independent Angola into a permanent base of aggression and expansionism for the defence and exportation of apartheid.

In their lucid statements, the representatives of Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique and the representatives of other countries who have already spoken, as well as the Vice-President of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), have characterised the situation prevailing in southern Africa with pointed clarity and have called for immediate and appropriate action by the Security Council.

The ANC of South Africa fully endorses the viewpoint that the root cause of the explosive situation in southern Africa that is now before the council lies in the tenacious determination of the Pretoria regime and its imperialist allies to arrest the unfolding process of decolonisation in the region by imposing fictitious and neo-colonialist solutions in Namibia and Zimbabwe in order to ensure the preservation of the status quo in South Africa. The wanton aggression by the apartheid regime against the People's Republic of Angola is part of the imperialist-backed strategy, which is characterised by equally wanton aggression against Zambia by the same racist regime and against Botswana and Mozambique by the Smith regime.

Unita rebels, headed by Jonas Savimbi, controlled a large part of southern Angola.



Speakers who have preceded us have underscored the undeniable historical fact that the root cause of the problem of which the aggression against the People's Republic of Angola is part, and of which it marks the watershed, is the imperialist-backed strategy of the Pretoria-Salisbury regimes. Many representatives have stressed the fact that the catalogue of events in the past few months shows that each time the talks towards a negotiated settlement in Namibia and Zimbabwe reach an advanced stage, the minority racist regimes intensify their acts of aggression against the neighbouring states. And their allies, the Western countries involved in the talks, not only fail to condemn this and to use their collective economic and political leverage but, instead, multiply their sermons preaching tolerance and patience to SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the frontline states and call for new rounds of talks. This has led a growing number of countries which were initially convinced of the good faith of the Western initiatives, and the Pretoria-Salisbury regimes' acceptance of the proposed plans, to question seriously the sincerity of these commitments. Indeed, the number of countries that suspect the existence of a conspiracy towards the betrayal of the struggle for genuine independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe is also growing.

That is the position that is firmly held by the struggling masses in the region and is shared by the ANC. It is strengthened by the conviction that is based on our long experience, which shows that the Pretoria-Salisbury axis and some Western powers are resolutely opposed to genuine independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. For they see it as inimical to their strategy for the perpetuation of the status quo in South Africa in particular and the region in general. The economic, military and nuclear collaboration, which is persistently defended through the veto; the failure to lend active support to the liberation movements that spearhead the international struggle against the system that has been condemned as constituting a threat to peace and international security; the endless sermons preached to the liberation movements and the frontline states for moderation against such sanguinary regimes; the criticism and condemnation of the countries that respond favourably to the UN call for support of the liberation movements and the frontline states: all that proves this point beyond doubt.

If we sound pessimistic or negative, the onus is on the parties concerned to prove us wrong by strongly condemning South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and by facilitating the belated imposition of punitive measures against the Pretoria regime, especially mandatory comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. And to cleanse their past record of helping the racist regimes to sow death and destruction in South Africa by their supplying of genocidal weapons to a regime that has legalised aggression against all African countries, these Western countries must go further and join the struggling peoples of southern Africa and progressive mankind by commending the role played by the African, the non-aligned and the Nordic countries, as well as the socialist countries, which have always rendered humanitarian, financial and material assistance to the liberation movements and the frontline states. They should also put an end to their involvement in what we see and condemn as the game of deception by the South African regime – a game which is designed to gain time towards the imposition of a puppet regime in Namibia through what we view as the imminent proclamation of the so-called unilateral declaration of independence by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, following the envisaged endorsement of the fraudulent elections and the lifting of sanctions in Southern Rhodesia.

We have in the past voiced our reservations about, and sometimes our opposition to, proposals that are based on the Pretoria regime's being amenable to change or playing the role of an honest broker.

THE END OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN ANGOLA

Troops of the Movement for the Liberation of Angola on armoured vehicles during a military parade on Independence Day, Luanda, Angola, 11 November 1975.



The recent events go a long way towards strengthening our suspicions. And it is for that reason that, in the face of the systematic sabotaging of the negotiated settlements, we believe that the time has perhaps come for this august body to consider seriously going back to its original position of regarding the South African presence in Namibia as illegal and consequently resorting to the policy of confrontation towards its immediate and unconditional withdrawal. Such a position would help save the UN from the maze of contradictions in which it is now caught because of its agreement to negotiate with the illegal occupant, which position towards the UN and SWAPO is well known. Such a position would, we maintain, also clarify a position that we find extremely confused and that we suspect has been created by some forces that are bent on robbing the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe of their inevitable, if not imminent, victory.

It is important to note that our suspicions have been further reinforced by the ongoing revelations pointing to the financing of big operations towards the shaping of public opinion and pro-apartheid policy in some countries, including the traditional allies of the apartheid regime. The buying of influential newspapers, editors and legislators in countries whose identification is not yet complete is a challenge to those who are not involved to demonstrate their innocence by fully supporting the position of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the GA.

Finally, we wish to pay tribute to the brotherly people of Angola, who under the leadership of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) Workers' Party, continue to write a golden page in the grim history of our common and indivisible struggle in southern Africa.

For our part, we pledge to spare no effort to intensify the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa, a democratic state that will guarantee the inalienable rights of all the people of that country regardless of colour, race or political belief.



1979

7 NOVEMBER

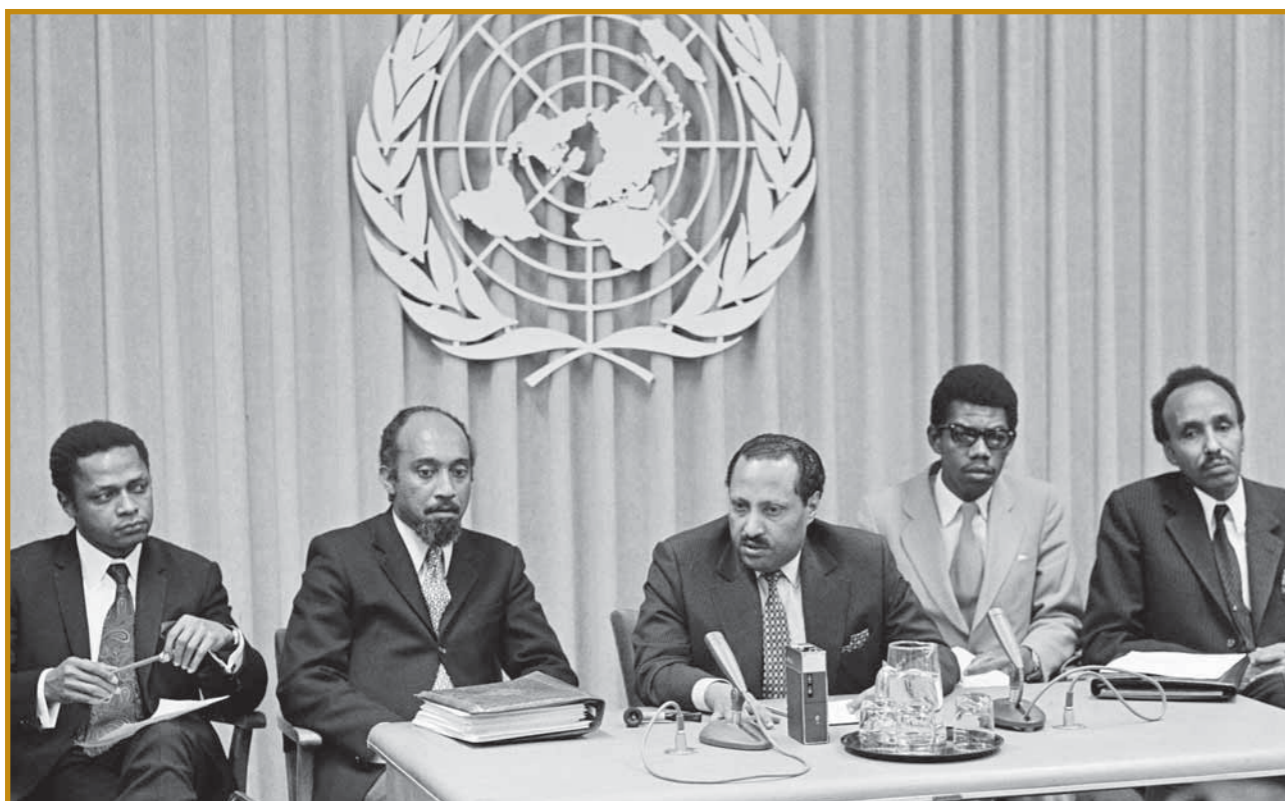
Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly

ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) and in the name of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, Mr President, I thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to express, through this august Assembly, to the international community at large the views of the liberation movement of South Africa on the problem of apartheid. The ANC attaches a great deal of importance to this debate. We do so because we see dark clouds gathering over South Africa; without doubt, these clouds announce an inevitable – if not imminent – storm. It has become urgent and imperative for the UN to muster the necessary political will in order effectively to use its power to minimise the now unavoidable loss of human life and the poisoning of race relations in Africa and the world.

This debate takes place at a time when the struggle for national liberation in South Africa has entered a crucial and perhaps decisive stage. The two opposing forces, one representing the oppressed and the other the oppressor, are on a collision course. A close, realistic and objective analysis of the situation will lead to the observation that the determination of the oppressed has reached unprecedented heights. They have resolved to pay the supreme sacrifice in order to achieve their long-cherished sacred goal of breaking their chains of bondage, joining the community of nations and having some of their duly chosen sons and daughters, of any race or colour, occupy the vacant seat before me. The same close, realistic and objective analysis will show that the Fascist intransigence of the oppressors has also reached unprecedented heights. Their determination to preserve the status quo in South Africa and the subcontinent as a whole, at all costs, is not in doubt.

We are encouraged, Sir, by the fact that such a crucial debate for the future of Africa and the world takes place under your presidency. Your country's role in the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent, which it has relentlessly played since its own independence, is well known and universally recognised. Your personal commitment and dedication to this noble cause, as well as the diplomatic skill you have always demonstrated in the discharge of your important duties as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, inspire us with the confidence that, under your guidance, this debate will be crowned with success. And for us, as well as for the justice-loving and peace-loving peoples of the world, success in this case means the adoption of decisions intended effectively to isolate and weaken the apartheid regime, while strengthening the striking power of the liberation movement.

In one form or another, the South African problem has been on the agenda of the UN since the inception of this august body, and during this period, it has been the object of endless condemnation. The resolutions adopted on this issue have been clear and unequivocal, particularly after the Sharpeville massacre and the regime's exclusion from the Commonwealth, developments that preceded the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which means the "Spear of the



22 November 1972, United Nations, New York: A press conference held by Ambassador Zewde Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. With him are (l to r): Mr Gil Fernandes, member of the Superior Council of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde; Mr Marcelino Dos Santos, Vice-President of the Liberation Front of Mozambique; Mr Manuel Jorge, of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; and Ambassador Hussein Nur Elmi (Somalia).

Nation". The apartheid system was condemned as a crime against humanity and as constituting a threat to peace and international security.

One can reasonably argue that after such a determination – which the international community never had the opportunity to make in the case of the Hitlerite regime, the equally Fascist regime which none the less was crushed thanks to the collective effort of world governments of all political and ideological persuasions – a firm basis had been created for similar collective action by the UN. This proved not to have been the case. However, we were happy with the decision which we welcomed as being in response to the ANC's appeal for sanctions and which called on all member states to sever cultural, diplomatic, political, economic and military relations with the Pretoria regime. This we welcomed as corresponding to our desire to limit the international role in combating this common cancerous evil to supplementing our own efforts to ensure the fullest exercise of our right to self-determination. The major trading partners and traditional allies of the Pretoria regime whose multinational corporations reap super-profits, thanks to the semi-slave wages paid to black workers under apartheid, did not only ignore this call; they progressively stepped up their economic and military involvement. And we have repeatedly witnessed the use of the veto by three permanent members of the Security Council, the United States of America (USA), Great Britain and France. Even at this late hour, when there is mounting evidence not only that the apartheid system is a crime against humanity, but that its champions and allies are tenaciously bent on the repressive, aggressive and expansionist programme designed to perpetuate the plunder and exploitation for which apartheid is but an instrument, the traditional allies of this regime continue to buttress it while counselling patience and moderation to its victims at home and abroad.

When we talk of the menacing dark clouds, we mean the explosive situation that today obtains in South Africa and southern Africa. And in order that we may fully appreciate the gravity of the danger before us, it is important to recall that here we are faced with elements who are descendants of a people who left Europe before the industrial revolution and before the emancipation of slaves. We are dealing with a people whose doctrine of apartheid is based on the strong belief that their superiority is born of race and faith, a quality divinely given which cannot be transmitted to other races or acquired by them. "The black stinking dogs", as Jan van Riebeeck called the Africans, suffer from an inferiority, predestined and irreparable, which fixes their place in a society of white men. Economically, they have their place in the field and the kitchen; socially and politically, they stand outside the circle of the rights and privileges of white men; even legally, they exist in an ambiguous region between law and the arbitrary will of their masters.

We are dealing with a people who strongly believe they are God's chosen people who are to rule over the inferior black races. The situation which obtained when Angola and Mozambique were under Portuguese domination and served as a protective belt around South Africa was for those people ideal and in keeping with what they believed to have been a predestined state of affairs. And for them the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, which upset their strategy for the preservation of what they believed to have been the divinely inspired status quo, must be reversed. For it is in their eyes as ungodly as was the practice of freeing slaves in South Africa in the wake of the emancipation of slavery – a development that led to the Great Trek.

The unfolding programme of repression, aggression and expansionism by the apartheid regime must be seen against this background. And in this programme, the members of that regime are

encouraged by the continued collaboration of some Western countries which they see as partners and allies because of their common superiority born of race and faith, as they believe. And to all this should be added their doctrinal links with the Hitlerite regime during the last world war.

How then does the regime's programme of so-called reforms fit into this pattern? Vorster, the former Prime Minister of the Pretoria Fascist regime, answers this question clearly when, in one of his statements, he advocates flexibility in the tactics adopted at a given time with unyielding firmness on the strategy and supreme objectives. Realising that the volcano on which they are sitting is threatening to erupt, as the events of Soweto have proved, the regime has embarked on measures which, in their totality, constitute a much more insidious and sophisticated instrument of oppression since they are projected as reforms, when in fact they are intended to divide and weaken the African people and perpetuate the domination of the blacks. For example, the so-called relaxation of labour laws provides for the registration of black unions in order to ensure stricter control. Membership in those unions provides no rights enshrined in the law and they remain dependent on the exemption granted by the regime's minister.

And this makes the position of the black unions worse, because, once registered, they cannot take part in activities considered political in terms of the law. The rest of these so-called reforms of a cosmetic character, such as the 99-year lease for houses in Soweto, the integration of five-star hotels and of some theatres, are part of the programme to create a black elite to serve as a buffer force against the liberation movement.

This is a vain attempt to divert the attention of the people from the basic economic and political issues, in order to diffuse the revolutionary situation obtaining in the country. The wide publicity given to these measures at home and abroad is also intended to give the impression of liberalism while the regime is engaged in the programme of full-scale repression, war preparations and aggression against the neighbouring states. What is more, the rapid deterioration of the living conditions of the blacks, as shown by the spiralling infantile mortality rate; the unemployment figure, which has reached 2,5 million; the mass removals of the African people from their birthplaces, and so on, gives the lie to this highly orchestrated campaign.

We have deemed it necessary to speak today before any ally or apologist of the Pretoria regime or well-meaning opponent of apartheid dares to insult our illustrious leaders, like Nelson Mandela and others who are languishing in gaol where they are serving life imprisonment, and the scores of patriots like Solomon Mahlangu and Steve Biko who have been executed on the gallows or assassinated in detention, by suggesting that they made these sacrifices to share bathrooms, theatres and restaurants with whites, or to marry them.

The problem of apartheid is not simply one of racial discrimination as was the case, and perhaps continues to be, in certain countries like the USA. The difference between the situation in the USA and South Africa is not just that the racists break the federal law in the former case while the racists make the laws in the latter. But in addition, and as the report of the Special Committee says, in South Africa, apartheid is institutionalised racism, plunder and exploitation. And nothing short of the fundamental transformation of the system will satisfy the oppressed people of South Africa. The objectives of our struggle are clearly defined in the Freedom Charter, whose 25th anniversary we hope will be observed throughout the world on 26 June 1980 by the adoption of measures aimed at

Mandela in the dock - 1963



effectively isolating the apartheid regime. The paramount objectives for which our people are daily laying down their lives include the restoration and the transfer to the people as a whole of land, the natural wealth of the country, the mineral resources beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industries and the end of exploitation of man by man.

At his trial in 1963 and before being sentenced to life imprisonment together with other colleagues, such as Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg, Nelson Mandela said:

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices – submit or fight. That time has come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

These words eloquently underscore the analyses and decisions adopted by the ANC in response to the regime's increasing repression and aggression and massacres when it became clear that non-violence had proved as futile as it would have been had it been tried in the struggle against the Hitlerite regime.

The "Spear of the Nation", formed on 16 December 1961, when it announced its existence by the launching of a protracted campaign of sabotage, has considerably stepped up its programme of armed action, despite the extraordinarily difficult conditions obtaining in the country. It draws its membership not only from the African people but also from the Asian and the so-called coloured people. Armed action has become frequent both in the countryside and urban areas. The armed struggle waged by the ANC patriots for the establishment of a democratic state based on the will of all the South African people, securing to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief, has been endorsed as legitimate by the UN.

The number of political trials going on in the various parts of the country can be seen as the barometer of the steadily escalating struggle for national liberation. The most important is the Pietermaritzburg one, in which 12 members of the ANC are charged with high treason and 43 alternate counts under the Terrorism Act. Judgment on this case will be delivered on 15 November 1979. The accused have contested the legitimacy of the racist court, which has ruled that the trial be held in camera, ostensibly for the protection of informer witnesses.

We propose urgent action by the Security Council to save these patriots from the gallows of a regime that is already responsible for over 50 percent of executions throughout the world. We also propose

the intensification of the world campaign for the unconditional release of political prisoners as well as the according of prisoner-of-war status to all captured freedom fighters.

We welcome with satisfaction the realisation by the UN that non-violence against the apartheid regime has proved futile as it would have been – as I already said – in the case of the world struggle against the Hitlerite regime from which the architects and current champions of apartheid drew and continue to draw inspiration and example. It was no doubt in recognition of this fact that in 1976 the General Assembly (GA) went beyond the pious condemnation of apartheid and recognised the legitimacy of the struggle (Resolution 31/6-I) in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa.

Similarly, the position taken by the GA, in declaring that the problem of apartheid is the special responsibility of the UN, creates the basis for the formation of an international alliance against the system condemned as constituting a threat to peace and international security. And yet, some Western countries have continued their policy of stepping up economic, military and nuclear collaboration with this regime, as well as their diplomatic protection through the use of the veto, to frustrate the international effort aimed at the application of Chapter VII of the Charter. There could be no better way to demonstrate the unholy alliance which is frequently claimed by the Pretoria regime in its usual pronouncement that it is the indispensable ally of Western interests in Africa and the southern hemisphere.

The active support given to the apartheid regime by the USA, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and other Western countries must be stopped before it is too late to avoid a situation that will provoke a third world war. Developments in South Africa prove that this is not an exaggerated statement.

The South African white civilian population is today the world's most heavily armed. The regime is armed to the teeth and has built up the strongest arsenal in the southern hemisphere. Equipped with more than 100 licences which enable it to manufacture genocidal weapons on the spot, it continues further to strengthen its strong arsenal. It has arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries. In its programme designed to perpetuate and further entrench the white minority settler domination, it has created a formidable basis, the key element of which is the militarisation of the entire South African society. Its ever-increasing military budget has this year reached the figure of R3 billion. It has accelerated the programme of bantustanisation which, among other things, is intended to create strategic hamlets and tribal armies to be used as buffer forces against the liberation movement. The ever-increasing black unemployment rate, which has now reached 2,5 million, is being exploited to recruit the Africans and the so-called coloureds into the army, while the Indians are being recruited into the navy.

The media have not only been muzzled but have been subjected to strict state control in order to create an atmosphere of war. The African teachers who resigned in the wake of the Soweto uprising have been replaced by white armed military personnel at the African schools in the towns and the countryside. The regime has stepped up its threats and acts of aggression against the independent African countries. Together with some Latin American countries, it has joined a secret military pact – SATO, that is, the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation – which is to link up with some forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in the so-called defence of the Cape sea route.



1980

6 JUNE

The regime's threat to intervene militarily in Zimbabwe to ensure the entrenchment and recognition of the Smith-Muzorewa regime further underlines its determination to install in Zimbabwe and Namibia puppet regimes, supportive of its political and military programme and hostile to the liberation movement. It has stepped up its military support of Savimbi as part of its aggressive programme against Angola. But perhaps the most ominous development is marked by the regime's recent detonation of an atomic device. On this issue, we wish to place full responsibility for this grave situation on those countries which have always assisted by their policy of nuclear collaboration the South African regime – meaning the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Israel. We call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Meanwhile, we appeal to member states seriously to consider the proposals adopted at the 33rd ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, held at Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979, and at the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, and those that call for separate and collective punitive measures against those countries which persist in their policy of collaboration with the South African regime.

On our part, we wish to make one thing clear: nothing on earth will deter the oppressed people of South Africa from pursuing their just and legitimate struggle; nothing, not even the atomic bomb. As the French philosopher, Victor Hugo, said: "There is one thing that is more powerful than the strongest armies of the world, and that is the idea whose time has come". The time has indeed come for liberation in southern Africa and in South Africa itself. Victory may be delayed, but it is certain.

A luta continua.

Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makhatini, representative of the African National Congress (ANC), addressing the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) during a debate on the consideration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Statements were made by the representatives of the Niger, the Soviet Union, Jamaica and China, all members of the UNSC; and by Somalia, Cuba, Vietnam, Algeria, Yugoslavia and Zaire, which are non-members. In addition, a statement was made by a representative of the ANC of South Africa, under Rule 39 of the UNSC, provisional rules of procedure, 31 January 1980.

Statement at the 2 227th meeting of the United Nations Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, it gives me great pleasure to see you presiding over this important series of council meetings. The oppressed people of South Africa, whose struggle has now entered a decisive stage, expect unequivocal support from this body. The well-known position of your government and your personal commitment to the struggle against apartheid inspire us with optimism that these meetings will represent an important milestone towards the just and lasting resolution of the conflict raging in South Africa, one which seriously threatens international peace and security. The African National Congress (ANC) is highly indebted to you for giving us the opportunity to share with the honourable members of the council the view of our organisation on the highly explosive situation prevailing in South Africa today.

Allow me, through you, to thank Ambassador Ide Oumarou of the Niger, who greatly facilitated the preliminary steps towards the convening of these meetings by the African Group.

In June 1976, soon after the victory of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) in Mozambique, hundreds of thousands of school children and students took to the streets protesting the slave education imposed on them and designed to prepare them "to minister to the needs of the whites". Thousands were killed, maimed, crippled, detained, tortured and imprisoned. Today, in the wake of the Zimbabwean victory and on the eve of the fourth anniversary of that savage massacre, the Pretoria regime has once again resorted to escalating repression. That is an attempt to muzzle the legitimate protest by patriotic forces in our country.

Again, the school children and students have played a pivotal role in what is now a general ferment, which reflects a rapidly unfolding revolutionary situation obtaining in the country. For seven weeks now, the entire country has been caught up in an unprecedented upsurge in which the so-called coloured youths have fearlessly challenged the racist ideology of the regime as manifested in the educational system. Hundreds of thousands in cities and rural areas have boycotted schools, demanding equal remuneration for their teachers, objecting to the practice of interrogation on school grounds by secret police and indicting the racist character of the education system. They are in fact rejecting the blatant racist formulation that "there is no place for the blacks in the white community above the levels of certain forms of labour". The traditional educational budget of South Africa clearly demonstrates that for the ruling clique the education of our people is intended to ensure the master-servant relationship. The Pretoria regime spends R654 on each white child, while the breakdown for the Asian, the so-called coloured and the African children was, according to the 1979 statistics, R220, R158 and R48 respectively.

These figures show that, in pursuit of the divide-and-rule policy, the lion's share is spent on the white child. The discrimination between coloured, Asian and African children is clearly intended to polarise the beleaguered majority population and also falls into line with the artificial racial hierarchy instituted by apartheid. The regime proffers a larger share of the crumbs to the so-called coloured child and the



A protest march calling for the release of Nelson Mandela as part of the new Defiance Campaign, led by, among others, Winnie Mandela and Desmond Tutu.

Indian child, yet they too have unequivocally rejected this racist imperative by aligning themselves with the cause of the majority. This valiant act is a barometer of the militancy of the people and a vindication of the ANC policy of forging a broad patriotic front comprising the democratic whites as well as the oppressed blacks and thus effectively isolating the real enemy – namely the white supremacist apartheid regime. It is in keeping with the policy of the ANC and its allied organisations as reflected in the Freedom Charter, whose 25th anniversary we hope will be commemorated by committed member states on 26 June.

Despite the victimisation of hundreds of thousands of youths in mass arrests, in brutal dispersal with baton charges and police dogs, with large-scale use of teargas and sneeze cannons, the youths backed by their parents and teachers, have persisted in their protest. They have been characterised by eyewitnesses as highly organised, disciplined and determined to continue the struggle. Those children, some of them a mere eight or 10 years old, are undaunted by the array of modern weapons at the disposal of the racist police. The stand of the heroes of Soweto and other African townships is an inspiration to them. They were inspired by the words of the great hero Solomon Mhlangu, who was hanged on 6 April 1979, despite the stand taken by the council (2 140th meeting, para. 24): “My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruit of freedom”. The people of South Africa are now demonstrating a heightened militancy that cannot be deterred by sophisticated weaponry or sugar-coated declarations intended to placate them.

PW Botha’s call for a conference of all races to deliberate on matters affecting South Africa was an example of such manoeuvres. Citing as the reason for this decision the fact that the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe victory had changed the strategic situation of South Africa, he went on to pledge the maintenance of white domination, declaring, “The Nationalist Party will defend the white man, his political rights and culture, and his right to self-determination”. He went further and reaffirmed that there would be “no one man, one vote” in South Africa.

While the racist regime obstinately persists in embracing retrogressive racial ideologies, the masses of black oppressed people, who constitute the principal, central instrument of change, every day, show their determination to carry through the task of the struggle until victory is achieved. The militancy of our people is heightened to an unprecedented degree by the extension of freedom frontiers to the very doorstep of the last bastion, the collapse of the last buffer, and the completion of the encirclement of the Pretoria regime. The fact is that in South Africa today there is, first, a steady enlargement of the so-called operational areas within the country, resulting, among other things, in the enforced removal of 90 000 of the Batlokwa people in the northern Transvaal; secondly, a spate of political trials characterised by the singularly high political awareness of the accused, who defiantly raise the ANC clenched-fist salute and sing freedom songs, while contesting the authority of the racist courts; thirdly, desertion by large numbers of white draftees who refuse to take up arms in defence of apartheid; fourthly, failure by the regime to fill 10% of the vacancies in the police force, which analysts within the country attribute to systematic ANC attacks on police stations and other facilities plus the liquidation of informers – and, in view of the all-time high unemployment figure, 25% of the labour force, this inability to fill police vacancies is highly significant; fifthly, the mass removal of blacks from so-called white areas to bantustans and squatter camps – two million since 1948; sixthly, the chain of major industrial strikes by black workers in various cities; and lastly, the growing involvement of clergy, which culminated in the arrest of Bishop Desmond Tutu and 52 prominent churchmen who were peacefully protesting the incarceration of Reverend John Thome, who has been closely

associated with the boycotting students. Those factors represent only a partial profile of the objective cases, but they illustrate the burgeoning problems of Botha and his clique.

On 12 June 1964, Nelson Mandela, the outstanding ANC leader, was sentenced to life imprisonment together with Walter Sisulu, the former Secretary-General of the ANC; Govan Mbeki, a leading economist and historian; Ahmed Kathrada, a veteran ANC member of Asian extraction; and others, for their leading collective role in challenging the illegal apartheid regime.

In his defence, after eloquently articulating the ideas enshrined in the Freedom Charter, Nelson Mandela declared:

During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Seventeen years have elapsed since Nelson Mandela made that statement – 17 years during which there has been enacted a maze of oppressive legislation designed to perpetuate institutionalised racism, plunder and exploitation overseen by an army of Gestapo-type police equipped with the most modern and lethal weapons advanced Western technology can provide; 17 years during which over two million black people have been forcibly moved from their homes to desolate arid bantustans; during which 90-day and 180-day renewable detentions have become common-place; during which over 50 freedom fighters have been killed in the prison cells and torture chambers of the secret police; and during which the Pretoria regime has earned the record of being responsible for 60% of the world’s executions.

During those 17 years, the apartheid regime has not only developed a nuclear capability but also arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the Equator. It has

carried out a full-scale invasion of Angola and on several occasions threatened and committed aggression against Zambia, Angola and Mozambique. It frustrated the efforts of the international community by bolstering the erstwhile Smith regime. It has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions. It has been 17 years during which the South African regime, working in collusion with certain conservative elements, has developed a sophisticated propaganda network and planted large sums of money in some Western capitals to buy opinion-makers, to promote apartheid and even to influence political campaigns and have the agents of BOSS (Bureau of State Security) infiltrate prestigious international organisations; and during which the erstwhile disciples of the Hitlerite regime have forged a close alliance with the Zionist regime.

But today, that power is changing hands in South Africa, and, in response to Botha's manoeuvres designed to prepare for a Muzorewa-type so-called internal settlement, the people have imposed on South Africa's political agenda the question of the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues. Following an editorial by Percy Qoboza of the *Sunday Post* and endorsement by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, as well as support from a cross-section of the South African population, including a section of the white student population, the campaign to free Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, including Toivo Ja Toivo of Namibia, has gained tremendous momentum in South Africa and abroad.

But the cancerous system of apartheid is still threatening to embroil the whole world in a conflagration whose repercussions will be far-reaching and immeasurable. Like the fascist, militaristic and expansionist Hitler regime, which plunged Europe and the world into the Second World War, the apartheid regime must be stopped and crushed despite its attitude that everyone else is out of step.

Who is to blame? Is it those against whom armed forces have been mobilised in an attempt to cow and terrorise peaceful protesters, those whose legitimate demands have been met with ever-increasing violence at each turn? Nelson Mandela's prophecy that "by resorting continually to violence, the South African regime will breed in this country violence among the people" has been proven true.

The formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkonto we Sizwe – the Spear of the Nation – marked the closing of the chapter of non-violence. The people, under the leadership of the ANC, have today taken up arms and they will not lay them down until final victory is achieved, that is, the overthrow of the apartheid regime and the seizure of power by the people. Suffice it for me to quote from the *Washington Post*.

Black nationalist guerrillas have struck a telling blow at the security, physical and psychological of white South Africa. From hit-and-run raids on random targets, they have moved up to a well-planned and coordinated attack on three formidably guarded strategic installations – an oil refinery and two oil-from-coal plants. These plants are the cutting edge of South Africa's policy of trying to become self-sufficient in strategic imports. The attack on them represents the African National Congress' policy of trying to show that self-sufficiency won't work. In South Africa the war is on.

Who is responsible for the Pretoria regime's intransigence? It is the transnational corporations that continue to provide the lifeblood to this inhuman system; it is some Western countries – especially the United States (USA), France, the United Kingdom, Japan and Israel – which continue to pay

lip-service to United Nations (UN) resolutions while bolstering the South African regime through economic, military and even nuclear collaboration. We can no longer stop at accusing the apartheid regime of threatening peace and international security. Those countries which support South Africa have become active accomplices in all the crimes committed by that regime against the South African people and against neighbouring states.

Mr President, in paying a special tribute to the Scandinavian countries, including your country, for the unstinting role they have played in the struggle against apartheid, we regret to say that our attention has been drawn to incidents involving a Danish shipping company. According to the newspaper *Politiken*, ships of that company have been collecting arms and ammunition from various European ports. The ships' names have been painted out and all marks of identity erased. We are pleased that the Danish Government has instituted an investigation into this flagrant violation of the international arms embargo. We regret, however, that our attention has been drawn to another report alleging that a Norwegian shipping company is involved in transporting oil from the Persian Gulf to South Africa. We are highly appreciative of the Norwegian Government's policy of not selling South Africa any of its oil, but we deeply regret to learn that Norwegian ships are undermining the oil embargo imposed by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec) and other oil-producing countries.

Notwithstanding what may appear to be a very gloomy picture, characterised by a surprisingly high degree of collaboration with the South African regime, we remain very confident that the exemplary position taken by Nigeria against British Petroleum will be emulated by a growing number of countries in the near future.

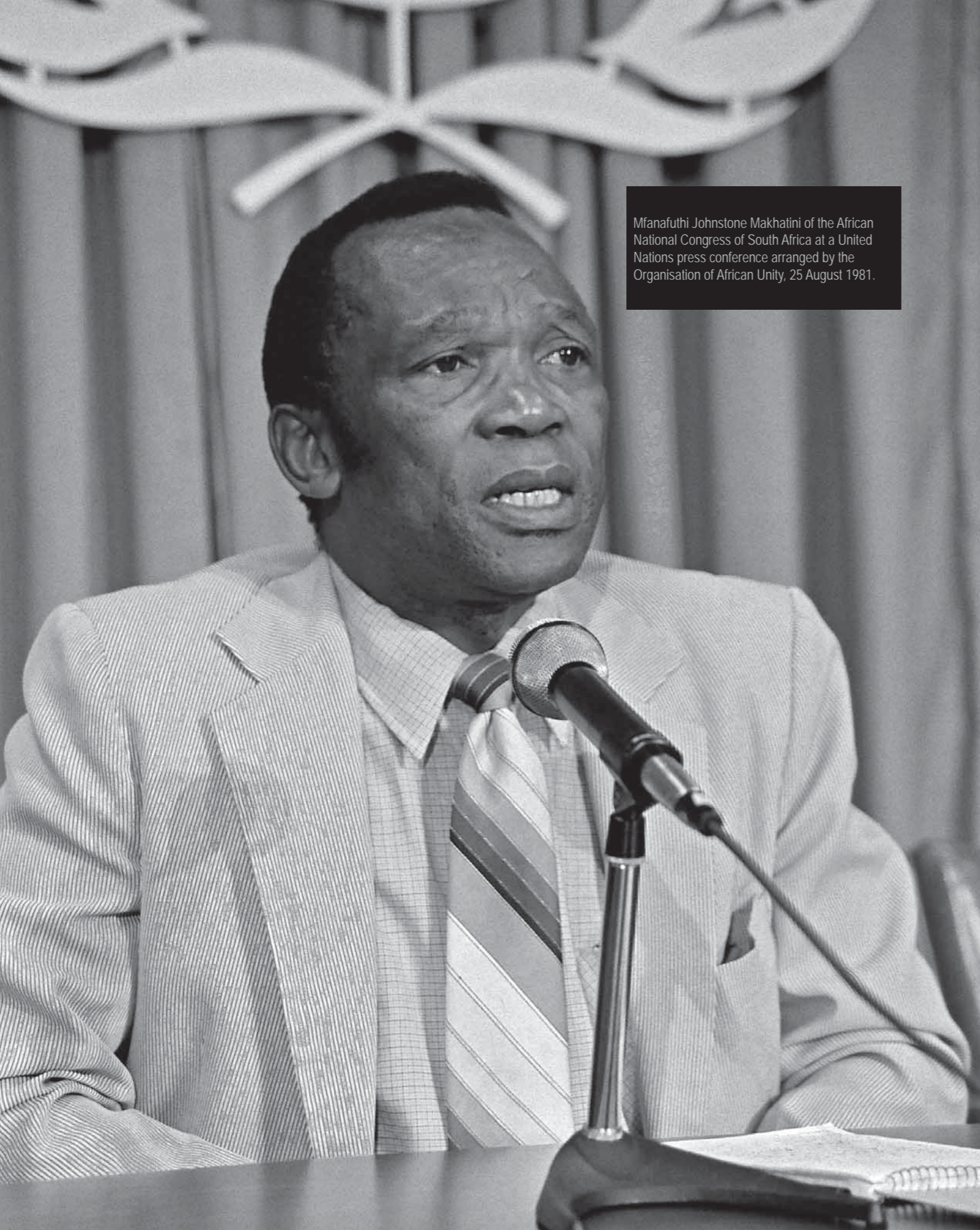
The warning given by Ambassador Clark the day before yesterday (2 225th meeting), must not be taken lightly. It is in keeping with the general trend in African and non-aligned countries to move from rhetorical condemnation to action against a common enemy and its accomplices.

We will not at this stage dignify RF Botha's letter of 5 June (S/13986) by a rebuttal. Suffice it to say that we do not expect the enemies of progressive mankind to endorse the enlightened position adopted in support of the principles and ideals enshrined in the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We are encouraged by the growing awareness of some Western countries that the downfall of apartheid is inevitable. We note that a growing number of the traditional partners of the South African regime are moving towards a realistic position vis-a-vis the just cause of our people. We hope that that attitude will coalesce into a full commitment to the aspirations of all our people in this matter.

We urge the council to support the campaign to free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. We urge all the members of the council to ensure that their countries and the international community strictly observe the arms embargo and respect the oil embargo imposed by Opec countries, and to step up the campaign for the isolation of the apartheid regime, strengthen the striking power of the ANC and thereby hasten the downfall of the apartheid regime.

It is our well-considered opinion that the virulent system of apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be destroyed. Our people, young and old, have taken up arms to break the chains of bondage, not to strengthen them.



Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makhatini of the African National Congress of South Africa at a United Nations press conference arranged by the Organisation of African Unity, 25 August 1981.



1981

27 NOVEMBER

Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)

ON BEHALF OF the African National Congress (ANC), its National Executive Committee and the entire oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, I am honoured to express our gratitude to the assembly for granting us the opportunity once again to express the avowed will of our people to achieve its stated goal: the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa.

Please accept the apologies of Comrade President Oliver Tambo, who has been prevented by pressing and unavoidable obligations from being with us today. It was his intention, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the ANC on 8 January 1912, to personally present the aspirations of the struggling masses of South Africa and to make an appeal to this body at this crucial stage of our struggle.

It has therefore become my pleasant task to congratulate Mr Kittani on his assumption of the presidency of the 36th session of the GA. His country's and his own personal commitment to the noble fight for justice, peace and social progress on behalf of the oppressed inspire us with confidence to execute our struggle with even greater vigour. We hope that under his able leadership this year's debate on apartheid will further strengthen the international campaign for the isolation of that abominable apartheid regime, lay the foundation for its total destruction and pave the way for the inevitable triumph of the ideals and objectives contained in the ANC Freedom Charter – objectives that so closely conform to the lofty purposes enshrined in the Charter of the UN and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The maintenance of peace and security is one of the cardinal purposes that were unanimously endorsed by the founding fathers when, in the wake of the Second World War, they met to establish the UN. To that end, they resolved that the UN would "take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression". Ever since then, and indeed for nearly the past two decades, the GA has repeatedly determined that apartheid is a crime against humanity and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

On the basis of that position, the GA has repeatedly called on all member states to sever or refrain from establishing diplomatic, economic, military, nuclear, and cultural and sports relations with the apartheid regime. In this connection, the GA has also called on all member states to give moral, political and material support to the national liberation movement of South Africa in support of the legitimate struggle that it is waging in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people and for the establishment of a democratic state based on the principle of universal suffrage.

The ANC, the undisputed leader and authentic representative of the struggling people of South Africa, expresses its appreciation and gratitude to all those member states whose policies have been in active solidarity with the struggle of our people to rid the Earth of the scourge of apartheid.



The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement have declared that there will be no peace, security and stability in southern Africa until the apartheid system is destroyed and replaced by a democratic state based on majority rule guaranteeing the birthright of the South African people as a whole, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed. Immensely encouraged by the role of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in the liberation struggles of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Soã Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe – victories that dismantled the erstwhile Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury racist axis and drastically changed the balance of forces in favour of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and ANC, the sole and authentic representatives of the struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa – and mindful of its unswerving commitment to the total liberation of the beloved African continent, we of the ANC, on the 20th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe – Spear of the Nation – solemnly declare that we shall not cease to carry forth the struggle nor shall we ever lay down arms until freedom is achieved.

It is with deep humility that we express recognition and gratitude to the OAU in general and the neighbouring states in particular for the great sacrifices that their governments and people – our brethren – have continued to make on our behalf. We wish to declare from this rostrum that trust, confidence and solidarity in common combat and suffering by our brothers and sisters and progressive mankind the world over shall not be betrayed. Furthermore, let it be known that we shall not betray the brotherly Namibian people fighting under the leadership of SWAPO and who, for a number of years, have borne the major burden of this our common fight against the common enemy based in Pretoria. We shall intensify the armed struggle and all other forms of struggle within the borders of that beleaguered but beloved motherland, South Africa. Indeed, in the spirit of brotherhood and comradeship, we shall not tire to play our historic and strategic role of ensuring the speedy liberation of the whole of southern Africa.

We salute the nations of Belize, Vanuatu and Antigua and Barbuda on their attainment of independence and admission to membership in the organisation. To us, their independence and attainment of statehood is yet another reservoir of strength and source of inspiration in our struggle for liberation.

We salute our comrades-in-arms, the *Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente* (FRETILIN), the liberation movement of East Timor, the Puerto Rico Socialist Party, the *Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro* (POLISARIO) of Western Sahara, SWAPO and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) of occupied Palestine, the sole representative of the Palestinian people in its struggle against the Zionist entity called Israel, the close collaborator of the illegitimate Pretoria regime. We also express our solidarity with the peoples of Chile, El Salvador, Grenada and Nicaragua in their fight against international imperialism.

Five years have elapsed since the Soweto uprising and massacre, which triggered worldwide indignation and condemnation. It has now become clear that the highly orchestrated rhetoric about the need for change has given way to stepped-up brutal repression, militarisation, arms build-up and a brazen policy of destabilisation and aggression against the neighbouring countries. The socio-economic condition of our people has worsened as they continue to be denied basic human rights and forced to live in abject poverty deliberately created and perpetuated by the apartheid regime. White minority rule not only continues, but has become more ferocious as the anger and resistance of our people threaten its existence. The apartheid regime has also stepped up its

repression against student, community and trade-union leaders and activists in a vain attempt to stem the rising tide of strikes, boycotts and protests that have continued unabated since 1976.

Furthermore, and in an attempt to divide and weaken the ever-broadening front of patriotic forces drawn from all ethnic and racial groups and mobilised under the banner of the ANC, the Pretoria regime recently resorted to the diabolical manoeuvre of granting limited voting rights to the so-called coloured and Asian communities as part of its strategy to divide and rule the blacks. We salute the Indian people for dealing a deadly blow to this plot designed to isolate them from the mainstream of the unfolding revolution. The attempt to make them third-rated partners of the white racist criminals against the vast black majority has met with dismal failure as the successful ANC-organised boycott of the so-called Indian Council elections demonstrated only two weeks ago.

The apartheid regime has also stepped up the tribal fragmentation of the indigenous African people as part of the policy of bantustanisation aimed at having the so-called Bantu homelands serve not only as reservoirs of cheap labour but also as dumping grounds and concentration camps for the jobless and homeless hundreds of thousands who are daily being forcibly moved from the urban areas.

The projected proclamation on 4 December of the barren and impoverished Ciskei as another so-called independent entity is part of the strategy in terms of which millions of indigenous blacks are being declared foreigners in the land of their birth, while the hated tribal chiefs are provided with tribal armies intended to be used against ANC activists and freedom fighters. However, the mounting anger of the people in the Ciskei and other Bantustans, where the agents of the Pretoria regime have resorted to a spate of political assassinations, continues to grow and threatens to transform these intended internal buffer zones into internal sanctuaries for the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation.

Six ANC freedom fighters have been sentenced to death following brutal torture and arbitrary trials, which were marked by the broad application of the so-called principle of common purpose and conspiracy designed to pave the way for the imposition of capital punishment on all opponents of the apartheid regime, who are to be charged for any armed action that has taken place in the country regardless of direct knowledge, or involvement in the commission, of such acts.

The fascist character of the apartheid regime once again manifested itself on Thursday last week, when, through its agents, it savagely murdered Griffith Mxenge, a prominent black lawyer, who, after serving a term of imprisonment on Robben Island, earned the admiration of the oppressed people and the hatred of the regime by his tireless role in providing legal defence for ANC freedom fighters and other patriots who daily face arbitrary trials for their opposition to the system of apartheid. The deceased, who had last been seen entering his car opposite his office, was found stabbed to death and his body brutally mutilated in a manner reminiscent of the tactics resorted to by the racist commando group that invaded Mozambique and killed 12 ANC refugees at Matola, on the outskirts of Maputo, at the beginning of the year.

This dastardly crime and the other assassinations recently carried out in the Ciskei, where the mother and father of Thozamile Gqwetha, the leader of a black labour union, were burned to death in a mysterious fire, as was Deliswa Roxisa, an activist of the South African Workers Union, who was shot by the police, seem to point to a new pattern that includes the killing of Joe Gqabi, the late ANC

representative recently murdered in Zimbabwe. They point to a new pattern that marks a tactical departure from the killing in prison cells of over 50 political detainees, including Steve Biko. Today, in a vain attempt by the perpetrators to escape condemnation, the most feared and hated leaders, activists and their loved ones are being assassinated outside prison. The ANC has appealed to all justice-loving governments and non-governmental organisations strongly to condemn this latest act of terrorism by the Pretoria regime.

The campaign of destabilisation and wanton aggression being carried out by the Pretoria regime against neighbouring countries has now reached alarming proportions and calls not just for strong condemnation. It also calls for urgent and collective military support of those countries whose sole crime is, in the exercise of their right to self-determination and in their loyalty to the UN resolutions, to dare express moral and political support of and solidarity with the opponents of the inhuman apartheid system.

Angola has, since the invasion of 1975, been the victim of the permanent and undeclared war of aggression in which thousands of defenseless civilians have been killed in cold blood while the economic infrastructure is systematically destroyed. Mozambique has also been the target of periodic



Seloka Phiroa, South African Congress of Trade Unionists.

"South African Women and Labour under Apartheid," the theme of a commemorative meeting to mark the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples Struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination. United Nations, New York, 26 March 1981.



Jacob Dumdum Nyaose (South Africa), President of the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa, addressing the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, Geneva, 15 June 1973. In the background, at the presiding table is Edwin Ogbu (Nigeria), Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid.

military incursions, as was the case during the Matola Raid and other less publicised acts of aggression by the Pretoria regime. Zimbabwe has been the victim of economic and military sabotage while over 5 000 former Selous Scouts, together with hundreds of dissidents from Mozambique, Zambia and Lesotho, are being financed, armed and trained in preparation for destabilising those countries.

As members know, Lesotho is not a frontline state. It is true that it has been steadfast in the strict compliance with at least two of the UN positions and appeals to all member states in general, including the neighbouring countries, to provide education for the ever-increasing flow of student refugees who flee repression and slave education in South Africa. The other UN position that is strictly implemented by Lesotho and one that has earned the anger and hatred of the Pretoria regime that is now harbouring, financing and arming the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army, is the refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Pretoria and the refusal to recognise the Bantustans. That principled position taken by that small but stout-hearted country that is so vulnerable to South Africa's well-known belligerent position, merits the respect and all-round support of all member states. The ANC renews its appeal for financial, economic and military support to all the neighbouring countries. The sacrifices they are making are for the attainment of the lofty purposes of the UN and its credibility and respect.

Seychelles, another small peaceful country, whose commitment to the cause of liberation in southern Africa in general and in South Africa in particular and whose compliance with the UN call for the severance of all ties with apartheid South Africa was not long ago concretised, by the stoppage of landing rights to South African planes and tourism, has just repelled a ferocious invasion and coup d'état attempt by a force of over 100 racist South African commandos.

According to yesterday's Johannesburg *The Star*, that commando raid included American and former Selous Scouts from erstwhile Rhodesia. When routed by the Seychelles airport guards, who had been taken by complete surprise, as no one could expect an invading force to descend from a passenger plane; the so-called mercenaries hijacked an Air India plane and commandeered it to Durban where they had come from. Again, the Pretoria regime's extraordinary capacity for lying is hard at work, and the world is now being told that this abortive coup d'état was planned overseas, that the leader of the commandos had informed the South African Government while knowing that it would not have anything to do with such an operation. There is no doubt that this criminal act, which constitutes a flagrant violation of fundamental principles of international law is the work of the Pretoria regime.

The statements and acts of solidarity that have continued to come from Washington have no doubt emboldened the apartheid regime to engage in ever-more brazen acts of aggression in pursuance of its terrorist campaign. The assurances given by President Reagan that the United States (USA) cannot leave apartheid South Africa in the lurch since it is a friend and ally; the secret talks between the Pentagon officials and the racist generals who head the military intelligence service; the statement by Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, that it is not the task of the USA to choose between black and white in South Africa, between the forces of liberation and the forces of oppression and domination as we understand the statement; the vetoing of the Security Council resolution aimed at condemning Pretoria for the aggression committed against Angola, are but a few statements and acts that encourage that regime, which has used its Fascist legislation to arrogate to itself the right to intervene in all African countries south of the Equator.

Objective observers cannot but now link the stepped-up acts of aggression by South Africa with the statement reported in the London *New Statesman* as coming from some of the Washington Administration aides and saying that the US policy in the future will be that of rewarding those African countries that befriend South Africa, and punishing and toppling those that support SWAPO and the ANC. They will link the South African audacity in attempting to overthrow the Seychelles Government with the US' declared policy of supporting the formation of the South Atlantic alliance, involving the navies of some Latin American dictatorships, such as Chile and others, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other.

It is a well-known fact that in certain US' military and political circles, apartheid South Africa is seen as an important component in the strategic network to build an order to ensure the much spoken of need to secure the oil sea routes and to make the formation of the South Atlantic treaty organisation, the intended southern hemisphere counterpart of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Nato), a reality. Along those lines, the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean has been turned into a formidable military base and military ties between Pretoria and Chile are also being rapidly strengthened. We cannot but be suspicious that the abortive coup d'état was part of that strategy.

The hostility against the African member states as a whole cannot be in doubt. We appeal to all member states to treat this with the seriousness it deserves, and to take appropriate collective action. The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime is long overdue. Should our position be deemed unfounded in the eyes of some, particularly the USA, we call on that delegation to join in the strong condemnation of that invasion of Seychelles and other countries neighbouring South Africa. We call on the GA to consider a separate resolution, which should not only urge the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter against the Pretoria regime, but should also declare that in future any attack on one member state will be seen and treated as an attack on all member states.

The apartheid regime's heightened aggressive postures also stems from the fact that in the past 12 months, the ANC has significantly intensified the armed struggle and today enjoys an unprecedented high level of support among the people of all ethnic and racial groups who effectively conceal and protect the freedom fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation. According to the regime's own admission, the armed attacks against police stations, electric power stations, military bases and other strategic installations have during this year increased by 200%. As can be expected, the regime only reports on those that take place in the cities, such as the highly successful attack of Voortrekkerhoogte, the biggest military base on African soil, situated on the outskirts of Pretoria. The striking power capacity which the ANC has now built can be deduced from the statement of Professor Moorcroft of the Witwatersrand University, that the only thing to save the white minority rule in South Africa would be the outbreak of a third world war.

We wish to appeal to all member states committed to the fight for the destruction of the apartheid system and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa to give and increase financial and material support to the ANC, support that is commensurate to the requirements dictated by the Fascist and aggressive as well as intransigent character of the Pretoria regime, which has for so long been armed to the teeth and is incorrigibly committed to ever-mounting aggression against the African states.

In condemning once again those countries that continue to collaborate with the apartheid regime in the economic, military and nuclear fields, we wish to recognise the limited but positive steps being taken by some who are now establishing direct contact and strengthening bilateral relations with the ANC. We are appreciative of the position taken towards the authorisation of ANC offices in Vienna, Bonn, Brussels and Paris – thus adding to the already existing ones in Rome, London and Stockholm, as well as helping further to strengthen the position of the ANC in the Netherlands, Ireland and all of the Scandinavian countries.

We continue to be extremely appreciative of the unswerving support we receive from most of the socialist countries. We appeal to all member states to join in the campaign to secure the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners. We thank those governments that have used their good offices towards the promotion of this important campaign through the naming of public places after, and the conferring of honorary degrees to, Nelson Mandela and other leading political prisoners like Walter Sisulu and others. This helps to promote the campaign for these illustrious leaders of our people, who will soon be completing their 20th year in prison. We appeal to those countries that have not done so to consider that form of support.

We appeal to all member states to join in the campaign to save the lives of six ANC members recently sentenced to death by the apartheid regime and to secure prisoner-of-war status for all captured freedom fighters, in keeping with the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention of 1949. We appeal to all member states and non-governmental organisations to promote and commemorate the 70th anniversary of the ANC on 12 January 1982 and the 20th anniversary of Umkhonto We Sizwe on 16 December 1981, historic dates preceded by the 20th anniversary of the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize by the late President of the ANC, Albert Luthuli, on 10 December 1981, Human Rights Day.

We appeal to all member states and non-governmental organisations for the formation of national commemoration committees towards this end and for the dissemination in their respective capitals of information to be made available by the ANC and the Special Committee against Apartheid. We appeal to all to cooperate in the strengthening of the arms embargo and the putting to an end of nuclear collaboration with the apartheid regime.

We appeal to all, including the specialised agencies, to increase significantly the voluntary contributions towards providing educational facilities to the ever-increasing population of student refugees who have fled from the repression of Pretoria and from inferior education.

Finally, we appeal to all to support the South African Congress of Trade Unions in all forms by providing financial assistance. We appeal to the Western states' permanent members of the Security Council to facilitate the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa before it is too late for them to escape the condemnation of having been active in their complicity in the crimes committed by that regime against international peace and security. We appeal to all to launch an international campaign of mobilisation for sanctions against South Africa.

The United Nations Security Council continues its consideration on the Namibia situation. Speaking at the meeting, Mfanafuthi Johnstone Makhatini, a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, 27 April 1981.



1981

27 AUGUST

Statement at the 2 295th meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, we are happy and encouraged to see you preside over this Security Council meeting, which is considering a case of extreme importance to our movement. Your countries' and your personal commitment to the struggle against apartheid is well known and deeply appreciated by the African National Congress (ANC). Your tireless and unswerving contribution, not only in the forums of the UN but also in those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has always inspired and encouraged us. It is for that reason that we are convinced that under your guidance the council will, to the satisfaction of the international community, respond to the challenge posed by the apartheid regime.

Comrades Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise are members of the ANC. The ANC perhaps holds the world record as the liberation movement that, for over 60 years and in the face of ever-growing fascist intransigence, brutal repression, wanton murder of peaceful demonstrators, not to mention aggression against neighbouring states, has most persistently pursued non-violent forms of struggle in the fight against a system that has been condemned by the UN as a crime against humanity.

When on 16 December 1961, after consulting the entire oppressed population, the ANC took the historic decision to close the chapter of non-violence and prepare for what had been forced upon it, it still hoped that limited sabotage would help to bring the Pretoria regime to sense and reason and make that regime join hands with the vast majority of the population in the application of the Freedom Charter. Members of the council are no doubt aware of the fact that that document, which to this day remains the political platform of the ANC and its allies, states in its preamble:

We, the people of South Africa, declare for our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white ...

That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

On its part, and in support of this struggle, the General Assembly has for a number of years – and particularly the last consecutive years – adopted resolutions recognising the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the South African people in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power and the establishment of a democratic state.

The Security Council itself has, through Resolution 473 (1980), recognised the legitimacy of that struggle for the establishment of a democratic state.





1981

27 APRIL

Statement at the 274th meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, I thank you and all the other members of the council for affording me the opportunity to express the views of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa on this burning issue before the council.

I should like at the outset to join the several ministers and representatives who have preceded me and extend to you, Mr President, the warmest felicitations on your assumption of the lofty position of President of the council during the month of April. The able manner in which you are conducting this important debate convinces us that, under your guidance and given the cooperation of all the other members, the council can indeed achieve the sacred objective so ardently expected by the oppressed and struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa. I hasten to add that our hopes are further reinforced by the Irish people's well-known traditional support for the international fight against apartheid.

I should like also to congratulate your eminent predecessor, Ambassador Peter Florin, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, on the able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the council last month.

The importance attached to this debate by the peoples of Africa and the world that loves freedom, justice and peace cannot be overemphasised. It is being clearly shown by the unprecedented participation of so many ministers for foreign affairs and others of leading Cabinet rank. Africa, Asia, Latin America and part of Europe have, through spokesmen, given a mandate by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the non-aligned countries, with unparalleled vigour and unity of purpose articulated the position of more than two-thirds of humanity on the decolonisation of Namibia. Adopted at New Delhi and reinforced at Addis Ababa, Luanda and Algiers, that position is an unequivocal expression of the grave concern and indignation of the so-called third world over the continued illegal occupation of Namibia. This criminal situation, which in itself constitutes a threat to international peace and security, is further aggravated by the attendant crimes being perpetrated daily by the apartheid regime with ferocious brutality not only against the Namibian people but also against the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and other frontline states.

Our interest and participation in this debate is not only motivated by our conviction that the struggle being waged by the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa is one and indivisible. It is also a manifestation of the profound admiration and solidarity our people feel towards the valiant Namibian people who, under the leadership of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, are today spearheading our common struggle against the common enemy, and who have in the past two years registered important political, diplomatic and military victories, which we share. It is also to declare for the world to know that we for our part intend to spare no effort towards the intensification of the ongoing political and armed struggle in South Africa and to help hasten the inevitable vindication of General Malan's panic-motivated observation that "no nation can simultaneously fight an insurgency on its borders and fight insurgency at home".

To this day, the ANC combatants have strictly adhered to the instructions of their leadership – instructions to focus exclusively on guarded installations and police stations and thus avoid "soft targets". It has presented to the International Red Cross headquarters a declaration in which it commits itself to the humanitarian conduct of war and calls on the UN and the international community at large to pressure the apartheid regime to accord prisoner-of-war status to all captured freedom fighters, in keeping with the revised Protocol II of the Geneva Convention.

Again, the Botha regime's response has been not only a series of massacres, such as the Soweto one in 1976, but also the Matola Raid in which 12 ANC refugees were killed and some abducted. It has been the assassination of Comrade Joe Gqabi, the ANC representative in Zimbabwe; it has been the imposition of death sentences on captured freedom fighters like Lubisi last year; and now Tsotsobe, Shabangu and Moise.

In addition to the gross legal irregularities which surround the trial of those patriots – such as the ruling that the so-called confessions, extracted under torture, were admissible as evidence – the intention is to pave the way for indiscriminate prosecution and eventual execution of all opponents of the apartheid regime. The blanket application of the so-called principle of common purpose and conspiracy is designed to render every member of the ANC liable for armed action committed in the country, regardless of personal knowledge or direct involvement in the commission of such acts.

It is for that reason that the ANC appeals to the council to make its voice heard in order to save the lives of these patriots and to halt this dangerous trend towards paving the way for mass judicial murder. In the eyes of the entire oppressed black community in South Africa, in the eyes of the whole of progressive mankind the world over, those men are freedom fighters who were captured while playing their role in spearheading what is perceived throughout the world as the international struggle against an inhuman system and for the establishment of a democratic society that would be in conformity with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The council cannot afford by omission to encourage the further deterioration of the already explosive situation in South Africa, a situation whose explosion might poison race relations not only in Africa but throughout the world for decades to come. It is true the regime has not yet resorted to gas chambers, but it has resorted to its courts in order, as I have said, to pave the way for mass judicial murder. Therefore, we cannot consider this normal judicial process. It is for that reason, and in the name of those who are awaiting execution in Pretoria, that we appeal to the council to take action.



In the wake of the combined victories registered by the brotherly peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, which drastically changed the balance of forces in our favour, the impact of the heroic struggle being waged by the Namibian people has further heightened the determination of our people to play and conclude their long-awaited role in the total liberation of our continent.

We consider every procrastination or prevarication aimed at buying time for the apartheid regime in Namibia as directed against our struggle and as part of the imperialist global strategy to ensure the bolstering and spread of the hated regime's hegemonistic tentacles, which are totally inimical not only to the aspirations of our people but also to those of the entire continent and progressive mankind.

As stated in the past few days by most of the speakers, including Mr Picho Owiny, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Uganda, the history of Namibia is one of continued betrayal of trust. Throughout the long history of colonialism, four forces have combined to thwart in Namibia the outcome long achieved in other former German territories like Togo, part of Cameroon and erstwhile Tanganyika. These have been and continue to be the giant transnational corporations operating in Namibia; the white minority racists who enjoy paradise and power in Namibia; and the armed forces of the apartheid regime, which occupy Namibia and some powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Nato), which are bent on the perpetuation of the status quo in Namibia.

We do not intend to dwell at length on the historical details which have been so eloquently articulated by a number of honourable ministers and representatives. Suffice it to stress that the problem of Namibia stems from South Africa's expansionist and colonial ambitions. That has in turn been facilitated by some permanent members of the council that have hitherto impeded the implementation of the council's own pertinent decisions, including Resolution 301 (1971), which upheld the decision of the International Court of Justice that South Africa's mandate was validly terminated, that continued occupation was illegal and that South Africa was under obligation to withdraw immediately from Namibia. It is now not only in the interest of restoring the badly eroded credibility of the UN in general and the council in particular that effective collective measures for the prevention of threats to the peace and for the suppression of aggression and breaches of the peace must be taken immediately, but also in order to avert a situation whose explosion may be too far-reaching for the survival of mankind. The ANC joins the preponderant majority in calling for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions, including an oil embargo, against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN.

From the time when the South African regime challenged the credentials of the UN to deal with the question of Namibia as the legal successor to the League of Nations and when it requested – unsuccessfully – that Namibia be incorporated as its fifth province, right up to its intransigence at the Geneva pre-implementation meeting, that regime has clearly demonstrated its irreversible rejection of a negotiated settlement, which would conform to the previous decisions of the council. It is against that background that the application to have the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) address the council and the statement made by the representative of the Pretoria regime must be examined.

South Africa's inability unilaterally to defy world opinion on the question of Namibia has been demonstrated by its constantly changing strategies. When assured of full support by powerful allies, it adopts an openly defiant attitude; when convinced that the international pressure is too strong to



Robert Mugabe inspects a guard of honour in Harare shortly after becoming Prime Minister of Zimbabwe in 1980.

resist, South Africa and the same allies opt for a neo-colonialist solution. The roots of such a current neo-colonialist strategy designed to impose a fictitious solution in Namibia can be traced to South Africa's invasion of Angola and the subsequent defeat it suffered. Much that has happened since then – like the recent resounding victory of the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe under the leadership of Comrade Robert Mugabe and the SWAPO-ANC heightened level of mass and armed confrontation in Namibia and South Africa itself – has led to renewed and frantic attempts at imposing a neo-colonialist solution. In this, the imperialist powers have played a significant role.

In January 1976, the council adopted Resolution 385 (1976), providing for free and fair elections. South Africa refused to comply and instead announced its own sham elections in Namibia. In a quest for its own Muzorewa, the regime created the DTA, which it recognised as the representative of the Namibian people's aspirations. In April 1977, it accepted the alleged DTA proposals to set up the so-called National Assembly and announced its own elections for December 1978.

Alarmed by the persistent call for mandatory economic sanctions, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (USA) urged the UN to allow them an opportunity of negotiating with South Africa to accept UN supervised and controlled elections. In April 1978, the regime announced its acceptance of the plan. At the same time, it mounted the most savage repression against SWAPO and its followers. Cassinga in Angola was attacked and more than 800 unarmed men, women, children and refugees were killed. That point was most effectively conveyed last week by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania.

In December 1978, the regime forced gun-point elections in Namibia. Not surprisingly, DTA won the so-called elections, which flew in the face of council Resolution 435 (1978). Then came one "reason" after another for not complying with the UN plan for the implementation of Resolution 439 (1978). What has

happened since then convinces us that the main objective was to provide South Africa with a breathing period within which to consolidate its aggressive position in Namibia and launch a murderous onslaught against the people of Namibia, SWAPO and the frontline states, especially Angola and Zambia.

Today, the DTA-dominated "National Assembly" has been transformed into the so-called Council of Ministers with full executive powers, thereby reaching the last stage before the proclamation of a unilateral declaration of independence. The attempt to have the DTA, that illegal puppet entity created by the illegal occupant of Namibia, address the council was therefore a public relations exercise intended to earn it international recognition, in keeping with the strategy of unilateral declaration of independence.

A flurry of appeals has been made also to the council members and the non-aligned spokesmen not to allow the so-called understandable frustration to gain the upper hand. The council is being exhorted to abandon the idea envisaged in the charter for the solution of such cases. We are being told not to resort to confrontation but to allow for continued persuasion. We are of course not told why the contact group's promised collective leverage over South Africa has not been used.

These appeals, which come after so gross a breach of promise, are tantamount to asking SWAPO, the OAU and the non-aligned countries to endorse the rapidly unfolding plot aimed at thwarting the liberation of Namibia and facilitating the destabilisation of and aggression against the frontline states, whose legal governments must be overthrown and replaced by puppet regimes. They come in the wake of the arrogant and threat-riddled statement by the racist representative (2 268th meeting), whose claim to support the wishes of the people of Namibia for an early internationally recognised independence is as false as his rejection of the UN's plan for that objective is true. As the shameless representative of a regime that excels in euphemism – that talks of holding general elections, when in South Africa over 23 million of the inhabitants are permanently denied the right to vote and are being made foreigners in the country of their birth, that talks of internationally recognised independence in Namibia when it is planning a Bantustan-type independence – Mr Fourie has fooled no one.

The Federal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia made an extremely important point when he said:

The attempt to portray (the problem of Namibia) as part of East-West confrontation constitutes a manoeuvre by South Africa aimed at making use of current international tensions in order to prolong its occupation of Namibia and its domination in southern Africa. (2 270th meeting, para. 131)

While it is true that this is not new, that this manoeuvre is in fact in keeping with the regime's oppressive legislation, which defines any activity designed to bring about social, political or economic change in South Africa as furtherance of communism, there are two additional elements which are cause for concern.

South Africa's use of this age-old tactic, universally rejected as a vain attempt at isolating the national liberation movement by projecting the legitimate struggle against apartheid as being engineered by some external and generally unknown force, has hitherto posed no serious problem. After all, all oppressive regimes – be they Fascist, colonialist, racist or imperialist – have, at different times in

isolation and with equal dismal failure, resorted to it in a vain attempt to halt the national upsurge of the anti-colonial and anti-racist struggle. That was the case in Algeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other territories. It has always been the case in Namibia and South Africa, to the degree that an impression is created that blacks are considered inherently incapable of determining on their own that, having been robbed of their land and denied their inalienable basic human rights by an alien power, they must follow in the footsteps of the American people and scores of others to fight, gun in hand, for their independence and liberty.

A number of the ministers participating in this debate no doubt recall that only yesterday they shared with SWAPO and the ANC the terrorist and Marxist label. George Washington would have dismissed such propaganda with the same attitude as Comrade Robert Mugabe did only a year ago.

But, our concern today stems from the fact that we are now witnessing what I choose to call the unfolding convergence of positions adopted by Pretoria and Washington, in which the former projects itself as the guardian of Persian Gulf minerals and an indispensable bulwark in the fight against the alleged spread of communism in Africa, while the latter talks of a strategic consensus against the wars of the "so-called liberation movements" or terrorists or Soviet proxies. This growing convergence between Pretoria and Washington was recently articulated by President Ronald Reagan when he implied that the USA could not abandon South Africa, a country that had fought beside America in all major wars.

On this question, the Johannesburg weekly *Star* of 15 April observes that:

Without question, Mr Reagan means to have better relations with South Africa. He has a nostalgic view of South Africa as a staunch ally of the past ... and a keen sense of South Africa's importance as supplier of defence-related minerals.

South Africa's anti-communist rhetoric also attracts Mr Alexander Haig, the Secretary of State, who tends to see southern Africa through the same East-West lens as his one-time patron, Dr Kissinger, did.

Recalling the notorious secret Memorandum 39, drawn up by the National Security Council during Nixon's Administration, which argued that there was no realistic or supportable alternative for the Americans except to side with the whites in southern Africa, the *New Statesman* of 4 April declares:

Twelve years later, the Reagan Administration is torn between two impulses. One urges the building of American power on African territory to reverse the political and military failures of the past, topple the Angola and Mozambique regimes, annihilate the SWAPO movement in Namibia, and destroy the African National Congress and other movements for liberation in South Africa. The second impulse would avoid open US moves toward these objectives, but it differs from the first only in the willingness to let South Africa pull the trigger.

Walvis Bay ... is described by Reagan officials as "unquestionably South African territory".



1982

16 DECEMBER

Washington has told both the South Africans and Dirk Mudge, the leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia, who was in Washington immediately after the intelligence officers, that they should stall on negotiations for as long as will be necessary to build the DTA into a credible election force against SWAPO.

The second element which is cause for serious concern is the growing Pretoria-Washington convergence of positions in pursuit of the campaign for the integration of South Africa into the Nato framework. General Magnus Malan, the Pretoria regime's Defence Minister, former Commander-in-Chief, and graduate of the US Army's Command General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, recently made a public statement expressing satisfaction that the USA and some western powers were now taking a realistic position on this matter. It is most disturbing to note that Malan's statement came shortly after the meeting in Europe between Pik Botha, the Pretoria regime's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Luns, the Secretary-General of Nato. But even more disturbing is a report published by a South African newspaper that usually reflects the regime's thinking. That report says:

Nato countries are becoming steadily more alarmed and strategists feel that if Nato itself cannot move into the critical area because of South Africa's position as a pariah state, the individual countries with interests in this zone must accept the responsibility.

It is for that reason that we wish to sound the alarm and warn against the dangers entailed in the highly orchestrated campaign to project the Namibian struggle for the decolonisation of that illegally occupied territory as falling within the East-West conflict. The same goes for the campaign to characterise the liberation movement of southern Africa, SWAPO and the ANC, as terrorists or Soviet proxies. The intentions are particularly sinister when one remembers that only two years ago, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a Declaration on South Africa (Resolution 34/930), expressing solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, in which all the member states committed themselves against overt or covert military intervention in support or defence of the apartheid regime. While apologising to those who argue that resolutions and declarations do not solve problems, we most humbly suggest that Council Resolution 435 (1978), the Declaration on South Africa and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly Resolution 1514 [XV]) will for the overwhelming majority of mankind always remain important instruments to govern international relations and impede the reign of the law of the jungle. The American Declaration of Independence, which helped to arouse worldwide support for the American people's legitimate war of independence, falls into this category.

In the light of all that, I must say that we are very suspicious of the reports that the most colonial of all colonial problems, the question of Namibia, is to be the subject of discussion at the forthcoming Nato meeting in Rome on 4 May.

That is why we call on the council to prevent any attempt at taking the problem of Namibia out of the framework of the UN. That is why we call for affirmation of Resolution 435 (1978) without any strengthening or independent amendment. That is why we call for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the charter.

A luta continua. Power to the people!

Statement at the 2 409th meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

ON BEHALF OF the African National Congress (ANC), I wish to thank you, Mr President, for giving me this opportunity to address the council on the dastardly act committed by the Pretoria apartheid regime on 9 December, on the eve of Human Rights Day. My thanks also go to all the other members of the council for similarly according me this opportunity.

Let me hasten also to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency at a moment when the council is seized of a matter of the gravest concern to the international community. As one whose country has suffered enormously from fascist aggression, you, Mr President, are no doubt most sensitive to the seriousness of the situation under consideration.

It is thanks to your diplomatic skill and outstanding ability that the council has been able to adopt Resolution 527 (1982), condemning racist South African aggression against a peace-loving country whose people and ours are bound together by a common history of resisting colonial conquest and whose destiny and ours are inextricably intertwined.

May I convey to you, Sir, to the members of the council, and to King Moshoeshoe II and the Lesotho delegation, in particular, the profound regret of my President, Oliver Tambo, at his inability, through no fault of his own, to attend this meeting of the council, which is of such singular importance to my organisation and the oppressed people of South Africa.

Let me remind you that today, 16 December, as the council is in the process of expressing its revulsion and outrage at the vile conduct of the Pretoria regime, the fascist rulers of that country are celebrating their annual day of commemoration of their conquest and subjugation of my people. In their ceremonies, the slave-masters of Pretoria are completely oblivious of the fact that it was about this time 21 years ago that peace-loving mankind, in recognition of the non-violent struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, caused to be awarded to its illustrious leader, Albert Luthuli, the celebrated Nobel Peace Prize.

It is ironic that during the same year that this distinction was conferred on the leader of my organisation, the racist regime, in response to the call by the ANC for the holding of a national convention to map out the route towards a democratic South Africa, finally slammed the door against peaceful change and non-violent struggle by, among other things, mobilising an overwhelming force of its police and army to crush mercilessly a peaceful strike organised by the ANC. A new phase in the protracted struggle of my people for a non-racial democratic state was thus forced upon the scene. Thus it is that today we are also celebrating the 21st anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, the armed wing of the ANC. In our celebration of this anniversary, we draw inspiration from the famous Declaration of the founding fathers of the United States of America (USA), which reads:

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is (the people's) right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government ...

We also draw inspiration from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as from the resolutions adopted by the council and, in particular, those of the General Assembly, which recognise the legitimacy of our struggle in all forms, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa.

On this day of historic importance to my organisation, it is appropriate for the members of this council to cast their minds back and recall the events that have led to the present phase of our struggle. This has become even more important after hearing the statement made by the representative of the racist Pretoria regime.

At this stage, Mr President, I must say that it is perhaps only thanks to your protection that I can occupy this seat that he has just vacated.

The council and the international community well know, these are the descendants of a people which in 1836 trekked beyond the borders of a colony which they had settled in for just under two centuries, in protest against its falling into line with that important advance in the history of mankind, the abolition of slavery. They left to set up, as their infamous manifesto declared, a state in which there would be no equality between black and white in church or state.

Having vastly superior arms, they succeeded in conquering our people and seizing their land; they proceeded to treat them in a manner consistent with the provision of their manifesto which said that the universal description of slavery as a crime against humanity was ungodly and itself a crime against them, a chosen people of God.

They enslaved us and, with the support of the people who declared slavery a crime, have to this day kept us in bondage.

Against this yoke of oppression we struggled continuously, until we had exhausted all peaceful means open to man.

I should like at this stage to give a very brief account of what Lesotho means to our struggle in the region. Lesotho has a long history of gallantry and heroism. When, during the colonial wars of conquest, its territory was invaded, first by the Boers and then by the British, it fought valiantly against overwhelming odds to defend its territory, which was gradually being whittled away by the land-hungry colonisers. By an astute combination of diplomacy and heroic resistance by a sagacious father and leader, Lesotho was able to resist total subjugation.

When in 1910, after subjugating the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War, Britain created out of its various colonies in the region the so-called Union of South Africa, with political power consolidated in the hands of the white settlers, it pledged to allow in due course the annexation of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland to that infamous union. Once again, Lesotho had to live under the shadow of foreign conquest and for over five years had to campaign against this trading in human souls. When, in



State President Nic Diederichs with leaders of the bantustans created by the apartheid State.

1966, Lesotho finally won its independence, the determination of the fascist regime in Pretoria to subjugate this brave people remained unaltered. As has been eloquently explained to the council by King Moshoeshoe (2 406th meeting), to this day, Lesotho's sole preoccupation is to stave off South Africa's imperialist designs on its territory. It is the sacred duty of the UN to assist Lesotho in its just struggle for survival.

We have listened to a lot of allegations made by the representative of the Pretoria regime. It is obviously not possible to deal with all of them because, as all will agree, the greater part of his statement turned out to be a propaganda campaign for the Pretoria regime, which finds itself almost totally isolated by the international community. But a few of his points merit our immediate attention.

I think it is important for the council to refer back to the history of the rulers in the present-day Government of South Africa in order to understand their mentality, in order to understand the incorrigibly fascist character of the architects of apartheid. We wish in particular to recall that this system, which has been unanimously condemned as a crime against humanity and which we consider to be an offshoot of Nazism, flourished at a time when Europe was faced with the rise of Nazi Germany.

The people who are in power today in South Africa became proud, self-confessed disciples of Hitlerite Germany; a number of them even committed acts of sabotage in southern Africa in preparation for the conquest of that region by Nazi Germany, and some of them were detained during that period.

It is also important to remind the council that we are dealing here with people who are aggressive and expansionist designs in Africa can be proved by their legislation in favour of military intervention in all African countries south of the Equator. It is important also to note that we are dealing here with a statement by a representative of a regime which has not respected – indeed, which has flouted – every ideal embodied in the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

He comes here to say that Lesotho has a choice and that he expects a positive response from Lesotho, a response which would in fact mean that Lesotho must cease to comply with the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees signed in Geneva in 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967 and with UN resolutions adopted in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If that happened, South Africa would then have the right, as I interpret the statement the council has heard, to repeat what the council is in the process of condemning. What Lesotho is being asked to do is to align itself with the apartheid regime against the liberation movement.

What are the objectives of the ANC, as opposed to what I have referred to as being entrenched in the South African Constitution, namely that there should be no equality between black and white, either in church or in state? The policy of the ANC is clearly articulated in the Freedom Charter, which was adopted on 26 June 1955 at Kliptown, at the Congress of the People. In that political programme, we clearly state that we, the people of South Africa, declare that our country and the world should know that South Africa belongs to those who live in it, black and white, that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people, and that we strive for a democratic state, guaranteeing the birthright of all South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed: that is treason in South Africa, and that is what Lesotho and other neighbouring countries are being called on to join South Africa in fighting against. These principles are in keeping with the objectives of the Charter of the UN, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, indeed, of the Declaration of Independence of the USA.

Allegations have been made here that the ANC is using Lesotho as a springboard for so-called terrorist activities in South Africa. Nothing could be further from the truth. What I am saying was repeatedly affirmed and reaffirmed by Pretoria's Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, when he was campaigning for the total mobilisation of the entire white community by extending the age-limits for whites liable for military conscription to the range of 16 to 65 years of age. He said that without such an extension, South Africa could not win the war being waged by the ANC, because the ANC was not waging a border war but an area war. In other words, inspired by and drawing strength from the position of the international community which recognises the legitimacy of struggle in all forms for the eradication of a system which is universally condemned as a crime against humanity, but also mindful of the vulnerability of countries like Lesotho and mindful of the fascist character of the apartheid regime, which will exploit every available pretext in order to commit aggression against those countries, the ANC has deliberately and consistently pursued forms of struggle entailing the infiltration of manpower into South Africa and the establishment of cells inside South Africa.

We are not apologetic about waging armed struggle against a regime which is the only one since Nazi Germany whose policies have been accused of being a crime against humanity. We believe that this is our contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace in this world. In addition to its being an inescapable duty on the part of our people, following the examples set by the peoples of the USA, Algeria, Vietnam, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and so many others. Wherever there has been colonial subjugation, there has been resistance in favour of liberty. We are not going to be an exception.

It is important for me to say, even at the risk of repeating myself, that we of the ANC have never failed to express the pride we take in our total solidarity with Lesotho in its courageous stand of asserting its independence. We trust that after listening to the penetrating analysis of the politics of the region

made by the King of Lesotho, the international community will not confine itself to merely condemning the fascist South African aggression, but will take this opportunity, collectively and individually, to support the King in his campaign for Lesotho's unfettered right of sovereignty within the belly of this apartheid beast, to borrow a phrase from the representative of Uganda, and for the right to grant political asylum and refuge to the opponents of the inhuman system of apartheid.

We hope that by having voted in favour of Resolution 527 (1982), those members of the council who boast of their alliance with fascist South Africa are indicating the beginning of a change of attitude.

It is unnecessary for me to refute all of the brazen lies spoken here today by the representative of the apartheid regime in support of that regime's naked and unprovoked aggression against Lesotho. That was adequately done by the King of Lesotho. Suffice it to say that there is abundant evidence that our freedom-fighters operate in the very heart of our country.

One such piece of evidence is the fact that two years ago, the ANC unilaterally presented to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva a declaration in which it committed itself to what it described as humanitarian conduct of the war and pledged to do everything possible to avoid the loss of civilian lives.

On the other hand, we find that the apartheid regime does not stop at massacring peaceful demonstrators in the streets of Johannesburg or Soweto or Port Elizabeth or Langa; it does not stop at violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of neighbouring countries in order to kill ANC supporters or sympathisers who have been granted asylum in those countries.

It even goes to the extent of bombing our offices as far afield as London. And now it has committed this unprovoked aggression against Lesotho, which has resulted in the death of dozens of innocent refugees, and Lesotho nationals in particular, including women and children and even a couple on their honeymoon who had arrived in Lesotho a day before the attack.

The representative of the Pretoria regime says that his government will steadfastly hold its position, will not tolerate Lesotho's granting asylum to the opponents of the apartheid system. This reminds me of what I heard the racist Minister for Foreign Affairs say in reaction to the resolution adopted yesterday. He called it a travesty. In other words, the collective position unanimously adopted by this august body is, in the eyes of the representatives of the racist regime, a travesty. This reminds us of the position they took regarding the emancipation of slavery. They said it was ungodly. It reminds us of the numerous, endless arbitrary arrests and trials, the sentencing to death of freedom-fighters whose only crime is aspiring to what are considered basic human rights all over the world. To them, all these are travesties.

I think this is important, particularly for those who have taken a position they describe as constructive engagement with the South African regime, based on friendship and alliance with the apartheid regime. It is important that they understand not just the character but the mentality of these friends and allies of theirs. I think the best characterisation of this comes from a well-known South African historian by the name of Professor Edgar Brookes, who at one time was a member of the ruling Nationalist Party. In a book published sometime in the 1970s, he says that anyone who tries to promote dialogue between the international community and the present rulers of South Africa can

be compared to somebody who tries to promote a duel between a whale and an elephant. There is no meeting place.

We are dealing here with religious people who believe it is a God-chosen race and enjoys divine inspiration to keep the blacks under subjugation, forever. Hence this day, in condemning them, we are not limiting ourselves to the position they took in their Constitution, when they trekked northward, complaining against the emancipation of slavery, saying it was ungodly, but we can draw examples from the position they have taken recently.

Members have read a lot about the highly orchestrated campaign described as constitutional dispensation or changes, in terms of which some limited political rights are to be granted to the so-called coloureds and Indians. Of course, they do not tell the world that this makes this section of the oppressed black community liable for military conscription, but they do go further and say that this will never be extended to the 22 million blacks because, as one of the Cabinet ministers says, the blacks are not sufficiently developed mentally; they are incapable of understanding the complex democratic process.

I am trying to say that it is time for the international community in unison to reflect on the position taken by the heads of state of government of non-aligned countries at their sixth conference, held in Havana in September 1979, when they concluded that there could be no peace, stability or security in southern Africa unless the apartheid system was totally eradicated and replaced by a democratic state. And it must move in unison in accordance with the position the General Assembly has adopted on several occasions: that apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be destroyed. Because what are we witnessing right now?

We have listened here to an attempt to justify these policies of destabilisation. The representative of the Pretoria regime says that countries of the region such as Lesotho are unable to deal with their political, social and economic problems. What he really means is that the apartheid regime is recruiting, arming, training and financing criminal elements not just from Lesotho but from the various countries of the region, and they are being deployed back in their countries in order to destabilise and even to topple governments that dare stand firm in compliance with UN resolutions that oppose the apartheid system.

These armed bandits have in fact become an extension of the South African Secret Service and Army. They are being groomed. And here I want to cast my eyes on the Middle East, because that is what he did, talking of the Palestine Liberation Organisation as though we are not capable of doing this.

What is unfolding is in fact a very cruel scenario similar to what we have just witnessed in the Middle East. It is being said that these armed bandits are being groomed to play the role of the Phalangists in southern Africa.

As I have said, it is not possible to deal with all the allegations that have been made here except to remind the representative of the Pretoria regime, who speaks as if the world is out of step and they alone are right, that for about 20 years a consensus has been building in the form of resolutions adopted by this august body, pleading, appealing to the apartheid regime, and eventually condemning

and prescribing punitive measures such as the boycott. He should be reminded that the ANC, like other liberation movements that preceded it in Africa and elsewhere, continues to gain support. And here I want to seize this opportunity to salute those countries that have been unswerving in their support for our struggle.

Finally, in dealing with these allegations, it is important to remind the world and again to try to make people understand the type of people with whom we are dealing when they commit such crimes and then blame Lesotho and the ANC for having integrated itself with what is called the civilian population in order to make difficult I do not know what. In other words, we are subhuman, we must live in the bush, and we are no longer entitled to live with our brothers. Lesotho is not entitled to grant political asylum and refuge to South Africans.

That recalls to mind what the representative of South Africa cited as examples of what has been done in trying to resolve the problem peacefully with Lesotho. One is reminded of the explanation given after the murder of Steve Biko – that he struck his head against a wall. The regime has tried to suggest that Dr Aggett and a number of other political detainees who have been killed either in torture chambers or in prison cells were in fact carrying out an order from the ANC that they must commit suicide. They end up forgetting some of these unfounded claims. No doubt, those they advanced today will be forgotten in a few months and new ones will be fabricated.

In fact, South Africa's hostility towards Lesotho stems from the latter's strict compliance with UN resolutions in pursuance of the international fight against the apartheid system. This has taken the form of Lesotho's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with the Pretoria regime. It stems also from Lesotho's refusal to recognise the Transkei and other bantustans, its strict compliance with the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its rejection of the so-called Constellation of Southern African States – in terms of which South Africa would of course be the imperialist master while it continues to enslave the Basotho brethren in South Africa. Lesotho is called upon to collaborate with the apartheid regime or else be repeatedly attacked.

Therefore, this is not aggression against Lesotho only. It is aggression also against the international community, against the UN, against the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol, and so on. It is therefore urgent and imperative that the international community go beyond rhetorical support and token condemnation.

It is important at this stage, while expressing our hope that the unanimous decision taken yesterday marks the beginning of a new era, by way of burying the past, to say that the South African regime has indeed been encouraged to carry out not only brutal repression in South Africa but also brazen acts of aggression, by acts and statements of solidarity that have emanated from certain quarters. We hope that the adoption of that resolution means that that is coming to an end.

Lastly, we salute Lesotho for the courageous stand it has taken in continuing to provide succour to the victims of the terrorist apartheid regime. We are gratified at the assurance given to the council by the King of Lesotho that Lesotho remains committed to its obligations under the Geneva Convention on refugees. Lesotho deserves concrete support from the international community in carrying out this brave but difficult task.



1982

16 JUNE

Statement at the meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day)

SIX YEARS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE the apartheid regime, using weapons supplied by some Western countries, mowed down hundreds of school children in Soweto and other black ghettos in South Africa. It was not the first time that, in defence of the criminal system, which it persistently claims is meant to further Western Christian and white civilisation, the racist regime had resorted to savage repression against peaceful demonstrators.

The Soweto massacre, however, was viewed with a singularly deep sense of horror by the international community and condemned as yet another proof of the regime's fascist and terrorist character. The important question before the oppressed people of South Africa and the international community was whether to capitulate and permit the perpetual enslavement of the disenfranchised blacks in South Africa, or to continue and raise to higher levels the struggle for the total destruction of the inhuman system of apartheid. For the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, whose courage and determination have always increased with danger, and for their national liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC), whose irreversible commitment perpetually draws additional strength from the victories in the struggle registered by the brotherly peoples of Angola, Mozambique and, later, Zimbabwe, against the erstwhile allies of the Pretoria regime, the position was a rededication to their historic mission.

At its summit meeting a few days after the uprising, the Organisation of African Unity declared that the only guarantee against the repetition of such a massacre was the launching of armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa. Since then, the United Nations (UN) has repeatedly recognised as legitimate the struggle in all forms, including armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people in South Africa and for the establishment of a democratic state. We welcome that as a logical position taken by the international community, it having correctly concluded that the apartheid system cannot be reformed but must be destroyed and replaced by a democratic and unitary state, which will secure and guarantee the birthright of all the South African people, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

It is against this background that, in the name of the Executive Committee of the ANC, the sole, authentic and legitimate representative of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, I wish to register our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the unwavering political support we have always received and continue to receive from the quasi-totality of member states. Special thanks go to the organisations and governments which have sent messages of support and solidarity on this occasion. The importance of such messages cannot be overestimated. To our people they are proof of the fact that they are not alone in this grim fight. They serve as a source of tremendous inspiration and encouragement.

The uprising of 16 June marked an important turning point in the history of our struggle. It put to rest all the lingering doubts as to whether the apartheid regime could on its own bring about meaningful



change in South Africa. It vindicated the position taken by the ANC in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre, when it formed Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, as its military wing and decided to embark on the same road as had been trodden previously by the brotherly people of Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Since then, hundreds of the young patriots who, defenseless but fearless, confronted the heavily armed and murderous racist police in the streets of the townships in South Africa have swelled the ranks of the ANC and its military wing in their determination not only to avenge the mass slaughter of their comrades but to play their role in the overthrow of this cancerous system.

It was from the ashes of 16 June and subsequent youth and worker actions that the tradition of struggle set by leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others was followed by the emergence of young heroes like Solomon Mashlangu, James Mange, Mashigo, Manana, Lubisi, Sotsobe, Bhabangu, Moisi and many others.

The sixth anniversary of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa coincides with the period in which the struggle has entered a decisive stage in South Africa. Mass political mobilisation and armed action carried out by the ANC and its military wing have placed the struggle on the path of inevitable victory. Hardly a day passes without students protesting against inferior education, or workers acting in pursuit of their political and economic demands or the combatants of the Spear of the Nation dealing telling blows against the racist regime's strategic installations, such as military bases, police stations, electric power stations and so forth.

This upsurge, which is reinforced by the successes registered by the ANC in uniting the entire black population and by a steadily growing number of whites on the bases contained in the Freedom Charter, is progressively making the country ungovernable. At the same time, we are witnessing the beginnings of the crack in the much-vaunted fascist army of the apartheid regime, today plagued by ever-growing numbers of deserters, hundreds of whom have recently fled the country to join the international fight against the apartheid system.

In the face of this mounting militancy and the resistance waged by the oppressed blacks who have formed the broad patriotic front under the leadership of the ANC, the Pretoria regime has embarked on a divisive campaign designed to split the so-called coloureds and Asians from this broad-based alliance. In offering so-called voting rights and representational seats in the all-white Parliament while continuing to deny this basic human right to the rest of the blacks, who are treated as foreigners in the country of the oppressed under the policy of bantustanisation, the Botha regime seeks to weaken the struggle and to perpetuate the status quo. The principled stand taken by the authentic leaders of these communities in rejecting this diabolical scheme as long as the 23 million other oppressed blacks remain disenfranchised deserves the commendation and support of this committee.

We humbly request that the Special Committee pays a special tribute to these leaders, in the same manner as the recent meeting of the non-aligned did – an event that coincided with the ANC's attack on the Presidential Council offices in Cape Town, which caused extensive damage.

In desperation, the apartheid regime has not only stepped up its brutal repression, as exemplified by daily arrests, torture and assassinations of leaders and activists of the ANC; but has also

escalated its policy of destabilisation and aggression against neighbouring states. The undeclared war of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and Mozambique, as well as the arming, financing and training of counter-revolutionaries from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Zambia and the rest of the frontline states, is part of this global strategy.

In this, the Botha regime has been encouraged by the statements and acts of friendship and solidarity that continue to emanate from Washington. The vetoing of the Security Council resolution, which would have condemned South Africa's aggression against Angola, and the violation of the arms embargo by the United States (USA) are tantamount to licensing wanton aggression against the African subcontinent by the apartheid regime, which has arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the Equator and today occupies parts of Angola.

We urge the international community to take concrete steps to ensure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. The USA must not be allowed a free hand in creating an apartheid Frankenstein on African soil, as it has done with Zionist Israel in the Middle East.

Encouraged by the position that the committee has always taken in stigmatising the economic, military and nuclear collaboration between South Africa and Israel, I seize this opportunity to add the voice of the ANC to the vehement condemnation of the wanton aggression currently being perpetrated by Israel against Lebanon. In so doing, we reaffirm our revolutionary solidarity with the valiant people of Palestine, who, we are certain, will emerge, as they have done in the past, from this ongoing savage attack stronger than ever before and united under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

We also take this opportunity to renew our pledge to the heroic people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation, that now that we have joined them in the same trench to wage the common fight against the common enemy, headquartered in Pretoria, we are determined to do everything in our power to intensify that struggle in South Africa itself, thereby complementing their heroic role and their heroic fight in the struggle for independence in Namibia.

Finally, we wish to draw the attention of the committee to the recent repressive actions by the apartheid regime, which have taken the form of the renewal of the banning order imposed on Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, one of the top leaders of the ANC, who is at present serving a life term of imprisonment on Robben Island. We would like to request that the committee condemns this and mobilise public opinion to strengthen the campaign for the immediate release of all political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela and other leaders.



1983

1 JUNE

Statement at the 2 447th meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, I thank you most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to express, on behalf of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, the views and position of the African National Congress (ANC) on the burning issue before the council. Our thanks also go to all the other members of the council for making this possible.

Your countries and your own personal commitment to the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent is well known, Sir, it is therefore with a deep sense of satisfaction that we see you presiding over the deliberations of the council when it is discussing the Namibian problem.

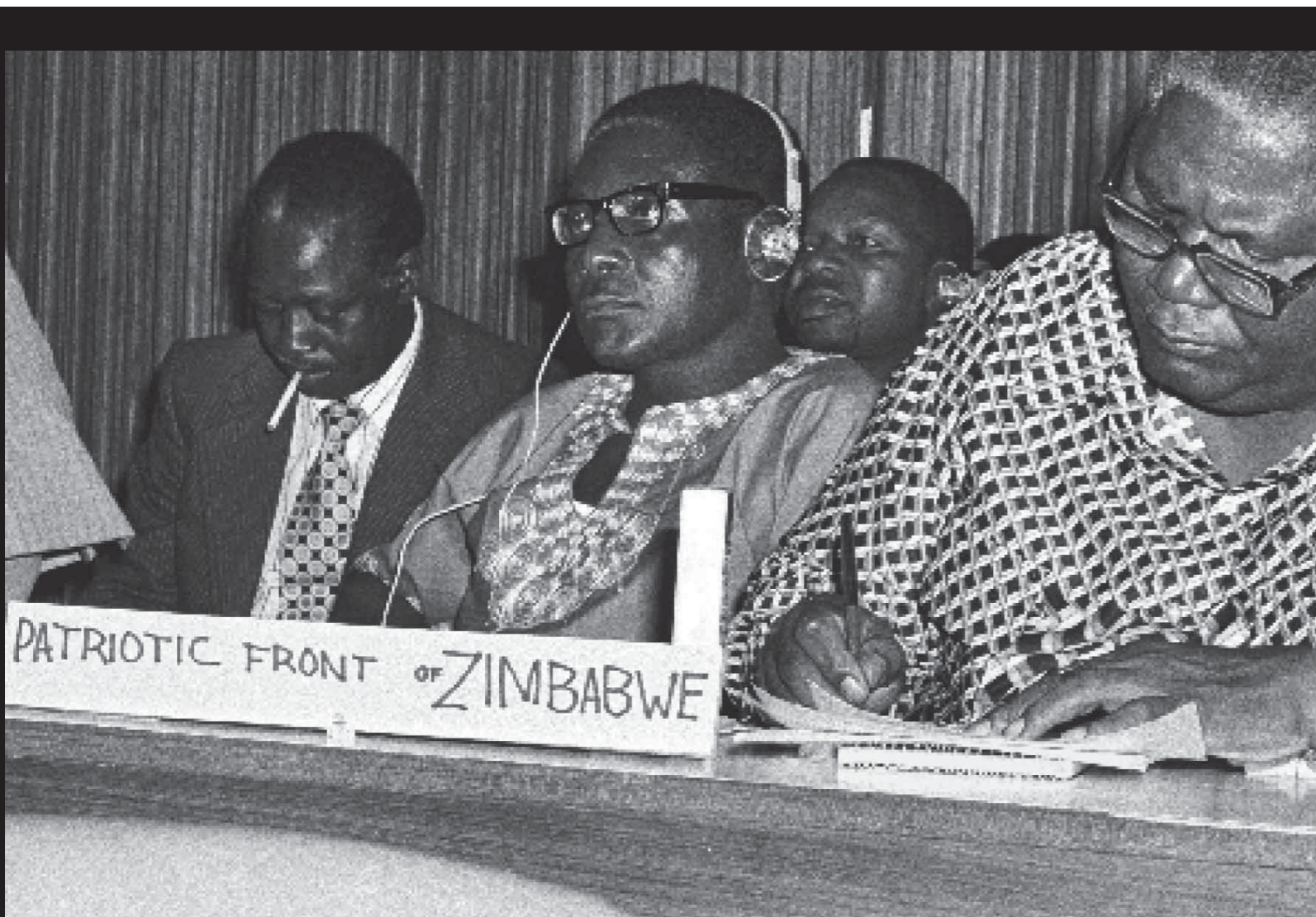
The ANC delegation wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to the member states of both the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement for their initiative in having so many foreign ministers come to New York to express their common concern with clarity and firmness at this crucial period in the struggle of the Namibian people.

Since this is the first time we have appeared before the council this year and this month, I should like first of all to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of President of the council during the month of June and the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, the new members of the council. That all their governments and they themselves fully share the paramount objective of the ANC of a non-racial, democratic society for all the South African people, regardless of race, colour or creed is a source of strength to our movement and our noble cause.

We must not fail to express our appreciation to the representatives they have replaced. Their teamwork with all the other countries that are equally committed to the African liberation cause helped us to reach important political milestones.

May I also be excused for singling out the delegation of Zimbabwe so as to salute, even in his absence, a dear friend and comrade-in-arms, the Foreign Minister. This is not simply because we feel singularly inspired and encouraged at seeing former fellow freedom-fighters – with whom we share the so-called terrorist label that rightfully belonged to Ian Smith – now seated as representatives in the council. I salute you, Mr President, and your Foreign Minister and express the ANC's admiration of the able manner in which your government and Comrade Robert Mugabe continue successfully to detect and defuse the numerous time bombs deliberately set by the erstwhile Pretoria-Salisbury axis and its partners in the anti-African alliances.

The exhaustive catalogue of betrayals of the Namibian people's just and heroic struggle so eloquently cited by several foreign ministers and many representatives of non-aligned and other countries committed to the African liberation cause revealed the continuing conspiracy not only to delay but also to derail the progress towards genuine independence of Namibia.



The World Conference for Action against Apartheid was held in Lagos from 22 to 26 August, bringing together representatives of more than 100 governments, including a number of heads of state, and representatives of liberation movements, United Nations (UN) bodies and organisations and individuals throughout the world. The Secretary-General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim, formally opened the conference. In addition to Secretary-General Waldheim, those addressing the opening meeting were the Head of State of Nigeria, Lieut Gen Olusegun Obasanjo; the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda; and the President of the UN General Assembly, Shirley Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka). The Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, Brigadier Joseph Garba, was elected President of the conference by acclamation. The conference was organised by the UN, in cooperation with the Organisation of African Unity and the Federal Government of Nigeria and in consultation with the South African liberation movements: the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and the Non-Governmental Organisations Sub-Committee on Decolonisation, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid.

To the left is Joshua Nkomo and right, Robert Mugabe, co-leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, 22 August 1977.

We shall refrain from repeating what has been so effectively stated to demonstrate the endless maze of double-talk, prevarications and other impediments designed to delay and prevent the independence of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the sole authentic and farsighted representative of the Namibian people.

I should like at this juncture to pay a glowing tribute to the brother people of Namibia, our comrade-in-arms, SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) for the outstanding heroism, perseverance and fortitude that they have displayed, not only in shattering racist South Africa's much-vaunted military might but also in facing up to the endless conspiracies.

The task of Comrade Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, has not been an easy one.

The hopes raised by the emergence in 1978 of the Western contact group have been dashed to the ground by its refusal to exert the promised collective diplomatic and economic leverage on the intransigent racist regime.

However, it would not be proper or fair to say that the present state of affairs fully vindicates the fears that were entertained by some silent but doubting Thomases who strongly questioned the intentions of the contact group, comprising as it does countries which have earned international notoriety for the collaboration they continue to enjoy with the illegal occupier of Namibia.

In their favour, it can be argued that they succeeded in bringing the Pretoria regime, albeit screaming and kicking, to the negotiating table at the pre-implementation conference in Geneva in 1981. The fact that these were countries that throughout had pursued a policy of duplicity, if not of outright support for the apartheid regime, raised sharp questions and doubts.

Even though mindful of the fact that this initiative could have been motivated by the contact group's attempt to delay the struggle with a view to imposing a fictitious neo-colonialist solution, the self-confidence, maturity and good faith of SWAPO and the frontline states were proved by their cooperation and agreement to make concessions.

SWAPO's cooperation and readiness to facilitate the settlement were demonstrated unequivocally when Comrade Sam Nujoma stood up at the Geneva conference and declared his readiness to sign a cease-fire and agree to the immediate implementation of the United Nations (UN) plan. It will be recalled that the so-called South African Administrator-General announced on 13 January 1981 – a week before the inauguration of the new United States (US) Administration – which South Africa was not prepared to proceed with implementing the UN plan. Torpedoed by the apartheid regime – which was obviously jubilant over the demise of the Jimmy Carter Administration and its policy of recognising the indigenous character of the struggle for decolonisation in Namibia and a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa – the pre-implementation conference broke up.

What followed those developments is of vital and fundamental importance for the settlement of the Namibia question, the elimination of the apartheid system and the solution of the problems of peace, stability and security in southern Africa. It is vital to the council, whose *raison d'être* is the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace.

President Ronald Reagan's public embrace of the Pretoria regime as a friend and ally elicited surprise, consternation and shock; embarrassed the American people, friends and allies; angered the African people; and caused jubilation in Pretoria. He went further by assuring that regime that the USA would not leave it in the lurch, that the Administration would pursue a policy of constructive engagement aimed at removing the polecat status imposed on the racist regime by the international community and would set a precondition linking the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces with Namibia's independence; that the Administration would reward the African countries that befriended the regime and punish and even topple those that assisted the ANC and SWAPO; and that the settlement of the Namibian question must take into account the South African regime's "legitimate security concerns".

Those and several other statements of solidarity with the self-confessed Nazi supporters, whose system of apartheid stands universally condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace, led to the unholy alliance that continues to grow. That alliance has been further strengthened by secret visits by the regime's military intelligence officials; the training of racist South Africa's coast guards in the USA; the visit to South Africa by William Casey, Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, for discussions on the problem of Namibia and apartheid; and constant attacks against the ANC and SWAPO as terrorist organisations.

There could have been no greater solidarity for a regime, which for decades has been an international pariah. This encouraged and emboldened the regime to show greater intransigence, practise more brutal repression inside South Africa, step up assassinations of ANC leaders in the country and the neighbouring states and undertake more brazen acts of destabilisation and aggression against the frontline, Indian Ocean and neighbouring countries. We have no doubt that the UN plan has been the biggest casualty of the Washington-Pretoria axis.-

As a direct consequence of the USA giving comfort and succor to its strategic ally, the apartheid regime, we find that the present South African representative can make the outrageous claim that its presence in Namibia is legal.

In a statement before the council the other day, the Pretoria regime's representative declared:

The time has come to remind the United Nations that South Africa has never accepted the United Nations' view that South Africa's presence in the Territory is illegal; nor has the International Court of Justice ever delivered a binding judgment to the effect that South Africa's right to administer the Territory has been terminated. As far as South Africa is concerned, it continues to administer the Territory legally and in conformity with the spirit of the lapsed mandate from the League of Nations. (S/PV.2440, page 26)

This defiant, categorical and unequivocal statement goes to the root of the whole problem and flatly negates the oft-repeated assurances by the contact group that the negotiations have reached a crucial stage and the independence of Namibia is round the corner.

In his statement before the council, Comrade Sam Nujoma, SWAPO's President, helpfully reminded us of the ruling given on 21 June 1971 by the International Court of Justice, in paragraph 133 of its advisory opinion, where it states:

The continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory.

In the light of its position in the negotiation process for the independence of Namibia, it is abundantly clear that the role of the USA cannot be considered that of an honest broker.

That the Namibian people, SWAPO, the frontline states and the UN have been deceived is self-evident. The question before us is whether the South African regime has been deceiving the contact group as well, or the regime undertook this deceptive exercise jointly with, and with the conscious collusion of, the contact group. This question must be answered by the contact group in the interest of its own credibility, not just in words but through action. If the contact group has been deceived by the apartheid regime, we believe that, in defence of their compromised moral integrity, its members must now take the lead in calling for the imposition of sanctions against the South African regime.

In his closing remarks, Comrade Sam Nujoma declared:

Unless this body acts decisively to secure the withdrawal of South Africa from the international Territory of Namibia, we shall have no alternative but to continue the armed struggle with greater intensity.

This statement is a serious indictment of the international community in general and the contact group in particular.

For our part, we seize this opportunity to reaffirm our revolutionary solidarity with our comrades-in-arms, the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia. We pay a glowing tribute to its armed combatants, the PLAN, and assure them that now that the situation is ripe inside South Africa and the ANC has joined them in the trenches, we shall fight side by side until final victory.

The Pretoria regime's illegal rule does not begin and end in Namibia. In South Africa itself as a product of colonial conquest, the regime keeps the 23 million blacks under subjugation at the point of the gun and governs without the consent of the governed.

We raise this point because a few days ago, a lot was said and written about the situation in South Africa. On 23 May, South African war planes attacked Mozambique, bombing civilian targets, including private houses, a factory and a crèche, and killing five adults and a child. This was boastfully reported by the apartheid regime as an act of retaliation for what took place in Pretoria on 20 May when the armed combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) attacked the South African Air Force headquarters.

We would like to make it quite clear that the alleged ANC bases that were supposedly attacked in Mozambique do not exist. This is well known to the South African regime, thanks to its intelligence service. We would also like to make it clear that, contrary to the claims made by the regime, not only does the ANC have no bases in Mozambique, but this is the case in all the neighbouring countries. And this point has been repeatedly stated by the regime's own Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, who has said, according to the South African newspapers, that the ANC is not waging an area war but a psychological war.

It is clear that the South African regime, unable to contain the rising tide of resistance in South Africa, has resorted to using the frontline states and Lesotho as scapegoats in order to placate the panic-stricken white constituents who are beginning to wonder if the regime is capable of defending them should the ANC respond in kind and do what the regime has been doing since the advent of settler colonialism in South Africa.

The institutionalised racism, exploitation and plunder, bolstered by the legislative mechanism of the exclusively white Parliament, judiciary and provincial councils, are justified by South Africa on the basis of a white supremacy doctrine preached from the pulpit and taught in the classroom. Its agents are covered with the blood of innocent blacks, killed in prison, assassinated by hit squads inside the country or in neighbouring states, or massacred at Sharpeville, Soweto, Langa, Maseru or Matola. The regime's hangman is the busiest in the world, since that regime holds the world record for hangings.

The 23 million Africans are not only denied the right to vote by this regime, considered in some circles in the West as a member of the so-called free world, but are today being made foreigners in the land of their birth. They are daily being uprooted in their millions and herded off to the vast concentration camps for displaced persons in the bantustans – the so-called national independent states – where they either starve and die or sell their labour cheap in the urban areas where they can remain legally only for so long as they minister to the needs of the whites. Since 1976, a total of eight million people have been forcibly removed and have lost their citizenship in South Africa.

These disabilities and a million others, including the expropriation of land, have been the lot of the blacks in South Africa since the advent of settler colonialism, when, after almost 200 years of fighting, our people's resistance was subdued thanks to the superiority of the gun to the spear. Two years after the formation of the so-called Union of South Africa, the ANC was formed in 1912. The 50 years of non-violent methods of struggle achieved little other than total dispossession, disenfranchisement and super-exploitation.

The heightened militancy and spirit of protests, which coincided with the wind of change in other parts of Africa, resulted in the increase of mass arrests, banishments, hangings and massacres, climaxed by the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. The Soweto, Gugulethu, Langa and Sharpeville massacres, and many others, were the result of the wanton murder of innocent black men, women and children, gunned down by racist police using Western weapons and carrying out their masters' standing orders to "shoot first and ask questions later".

It will be recalled that even after the Sharpeville massacre, the ANC and its sister organisations, concerned over the then imminent proclamation of a fascist republic following the regime's worldwide condemnation and forced withdrawal from the Commonwealth, called for a national convention to discuss the future of the country. The letters addressed to the racist Prime Minister of the day by Nelson Mandela, acting on behalf of the already outlawed ANC, were not even accorded the courtesy of acknowledgement. Thus, the ANC's last attempt to keep open the avenues for dialogue met with failure.

The last straw was the regime's use of its entire police force and army to crush a national strike, called by Nelson Mandela in the name of the ANC in order to protest against the fascist republic. Yesterday's celebration of the proclamation was made less festive by the crisis of confidence which has hit the white community.



1983

1 JUNE

It was amid armed attacks against installations connected with the policy of apartheid that Umkhonto we Sizwe – the Spear of the Nation – announced its formation on 16 December 1961 through its manifesto:

The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violence only. The choice is not ours. It has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceful demand by our people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force. We of MK have always sought – as the liberation movement has sought – to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awaken everyone to the realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading.

This situation and the historic decision taken by the ANC in 1961 and continuing to this day are not unique. A large number of states, including Zimbabwe and the USA, were at some stage of their people's struggle for emancipation from colonial, alien or dictatorial regimes, forced to take the same position. A good number of member states of the UN, including members of the Security Council, fall into this category. Indeed, it includes the USA, whose Declaration of Independence states that:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government ... organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness ... But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

The rapidly deteriorating situation in southern Africa has been further aggravated by the regime's continued destabilisation of Lesotho. Three days ago, following a bomb blast in Bloemfontein, carried out by one of the agents of the regime, later followed by an announcement from Maseru addressed to the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation, purporting to come from the ANC and claiming responsibility for the bomb attack in Bloemfontein, the border with Lesotho was closed, causing the prevention of the passage of supplies of essential goods such as foodstuffs, medical supplies and petrol. This showed clearly that this attempt by the regime to discredit the ANC was intended also to prepare the ground for stepping up the destabilisation of Lesotho, if not the overthrowing of its legitimate government and the replacing of it by South Africa's puppet, the leader of a counter-revolutionary group which is armed, equipped, financed and deployed by the South African regime.

We close by appealing to member states to give this problem immediate attention, for Lesotho is the victim of aggression because it stands firm on the implementation of UN resolutions.

Statement at the 2 488th meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, I wish to thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to participate in this council meeting. Our thanks also go to all the members of this body for making this possible.

Mr President, like many representatives who have preceded us, we are pleased to see you preside over the council when it examines once again the problem to which the African people and justice-loving people as a whole attach so much importance. Your country's commitment to the international fight for freedom, justice and peace in the Middle East and southern Africa is well known, as is your own personal devotion to these just causes. This double qualification and your rich diplomatic experience inspire us with confidence that, under your able guidance, the deliberations of this council meeting will be crowned with success.

May I also, in the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC), pay tribute to my friend, brother and comrade, His Excellency Ambassador Noel Sinclair, for what everybody agrees was outstanding leadership which he provided to this council during the difficult month of September. The role played by Guyana and a host of other countries as frontline states in the international rear base in the fight against the inhuman system of apartheid is a source of tremendous inspiration and encouragement to our people.

Having failed to secure the intended annexation and incorporation of Namibia as a fifth province of South Africa and contesting the legal authority of the UN on this question, the Pretoria regime defiantly imposed its illegal occupation of this African territory some decades ago. This was followed by countless resolutions and decisions adopted by the UN General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and other international institutions, condemning racist South Africa's illegal occupation and calling for its termination. The international community also went further and recognised the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

The Pretoria regime's response to this consensus was continued defiance, thereby forcing SWAPO to resort to armed struggle. In 1977, at a time when the development of the armed liberation struggle waged by the heroic people of Namibia, under their sole authentic representative, SWAPO, had reached a high point, the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom, France, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany came forward and offered their services as a contact group which would use its collective diplomatic and economic leverage in order to coerce racist South Africa to cooperate towards a negotiated settlement of the Namibian problem. SWAPO, together with the frontline states and Nigeria, were to become participants in this exercise.

That SWAPO, the frontline states and Nigeria were suspicious is common knowledge. For our part, we of the ANC fully shared this suspicion. The cause of this strong suspicion was mainly the fact that

all the members of the proposed contact group were countries that had done everything possible, short of direct military intervention in support of the apartheid regime, to thwart the Namibian people's liberation struggle.

What had brought about this change of heart, many asked? Was it the development of the struggle, led by SWAPO, which was progressively making the Namibian war of liberation unstoppable, as the ANC struggle intensified in South Africa itself? What was the group's hidden agenda, others asked. Was it the derailment of this liberation struggle and the imposition of a neo-colonialist solution in Namibia?

More questions came up. Was this initiative intended to help the Pretoria regime buy the time it needed to set up and consolidate a third-force group in preparation for a solution of its choosing – that is, the exclusion of SWAPO and the imposition of a puppet neo-colonialist regime in Namibia? Were these negotiations to be held with the illegal occupier of Namibia simply intended to put an end to the confrontational posture that had been taken by the international community against racist South Africa and to help rehabilitate that regime – a regime that stood universally condemned for its practice of the inhuman system of apartheid?

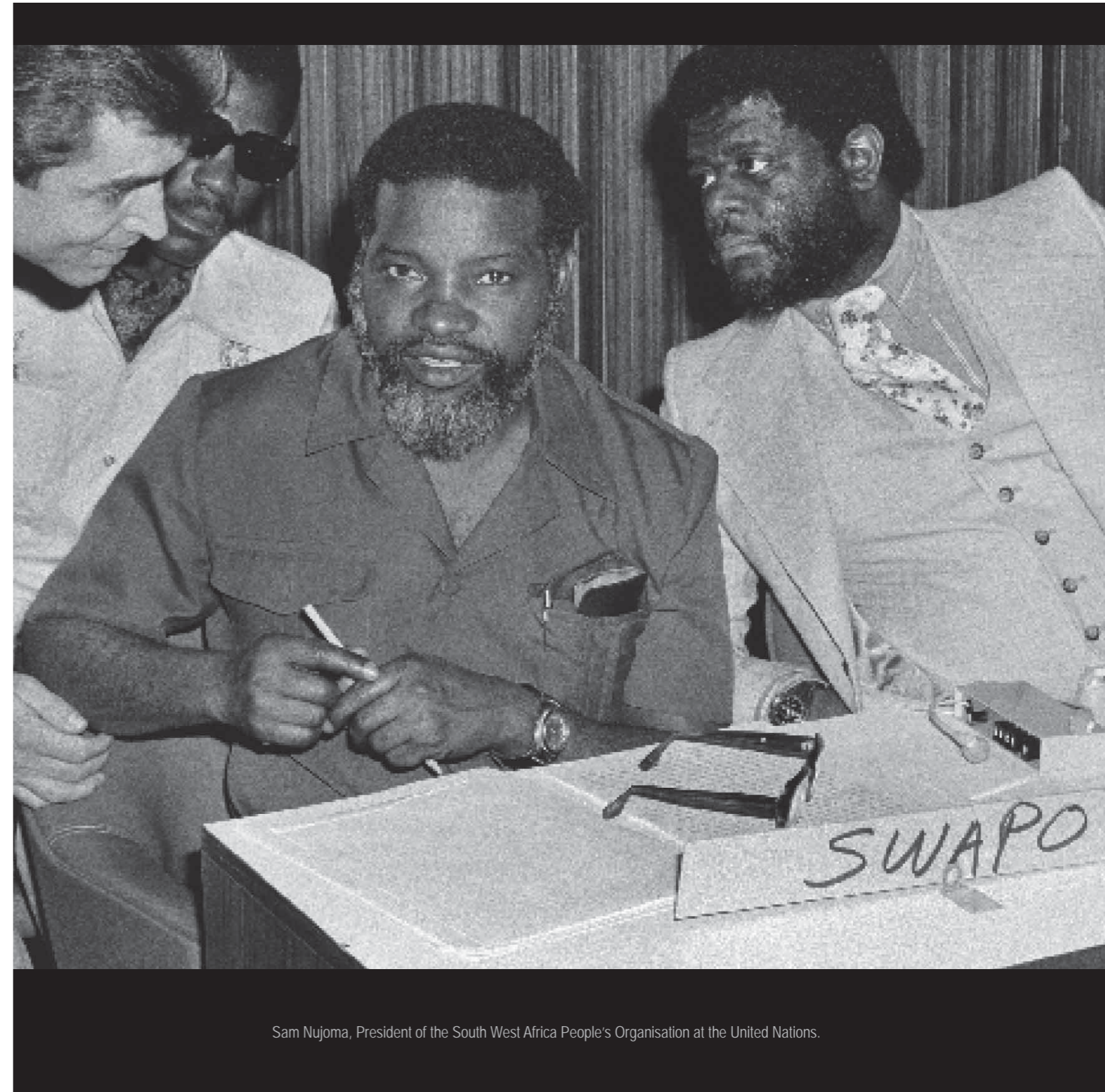
These questions have become pertinent in the face of not only the failure of the contact group to deliver what it promised but also the attitude, pronouncements and acts of solidarity displayed by the USA, the leader of the group, towards the apartheid regime.

We are convinced that the Pretoria regime is bent on perpetuating its illegal occupation of Namibia or imposing its own solution, in keeping with its determination to prevent the completion of the process through which neighbouring countries become independent and cease to serve as buffer zones. Its policy of destabilisation and aggression against the frontline states and Lesotho is in fact further proof of its intention to reverse this situation, which had resulted in the independence of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola and extended the frontiers of freedom to this last bastion of reaction on the African continent.

The propaganda campaign, which accompanied the emergence of the Western contact group and the big promises that diplomatic and economic leverage would be collectively exerted on the Pretoria regime in order to force its hand tells the rest of the story.

A campaign was unleashed, not only criticising the countries that had always supported SWAPO and other liberation movements as interfering, but also claiming that the USA and other contact group members considered the mineral resources with which Namibia and South Africa itself were endowed to be of vital strategic interest to the USA. Although we remain convinced that the motive for setting up the contact group in 1977 was the determination to obstruct the outright victory that had become imminent in Zimbabwe and inevitable in Namibia, it is true that there were some positive elements. For example, we welcomed what we thought was the beginning of some movement towards recognising the fact that the liberation struggle in southern Africa was indigenous and not an extension of East-West rivalry.

But the change in Washington and the assumption of leadership by the incumbent Administration has resulted in the cancellation of the limited positive elements and the multiplication of the negative elements.



Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organisation at the United Nations.

While professing its commitment to the liberation of Namibia, the Reagan Administration has shamelessly proclaimed friendship and alliance with the racist oppressor, to which it has offered nuclear, dollar and other types of carrots, and pledged to reward countries that befriend their racist ally and punish or topple those that give assistance to SWAPO and the ANC.

This Pretoria-Washington unholy alliance has encouraged the apartheid regime's intransigence, repression, terrorism, destabilisation and aggression in Namibia and South Africa and against the frontline states and Lesotho.

The linkage issue introduced by the USA is the most flagrant act of hostility against the liberation cause of Africa and the international community. Unfolding events have in fact shown that it is but the starting point of a long chain of other so-called linkages intended to impede the liberation of southern Africa and strengthen the political, economic and military position of the Pretoria regime as the bastion, gendarme and strategic ally in the region of the USA of the Reagan Administration. Part of this strategy has taken the form of economic blackmail and the use of armed bandits, who serve as the extension of the regime's racist army in carrying out acts of destabilisation and aggression against neighbouring states.

As a result, we find that the posture adopted by the apartheid regime with regard to the independent African states of southern Africa is governed today by the promotion of what Pretoria describes as its policy of national security. Indeed, this policy constitutes the centrepiece of Pretoria's strategy for the defence and entrenchment of the apartheid system.

In accordance with this policy, the regime seeks to destroy SWAPO and the ANC in Namibia and South Africa, and it has examples to learn from as it continues its activities in the direction of a Beirut-type operation in southern Africa.

The second component of this strategy is the transformation of the rest of the region into a so-called constellation of client states under its domination. Again, the central element of the strategy is the liquidation of SWAPO and the ANC even outside the borders of the respective countries, or at least our eviction from the region. In pursuance of this strategy, the Pretoria regime is bent on a campaign of terror, aggression and destabilisation, which we are convinced, will only stop when this council takes effective action or when the regime feels it has pacified the whole region.

This position of the Washington Administration is taken, for example, by the US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, who states that the efforts to secure a negotiated settlement in Namibia must also address racist South Africa's so-called legitimate security concerns. This, we submit, is a creeping move towards campaigning for the liquidation of the ANC in the region, as yet another linkage.

The statement of the US' representative before this council the other day is yet another example. And so is the statement of the Pretoria regime's representative, to whom the simple discovery of a pamphlet during its unprovoked aggression in Maputo, a pamphlet that talks of ANC soldiers, justifies the regime's aggression against the capital of Mozambique.

Perhaps the most central part of the Reagan Administration's policy and strategy of so-called



The North-American Regional Conference against Apartheid, organised by the Special Committee against Apartheid, held a four-day conference to review the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole, in relation to the policies and actions of the United States and Canada. United Nations, New York, 18 June 1984.

At the presiding table are (from left) Sam Nujoma, President of South West Africa People's Organisation; Minister Emeka Omeruah of Nigeria; Senator Edward Kennedy; Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar; Joseph Garba (Nigeria), Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Committee; Daniel Lisulo, Chairman of the Political and Legal Committee of Zambia; Reverend Jesse Jackson; and Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth.

constructive engagement are helping to placate world public opinion and giving credibility to racist South Africa in its pretence of engaging in peaceful talks, thus helping that regime to buy time and prepare for the imposition of a neo-colonialist settlement in Namibia. Evidence on the ground also shows that part of this strategy is not only the destabilisation of the frontline states but also the toppling of their legitimate governments. We seize this opportunity to pay tribute to those countries for the sacrifice they are making in resisting the combined pressure of the USA and racist South Africa, designed to force them to enter into secret agreements for the liquidation of the ANC and the liberation struggle in South Africa.

It is clear that an honest examination of the situation can only lead to the following conclusions.

The negotiated settlement has never been, and is not today, round the corner as some have been saying for a number of years now. There has been no substantial progress in that direction and none can be made in the face of the anti-African liberation position of the Pretoria regime and its Washington allies. Implementation of the UN plan can be achieved only through forcing racist South Africa to withdraw unconditionally from Namibia and not through persuasion. Continued delay by the council in taking this position and imposing sanctions will not only erode the authority of the UN but make it an accomplice in the crimes yet to be committed by the apartheid regime. We therefore call for the immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime, and appeal to the other members of the contact group to condemn the issue of linkage and publicly to dissociate themselves from that position.

In conclusion, I wish to pay a glowing tribute to the valiant people of Namibia, whose patience, perseverance and fortitude, combined with yet unsung political maturity acquired in the course of



1983

18 NOVEMBER

Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly

MAY I FROM THE OUTSET convey the warm greetings of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) and President Oliver Tambo and congratulate you, Sir, on your more than well-deserved election to the eminent office of President of the General Assembly.

For the overwhelming majority of the oppressed so-called coloured people, the people of Asian descent and the African indigenous people, who together constitute 80% of the South African population and who have for decades waged a common fight against a common enemy for a common objective – a non-racial democratic society for all the South African people – the decision taken by the General Assembly on 15 November will go down in history as an exceptionally important landmark.

We thank the Group of African States and its Chairman, Mr Koroma of Sierra Leone, for the initiative taken. We also pay tribute to all the member states for the historic position they took in one way or another and salute you, Mr President, for the leadership you provided.

From this principled position and reminder that even at this critical moment the overwhelming majority of mankind is unswervingly behind them in the struggle for the eradication of apartheid in all its forms and manifestations, our people have once again drawn strength and courage that will certainly continue to rise with the dangers that lie ahead.

It is with a deep sense of elation that through you, Mr President, and on behalf of the ANC, I seize this opportunity to congratulate our brother, Mr Maitama Sule of Nigeria, on his appointment to his new post as Minister of Information and National Guidance. His devotion to the fight for freedom, justice and peace is such that, while we regret his departure, we are comforted by the knowledge that he leaves us to continue the fight from another important front from where he will not only inform and guide the 80 million anti-apartheid Nigerian people in their fight for national development and social progress in Nigeria, but also in their continued and deeper involvement in the fight against apartheid.

Next year marks the 10th anniversary of racist South Africa's suspension from this body – a decision taken after decades of this regime's defiance of numerous resolutions calling on it to abolish the tyranny of apartheid and permit the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in accordance with the principles embodied in the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As could have been expected, the Pretoria regime's instant reaction to the initiative of the Group of African States in sponsoring draft Resolution A/38/L.15 and Add. 1, adopted on 15 November, is very revealing. By declaring, in a statement made by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs on 15 November, that the majority of those countries "do not know the meaning of democracy" and "have

the bitter struggle they have been waging for so long under the far-sighted leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, has enabled them to defeat the countless machinations and manoeuvres designed to derail their heroic struggle and pave the way for a new colonialist solution.

Through Comrade Peter Mueshihange, through the People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the SWAPO Central Committee, headed by the indomitable Comrade Sam Nujoma, we salute our comrades in arms, the people of Namibia, for the important victories they continue to win in both the political and the military fields.

We dip our banner in memory of those who have fallen in battle or as victims of massacres and assassinations perpetrated by the Pretoria regime while we are being told in this council that our frustrations are shared by the mighty ones.

We salute the SWAPO leadership, and pledge to reciprocate the support the Namibian people have always given our struggle by intensifying ours in the belly of the apartheid beast, thereby complementing yours and bringing closer our inevitable common victories.



Press conference by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, United Nations, New York, 21 March 1983.

Yuseff Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), centre, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; Bernard Harleston (left), President of the City College of the City University of New York, announced that City College would award an honorary Doctor of Laws degree to Nelson Mandela. James Gbeho (Ghana), right, was a Special Committee Vice-Chairman.

little knowledge and understanding of the United Nations Charter” and making the preposterous claim that its so-called “new Constitution is entirely consistent with the promotion of the central principle of the charter”, the PW Botha regime has once again forwarded proof of the fact that it lives in the past and remains as adamantly hostile to the cause of black liberation today as its predecessors were to the emancipation of slavery in 1833, the historic development they condemned as ungodly. Their statement also proves that the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter have a different meaning to them and that there can never be a true meeting of the minds between them and those in this hall who truly subscribe to the principle of racial equality and non-racial democracy.

The facts before us are that the so-called new Constitution does not deal with the fundamental issue confronting South Africa, namely, the need to transfer power from the minority to the entire population regardless of race. What we have witnessed these last few months and weeks has been a glaring example of the pattern of the apartheid political process in which whites proposed, whites debated, whites differed, whites consulted and whites decided. However, we refuse to dignify the monstrous subject matter of the racist referendum with the term “new Constitution” and a discussion of its provisions. For throughout history, new constitutions have embodied the spirit of liberty and a new socio-economic order expressing the hard-won sovereignty of people liberated from bondage, whether such documents have been the products of passive resistance or armed struggle for national independence or social revolution.

But, as the many speakers who have preceded us have stated, the racist regime’s so-called constitutional proposals are designed precisely to restructure apartheid rule and racial tyranny, impede the emergence of universal suffrage, permanently strip the majority of its birthright to citizenship, foment internal conflict among the oppressed blacks and eliminate the possibility of true constitutional rights and due political process.

In this hall and all over the world, as in the African circles in South Africa, the overwhelming majority has rightly not bothered to seek to understand the regime’s rationale for excluding the indigenous African people in what it boastfully describes in its 15 November statement as “the central principle of the Charter which proclaims the right of all peoples to self-determination”. A few months ago, in response to this question, the regime’s Minister of Constitutional Affairs said that “the Africans are not adequately developed to comprehend the complex democratic process”, thereby reminding us of Afrikaner Professor de Kiewiet’s description of his kinsmen’s beliefs that “their superiority was born of race and faith, a quality divinely given which could not be transmitted or acquired by them” – meaning the blacks. Yes, this is the rationale for forcibly removing millions of African people from their urban and rural dwelling-places and herding them to the barren, poverty-stricken “homelands” and having them stripped of South African citizenship while the qualification for naturalisation for white immigrants is reduced from five to two years, all in the bid to make South Africa a white man’s country in which the blacks can only remain as migrant and temporary sojourners for the exclusive purpose of ministering to the needs of the whites.

And again, as a number of speakers have stressed, this becomes a step in the right direction only to those who share the late racist Prime Minister JG Strijdom’s argument that “if the franchise is to be extended to the non-Europeans, and if the non-Europeans are given representation and the vote and the non-Europeans are developed on the same basis as the Europeans, how can the Europeans remain baas? ... Our view is that in every sphere, the Europeans must retain the right to rule the

country”. This position of the 1950s we find later renewed and reiterated by racist Prime Minister BJ Vorster when, speaking at a meeting in Durban on 13 March 1970, he said: “South African nationhood is for whites only”. This argument is now being earnestly followed up by PW Botha, who has been honest enough to tell the world that his friends in Washington are wrong in suggesting that he has a hidden agenda that might lead to some so-called power-sharing involving the Africans and has repeatedly gone further to restate his firm opposition to one man, one vote in South Africa.

The other question that remains is what has brought about the change in the declared position of placing the so-called coloureds under apartheid and repatriating the people of Indian descent, as was always officially stated by Botha’s predecessors, the self-confessed Nazi disciples and architects of apartheid, whose policies Botha continues to implement, albeit in a camouflaged form.

It is the progress made by the ANC in the unification of all the patriotic forces comprising the so-called coloureds and people of Asian descent under its leadership and on the basis of the Freedom Charter, adopted on 26 June 1955, which declares:

*That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
That only a democratic State, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.*

This document remains to this day the incontestable vehicle for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society.

Finding the classic method of divide and rule no longer effective in the face of the truly non-racial strategy that extends to involving white democrats who identify with the black people and accept the leadership of the ANC, the regime has resorted to these heinous moves to split this fighting alliance.

It is the menacing problem of the shortage of white military manpower resulting from its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, the occupation of parts of Angola, and the low-keyed but widespread war situation in South Africa itself, as well as the repeated and intended future Beirut and Grenada types of invasions of independent African countries. It is precisely for this reason that the Pretoria regime intends to co-opt the so-called coloureds and the people of Asian descent in order to make them liable for compulsory military conscription, as PW Botha wasted no time in admitting in a statement made immediately after the racist referendum. Botha’s assertion that it will not be long before the so-called coloured people and those of Asian descent are conscripted into the oppressive apartheid army can be taken to mean that the regime intends to deploy them for internal repression and external aggression against African states.

The Pretoria regime’s future plan is to bring the racially constituted and racially segregated Parliament into association with the bantustans in the form of a so-called constellation of states, for which new titles are being touted, such as Confederation or Consociation. At the same time, the illegal occupation of Namibia continues and the aggression against and destabilisation of independent African states are being stepped up so that these too can be cowed into becoming client states of apartheid bantustans beyond the borders.

The pretext given that the ANC has bases there has no validity whatsoever. In fact, the statement by the regime's own Chief of the Defence Force, Magnus Malan, when campaigning for the extension of the draft age from 35 to 65 years for whites and for the so-called winning of the hearts and minds of the blacks, makes this point when he says, "the ANC is not waging a border war but area psychological warfare". Our bases are among the people of South Africa in the urban and rural areas and throughout the length and breadth of our country, which we are determined to liberate. It was from these bases that our armed combatants struck twice at the Koeberg nuclear-power station, one thousand miles from any border; it was from these bases that we hit Voortrekkerhoogte, the regime's military headquarters on the outskirts of Pretoria; and it is from there that we are hitting hard targets all over the country, such as police stations, oil-from-coal plants, electric power stations, and the regime's Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria. In any event, the regime's big-lie technique aimed at justifying barbaric acts such as the Lesotho invasion and the massacre of defenseless men, women and children, is exposed by its own act of twice invading Seychelles, where the ANC does not even have an office, refugees, students or children.

After committing one flagrant act of aggression after another against independent African states, the regime has the effrontery to propose a so-called non-aggression pact with them. Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia – to mention but a few – not one of these states has sent a single soldier to fire a single shot in South African territory. Yet, Pretoria is constantly sending its assassination squads, commandos, war planes and submarines to murder ANC leaders, commit massacres, and violate the airspace of its neighbours, thereby exacting a terrible price in blood.

No people in the world long for peace more than the oppressed people of South Africa, who have always lived under the tyrannical rule of violence, and no organisation has worked more patiently for a peaceful solution than the ANC. But the massacres to which our people have been subjected; the refusal to let them participate in any democratic process; the tribal fragmentation of our motherland into bantustans whose tribal armies are to be set against the liberation efforts; the forced removal and denationalisation of millions of black people; the daily hangings of our people, reaching a level of 129 in 1980 alone; the continued imprisonment of our leaders such as Nelson Mandela; the prohibition of public meetings; the muzzling of activists and leaders at present exiled or under house arrest in remote areas; the frantic war preparations and full-scale militarisation; the gigantic campaign to isolate the ANC through massive dissemination of forged printed matter purporting to be by the ANC and espousing intentions to kill men, women and children and strengthen the ruthless apparatus of the police state – all this has taught us one thing, namely, the apartheid regime and its policies are the obstacle to peace, security and stability in southern Africa and to liberty, justice, peace and prosperity in South Africa itself. As Resolution 38/11, adopted by the Assembly on 15 November, declared, "only the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa".

By itself, the Pretoria regime, whose policy of apartheid stands universally condemned as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security, could not afford to defy the international community by escalating this crime; to commit endless breaches of the peace against independent African countries; to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia; to occupy part of Angola; to wage an undeclared war of economic and armed aggression to destabilise and topple

independent African countries; and to legislate to arrogate to itself the right to intervene in all African countries and publicly to pressure, intimidate and blackmail African countries to evict the ANC and enter into so-called anti-terrorist agreements with it.

While we call on all member states to join in paying a glowing tribute to the independent countries of southern Africa for the sacrifice they are daily making in resisting these pressures, we strongly condemn those Western countries, especially the United States of America (USA) and Israel that are continuing their economic, military and nuclear collaboration with the Pretoria regime.

The position taken by the Reagan Administration in embracing the Pretoria regime, whose policy of apartheid is not just the offshoot of fascism but is based on fascist legislative measures, such as the one imposing exclusive citizenship and others which are but photocopies of Nazi laws, calls for strong condemnation. Almost 100 years ago, the Berlin Conference carved our beloved continent into colonial and personal belongings; but it is no exaggeration to say that since the Second World War, the most calamitous development, which today poses the most serious threat to the African continent, is the Pretoria-Washington axis publicly announced by President Reagan shortly after he took office.

A lot has happened since then. Matola in Mozambique was attacked, and then came the attack on and occupation of parts of Angola; the attempted repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Angola; the continued occupation of Namibia; the linkage of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola; the assassination of ANC leaders and activists; the loan by the International Monetary Fund to help the regime subsidise its wars of repression and aggression; the secret visits and discussions between Pentagon officials and the regime's high-ranking military intelligence officers; the visit to South Africa by the head of the CIA; the extremely negative voting pattern on the anti-apartheid resolutions before the General Assembly and the vetoes in the Security Council; statements offering to reward the African countries that befriend South Africa and threatening to punish and even topple those that assist the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO); the holding of hearings in South Africa and Washington allegedly to investigate the ANC-SWAPO relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic; the granting of permission to seven US-based transnational corporations to provide \$50 million worth of technical and maintenance service to racist South Africa's nuclear plants. The list is long and includes a series of violations of the arms embargo, the branding of the liberation movements as terrorist and the subjecting of SWAPO and the ANC to harassment on the question of visas, as well as demands to inspect our books and files.

On its part, the Pretoria regime has been encouraged towards increased intransigence and repression in Namibia and South Africa itself and even more brazen belligerence and aggression beyond its borders, to the point of publicly invoking the Monroe Doctrine.

Current developments in the USA and around the world continue to vindicate the position of the ANC that, once informed of the criminality of apartheid, the broad masses of the people come out in support of, and exert pressure on their governments to join in the international fight for the eradication of this inhuman system. We take this opportunity to commend the athletes and artists who have turned down lucrative fees and refused to play or perform in racist South Africa. We commend the governments, the anti-apartheid and solidarity groups, the civic organisations and the national and



1984

21 MARCH

Statement at the 539th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid to observe the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

THE OBSERVANCE of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has always served as an occasion for justice-loving nations, governments, parties, organisations and individuals, not only to reiterate their condemnation of the Sharpeville massacre but also to condemn the ongoing crimes perpetrated daily by the Pretoria regime in pursuance of its racist minority rule in South Africa. It also provides an occasion for the renewal of the international community's solidarity with the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa for a non-racial, democratic society in our embattled country.

We seize this opportunity to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council, the chairmen of the special committees and the representative of the Council for Namibia, as well as the chairmen of the regional groups, for the important messages delivered this morning. Our people and their vanguard, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), draw tremendous inspiration, encouragement and strength from such messages. Their importance as an eloquent testimony that we are not alone, particularly at this very crucial phase of our struggle, cannot be over-emphasised.

While thanking all the representatives and participants who have joined us on this historic occasion, I wish to express the ANC's appreciation of the Nigerian Government's decision to demonstrate its well-known commitment to the struggle against apartheid by making it possible for us to have the indefatigable former Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Garba, join us in this important front and thus continue the struggle he has waged so effectively in many international forums. In the name of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, I also wish to thank all the heads of state or government for the moving messages we have heard this afternoon.

The fascist nature of the Pretoria regime, clearly demonstrated by the unbroken chain of massacres of unarmed civilians before and after Sharpeville, where the trigger-happy racist police were officially defended as having dutifully complied with the regime's standing order to shoot first and ask questions later whenever confronted with black demonstrators, is no longer in doubt. This rule of violence and terrorism by the regime that is embraced as an ally and friend in some Western capitals, such as Washington, has since added other massacres to its record. Soweto in South Africa itself, Kassinga in Angola, Matola and Maputo in Mozambique, and Maseru in Lesotho are the recent examples of the regime's State terrorism that cannot and must never be forgotten. To these dastardly acts and cross-border terrorism, the regime has in the past few years added the support and deployment of bandits for aggression and destabilisation of the People's Republics of Mozambique and Angola and the Kingdom of Lesotho. The sole crime of these young African states is their commitment to the international community's opposition to minority rule and apartheid.

The apartheid regime's colonialist record and unending breaches of the peace in the form of naked invasion and aggression against the neighbouring countries is long. It includes the continued illegal

international organisations as well as individual men and women whose efforts in support of the struggle against apartheid in general and to strengthen the campaign for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners have taken the following forms: the establishment of close bilateral relations with and the opening of offices of the ANC; the granting of financial and material support to and the provision of scholarships for anti-apartheid student refugees; the honouring of the South African political prisoners through the naming of public places after them; and the conferring of honorary degrees on and the granting of freedom of capital and other cities to Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The recently announced position taken by the Government of Australia in favour of a sports and cultural boycott and its invitation to the ANC and SWAPO to open offices in Melbourne are the latest of the ever-increasing examples of positive positions taken by some Western countries – positions we welcome as the beginning of the process that should lead to the total isolation of the Pretoria regime and full support for the international fight waged against apartheid by all the countries of the world, regardless of their racial, political, religious and ideological affiliations.

In expressing our appreciation to the Government of Australia, we wish to extend our gratitude again to all the countries – especially African, non-aligned, Scandinavian and socialist – that, in differing degrees, have always lent and continue to lend active support to the ANC and whose efforts in the mass political mobilisation and armed struggle led to the decision taken by the seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi last March, commending the ANC as the vanguard of the national liberation movement in South Africa.

Despite the much-vaunted military might and the repressive and oppressive character of the now desperate apartheid regime, which continues to enjoy the full collaboration of the Reagan Administration and the governments of other Western countries, especially Israel, we are confident that victory over the minority racist rule in South Africa is inevitable. We have no illusions, however. We know that the struggle will be long and bloody. There is growing international support; yet it is still grossly inadequate. The long-awaited imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime, in particular, would immensely help to shorten the duration of this struggle and reduce the loss of human life.

We appeal to all member states to include in the agendas of their bilateral relations with the three Western members of the Security Council the need for them to abandon their protection of racist South Africa through the abuse of the veto power – an act that makes them accomplices in all the crimes committed by the Pretoria regime against the peoples of Namibia, South Africa, southern Africa and, indeed, the world.

We wish to declare solemnly from this rostrum that the ANC, for its part, will relentlessly pursue this struggle until final victory. In doing so, we pay a tribute to the valiant people of Namibia who, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, are waging a heroic struggle which, for some years now, has had a direct positive effect on our struggle. Now that we have embarked on the intensification of this, our common struggle against the common enemy and for a common objective, we are confident that victory is certain.

occupation of Namibia. It includes the undeclared war against Mozambique and Angola, part of whose territory it has occupied with impunity since 1981. It includes the invasion of the Seychelles. In addition to armed intimidation and economic blackmail against the rest of the neighbouring countries, it seeks to dominate southern Africa economically and militarily through its envisaged so-called Constellation of States that would include the bantustans. The Pretoria regime's strategy also includes the threats and preparations for similar acts of aggression and destabilisation against Zimbabwe. Even as it embarked on its Washington-supported strategy of so-called reforms – the insidious manoeuvres aimed at refining and entrenching white minority rule in South Africa – the Botha regime also refined its policy of aggression against the neighbouring countries. The ground was meticulously prepared by a series of steps leading to the proposal of the so-called non-aggression pact. First came the fascist legislation in terms of which the regime arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the Equator. This was followed by direct naked aggression, as well as the use of armed bandits for the purpose of destabilisation of the frontline and neighbouring states.

This ruthless and systematic impeding of these countries' programmes of national reconstruction and development and their intended reduction of their inherited economic dependence on racist South Africa is obviously intended to aggravate their economic and social problems, thereby creating the climate of insecurity conducive to possible replacement of these legitimate governments with puppet regimes.

The recently concluded Nkomati Accord must be seen against this background. The ANC wishes to seize this opportunity to pay a tribute to the governments and brotherly peoples of all the frontline and neighbouring states in southern Africa for the selfless role they have played in resisting racist South Africa's policy of aggression and destabilisation and in spearheading the international fight against the apartheid system. Our special tribute goes to the Government and the people of Mozambique. Their own heroic liberation struggle, their pivotal role in the international fight in Zimbabwe, the suffering they have endured in the face of destabilisation, drought and natural calamities are well known to the international community. Yes, we have in the past shared together with the Frelimo Party and the people of Mozambique common victories, common setbacks and common hardships because we have a common destiny and our struggle is one and indivisible. Even at this difficult hour for both the Mozambican Government and the ANC, we are determined to live up to Maputo's, Africa's and progressive mankind's trust in finding ways and means to continue the intensification of the struggle in all forms, especially the armed struggle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime, the sole obstacle to peace, security and progress in southern Africa.

The common objective we share with the peoples and the governments of Mozambique, Lesotho, Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Tanzania and all the other African countries, as well as the entire progressive mankind, will certainly be realised in PW Botha's political lifetime. We call on the international community to redouble its efforts towards lending active solidarity to Mozambique, Lesotho, Angola and all the frontline states. The Pretoria regime's manoeuvres must be defeated. In appealing to all member states and the international community to redouble their efforts in support of the struggle against apartheid, that vicious and worst expression of settler colonialism, we respectfully commend the South African indigenous people's characterisation of the apartheid system as well as their understanding of the nature of the struggle they are waging. The nature of the struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa stems from our conviction that the settler Pretoria regime is illegitimate, if not illegal, since it is based on the denial of the right to

self-determination for the indigenous majority, today being made foreigners in the land of their birth. It is the struggle against minority rule, for national liberation, for a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule in a united and non-fragmented South Africa.

In its vanguard role in this protracted international fight, like the heroic one waged by the brotherly people of Namibia, under the leadership of their sole authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the ANC's armed struggle forced upon it by the regime's intransigence has already revealed the myth of the regime's much vaunted might and invincibility. This is testified to not only by the stepped-up militarisation, the imminent conscription of the so-called coloured, the people of Asian origin and white immigrants in order to divide the black community and augment the apartheid army for the perpetuation of white domination. To this we can also add the regime's vain attempts to contain the mounting tide of resistance by introducing insidious manoeuvres presented as reforms in order to placate national and international public opinion and encourage it to endorse measures designed further to entrench the apartheid system.

While reiterating the ANC's strong condemnation of some Western countries, especially the Reagan Administration and Israel, for the continued and increased all-round collaboration with the apartheid regime, we wish to pay a tribute to the civic and academic institutions around the world, especially in the Western countries, for their highly commendable efforts exemplified by important acts of solidarity, including the one we heard of this morning from the Chairman of the Greater London Council. Our deep appreciation also goes to the Nordic countries, the socialist countries, the Organisation of African Unity and the non-aligned countries for their unstinting support for our struggle.

We appeal for permanent vigilance and active solidarity in the face of the Pretoria regime's ongoing and anticipated manoeuvres to derail the process towards final victory. For our part, and relying mainly on the effective presence of the ANC and its millions of supporters inside the country, we shall spare no effort to defeat the enemy's manoeuvres and to maintain the momentum until our country is rid of this scourge.

We appeal for continued strengthening of the world campaign for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African and Namibian political prisoners. The decision by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba to reject the regime's offer that they be released and sent to the Bantustan of Transkei must be seen as a vote of confidence and as a challenge to the international community's resolve to help bring about the speedy victory they have been waiting for over the past 20 years as they languished in prison.

In conclusion, I wish to convey revolutionary greetings and solidarity to the heroic Palestinian people, our comrades-in-arms whose heroic struggle is an important, integral part of the fight against apartheid.

Our solidarity also goes to the valiant Namibian people, whose outstanding heroism, resilience and fortitude have helped to defeat countless manoeuvres by the Pretoria regime, designed to impose a fictitious and neo-colonialist solution in Namibia. We join them in rejoicing over the release of that great freedom-fighter, Herman Toivo ya Toivo, whose unshakeable resolve has for 16 years served to strengthen, and continues today to strengthen, the Namibian people's loyalty to SWAPO and its determination to fight as one man until final victory.



1984

16 AUGUST

Statement at the 2 549th meeting of the United Security (UN) Council

MR PRESIDENT, I thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to make known to this august body how and why the Pretoria regime's decision to impose the unashamedly racist and colonial Constitution has provoked a wave of indignation among the millions of the oppressed majority in our country. Our thanks also go to all the members of the council for making this possible.

Mr President, your country's deep commitment to the international fight against the neo-Nazi system of apartheid has always served as a source of inspiration and encouragement to freedom-fighters in southern Africa. We seize this occasion to say how the African National Congress (ANC) greatly values the reaffirmation of this position as conveyed to Comrade President Oliver Tambo by Comrade Captain Thomas Sankara in New Delhi two years ago and this year when he visited our region. It is for that reason that in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the council for this month we feel confident that under your guidance it will adopt decisions that are appropriate and in accordance with the Charter of the UN, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the aspirations of our people as reflected in the Freedom Charter.

The attention of world public opinion is today focused on the outcome of this council's meeting with greater interest and more common expectation than ever before.

The reason is clear. It is that the council must be guided by the self-evident truth that men are born equal and by the principle of government with the consent of the governed. Consequently, in pursuance of its unshakable duty, it is expected to condemn, reject, fight and defeat racist South Africa's constitutional manoeuvres aimed at the consolidation of the universally-condemned system of apartheid, that offshoot of Nazism and prescription for war.

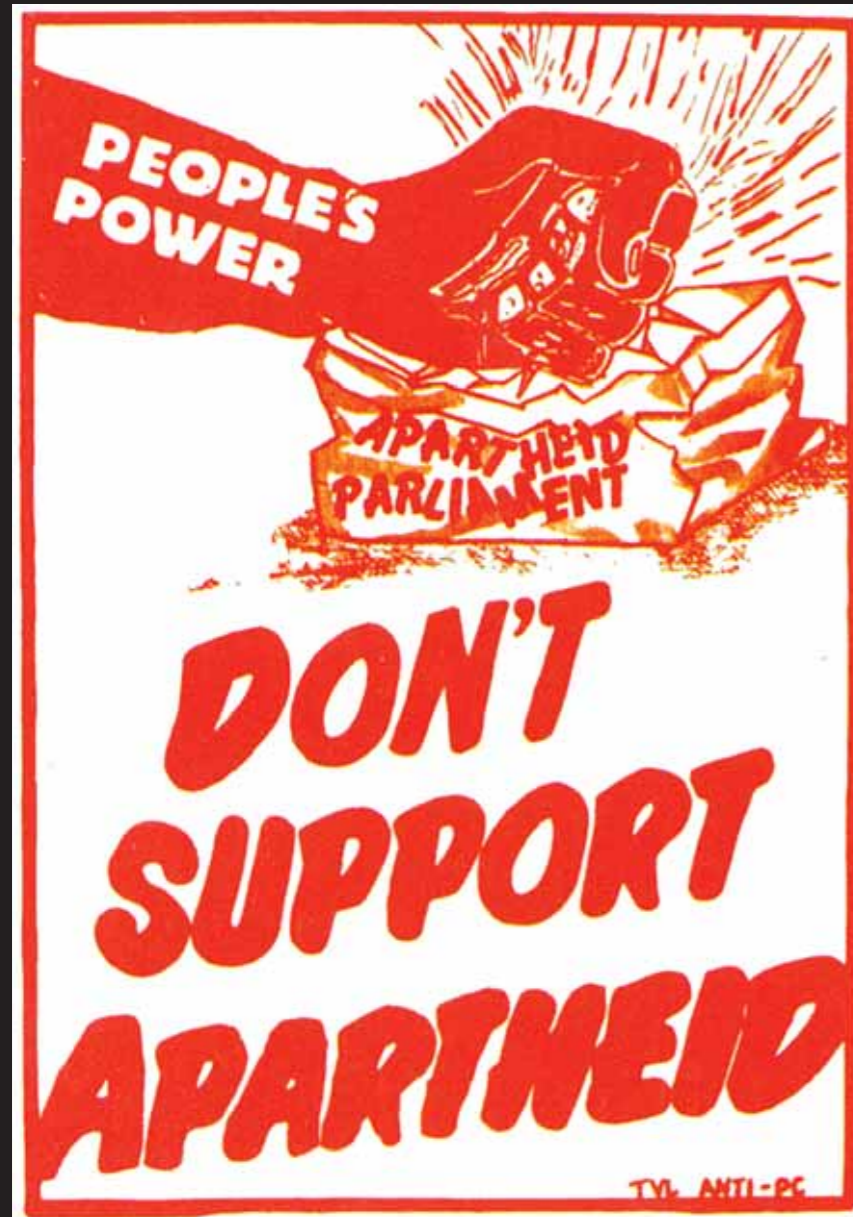
The expectations of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, which they share with their natural allies, the peoples of the world, lead me to an important statement made by the then United States (US) Secretary of State, George Marshall, in Paris on 10 December 1948, when, three years after the defeat of fascism, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was ratified by the General Assembly of the UN. He declared:

Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field.

Racist South Africa's record, not only in words but in deeds as well, makes this statement truly prophetic. "In white South Africa, only the white man was baas" – meaning master – "and the National Party would maintain this position forever – with force if necessary", said Vorster on 16 March 1970, four years before the PW Botha invasion of Angola, followed by the regime's

One of the many huge protest marches that took place in the late 1980's. Thousands of protesters marching for the release of Nelson Mandela.





So-called "coloured" South Africans are called on to join the people's extra-parliamentary struggle against racist elections.

extension of its so-called defence perimeter to include all African countries south of the Equator and followed by the regime's undeclared war against neighbouring countries, some of which today victims of unequal agreements secured at gunpoint.

This is but part of the larger background against which the racist, colonial and fascist Constitution must be examined. As a result of the inevitable developments today beyond its control, the regime has to adapt or die, according to its spokesmen.

What are these circumstances? They are, first, the rising tide of black anger; secondly, the collapse of the buffer that had protected apartheid South Africa; thirdly, the regime's acute shortage of white military manpower resulting from its repressive army being overstretched and its failure to stem the ever-growing tide of intensified armed struggle being waged by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia and by the ANC of South Africa in South Africa itself; fourthly, the demands by some of the regime's Western allies for reforms that would give a human face to the apartheid monster in order to render possible its continued diplomatic protection. It is important to place South Africa's 1983 Constitution in its proper historical context. Without going into details on how, in pursuance of settler colonialism, racist South Africa adopted only those features of the Westminster system that allowed it to practise racial domination and reject the principle of universal suffrage; we must make a brief examination of the 1961 Constitution. What is the character and function of the present Constitution, whose demise is due soon?

It is unashamedly racist in composition and function. It comprises a single legislative chamber of 177 white members of Parliament elected by white voters only. Bills are passed by a simple majority vote and become law when signed by a non-executive state president. This is how the horrendous discriminatory and repressive laws designed to secure and perpetuate the black people's enslavement, dispossession, exploitation and genocide are passed. Executive power is vested in a prime minister and Cabinet – all white and Afrikaner – which enjoy the undivided loyalty and support of 126 members of Parliament.

This is what has served as the so-called legal basis for the practice of the apartheid policies which stand condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security.

The question before the council is whether the 1983 Constitution marks the beginning of the long-awaited departure from this position. Is it a step in the right direction, responding to the General Assembly and Security Council's repeated calls on the South African authorities to end the repression and oppression of the black majority and seek a peaceful, just and lasting solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter?

The 1983 Constitution is the creation of the architect of apartheid, the National Party (NP), whose leaders and spokespersons have often boasted of their fascist commitment, proclaimed an allegedly divinely-inspired right and resolve to ensure that South African nationhood is for whites only where the black majority can stay only as temporary sojourners for the purpose of ministering to the needs of the whites. It is therefore yet another and more effective instrument aimed at maintaining the NP and apartheid control behind the fig leaf of reforms and power-sharing.



Community leaders (from left) Mac Maharaj, Cheryl Carolus, Allan Boesak and Trevor Manuel at a United Democratic Front rally in Cape Town on 11 March 1986.

John Duggard correctly characterises this scenario when he says:

The State President will manipulate the tricameral Parliament like a puppet master, for to him is given the power to decide which matters are to be disposed of finally by each house on its own, and which matters are to be passed by all three houses sitting separately, or if necessary, by the dead-lock procedure.

Duggard further elaborates that:

If the State President decides that a given matter is an "own affair" of a particular house, he will refer it to that house for final legislative determination. Should he decide that a matter is not the "own affair" of a particular house, it becomes a "general affair", to be decided on by all three houses and this presidential decision is final and no court of law may question its correctness.

Bills designated as dealing with a "general affair" passed by the three houses sitting separately will become law when they have been assented to by the State President. In the event of disagreement between the houses, the matter will be referred by the State President to the President's Council for resolution. The decision of the President's Council is, in such cases, deemed to be the decision of Parliament.

The regime's spokesmen have given different reasons to explain the failure of the Constitution to deal with the indigenous African majority. First, there was the nakedly racist one given by the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, who said this was because the inadequate development of Africans made them incapable of comprehending the complex democratic process. Since this outburst, which embarrassed the regime's allies abroad, the now repeatedly declared position is that the constitutional development for Africans is already settled. They are to be deprived of South African nationhood and allowed to exercise their civil and political rights in the bantustans.

We humbly submit that this alone is enough to clear the minds and position of the council to condemn unanimously and reject this Constitution, based on Bantustan policy, to which there is unanimous opposition.

The other reason is, in our opinion, the fact that no member state can fail to condemn the so-called Constitution, which seeks to perpetuate the disenfranchisement of the indigenous African majority and makes them foreigners in the land of their birth.

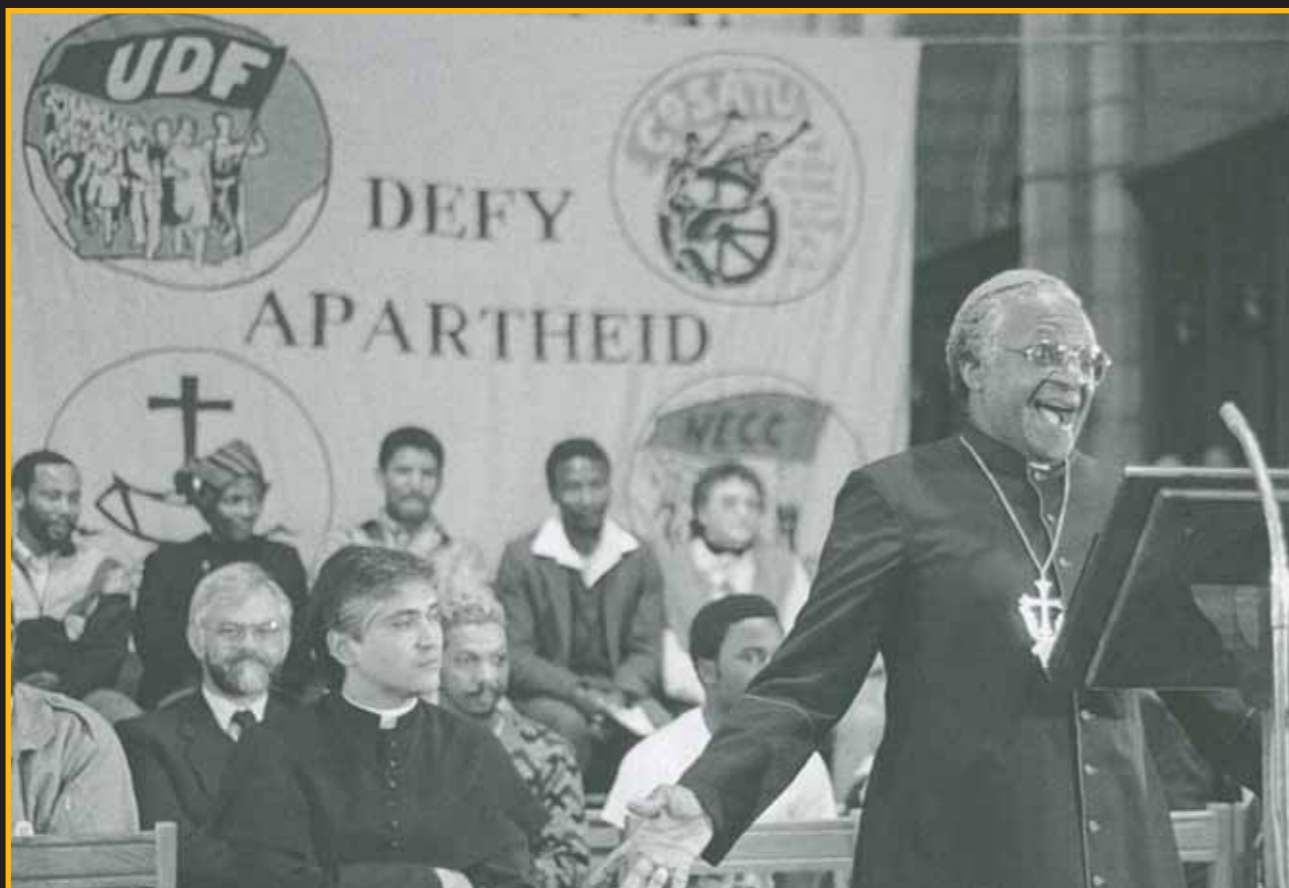
Some spokesmen of one member state have been reported as welcoming racist South Africa's Constitution as a step in the right direction. We want to believe that the Reagan Administration supports the UN's position, calling for the establishment of a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa. If that is the case, South Africa's 1983 Constitution cannot be welcomed as a step in the right direction.

However, in fairness to the Reagan Administration, we must add that this reported statement of welcoming what has been rejected by the General Assembly, as well as by the summit conferences of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth countries, has been contested by Mr Chester Crocker. That leads us to expect the USA to join the international

According to John Duggard, the Director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for Applied Legal Studies, the main feature of the 1983 Constitution is its tricameral structure: Parliament will consist of three legislative chambers, located in separate buildings. There will be a white House of Assembly with 178 members selected by whites to represent 4,5 million whites, a House of Representatives with 85 "coloured" members elected by coloureds to represent 2,5 million coloureds, and finally a House of Delegates with 45 Indian members elected by Indians to represent 400 000 Indians.

Each house will deliberate separately, and in case of disagreement the will of the majority party in the white House of Assembly will prevail.

The State President, enjoying far-reaching executive and legislative powers, will be elected by an electoral college of 88, comprising 50 members of the white House of Assembly designated by it, 25 members of the "coloured" House of Representatives, and 15 members of the Indian House of Delegates. In practice, the 50 members of the Electoral College constitute the majority that ensures the selection of its candidate.



Desmond Tutu speaking at a United Democratic Front rally in Cape Town in 1988.

community in condemning Botha's Constitution, which is obviously designed to entrench further white minority rule and the universally condemned apartheid system.

There is another reason why we think the USA should have no problem in voting in favour of the draft resolution sponsored by the non-aligned countries. It will be recalled that in his major policy statement last year, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, said:

Our policy is directed, therefore, not at whether a non-racial order will be arrived at (in South Africa), but how that non-racial order will be arrived at. Western policy towards South Africa today must focus on how groups acquire the basis and influence necessary to participate in a genuine bargaining process that produces changes acceptable to all.

It will be further recalled that PW Botha himself wasted no time to respond – angrily, if I might say – by reaffirming once again that there will never be a system of one man one vote in South Africa. Botha's response clearly dismissed the idea often whispered by some Washington spokesmen suggesting that the regime's constitutional changes should be given a chance since the regime might be having some hidden agenda involving black participation in the South African political process.

Pretoria's clarity of purpose was further underlined during the November referendum campaign. Several South African newspapers have reported that:

On repeated occasions, the regime's spokesmen emphasised that the new Constitution would preserve white domination, that the new Constitution was not a step towards integration, that the Group Areas Act would be retained, and, if necessary, forcefully applied and that there was no place for representation of Africans, who would have to exercise political rights beyond the local level through the bantustans.

The ANC sees and condemns Botha's new Constitution as the continuation of the 300-year-old policy of conquest, enslavement, dispossession and genocide. It is not a step towards change. Proof of this is that all the repressive laws which constitute the main pillars of the inhuman apartheid system remain intact. They are in fact being consolidated by the draconian Koornhof bills.

Even though presented as reforms, those insidious manoeuvres have been seen for what they are by our people. The strong opposition to this racist, colonial and fascist Constitution has united our people more than ever before. The leadership of what has turned out to be the most powerful non-racial coalition of all times has come from coloured, Asian and African community leaders. It is inspired by the eloquent warning of Comrade Nelson Mandela in a letter smuggled out from Robben Island in 1980 and published in 1982, in which he declared:

Apartheid is the embodiment of the racism, repression and inhumanity of all previous white supremacy regimes. To see the real face of apartheid one must look beneath the veil of constitutional formulae, deceptive phrases and playing with words.

In examining the record of previous white supremacy regimes, we find that following the wars of conquest in the 19th century, Britain imposed a constitution in its South African colony which entrenched white minority power, Boer and British, while giving the qualified franchise to the coloured and the small number of Africans in the Cape Province. In the rest of the provinces, our people were excluded from political participation.

Like the 1983 Constitution, the Act of Union was an act against the indigenous African people. It brought together sworn enemies, Boers and Britons, because of their common interest in the wealth of our country, which they planned to extract with our labour. From 1910 to 1936, the process of harnessing our labour through landlessness began. The 1913 Land Act, which prepared the ground for the present bantustans, was passed and complemented in 1923 by the Urban Areas Act, which spelt out that Africans could only remain in the cities as temporary sojourners if they ministered to the needs of the white man. In 1936, even that qualified franchise was eliminated and replaced by the Native Representative Council. Those Africans who lived in the Cape could elect three white representatives. This constitutional fraud reached its demise after the 1946 miners' strike and was

finally eliminated when the NP came to power in 1948. In 1956, the token franchise of the coloureds was also eliminated.

It is clear to us that one of the reasons why the regime that has in the past gone to great lengths to eliminate the coloured franchise and even attempted to deport the Indians, and is taking such a position today, is to solve the acute problem of shortage of white military manpower. By granting this limited parliamentary representation to the so-called coloureds and people of Asian origin, the regime aims at securing their conscription into the apartheid army for internal repression and aggression against the neighbouring states. It hopes in the process to divide the black people and weaken their common struggle against white supremacy and for a non-racial society based on majority rule in a united and non-fragmented South Africa.

The pressing appeal we address to the members of the council to reject racist South Africa's 1983 Constitution as null and void is an appeal for support of the position taken by the South African patriots who see this manoeuvre as designed to further entrench white minority rule and apartheid. It is an appeal for support of the democratic mass organisations inside our country which have called for the boycott of the pseudo-elections due to take place this month. This boycott movement is coordinated by the United Democratic Front (UDF), which was formed in August last year and comprises 600 organisations whose common objective and resolve is the rejection of the new Constitution and the Koornhof bills.

Having launched the Million-Signature Campaign for the rejection of the new Constitution, the UDF has issued an appeal for the boycott of the forthcoming elections and the new Constitution because, firstly:

Whites will still be in control. For every four whites in the new system, there will be two coloureds and one Indian person. Coloureds and Indians will therefore have no real say.

Secondly, coloured adult males will be forced to do border duty. Key government officials made it clear that if the Constitution is accepted, border duty will follow. Although conscription and border duty can be rejected by the coloured and Indian people in the new parliaments, whites will still have the final say. Thirdly, African people are left out of the new Constitution. This will create greater tension among the different race groups. The UDF is concerned that if coloureds and Indians accept the new Constitution, they will be seen as a party to the white man's laws against African people. Fourthly, nothing will change. The high rents, rates, low wages and other problems will remain. The Group Areas Act and other unjust laws will not be changed.

In his statement this morning in which he rejected in advance any decisions that may emanate from the council, the representative of the racist South African regime has displayed the type and level of arrogance, defiance and intransigence that must convince the justice-loving members of this body, firstly, that in this case of apartheid South Africa, the council is dealing with an entity that will not be persuaded by reasoned argument – if I may borrow from his words; secondly, that, indeed, the Pretoria regime and its apartheid policies constitute not only the obstacle to peace, stability and security in southern Africa, but also threaten world peace and international security; thirdly, that the problem facing the council today in its resolve to help bring about the establishment of a non-racial

society based on majority rule in South Africa can be traced to the unjust decision taken by the UN in admitting as a member a settler regime founded on the denial of the right to self-determination for the indigenous majority; and, fourthly, that racist South Africa's suspension from the General Assembly must be maintained while the council takes appropriate steps to expel this regime from the UN.



1985

7 OCTOBER

Statement at the 2 617th meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, I sincerely thank you and all the members of the council for giving us the opportunity to add the voice of the African National Congress (ANC) to those that in unison in this chamber and around the world have strongly condemned the Pretoria regime for the latest unprovoked, premeditated and dastardly act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

Allow us also to congratulate you, Sir, on the assumption of the presidency of the council during this important month of October and to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Sir John Thompson, for his outstanding performance.

Several speakers who have preceded us have stressed that racist South Africa's latest act of aggression against Angola was launched even before the ink was dry on Security Council Resolution 571 (1985), which, *inter alia*, reiterates the council's demand that South Africa withdraw forthwith and unconditionally all its military forces from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, cease all acts of aggression against that state and scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

The ANC fully shares the view expressed by Ambassador Krishnan that the council's response to the Pretoria regime's arrogant defiance should be:

... unequivocal condemnation ... and unanimous and swift action to make it comply with its Charter obligations.

Recently, the Pretoria regime put the world on notice that it was brazenly determined to defy this body by rejecting in advance any decisions that emerged from its deliberations. This attitude was again underscored in the statement made here by Pretoria's spokesman last Thursday. On that occasion, the representative of the South African regime had the temerity to use this council chamber as a podium from which to pronounce bellicose threats against the frontline and neighbouring states. He again repeated Pretoria's claim arrogating to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries.

It is evident to us that the apartheid regime has been emboldened by the knowledge that, whatever else the international community might say, effective action to make Pretoria comply has been repeatedly blocked by some permanent members of the Security Council, especially the United States of America (USA). It is time that Pretoria's friends and allies realise that they will have to share responsibility with that regime as long as they maintain this universally condemned course of action.

There can be no double standards on questions of international law and morality. Aggression must not be seen as permissible for the Pretoria regime because it enjoys the favour of certain governments.





1986

6 NOVEMBER

Appeasement has never proved a formula for deterring aggression. History and the events that led to the creation of this body teach us that:

The Pretoria regime has shamelessly proclaimed that it has consistently violated every article of the solemn undertakings it made at Nkomati in 1984; it openly declares that it finances, equips and maintains a bandit army inside Angola; indeed, it claims the right to perpetrate such criminal actions in any country in southern Africa if that state does not comply with its dictates.

Pretoria's war of aggression in the region finds its parallel in the murderous repression of our people inside South Africa. The unrepented intransigence of this regime underlines the correctness of the non-aligned countries' determination that:

There will never be peace, security and stability in southern Africa until the entire apartheid system is uprooted and replaced by a democratic system of government based on the will of all South Africans.

We are confident that the mendacious draft resolution proposed by the representative of the Pretoria regime will be treated by this council with the contempt it deserves. Like its diabolical actions, the words of Pretoria bespeak its arrogant contempt for the rest of humanity.

Alarmed at the international groundswell against racist minority rule and in favour of sanctions, as well as the ever-growing strength of the mass democratic movement inside our country, the regime seeks to embroil the region in war as a means of purchasing a longer lease of life. There could be no more fitting way of marking the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and the founding of the UN than by the Security Council's imposing against racist South Africa comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN.

Statement in the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly

THE STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA have always attached a great deal of importance to the General Assembly debate on apartheid. Our appreciation and gratitude to all the friends, allies and supporters of the oppressed cannot be overemphasised. While the vacant South African seat before us is proof of what has already been achieved, it must also serve as a reminder of what remains to be done.

It is important to note at this juncture that our people have seldom had such high hopes for unity of action by this body as they do this year. They draw strength from the strong, constant and unequivocal condemnation that has in the past decades come from countless eminent persons speaking from this rostrum. Now that, in response to the call by their vanguard movement, the African National Congress (ANC), our people have gone a long way to rendering South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable, thereby inspiring the worldwide momentum for action, they rightly expect the UN to take appropriate measures immediately in order to help hasten the downfall of the Pretoria regime.

It is for that reason that, in congratulating Mr Choudhury on his unanimous election to the high office of the presidency, I must also express our confidence that, under his guidance and thanks to his country's and his own personal commitment, our deliberations will be crowned with success. We also take this opportunity to congratulate his predecessor, Ambassador de Pinies of Spain, on the way in which he carried out his onerous task during his term of office.

Allow me to address our most heartfelt condolences to our sister people of the People's Republic of Mozambique, to their vanguard, the Frelimo Workers' Party and its government on the tragic and untimely death of that illustrious son of Africa and a great freedom-fighter, President Samora Machel. The depth of his commitment and dedication to the genuine and total liberation of our continent and his unswerving support for the struggle against apartheid had earned him worldwide admiration and respect. Loyal to the Frelimo-ANC revolutionary solidarity forged in the crucible of the common struggle that he lived and died for, the ANC solemnly pledges to spare no effort in intensifying the fight towards the realisation of his ideal – genuine national independence, peace and social progress in South Africa and southern Africa.

In reaffirming our solidarity with the people of Mozambique who, with inflexible determination have picked up President Machel's fallen spear, I extend fraternal congratulations to President Joachim Chissano on his assumption of the leadership role in the embattled People's Republic of Mozambique. We hasten to add our voice in calling for urgent all-round support to help Mozambique in the face of Pretoria's stepped-up war of destabilisation.

The mysterious aircraft crash on 19 October, which resulted in the death of President Samora Machel and many top officials of the Government of Mozambique, was preceded by Pretoria's open



threats based on unfounded claims that the recent operations by the ANC were launched from Mozambique. The ANC reiterates its position, accusing racist South Africa of the assassination of President Machel, regardless whether this act of war was the work of the regime's agents or its surrogates. We share the view held by many that the existing circumstantial evidence points to the regime's direct or indirect involvement, and until proven innocent, it is seen by the people of southern Africa as being guilty of a heinous crime. Pretoria's handling of this tragic incident and the threats it has been making against the leaders of the frontline states have served only to increase the world public's suspicions. We are confident that, in the same way as the international community rejected Pretoria's explanation that Steve Biko had died of brain injuries allegedly incurred when he banged his head against the wall in his prison cell, it will reject the regime's claim that the crash was due to an alleged storm recorded only in Pretoria.

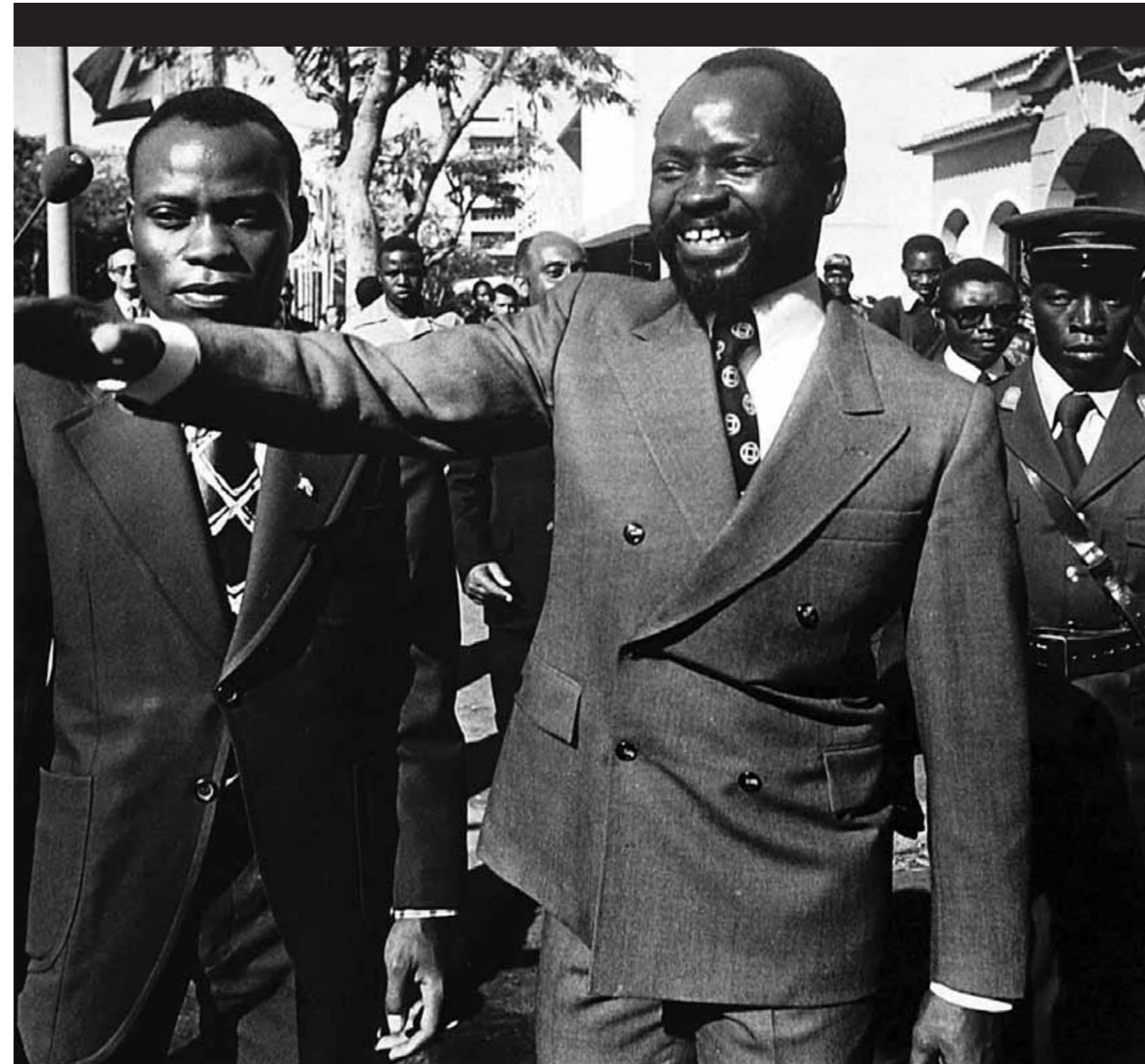
Whatever the so-called official cause turns out to be, the conclusion and verdict of the people of southern Africa is influenced by what they have experienced in the region – Pretoria's armed attacks and mass murder, as well as assassinations and threats against their leaders for daring to stand up and be counted against the apartheid system. They see the tragic event of 19 October as part of Pretoria's war of destabilisation of the frontline states. They are convinced that the regime's criminal record and its continued threats serve as the most eloquent proof of the international community's conviction that there can be no peace, stability and security in southern Africa until the apartheid regime is overthrown and replaced by a non-racial democratic society.

It is in this context that the regime's intransigence was once more vividly illustrated when, a few days before its meeting with the representatives of the Eminent Persons Group who had met the ANC in Lusaka two days earlier and had just arrived in Cape Town, it launched unprovoked military raids against Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. It alleged that these raids were aimed at so-called military installations of the ANC in those countries – needless to say, these criminal acts of aggression were in fact carried out against an office complex, civilian residences and, most tellingly, a refugee camp run by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

It will be recalled that even as the world was justly condemning that dastardly act, PW Botha was announcing that it represented only the first instalment, with much more to follow, and that the regime had until that time used only a small fraction of its much-vaunted military might. In the same vein, he declared that his regime's objective was to destroy the ANC, even if that entailed cross-border raids.

The international community viewed that as an unequivocal rejection by the Pretoria regime of any initiative aimed at a negotiated settlement towards meaningful change in South Africa. It was therefore only logical that the Eminent Persons Group concluded that the only way to avert the looming inter-racial blood bath in South Africa and the region as a whole was to impose sanctions against racist South Africa without further delay.

It will be recalled that, ignoring the findings and conclusions of the Eminent Persons Group, Sir Geoffrey Howe proceeded to Cape Town and southern Africa in an attempt to succeed where the group had failed. Predictably, and by way of vindication of the correctness and accuracy of the group's conclusions, his mission failed. It is clear therefore that any attempt emanating from anywhere and however well-intentioned either to duplicate or to revive the initiatives of the Eminent Persons Group



Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique (25 June 1975 to 19 October 1986).

or those of Sir Geoffrey Howe can amount only to buying additional time for apartheid's murderous campaign against the people of southern Africa.

In this regard, if there is any truth in the unconfirmed reports that the Kohl regime is contemplating yet another attempt to persuade the Pretoria racist regime to cooperate in the eradication of apartheid, we call for the abandonment of the very thought of such an initiative, for to proceed with it would amount to simply purchasing further time for apartheid, and perpetuate neo-Nazi apartheid crimes, thereby endorsing the Pretoria racist regime's prescription of a southern African holocaust.

The unparalleled all-round escalation of our mass united actions in the armed political struggle for liberation has seized the initiative from the Pretoria racist regime and translated it into the embryo of people's power. It has forced the collapse of the ideology of apartheid, thrown the regime's political programme into disarray and plunged the racist regime itself ever deeper into irreversible political and economic crisis. Thus today, the Pretoria racist regime is more vulnerable than ever to principled and concerted international action.

However, the Pretoria racist regime has not shown even the remotest inclination to renounce its warlike intentions. It has reimposed the state of emergency, further muzzling the press, effecting mass arbitrary arrests and detaining without trial over 20 000 men, women and children, especially trade unionists, and killing thousands more South African patriots in its prisons as well as in the streets of South Africa. It continues with its forced removals as is witnessed by the cruel fate that befell the people of Oukasie Township. It has resorted to the use of so-called reorientation centres in an effort to brainwash ex-detainees into submission. Even in the face of intense popular resistance, it persists with its programme of bantustanisation.

The racist regime has conspicuously failed to suppress the emergence and growth of manifestations of people's power, such as street and township committees and people's defence committees as well as the people's tribunals, created by the people across the country in response to the ANC directives. It has instead responded to the failure of its repressive measures by further tightening the screws of repression and by further intensifying the reign of terror. To this end, the regime is currently maintaining a virtual state of siege or encirclement of numerous black townships. It has declared the largest non-violent and hitherto unbanned anti-apartheid front, the United Democratic Front (UDF), an "affected organisation", a sure sign that the UDF, like the Congress of South African Students before it, will soon be banned. This is of course part of the regime's campaign to muzzle the voices of those who would otherwise speak for the people and points once more to the fact that the regime is not interested in negotiations except on its own conditions and with its puppets.

The whole world, if it sincerely wants to help avert disaster in southern Africa, can no longer afford to procrastinate. It must respond to Pretoria's militaristic domestic repression and external aggression with comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime without further delay. Any piecemeal and limited sanctions can only facilitate the regime's plans to circumvent sanctions and to impose counter-sanctions against neighbouring states.

There are already several packages of limited sanctions available, such as those of the Commonwealth, Scandinavia, the European Economic Community and the United States (USA). They must be

rendered uniform and expanded towards comprehensiveness and made mandatory in order to ensure that their application is simultaneous and is therefore more effective.

We seize this opportunity to commend the anti-apartheid movement in the Western countries for its relentless campaign in favour of sanctions. The important advances in this direction, best exemplified by Denmark's decision to impose a total trade boycott of racist South African goods and the moves in the same direction currently being taken by the Nordic countries and by Australia, Canada and others, mark the beginning of what must lead to the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

We also commend the people of the USA for their efforts against constructive engagement, which have culminated in the adoption by Congress of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. We urge them to intensify their campaign to expunge those clauses in that Act which constitute a campaign to isolate the ANC and the South African liberation struggle. Despite the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and the announcement of withdrawals from South Africa by companies like General Motors, IBM, Honeywell, Coca-Cola and others, we urge the American people to exercise vigilance against limited victories and to continue their disinvestment campaign until it results in a total US boycott of apartheid South Africa.

The campaign to isolate totally the apartheid regime must of necessity be accompanied by a very substantial increase in comprehensive assistance to the frontline states as well as to other African states in southern Africa.

It should also go hand in hand with a further intensification of all-around political, diplomatic, financial and material assistance to our liberation struggle, led by the ANC, and to our heroic sister people of Namibia, led by the South West Africa People's Organisation.

Finally, we wish to reaffirm our unflinching solidarity with all peoples and their national liberation movements or other leadership structures engaged in struggles against oppression, war and want and for a free, humane, peaceful and abundant future for themselves and for all of mankind. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.



1986

19 SEPTEMBER

Statement at the 40th Special Session of the United General Assembly on the question of Namibia

ON BEHALF OF the fighting people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC), my delegation is particularly pleased to congratulate the president and his country, Bangladesh, on his taking the helm of the General Assembly at its 41st session and this special session.

His unanimous election is eloquent testimony to our collective confidence in his diplomatic skills and ability, as well as his vast experience, all of which will stand the assembly in good stead during the work of this session and the 41st session.

We also thank and congratulate Mr Jaime de Pinies, who led the work of the General Assembly at its 40th session with exemplary competence.

When we ought this year to have been celebrating the 20th anniversary of Namibian independence, we meet instead in this special session to continue the arduous search for effective ways to accelerate the process of Namibian decolonisation. The lack of progress on so pressing an issue is all the more unbearable because we already have, *inter alia*, Resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), which constitute the formal instruments which ought to have assured Namibia's speedy decolonisation.

It is not for lack of effort on the part of the Namibian people and their sole authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), that we continue to be confronted with an apparent stalemate. The Namibian people's profound commitment to freedom, their capacity for struggle and their willingness to make all necessary sacrifices under the distinguished and statesmanlike leadership of SWAPO is well known and beyond question. Lack of progress must be attributed not only to the intransigence of the Botha regime but also to the Reagan Administration, which through the policy of constructive engagement continues to invoke and insist upon extraneous and therefore irrelevant issues such as linkage, in order to frustrate attempts to implement Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

As a result of its heinous policies and practices of apartheid, the Pretoria racist regime continues its violently repressive reign of terror over the South African people, its illegal and militaristic occupation of Namibia and its aggression against and destabilisation of the frontline states and other states in the region, particularly the People's Republic of Angola.

Even as we speak, the heroic people of Namibia continue to chafe under the massive brutal military build-up and reign of state terrorism instituted by the Pretoria racist regime, which has also transformed their motherland into a vast military barrack and put it to use as a launching pad for its wanton and savage attacks against independent Africa.

Comrade Sam Nujoma returns after 30 years

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma is coming home, after spending 30 years in exile. It was officially announced last week that the man who has led the Namibian peoples' freedom struggle will be returning to Windhoek on Thursday the 14th of September, the day before voter registration centres are due to close. It is expected that the SWAPO leader will register to vote for the U.N. supervised election scheduled for November 6. The SWAPO Elections Directorate also said that other top leaders would be flying in soon after decades in exile. SWAPO Elections Director Hage Geingob, who himself has recently returned from exile, said that the Namibian people should declare September 14 a national holiday to receive the president in a manner fitting for a conquering hero.

spends years on Robben Island after being convicted under the South African regime's Terrorism Act for his involvement in SWAPO's armed struggle. "The president is coming back to his country to stay," Geingob said. President Nujoma is to address his first political rally in nearly 30 years on home ground on September 23 in Katutura township outside Windhoek. Numerous threats have been made by right-wingers in Namibia to assassinate Nujoma. These threats were passed on to UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari and his South African counterpart, administrator-general Louis Pienaar. SWAPO's Geingob said that if anything happens to Nujoma the South African authorities would be held responsible. "If he is hurt in the process by those who are undemocratic, we, the followers, will not take it

Through stratagems designed to impose puppet proxies in order to circumvent Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) and to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia, the racist regime is also attempting to programme Namibia for civil strife.

In all, as the result of apartheid, the situation in southern Africa continues to deteriorate at an accelerating pace. Left unchecked, the conflict being maintained and fuelled by the Pretoria regime is bound to take a qualitative leap, further escalating hostilities, with disastrous repercussions far beyond the region and with the gravest consequences for international peace and security.

SWAPO has declared 1986 the Year of General Mobilisation and Decisive Action for Final Victory. As usual, the Namibian people have responded with all their might to translate that declaration into revolutionary reality. Following the inflexible logic dictated by the violently repressive intransigence of the Pretoria racist regime's illegal occupation of Namibia, mounting resistance by the Namibian people has been accompanied by the deepening and widening of armed struggle.

This has conferred an increasingly significant role upon the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), within the broad and popular Namibian onslaught, led by SWAPO, against Pretoria's illegal occupation and for genuine freedom.

It is against this background that I wish to address special greetings and most heartfelt congratulations to PLAN, which in its 20 years of existence has, through relentless combat action, made Pretoria's illegal occupation of Namibia 20 years too costly.

The 20th anniversary of PLAN and the launching of the Namibian armed struggle coincide with the further deepening of the irreversible crisis of apartheid. The imposition of virtual martial law in South Africa's black townships through two impositions of a state of emergency in less than two years has signally failed to prevent the collapse of the fascist ideology of apartheid and the disintegration of its racist political programme.

Nor has it stemmed the multiplication of deep divisions within the ranks of both the leadership and the traditional constituency of the Pretoria racist regime. The people have wrested the initiative from that regime through mass united action on every front. Where they have paralysed apartheid's administrative extensions into black communities, they are replacing them with democratic people's committees and tribunals, which in turn enable them to take control over their destiny and to dispense true justice. Where they have forced Bantu education to grind to a halt, students are replacing it with a new and radical alternative – a people's education whose content is the message of liberation. The workers are today advancing under the banner of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, attacking apartheid through strikes at its points of production and through a consumer boycott at its marketing outlets.

In the townships, the people are creating combat units to defend their revolutionary advances, thus reinforcing the armed offensive of Umkhonto we Sizwe to raise the armed struggle to the level of a people's war and paving the way for the armed seizure of power by the South African people under the leadership of the ANC.

The reign of terror imposed by means of states of emergency has failed to reverse the South African people's campaign to render apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. Instead, it has

stripped the Pretoria racist regime of all pretence of legality and has exposed the narrow limits of repressive military might.

In an unwitting confession of abject failure, the racist regime has resorted to a new and far more sinister strategy. It is resorting to the use of death squads and vigilantes to do its bloody work, thus effectively creating a body of black contras.

Yet, as in the past, because there is no alternative to the destruction of apartheid and the creation of a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, the racist regime is again bound to fail.

At this moment, even with the townships under heavy military siege, the people are rallying to the battle cry, "From Ungovernability to People's Power". Thus, like the people of Namibia, the people of South Africa confront the same racist army of occupation in the townships. Whether we fight in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO or in South Africa under the ANC, our struggle is one against a common enemy. Our mutual solidarity is completely natural.

This special session was preceded by the eighth annual meeting of the Central Committee of SWAPO. That important meeting of SWAPO's leadership gave appropriate recognition to the development of a political climate in Namibia which is enhancing the prospects of liberation. In particular, it saluted and underlined the importance of consolidating the broad mass unity of Namibian workers, youth, students, women, intellectuals and the peasantry, as demonstrated by the highly successful mass rally called by SWAPO and held in Windhoek on 27 July despite harassment and intimidation by the occupation regime.

It correctly reiterated SWAPO's rejection of the irrelevant linkage of the process of Namibian decolonisation to the presence of Cuban internationalist forces in the sovereign and independent People's Republic of Angola. It also reiterated SWAPO's rejection of whatever puppet arrangements the Pretoria racist regime has made or may make in future in an effort to derail the struggle of the Namibian people.

It condemned the Reagan Administration's disastrous policy of constructive engagement, which is also the mother of linkage, if not the code word for military alliance with the Pretoria regime. It also condemned the Pretoria regime's policy of destabilisation of the frontline states, especially the People's Republic of Angola, as well as the covert and overt support by the Reagan Administration for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) bandits. Most importantly, the final declaration of that historic meeting gave recognition to the fact that, in the new situation, with appropriate and possible forms of principled international cooperation, the Namibian people's struggle, led by SWAPO, stands within reach of victory.

In the spirit of the declaration of the eighth annual meeting of the Central Committee of SWAPO, which was also a most moving expression of principled solidarity with the people of South Africa, led by the ANC, we reiterate our unyielding solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO.

The special session of the General Assembly comes in the wake of several international and intergovernmental conferences on southern Africa and other related issues. Their impressive outcomes are most relevant to the work of the special session and thus merit the most serious



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attention. We are referring in particular to the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa held in Paris, France, from 16 to 20 June 1986 and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held in Vienna, Austria, from 7 to 11 July 1986. In the final declaration of the former and in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, as well as in the Appeal for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, issued by the eminent persons participating in the latter conference, realistic and adequate recognition was given to the sad fact that all forms of peaceful persuasion had failed to enlist the cooperation of the Pretoria regime in the quest for lasting peace and genuine freedom in southern Africa. They further underlined the increasingly urgent need to impose meaningful and effective sanctions against the Pretoria racist regime if catastrophe is to be averted. They also underscored the imperative need to render increased and comprehensive support and assistance to the national liberation movements, as well as to the frontline and other independent states in southern Africa. The final documents adopted at the 22nd ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and at the eighth Summit Meeting of the countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Harare, Zimbabwe, reaffirmed and stressed the same positions. They called in particular for the intensification of the global campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Botha regime. Both organisations also decided to establish several solidarity funds to aid the victims of apartheid in the whole of southern Africa.

So, once more we have clear-cut evidence that the overwhelming majority of mankind recognises the necessity of intensifying all-round support and assistance to all the victims of apartheid, as well as the urgent need to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the Pretoria racist regime. This special session on Namibia should take proper and adequate account of this important fact and use it as a basis for further action. Any other line of action is bound to be inadequate and would only serve to permit a further aggravation of the situation in southern Africa.

We wish at this point to thank the Secretary-General of the UN for his relentless efforts to ensure the earliest implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). We are particularly delighted to see him back in good health and at the helm of the organisation.

We also wish to thank and congratulate the UN Council for Namibia, and the UN Commissioner for Namibia for their selfless endeavours in the most difficult of circumstances in support of the Namibian people's just struggle for freedom.

Finally, we wish to reaffirm our solidarity with all peoples and their national liberation movements or other leadership structures engaged in struggles against oppression, war and want and for a free, humane, peaceful and abundant future for themselves and for all mankind.

Statement at the 2 735th meeting of the United Nations Security Council

THE DELEGATION of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, on behalf of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, expresses its appreciation of the invitation extended to it by the council.

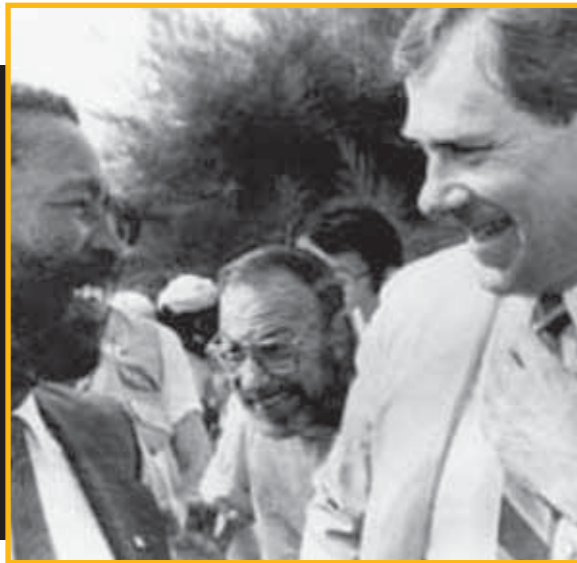
We take comfort, Sir, in seeing the council presided over by you, our dedicated brother, the son of beloved Zambia, a country that has offered itself as a haven to all genuine freedom-fighters in the region. The people, the party and the Government of Zambia, under the leadership of Dr Kenneth Kaunda, have, in accordance with the commitment of the rest of the frontline states, given selflessly to the cause of freedom in South Africa and Namibia. We feel confident, Sir, that under your presidency the urgency that the frontline and other independent African states attach to the speedy eradication of apartheid and its replacement by a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa will be addressed and translated into concrete action.

My delegation also takes this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr Andres Aguilar, of truly anti-apartheid Venezuela, on the skilful manner in which he handled the council's affairs last month. We recall with pride that not long ago our President, Oliver Tambo, had the honour of receiving on behalf of Nelson Mandela the Simon Bolivar Award, an illustrious award that our colleague shares with His Majesty King Carlos of Spain.

The ANC of South Africa has come to urge the council to take immediate and effective action in accordance with the Charter against the Pretoria regime, whose intensified brutal repression of a defenseless population, the carnage it has caused among that population and its frequent armed aggression against the neighbouring states constitute a threat to peace and international security.

Since the council last met on this question, the situation internally and in the region has deteriorated alarmingly. The regime has proclaimed two draconian states of emergency in less than two years. It has detained without trial more than 30 000 compatriots, 40% of whom are children under 18, including several hundred under 13. Through its security forces and surrogates and the vigilantes, it has murdered over 3 000 patriots, many of whom are youths, children and infants. It has imposed a news black-out, thereby becoming the sole source of information.

The regime has directly and through its surrogates, the local vigilantes, the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (Renamo) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), carried out wanton acts of terrorism against the people of South Africa, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It has deployed more than 34 000 troops to occupy 96 townships as well as various labour compounds and schools throughout the country. It has detained thousands of youths in the so-called re-education centres, obviously designed to effect behaviour modification, most probably for future use in the furtherance of state-promoted and so-called black-on-black violence.



Thabo Mbeki (African National Congress [ANC]) in discussion with Frederick van Zyl Slabbert – A prime mover in the process of initiating talks with the ANC was both a liberal and an Afrikaner. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a sociologist and the leader of the Progressive Federal Party until April 1986, resigned from the party because, he declared, there was no chance of achieving meaningful reforms through the institutions of Parliament and government.

Having met the ANC leadership in Lusaka, and being convinced of the sanity of the ANC programme, as reflected in the Freedom Charter, those students returned to South Africa and published a pamphlet in which they demanded that the regime negotiates with the ANC. The students thus became part of an ever-growing constituency, whose representatives have been trekking to Lusaka to meet and hold discussions with the ANC, a group that includes eminent businessmen in South Africa, religious leaders, black business leaders and English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking students.

I shall not subject this council to a tedious, irrelevant and unnecessary rebuttal of the Alice-in-Wonderland exposé of apartheid South Africa's alleged commitment to reform. It is perhaps too early to expect the newly arrived representative of the Pretoria regime to recognise that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be destroyed. As our President, Oliver Tambo, said: "Apartheid either is or is not. And it must not be". However, we look forward to his enlightenment by his exposure to the international community and we will welcome his defection to join his former colleagues who, like a growing number in the country, have resigned high-ranking government posts and are distancing themselves today from PW Botha and his so-called reforms.

Inasmuch as the people of the world became outraged and made common cause against Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy, we believe that the peoples of the world today must embark on a similar concerted onslaught against apartheid. The fact that apartheid is an offshoot of Nazism is made abundantly clear by the statement made by John Vorster in 1942 when he was detained for his role as a general in the fifth column, a secret organisation, the Ossewabrandwag. I am referring here to the former Prime Minister of South Africa, John Balthazar Vorster, who said:

In South Africa, we stand for Christian nationalism. It is called fascism in Italy and national socialism in Germany.

Consequently, the philosophical underpinnings of the regime do not lend themselves to meaningful reform or change.

In his statement marking the 75th anniversary of the ANC, Oliver Tambo said:

In its permanent light all can see clearly the nasty brutishness of the external relations which our oppressors have sought to maintain, relations based on racial superiority and domination, oppression, war and murder, underhand dealings and lies.

The time has come when the world, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and other major Western powers, must finally no longer associate them with and encourage the pursuit of such relations and the commitment of these crimes. Surely, the time is upon us when the democratic movement of our country should everywhere take its place as the rightful representative of our people.

In its bid towards the liberation of South Africa and Namibia, the UN General Assembly has, since 1962, adopted numerous resolutions calling for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. This noble effort by the overwhelming majority of mankind still awaits endorsement by this council. Furthermore, the international community, outraged by the criminality

Further to the electrification of the border fences and the fencing of the townships, the regime has embarked on a hideous programme of building a wall around Soweto, an act generally viewed by our people as intended to facilitate complete control, if not acts of genocide. It has repeatedly contravened international law, violating the sanctity of its neighbours' international borders and abducting refugees, accusing them of being members of the ANC or ANC sympathisers.

The regime, which has arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries, made open threats to Samora Machel three days before his untimely, tragic death, whose cause is yet to be established.

Two days ago, the representative of the Pretoria regime, in what I believe was his maiden speech in the council, insulted the intelligence of the council and the international community by stating:

Power in South Africa resides in the hands of the moderate majority. That moderate majority includes blacks, whites, Asians and coloureds.

What a preposterous untruth! Has not the UN since its inception been seized of the South African problem, which is to this day characterised by the denial of basic political rights to the majority of its population, which enjoys no right to vote or to be elected to the law-making institutions?

Permit me to tell the council of a different voice from the privileged class in South Africa – that of the leader of a group of students from Stellenbosch University, that bastion of Afrikanerdom, of which PW Botha is Chancellor:

We are a generation that has been fed on a gospel of lies by our so-called leaders.

and brutality of the apartheid system, has for some years now been exerting pressure on respective governments. It was as the result of such pressure that the Bahamas Commonwealth Summit established the Eminent Persons Group, which called on the Pretoria regime to dismantle apartheid, lift the existing state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, lift the ban on the ANC and other political organisations, and also called for the simultaneous suspension of violence in order to begin the process leading to a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Although convinced that the Pretoria regime was not amenable to such a rational position, it should be recalled that the ANC, true to its pragmatism, agreed to cooperate and to give the negotiated concept of the Eminent Persons Group a chance. The Pretoria regime, for its part, unleashed a virulent attack against the Eminent Persons Group during its visit in South Africa and, on 19 May 1986, a few hours before a scheduled meeting in Cape Town, carried out unprovoked attacks against civilian targets in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, thereby torpedoing the Commonwealth initiative. The Eminent Persons Group arrived at conclusions in favour of sanctions. About the same time, the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, meeting in Paris, also arrived at conclusions in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. That historic conference also triggered a greater momentum in favour of sanctions against the Pretoria regime throughout the world, including the United States of America (USA).

We salute the peoples of the world, the natural allies of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia. We commend the anti-apartheid people of the USA who are opposed to the policy of constructive engagement, and also those congressional leaders who have accurately assessed the mood of the times and the wide consensus within their country and have waged a bipartisan campaign that resulted in the enactment of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. In this connection, we urge those forces to remain vigilant against bogus withdrawals by some corporations and to campaign for the inclusion of so-called strategic minerals in the list of items not to be imported from South Africa.

The ANC is today more convinced than ever before of the urgent need for the international community to exert maximum pressure, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime. It is for that reason that we join those who have preceded us in commending the conclusions of the Advisory Committee established by Secretary of State, George Shultz, on 19 December 1985, which declared that "the most effective external pressure will come from a concerted international effort". The committee continues:

We recommend that the President begin urgent consultations with our allies, especially Britain, Canada, West Germany, France, Japan and Israel, to enlist their support for a multilateral programme of sanctions drawn from the list of measures included in the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

We urge member states to support the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries as the first important step towards the desired international action.

We seize this opportunity to reaffirm our position as expressed by our President in a statement delivered on the occasion of the ANC's 75th anniversary and in keeping with our conviction that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim



Joseph Garba (left) of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid and Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reform Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front of South Africa, 8 October 1984.

authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. In pursuing this point, President Oliver Tambo declared:

For us, it is of special importance that the new reality should reinforce and entrench what we are accomplishing now, in struggle: the building of a nation of South Africans. It must reflect and enhance our oneness, breaking down the terrible and destructive idea and practice of defining our people by race, colour or ethnic group. The revolution will guarantee the individual and equal rights of all South Africans, without regard to any of those categories, and include such freedoms as those of speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the press, inviolability of family life, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial.



1987

17 NOVEMBER

Statement at the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly

FIRST, I must join those who have preceded me in extending sincere condolences to the Government and people of Niger following the untimely death of President Seyni Kountche.

On behalf of the African National Congress (ANC) and in the name of our National Executive Committee, headed by Comrade President Oliver Tambo, who deeply regrets his inability to be with us here today, I wish to congratulate Mr Peter Florin on his unanimous election as President of the 42nd session of the General Assembly. The ANC is forever appreciative of the place the German Democratic Republic continues to occupy and the crucial role it plays in the international fight for the eradication of apartheid.

I also wish to express our appreciation to Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the UN, for his tireless efforts in the cause of humanity and particularly his commitment to the independence of Namibia and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The indefatigable Joseph Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, has given a truly analytical and objective report on the situation in South Africa, thereby effectively preparing the ground for what we hope will prove to have been a lively debate leading to action-oriented decisions. The Special Committee against Apartheid must be highly commended for the invaluable contribution that it continues to make in the international campaign for the total isolation of racist South Africa and the eradication of apartheid. We must also say a word of welcome to Mr Satirios Mussouris, Assistant Secretary-General and Head of the Centre against Apartheid, whom we assure of our full cooperation in the action-packed days ahead.


Like our counterparts in other parts of Africa and the world, who have known colonial or semi-colonial, alien or racial domination; we, the oppressed people of South Africa, have never ceased to yearn for, dream of and strive for freedom. Though the intensity of our struggle has tended to ebb and flow, there have occurred crucial junctures at which years have been the equivalent of decades in terms of the ground covered by the resistance movement. The period under review has been a momentous one in South Africa, ever since September 1984, when the white minority regime moved its troops into the black townships in an attempt to crush the popular resistance to apartheid. It has been a period marked by the relentless mass resistance that reached its peak in the wake of the birth of the United Democratic Front (UDF), formed in 1983 to oppose the bogus constitutional dispensation – that vain attempt to co-opt the so-called coloureds and Asians for use as second-class allies in the perpetuation of white supremacy.

It will be recalled that when the UDF was launched it called for the participation in the resistance of the working people. The UDF expressed faith “in the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom”. It also resolved to strengthen the unity between genuine trade unions and freedom-loving people in the struggle for human rights. The inauguration of the Congress of South



“South African Women and Labour under Apartheid” was the theme of a special commemorative meeting held at the United Nations (UN) Headquarters to mark the Week of Solidarity with Peoples Struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination. The meeting, organised by the Department of Public Information in cooperation with the UN Centre against Apartheid was held for non-governmental organisations and others interested in the struggle against apartheid.

Fred Dube, African National Congress of South Africa, speaking during the afternoon programme.
26 March 1981
UN, New York



African Trade Unions (Cosatu) at the end of December 1985 was therefore a major development in the current phase of our struggle. It meant that the most militant sector of our people had accepted the UDF's challenge. As is known to all, in spite of increased repression, harassment and intimidation, Cosatu has launched and endorsed several strikes, including the recent ones of 20 000 postal workers and 360 000 mine workers. We share the view, expressed today by many friends and foes, that the South African situation will never be the same again after this tremendous show of working-class power, which has the potential of immensely increasing the capacity of the resistance movement.

The undaunted spirit and determination of the oppressed people of South Africa has manifested itself repeatedly and in various forms, including the refusal of black youth to be muzzled by the draconian laws and repression of the second state of emergency declared in June 1986. In this connection, it should be noted that the banning of the Congress of South African Students – the powerful student voice since the 1976 Soweto uprising – has backfired, because in its place our valiant youth, on 1 March 1987, at the height of the second state of emergency, launched the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). This is clear testimony that the state of emergency has failed to suppress our struggle. The welding together of the black youth, who constitute the cutting edge of the resistance movement and the future of our country, has been another milestone whose potential in the strengthening of the democratic movement's capacity cannot be overestimated. The adoption of the Freedom Charter by that powerful organisation, whose membership is over half a million, was another watershed. The same may soon be true of another giant federation – that of women, recently formed as an underground organisation at the height of the state of emergency.

It is also important to note that the ANC has developed a capacity to integrate such local struggles as the rent boycott into the framework of the broader national liberation struggle. It is against this background that the armed action of our military wing – Umkhonto we Sizwe – recently reported, on Magnus Malan's own admission in Parliament, to have increased by 300% – must be seen.

The most important development during the period under review is certainly the political successes scored by the mass democratic movement in general and by the ANC in its campaign to isolate the Pretoria regime at home and abroad. Delegations of white institutions and groups that have defied the Pretoria regime and undertaken trips to hold consultations with the ANC in Harare and Lusaka have increased significantly this year. They now include the 61 mainly Afrikaner intellectuals, artists, writers and other opinion-makers, whose meeting with an ANC delegation in Dakar has been welcomed in various capitals and by many inter-state organisations as an important development. The ANC intends to continue on this path for the purpose of reaching out to and encouraging large numbers of white compatriots to distance themselves from PW Botha's laager mentality, embrace the Dakar spirit and participate in one way or another in the struggle for majority rule in a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it – black and white.

These consultations have been held with a variety of groups and have yielded varying but encouraging results. We must reiterate our position that these are not intended as negotiations or beginnings of talks: they are but part of the ANC campaign of mobilisation intended to isolate the Pretoria regime at home and strengthen the position of the democratic movement committed to a non-racial democracy in a united South Africa. The Dakar group's acceptance of certain important positions, including the principle of one person, one vote and the historical reasons for armed struggle, is indeed an important milestone.



16 June 1976 – Soweto burning.

The worldwide consensus on the application of sanctions as the only peaceful means of compelling racist South Africa to end apartheid has further strengthened and broadened last year by the conclusions of the Eminent Persons Group and the World Conference against Racism, South Africa, held in Paris in June 1986. Effect has been given to it by the Nordic countries through the trade embargo by Denmark, Sweden and Finland against racist South Africa. It has compelled the European Common Market member states to embark on some kind of first step in the same direction, despite the continued intransigence of the United Kingdom (UK) and the Federal Republic of Germany. In October last year, it was given a strong shot in the arm by the adoption in the United States (USA) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, 1986 – an important victory over the policy of constructive engagement. We must never tire of thanking the anti-apartheid movement throughout the world, including the American people and their anti-apartheid elected officials. Their relentless efforts have made them active allies of the struggling people in South Africa and Namibia.

The latest opinion polls showing that two thirds of South African blacks support the idea of sanctions, and the positions recently taken by the UDF, Cosatu, SAYCO and the South African Council of Churches in support of sanctions, make nonsense of the often repeated argument by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan that comprehensive sanctions would hurt the blacks. It was the blacks, through their organisation, the ANC, who first called for sanctions, as early as 1959, fully mindful that they would result in the loss of some jobs for both black and white workers, but would also effectively weaken the Pretoria regime, thereby complementing our struggle.

Every trade agreement, every new investment and every bank loan is a brick in the wall for our survival, said John Balthazar Vorster in 1972.

All we are saying to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Ronald Reagan is that their countries should actively pull out those bricks and weaken the wall of apartheid, which must be brought down and replaced by a non-racial democracy. We must again reiterate our position that continued refusal by those governments to make common cause with the rest of the international community is clearly a prescription for violence, as it deprives the embattled and oppressed people of South Africa of their only remaining option for peaceful change in South Africa.

It is interesting that President Ronald Reagan, in his report to Congress – pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, 1986 – correctly observed that the state of emergency in South Africa had not been repealed, but instead the earlier decree had been tightened; press restrictions had been tightened and an increasing number of journalists, including Americans, had been expelled; Nelson Mandela and other key political prisoners had not been released, but instead the number of political prisoners, including a large number of minors, detained by the Government had increased. He also observed that no clear and credible plan had been devised for negotiating a future political system involving all the people equally in South Africa and that many legitimate representatives of the majority were still banned, in hiding or in detention. He also said that the Government of South Africa had not ended its military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighbouring states.

Bearing in mind the correct observations made by the President of the USA regarding the current situation in South Africa, we condemn the abuse of the veto by the USA and the UK and the position taken by the Federal Republic of Germany during the month of February. In our view, that action was hostile to the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa and contrary to the letter and spirit of the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, 1986. That Act called for the imposition of additional sanctions in the absence of significant progress leading to the end of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. Therefore, in our opinion, the Administration of the USA stands in violation of a Congressional Act empowering and mandating appropriate action to the full extent of the law. That Act also called upon the Secretary of State to convene an international conference on multilateral sanctions against South Africa, and to have the US representative at the UN take an initiative leading to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

The ANC is not alone in holding the view that the situation in South Africa has further deteriorated this year. This viewpoint is shared by many inter-state organisations, including the UN, as well as by the Commonwealth leaders, who stated at their recent meeting that:

The crisis engendered in the region by apartheid has seriously deteriorated ... Repressive measures resulting in more suffering and loss of life have been intensified within South Africa, and the toll taken by acts of war and destruction directed against South Africa's neighbours in an attempt to sustain and defend apartheid has continued to rise.

We have, in addition, recently witnessed the latest confirmation of the white supremacy doctrine: the whites-only election, the imposition of states of emergency, the increased detention of our compatriots and, in particular, the hideous and wanton detention and torture of hundreds of our children; and the press censorship intended to hide the regime's evil from the South African community in general.

The combined impact of the internal and external pressures on the Pretoria regime reached an unprecedented level early this year. In characterising this period, we can safely speak of a psychological

threshold having been crossed in South Africa. On the side of the oppressed, our people cast aside fear of death and, like their brethren in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia, put their lives on the line for freedom. On the side of the oppressor, he admitted to himself that he had lost the strategic initiative, which has passed into the hands of the people, and that he can no longer rule by himself and in the old way. We are talking of the irreversible process now seen by friend and foe as leading to the inevitable demise of the apartheid system.

In a deceptive attempt to stem the tide of mass resistance at home, as well as international pressure and sanctions, the Pretoria regime has embarked on a two-pronged approach. One was articulated a few years ago by Magnus Malan, the regime's Defence Minister, who admitted that, despite its military might, the regime could not win in the mainly psychological warfare waged by the ANC. On that occasion, he stressed the need for the regime's campaign being 80% political and designed to win the hearts and minds of the people, and only 20% military. It is in pursuance of this campaign that PW Botha has publicly declared his regime's policy of co-opting "moderate blacks" with whom he intends to share power.

The other approach of the campaign derives from the regime's loyalty to all the tenets of apartheid, including the doctrine that whites are inherently superior to blacks, that apartheid enjoys divine inspiration and that, as the representative of white, Christian and Western civilisation, racist South Africa is the bulwark against the spread of communist influence in Africa.

The origins of this strategy can be traced to PW Botha's policy statement during the May whites-only elections, when he declared the need to crush the ANC and the extra-parliamentary organisations before co-opting "moderate blacks" with whom to share power. This campaign has taken the form of abduction of ANC cadres, such as Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and Priscilla Nyanda from the Kingdom of Swaziland. It has taken the form of the assassination of 13 ANC cadres and leaders, including Cassius Make, the late National Executive Committee member. It has also taken the form, revealed at the recent trial in London, of the plan to kidnap 15 ANC leaders, including Comrade President Oliver Tambo. At the same time, the regime continues to spend millions of dollars in the propaganda campaign to discredit the ANC, while promoting the ever-growing number of bogus groups being groomed for co-option.

That is indeed further proof that the Botha regime has neither the desire nor the intention to engage in any peaceful negotiations. On the contrary, everything it does is directed at the destruction of the national liberation movement, the suppression of the democratic movement and the entrenchment and perpetuation of the apartheid system of white domination. It is conducting a determined campaign to eliminate the ANC and the democratic movement.

We call on the UN and the entire international community to meet this challenge by lending appropriate political support to the ANC, which enjoys unparalleled authority in the country today. Attempts to co-opt Bantustan and other puppets towards a neo-apartheid solution must be defeated.

The conflict in our country is between the forces of national liberation and democracy on the one hand, and those of racism and reaction on the other. Any negotiations would have to be conducted by those two forces, as represented by their various organisational formations. It is in this context that we call on the international community to join the ANC in rejecting, without qualification, the

proposed National Statutory Council, which the Botha regime seeks to establish through legislation to be enacted by the apartheid Parliament and on the basis of the Constitution, which the General Assembly and the Security Council have declared null and void. The National Statutory Council seeks to entrench and legitimise the very structures of apartheid that our struggle seeks to abolish. The position of the ANC on negotiations is clearly stated in the 9 October statement of the National Executive Committee, which states, *inter alia*, that:

Once more, we would like to reaffirm that the ANC and the masses of our people as a whole are ready and willing to enter into genuine negotiations, provided they are aimed at the transformation of our country into a united and non-racial democracy.

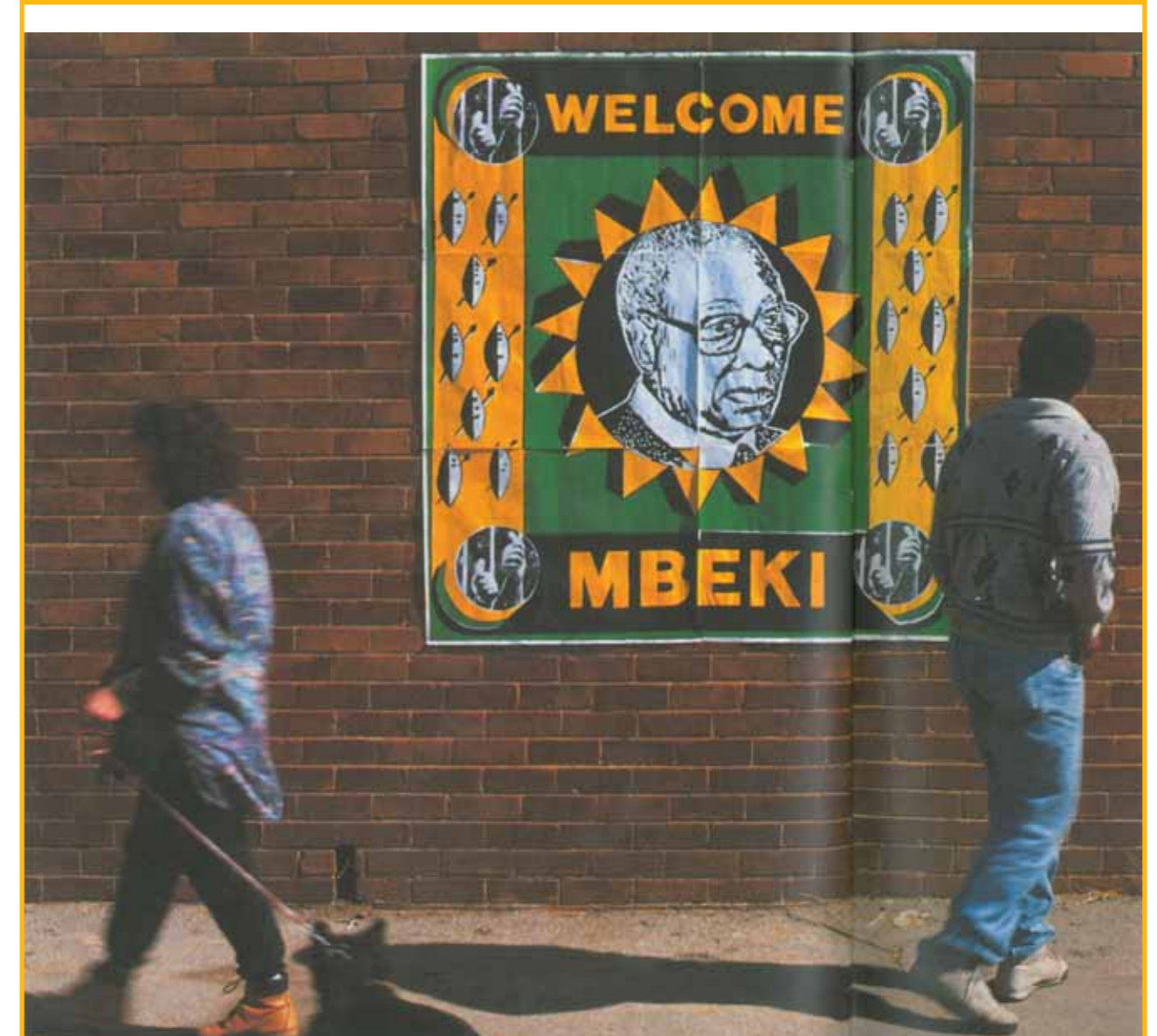
However, in viewing the Pretoria regime's record exemplified by non-compliance with the Nkomati Accord, the Lusaka Agreement and the Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), our statement further declares:

Our region is fully conversant with the treacherous and deceitful nature of the apartheid regime. Taking this experience into account, we insist that before any negotiations take place, the apartheid regime would have to demonstrate its seriousness by implementing



Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim.

This campaign has taken the form of abduction of ANC cadres, such as Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and Priscilla Nyanda from the Kingdom of Swaziland. It has taken the form of assassination of 13 ANC cadres and leaders, including Cassius Make, the late National Executive Committee member. It has also taken the form, revealed at the recent trial in London, of the plan to kidnap 15 ANC leaders, including Comrade President Oliver Tambo.



various measures to create a climate conducive to such negotiations. These would include the unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees, all captured freedom-fighters and prisoners of war, as well as the cessation of all political trials. The state of emergency would have to be lifted, the army and the police withdrawn from the townships and confined to their barracks. Similarly, all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly, speech, the press and so on would have to be repealed. Among these would be the Riotous Assemblies, the Native Administration, the General Laws Amendment, the Unlawful Organisations, the Internal Security and similar Acts and regulations.

We take this opportunity once more to reaffirm that the ANC is opposed to any secret negotiations. We firmly believe that the people themselves must participate in shaping their destiny and would therefore have to be involved in any process of negotiations.

In this context, the release of Govan Mbeki must be welcomed as an important development and victory not only for the South African patriots but also for the justice-loving peoples of the world in general, whose relentless campaign for the unconditional release of all the South African political prisoners can no longer be ignored by the already isolated Pretoria regime. However, in order to



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20 NOVEMBER

Statement at the 2763rd meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council

MR PRESIDENT, on behalf of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, I wish to thank you and the Security Council for giving us the floor to join the international community in addressing this most urgent matter before the council today. We must also congratulate you on your assumption of the helm of this body, and at the same time we thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of Italy, for a job well done. We are confident that the deliberations of the Security Council cannot but benefit from your guidance.

Racist South Africa's undeclared but naked war of aggression against the frontline states and neighbouring countries has had occasion to be discussed in these very chambers more frequently perhaps than most other issues that pose a threat to international peace and security. This has been particularly true in the specific case of racist South Africa's frequent aggression against and invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as its occupation of portions of the southern part of that country. Each time, the guilt of the Pretoria racist regime has been crystal clear, if not established beyond doubt; yet each time attempts to adopt measures designed to compel the Pretoria racist regime to comply with the norms of international law have been sabotaged by certain permanent member states. Meanwhile, the racist regime has interpreted each failure of the international community to act as permission and encouragement to proceed apace on its criminal warpath. The longer the council fails to act, the more emboldened Pretoria will be to drown the entire region of southern Africa in a horrendous interracial bloodbath.

It is public knowledge that at least three battalions of the Pretoria racist regime have for a long time been occupying positions in southern Angola, positions which they have sought to expand by launching forays into the rest of the country. The regime now also has some 30 000 troops massed on the border with Namibia as back-up for its current unprecedented escalation of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. In a blatant display of contempt for the very principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, PW Botha and three of his henchmen have had the temerity to visit the racist occupation troops on Angolan soil. In a statement, which confirms what has always been public knowledge, namely that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) bandits are the ignominious cat's paw of apartheid, the Pretoria racist regime claimed that its heightened military aggression against Angola was in the interest of preventing a Unita defeat. If clarity were ever needed, the elements are all in place. Pretoria's vain attempt is to create a so-called constellation of southern African states under the dominance of pax pretoriana. This is also intended to serve the objective of buying more time for Pretoria to impose a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) type settlement in Namibia, thus effectively sabotaging Resolution 435 (1978) and extending its illicit lease on the use of Namibian territory, which it occupies illegally, as a launching pad for its acts of aggression and destabilisation against the frontline and other independent African states in the region.

have it serve as a catalyst for meaningful change, it must be followed immediately by the equally unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and all other political prisoners and detainees, including children.

As we meet here today, racist South Africa's full-scale invasion of the People's Republic of Angola continues with savage intensity. Pretoria's arrogance and desperate move to secure the Reagan Administration's active participation in this anti-African act, has been underscored by PW Botha's reported visit to southern Angola. There can be no bigger challenge to the UN and the international community in general; they must take immediate and appropriate action against the Pretoria regime. The repeated massacres committed by the Mozambican National Resistance Movement armed bandits in Mozambique, who have killed hundreds of civilians in cold blood, call for equally urgent action.

I take this opportunity to confirm that the ANC, in cooperation with the Party and Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, will be holding an international conference in Arusha from 1 to 4 December 1987. The theme of the conference is: "The Peoples of the World against Apartheid and for the Establishment of a Non-Racial Democracy in South Africa", and we hope that it will, among other things, address the issue of sanctions.

Our organisation thanks the Special Committee against Apartheid and all who have helped to fund this project, and it appeals to those who have not yet contributed to do so.

At this juncture and in keeping with the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the overwhelming support of the international community, we call upon the assembly once again to urge the Security Council to convene immediately in order to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

There are those who have made it their vocation to see glimmers of hope even in the darkest aspects of the conduct of the Pretoria racist regime, frequently defying common sense and flying in the face of irrefutable historical evidence. It is alarming enough that they have persistently taken the position that apartheid should be given time to reform itself even as the regime's domestic reign of terror and its state terrorism against neighbouring African states have been consistently intensifying. At the dangerous extreme, they have sought to purchase extra time for apartheid by militarily supporting the Pretoria racist regime's surrogates, as is the case in the United States (US) Administration's support for the Unita bandits. PW Botha's visit to his occupation troops on Angolan soil, apart from being an act of flagrant defiance, is also calculated to exploit this disposition on the part of its allies. This high-profile visit, taken in conjunction with the Pretoria regime's assertion that it is upping its war against Angola in order to prevent a Unita defeat, is without doubt intended to involve the USA, which supports Unita, more deeply and extensively in Pretoria's war against southern Africa. Nothing could be more dangerous than for the US Administration to fall for this cheap ploy. In the name of international peace and security, we strongly counsel against this horrendous possibility.

We must remember that attempts to accommodate Hitler even as he began to invade Poland led to his military occupation of the greater part of Europe. To fail to take decisive action as Pretoria is escalating its military aggression against Angola will have the effect of giving Pretoria carte blanche to overrun all of southern Africa. If we cannot turn Pretoria back from Angola, if we cannot accelerate the process of Namibian decolonisation under the provisions of Resolution 435 (1978), we hardly have grounds to hope that Pretoria can be prevailed upon to leave southern Africa alone.

The Security Council must, therefore, condemn racist South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. It must demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from that country. The Security Council must make it clear that racist South Africa's failure to comply with this demand within a clearly fixed period will leave the Security Council no choice but to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions on racist South Africa under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.



2010

16 FEBRUARY

ANC stalwart Jonny Makhatini's remains coming home

REMAINS OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) STALWART JONNY MAKHATINI, who served the movement in various capacities – including becoming ANC representative to the United Nations when the organisation was still banned in South Africa – are to be exhumed in Zambia and reburied in KwaZulu-Natal.

Comrade Makhatini died in exile on 17 December 1988 when his country was reeling under the second state of emergency declared by the PW Botha regime in an attempt to suppress an unstoppable groundswell of anti-apartheid revolt inside the country. The ANC remembers this gallant and dedicated fighter who sacrificed his life for a free, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

Addressing the 1991 ANC National Conference, the late ANC President Oliver Tambo said of Comrade Makhatini: "Jonny Makhatini and countless others will forever remain on the roll of honour of our struggle. We shall always remember them for their outstanding contribution."

ANC President, Jacob Zuma, KwaZulu-Natal Chairperson, Zweli Mkhize, the Makhatini family and members of the Reburial Preparatory Committee are soon expected to travel to the Zambian capital, Lusaka, for the exhumation ceremony and performance of obsequies rites before returning the remains home to prepare for the reburial in Pietermaritzburg on Saturday, 27 February 2010. Thousands of ANC cadres who include veterans, youth leaders, National Executive Committee members and other dignitaries are expected to attend the reburial ceremony.

"Let us individually and collectively afford the late Comrade Jonny Makhatini the necessary honour and respect he deserves as his remains are to be laid to rest in the land of his forebears – one he laid his life for," said ANC Secretary-General Gwede Mantashe.

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The repatriation ceremony of the late Johnny Makathini led by the retired president Dr Keneth Kaunda of Zambia and attended by the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation Ms Maite Nkoane-Mashabane, Speaker of the House (South African Parliament) Mr Max Sisulu, Premier of KwaZulu-Natal Mr Zweli Mkhize and the Makhathini family the in Lusaka, Zambia. The ceremony was

Reburial of the African National Congress stalwart Jonny Makhatini.



2010

27 FEBRUARY

Eulogy by South African President Jacob Zuma, at the reburial of the remains of Jonny Makhatini, Pietermaritzburg



Jacob Zuma during the Eulogy address of the late Jonny Makhatini

Programme directors and Presiding Priest,

Mrs Makhatini and the entire family,

KwaZulu-Natal Premier, Dr Zweli Mkhize,

Ministers, deputy ministers and MECs,

African National Congress (ANC) NEC members, provincial leadership of the ANC and Alliance partners,

Representatives of SADC and all foreign dignitaries present,

Comrades and friends,

WE HAVE COME TOGETHER FOR AN OCCASION that reminds us of our sad but also very heroic and inspiring history.

Comrade Johnstone Mfanafuthi Makhatini has finally come home.

After a long and arduous journey and a lifetime of struggle and sacrifice, his mortal remains have returned to the soil from which he came, and which he loved so dearly.

This occasion therefore reminds us of the bravery, sacrifice and dedication of many patriots who gave their all for freedom.

It reminds us that many died in foreign lands, working very hard to ensure that this country and its people would be free.

As the South African people, black and white, this reburial service enables us to celebrate the lives of those who loved this country more than life itself.

The land to which we return Comrade Makhatini's remains today is much changed from the land he left nearly 50 years ago.

We are able to now lay him to rest in a free South Africa, the land of the freedom he fought for until 3 December 1988, when he passed on at about 12:00 hours after a short illness at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka, Zambia.

The outstanding and legendary teacher, activist and highly skilled diplomat, had passed away tragically, leaving his family, comrades and friends in shock and pain.

His was a life well-lived, a life full of dedication and commitment, a life of a highly energetic fighter for freedom and democracy.

Working tirelessly together with other great leaders of his generation, Comrade Jonny Makhatini created the conditions for the achievement of our freedom.

He used powerful tools – his political acumen, strategic thinking, communication as well as networking skills to promote the cause of freedom and justice in international platforms.

All who lived and worked with him will recall that as ANC representative in Algeria, he was highly effective, making the message of freedom heard in all corners, from Algeria to Western Europe.

Comrade Jonny Makhatini was also a respected figure in the Organisation of African Unity, pushing the agenda of the unity of the African people and the fight against apartheid.

He distinguished himself as the head of the ANC mission in the United Nations (UN). He was highly influential and was known by every diplomat worth his salt. ANC archives show that he was often accused of making the ANC dominate UN discussions.



That is how effective he was as the spokesperson of the ANC and of this country.

Articulate and forthright, his statements in UN meetings were always straight to the point. An example is his address to a UN Security Council meeting in New York on 4 November 1977, after a weak resolution against the apartheid regime: He said:

The resolution that has just been adopted is too little and has come too late.

The council, representing the international community, has missed an opportunity to erase from the surface of the Earth the iniquities portrayed in the picture behind you, Mr President.

However, we feel that, while it is too late for peaceful change, there is still time for the Western countries to join us in a common struggle, a common battle against the common enemy.

It is important to stress that our people have come to the conclusion reached by their counterparts in various countries that have been placed in a similar situation, that genuine freedom cannot be granted, it can only be grabbed.

We must recall and celebrate one of his most outstanding achievements. As a leading figure in the movement's international campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa over many decades, Jonny Makhatini left behind what was probably the largest global solidarity movement of our time.

There has undoubtedly never been any one movement as diverse as the anti-apartheid movement, either in South Africa itself, or across the world. That movement did not come together by accident. It was the consequence of hard work, sustained engagement, and the cultivation of a compelling vision for a new society.

Comrade Jonny bequeathed to us a network of friends and supporters in every corner of the world, whose collective effort was critical to the defeat of apartheid and the achievement of democracy.

Even up to this day, we tap into that network of friends, using them to help us build our country.

And what should we learn from Comrade Jonny?

He taught us that there is no greater human calling than to struggle for freedom. Life itself meant nothing to him, if he could not be free in the land of his birth.

Were Comrade Jonny still alive, he would probably tell us a lot that is wrong about the manner in which we project ourselves and our country internationally, for he was a master international relations strategist.

We should learn from his qualities as we seek to build a country that can make an impact on the global stage, whether in multilateral forums or when dealing with other countries at a bilateral level.

Our future diplomats should give themselves time to study his work and his legacy and to learn from it, in order to represent this country and its people better abroad, to enable us to achieve the economic growth and development that we desire.

Ladies and gentlemen,
As a young democracy we are still building our heritage. We have to introduce our children and their children to the stories about our national heroes such as Comrade Jonny Makhatini, for them to appreciate their contribution to freedom in our country.

We appreciate the contribution of this province in taking us a step further in creating this new national heritage architecture for the country.

This service therefore reminds us that our heritage, symbols and monuments must be visible, as a powerful nation-building tool.

While having achieved a lot in many spheres since the ushering in of democracy in 1994, we may have moved slowly in some areas, for example in creating new national monuments.

We must have monuments which indicate that we are a people with a certain history.

This is a subject we must discuss and act on fast, but with care and sensitivity.

When walking in our major cities, we must see monuments that tell us that there once lived an Oliver Tambo or a Moses Mabhida who literally worked day and night to ensure that we can live in a free South Africa, all of us, black and white.

The graves of Oliver Tambo, Jonny Makhatini, Moses Mabhida, Walter Sisulu and a host of others bear testimony to the character of leadership that this country has produced in its history.

They are a reminder of the strides we have made to achieve a society that is striving so hard to achieve prosperity in a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

South Africans must ponder this question, and working together we must forge a future of unity, togetherness and a common heritage which accepts the history of this country in its totality.

All South Africans, young and old, must truly understand and appreciate the history of the country and must know how illustrious the men and women who fought for freedom and justice were.

Compatriots, part of building this new heritage is to write our history, especially the missing history of the struggle for freedom. And any history written about the triumphs and tribulations of the struggle for a free South Africa would be incomplete without mention of Jonny Makhatini.

I challenge the youth to take up this project, and record the history of this country for posterity.

Fellow South Africans and friends,
Jonny Makhatini, like many of our heroes, did not live to see the dawn of freedom. Yet, nothing consoles us more than the knowledge that we are laying him to rest in a land that is free from racial oppression and from the animosities of our past.

In a statement on his passing, the ANC said in 1988:

With the departure of Comrade Jonny Makhatini, the African National Congress and the oppressed people of South Africa have lost a most dedicated and talented fighter and leader who gave his whole life in the service of his people and country.

His passing leaves a gap in our ranks which will be difficult to fill.

His shining qualities will continue to inspire his colleagues and the younger generation with the added determination to complete his life's work."

To the family, it is painful that Comrade Jonny did not come back to you alive, but he is home, he is with us. We celebrate his memory and his spirit.

We will always celebrate his life, his teachings and his legacy.

We will always be proud of what we learned from him and of his role in the liberation movement and also in our country.

I would like to therefore say, on behalf of the Government and people of South Africa, Lala ngoxolo Gxabhashe, usubuyile ekhaya ekugcineni!

Let us all cherish the good memories and wish this patriot and great South African a final fond farewell.

I thank you.



2010

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by Benjamin Pogrund

Viewpoint – The ANC Example How non-violence worked for the African National Congress

Violence and its Alternatives

THE SUCCESS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) in ending white minority rule in South Africa nine years ago is one of the epic stories of our time. It is known as the “South African miracle”, not only because of the fact of it but because it was achieved relatively peacefully. Negotiations between whites and blacks brought agreement for a democratic and non-racial country.

The negotiations came about only after brutal conflict and centuries of discrimination against blacks. The Government grew increasingly violent as it tried to maintain white domination – shooting demonstrators, using detention without trial on a mass scale, plus torture and assassination. The ANC was the leader in the battle against apartheid. Armed struggle was one of the methods it used. The South African Government branded it a “terrorist organisation” and threw the full weight of repressive laws against it.

Meeting Jonny Makhatini

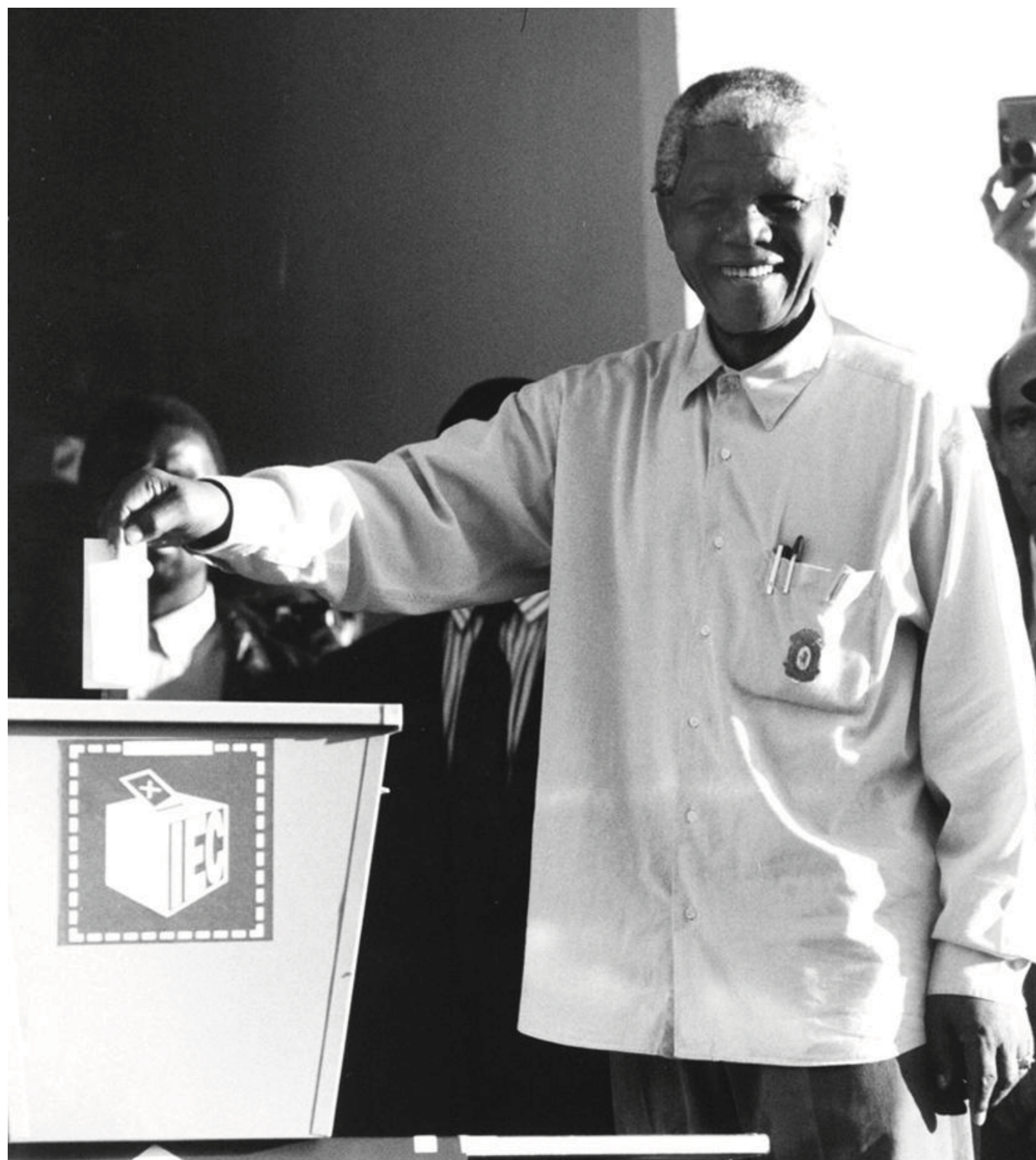
At the height of apartheid, and while on a visit to New York, I interviewed Johnstone “Jonny” Makhatini, recently appointed as the ANC-in-exile representative at the United Nations (UN).

For privacy, we met in the plush room of my 5th Avenue hotel – a surreal setting for the bitter and violent emotions that poured out of him. For two hours, he raged against South Africa’s whites and especially the Afrikaners who had developed the policy of racial apartheid (separateness). Whites were cruel, despicable, he said; they deserved no mercy; force was all they knew and understood; if they would not yield power, they had to be killed or driven into the sea.

The strength of Makhatini’s feeling was relevant to the time at which we met, late in 1976. On 16 June that year, a peaceful march by school children in Soweto, the ghetto township for blacks outside Johannesburg, to protest against the greater imposition of the hated Afrikaans language for their lessons, had ended with the police opening fire and killing one of them, Hector Pietersen. That set off a countrywide mass challenge to government authority by black schoolchildren. It became known as the “children’s rebellion”. They paid a heavy price from the guns of the police and army. During the next six months, the official death count was 500 to 600. In fact, it was perhaps twice as many or more. To this day, the exact figure is not known.

Hopes and policy

I knew Makhatini and he did not usually talk in such harsh, unforgiving terms. It shook me, and left me drained and depressed about the prospects for South Africa’s future. Let’s go and have a drink,



I said when I could take no more. We went downstairs to the bar and, drinks in hand, continued talking. After a few minutes, Makhatini looked over his shoulder to make sure no one was near, leaned close to me and said softly: "Listen man, don't you think that when the chips are really down, the Afrikaners will accept us and there will be peace in our country?"

That was not only Makhatini the human being speaking from the heart, expressing his deepest hopes, but he was also articulating the policy of the ANC. For nearly 50 years since its creation in 1912, the ANC had adhered to non-violence, asking and begging the ruling white minority for equality for the black majority. The Government consistently rejected the pleas and violently suppressed protests. Then came the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 – precipitated by protest action by the ANC's rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), led by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe: The police killed 68 blacks taking part in a peaceful demonstration. The biggest protests in the country's history followed, and the Government banned both the ANC and PAC.

Fourteen months later, the underground ANC, led by Nelson Mandela, took the fateful decision that non-violence had been tried and had failed and there was no alternative but to turn to armed struggle. On 16 December 1961, its new military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), set off the first bombs.

Violence against property, not people

The armed struggle was founded on two fundamental principles: Firstly, violence should not be directed against civilians but against property and military targets. This derived from the ANC's history of non-violent protest, and its belief in the principle of non-violent political action to effect change as preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi in fighting British rule in India. (Gandhi was an admired figure: He lived in South Africa early in the century and led non-violent protests against racial discrimination; his precepts were carried forward by an ANC ally, the South African Indian Congress.)

Secondly, not killing whites was a pragmatic strategy aimed at keeping the door open for them to change. The argument was that violent and indiscriminate attacks would so frighten whites about their future that their determination to resist change would be deepened. Giving this approach even greater depth was the fact that whites were members of the ANC, and some occupied high leadership positions, alongside black, coloured and Asian South Africans.

Religion was an added dimension. Christianity was strongly rooted among many blacks. Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president in exile, was a devout Christian and non-violence was part of his creed. Dr Tom Karis, the eminent American authority on South African political history, has described it thus:

The ANC was fundamentally opposed to any form of terrorism because such action would subvert its popular appeal among all racial groups and its legitimacy in a future government. In particular, the ANC's policy on racial cooperation placed a high priority on facilitating the growth of white groups within South Africa that would be prepared to cooperate with it. It was genuinely anxious not to exacerbate racial bitterness, thus jeopardising the goal of a non-racial society. Furthermore, counteracting the 'terrorist' image propagated by the South African Government was important for the ANC's standing

in many Western countries. It also recognised the need for whites to stay if South Africa's advanced economy was to be maintained.

Mandela at his trial

Karis quoted Mandela as saying during his trial in 1964, in which he was sentenced to life imprisonment: "We believed that, as a result of government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism, which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of the country which is not produced even by war."

Mandela also explained that the ANC had adopted sabotage as a policy because it, "did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations." Umkhonto members, he noted, were given, "strict instructions ... that on no account were they to injure or kill people".

So deep did this outlook go, that the ANC became the first liberation movement to sign the protocol of the Geneva Convention on the "humanitarian conduct of war".

During the succeeding years, Umkhonto carried out many acts of sabotage: Some were spectacular in attacking government plants and electricity installations but overall they did only limit damage to the economy. "Armed struggle" was really no more than "armed propaganda".

Non-violence did not extend to what the ANC viewed as legitimate targets – armed or uniformed combatants, police officers, perceived informers and collaborators, and white farmers in border areas who formed part of military structures. But, even this was limited: According to police statistics of the time, from 1976 to 1986, in a population of 30 to 35 million, about 130 people were killed by "terrorists". Of these, about 30 were members of government security forces and 100 were civilians, of whom, in turn, 40 were whites and 60 were blacks.

Intense internal debate

Within the ANC, there was intense debate about the nature of the struggle: Should the priority be guerrilla warfare by soldiers trained in African and other countries (and by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, too) and sent back into South Africa? Or should the focus be on political mass action inside South Africa?

The issue, noted Karis, was resolved in the late 1970s after a visit by Tambo and others to Vietnam to study its revolutionary experience. Henceforth, the "armed struggle" was considered "secondary" and the "main task" was "to concentrate on political mobilisation and organisation". That, through the 1980s, was achieved through alliance with new organisations at home that worked in the open – the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Equal truth and reconciliation

In due course, after the end of apartheid, the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) investigated not only the human rights abuses perpetrated by the white minority government but also the ANC's



behaviour. Some thought this rankly unfair in that it could constitute a moral equivalence between the evils done in the name of apartheid and the ANC's struggle for freedom. But the TRC did investigate the ANC and where actions directed at legitimate targets had resulted also in civilian deaths and injury, these were held to be gross violations of human rights for which the ANC bore responsibility.

The worst bomb attack perpetrated by the ANC was outside a military headquarters in the capital, Pretoria, in 1983. The bomb exploded downtown during the afternoon rush hour, killing 21 people and injuring 217. The ANC explained that the bomb had gone off "prematurely". When a bomb intended for a military convoy in the eastern coastal city of Durban caused civilian casualties, Oliver Tambo said the bombers had been "inexcusably careless". At one stage, the ANC laid anti-tank mines in rural areas near the country's northern and eastern borders. The mines were aimed at army patrols but also caused the death of civilians, including black labourers. The ANC abandoned the mining campaign.

Never perfect

Yet, the commitment not to harm civilians was never perfect or wholly consistent. In the mid-1980s, as the struggle against the Government spread, the black townships experienced the horrific phenomenon of "necklacing" – killing alleged collaborators and suspected enemies by using gasoline-filled tire tubes to burn them to death. There was, admittedly, a blurring of the division between people using this tactic that identified themselves with the ANC and disciplined ANC members. The ANC leadership in exile seemed uncertain how to deal with the atrocities and was slow to condemn them. When it did, necklacing came to a halt.

Worse was to come. As apartheid crumbled, the Government lashed out ferociously. Violence was endemic. The ANC became locked in a power struggle with Inkatha, the Zulu nationalist party led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. It began as a movement cooperating with the ANC in seeking freedom for blacks but its aims narrowed to build power for the Zulus, the country's biggest single tribal group. Government security forces not only continued killing but also stoked the fires by working as agent provocateurs, setting one group against the other. Inkatha was in secret cahoots with the Government and received training for hit squads. The last three years of apartheid rule saw the murder of an estimated 12 000 people, virtually all of them black.

Non-violence worked

In the first democratic elections, in 1994, the ANC proved its popularity by winning nearly two-thirds of the seats in the new Parliament. Holding the elections was only possible because the white minority agreed to yield their tyrannical rule. That followed negotiations over several years: Secret discussions with Mandela, while still a prisoner, began as early as 1985. Whites were persuaded to concede because they accepted that the ANC, speaking for the black majority, did not harbour ideas of revenge for the past and wanted whites to play their role in a new South Africa. The adherence to non-violence paid off.

Jonny Makhatini did not live to enjoy the fruits of his tireless work for freedom. After representing the ANC at the United Nations for about eight years, he became head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs. He died in Zambia in 1988.