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Texts of Addresses at Opening Session for the North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid

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UNITED NATIONS
CENTRE AGAINST *APARTHEID*

NORTH AMERICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR
ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

18 June 1984

United Nations Headquarters, New York,
18-21 June 1984

TEXTS OF ADDRESSES AT OPENING SESSION

18 June 1984, 10.30 a.m. to 1.00 p.m.

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WELCOME BY H. E. MAJOR-GENERAL J. N. GARBA, CHAIRMAN OF UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL
COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

Excellencies,
Distinguished special invitees,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I welcome the special guests and all participants in this Conference - representatives of governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as many legislators, mayors, educators, religious leaders and others active in the campaign against apartheid - for responding to our invitation.

I express our great appreciation to the Heads of State of Zambia and the Federal Republic of Nigeria for sending their special representatives to this Conference.

I extend a special welcome to the President of SWAPO, to the representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa, and to all others struggling against apartheid in South Africa and Namibia.

This Conference has been convened by the Special Committee in pursuance of its efforts to publicize the situation resulting from the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa, and to persuade all governments and peoples to join in concerted and effective international action for the elimination of apartheid.

It meets at a critical time in the history of the struggle for emancipation in Africa.

Apartheid, armed to the teeth, has been blackmailing independent African States, holding the people of Namibia hostage and rushing to denationalize the indigenous African majority in South Africa.

At the same time, there is an orchestrated effort by the perpetrators of apartheid and their friends to confuse and hoodwink world public opinion and persuade it that apartheid has miraculously become peaceful and flexible, that the leopard is losing its spots, and that the way to deal with evil is engagement and dialogue with the evil-doers.

The racist regime of Pretoria has become so emboldened as to demand recognition as a regional Power.

The Special Committee denounces all collaboration with apartheid. It reaffirms that the duty of all governments and peoples is the suppression and punishment of apartheid, not to find pretexts and adjustments to live with it. It, therefore, welcomes the public outrage which has accompanied the recent visit of Prime Minister Botha to Western Europe.

This is a time for stepping up governmental and public action to quarantine the racist regime and assist the struggle for national liberation in South Africa and Namibia.

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
H. E. MR. JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR

Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies,
Distinguished guests,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to extend my greetings and best wishes to all participants in this North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid.

Apartheid is unacceptable to the United Nations and to the international community. It is a negation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

It has been unanimously condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind.

It has caused immense suffering, and has escalated tension and conflict in southern Africa.

The United Nations has been concerned with this problem for over three decades and is committed to the elimination of apartheid.

It is heartening that numerous organizations and individuals in all regions of the world are taking action in harmony with, and in support of, United Nations resolutions on this matter.

I commend the activities of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and its current Chairman, Ambassador Garba, in keeping the conscience of the world alive to the issue of apartheid and encouraging world public opinion to exert its influence towards concerted action for the elimination of apartheid. I assure them of my support.

We have witnessed significant developments in southern Africa in recent months.

I have made it clear that peace and stability in southern Africa require an end to all acts of destabilization, the independence of Namibia and the abandonment of apartheid in South Africa.

I must, in this connexion, express my concern at the continued delays in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. As you are aware, I am continuing with my endeavours to facilitate the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only valid basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem.

I must also stress the imperative need for progress in South Africa toward a society in which all the people - irrespective of race, colour or creed - will enjoy equal rights.

A just and lasting solution to the situation can only be reached by consultations among the representatives of all segments of the population of South Africa. An end to repression and an amnesty to all those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to apartheid is an essential prerequisite for such consultations.

Twenty years ago, on the recommendation of an eminent Group of Experts, the United Nations urged the South African Government to follow such a new course and offered all appropriate assistance.

I take this occasion to renew that appeal.

While a solution to the situation in South Africa should be found by the South African people themselves, the international community has a responsibility. It cannot accept the perpetuation or consolidation of apartheid.

I believe that the Governments and peoples of Canada and the United States of America can make a vital contribution in support of the United Nations efforts in this respect because of their historical experience and cherished values.

I wish you all success in your deliberations.

ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

It is a privilege to be here today, to participate in your deliberations, and to give my voice to a cause that should command the support of all civilized people - the basic human right of self-determination for all the citizens of South Africa and Namibia. As President Kennedy once said, speaking of the racial injustice in our own land, which he sought to end:

"None of us will be truly free until all of us are fully free."

We meet today on the anniversary of a shameful massacre. Eight years ago, on June 16, 1976, South African police fired indiscriminately into a peaceful demonstration of students in Soweto. The massacre - and the brutality of those who inflicted it - brought massive protest against apartheid across the length and breadth of South Africa. Tens of thousands took to the streets to reaffirm that apartheid was an abomination and that life for the vast majority of South Africans was a nightmare.

By the end of that week eight years ago, the toll in life and liberty was very high. The South African authorities announced that 170 had died. But that was a lie. We now know that over five hundred people were killed - perhaps as many as a thousand - and that thousands more were wounded, beaten and imprisoned. This massacre was the result of the same callousness that caused the bloodshed - and took the lives of so many men, women and children - at Sharpeville in 1960.

So as we begin our discussions today, let us remember Soweto. Let us now pause and stand for a moment of silence in tribute to those courageous young people who suffered and died during that blood-drenched week.

(minute of silence)

Thank you.

As we begin our deliberations today, let us also remember that last week marked the twentieth anniversary of the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the others who went to jail with him. They are true heroes of their people and champions of their cause. But they have become much more than that. They have become known throughout the world as living symbols of the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa.

As they begin their third decade in the sweltering prison cells of Robben Island, let us pledge to each other, to them, and to the cause for which they have already given so much, that their sacrifices will not be in vain.

Since Nelson Mandela went to jail twenty years ago, and since the children of Soweto were murdered eight years ago, nothing has changed for the people who still bear the pain and oppression of apartheid.

- Nothing has changed - in the political or economic or social reality of apartheid.
- Nothing has changed - in the legal structure that is the foundation for apartheid.
- Nothing has changed - in the attitude of the ruling white minority towards a subjugated majority.
- Nothing has changed - in the fundamental injustice of the South African system of justice.
- Nothing has changed - in the continued occupation of an entire nation, the nation of Namibia, by South African forces; and
- Nothing has changed - in the close-minded and stubborn resistance of the South African government to the world-wide call for decency in that land.

Nothing has changed - and the evil of apartheid remains. And we are here to say that, at long last, it must be ended.

The homelands policy is an evil that must be ended. Today, in Soweto, housing is still largely unfit for habitation. The public services are primitive. The people are prohibited from owning land. And they are required to carry passports giving them permission to live in their own homes rather than in so-called homelands which often are nothing more than distant and alien places.

Last year, the Southern Africa project of the United States Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law published a report on conditions in the Ciskei homeland. That report concludes:

"The Ciskei has employed - and in certain respects has strengthened - South Africa's repressive security legislation. A study of that legislation described it as having seized the worse aspects of South Africa's legal system and then honed and tempered them into a uniquely malevolent tool."

But it is the policy of forced relocation that calls for special condemnation today. Not since Nazi Germany has a government tried to do what South Africa is doing today - through the use of raw military power, consciously, deliberately, systematically, uprooting millions of people from the homes of their ancestors and forcibly relocating them to strange and inhospitable lands hundreds of miles away. The world will not forget Mogope or the Crossroad.

Let us pay special attention to the joint statement issued by the South African Council of Churches led by Bishop Desmond Tutu and by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference led by Archbishop Dennis Hurley. They have led the way in opposing forced relocation, and we, in this chamber today, salute them for their courage. They speak for millions of South Africans, but they also speak for me, and for you, and for all men and women who share the common ideals of a civilized humanity.

But the homelands policy and forced relocation are only part of a continuing and systematic violation of fundamental human rights.

Let us also talk about detention and torture.

Ever since the South African government enacted legislation in the early sixties that provided for imprisonment without trial and detention without judicial review, the people of South Africa have endured a reign of torture and murder. I am not thinking of isolated instances, but of unyielding repression. The fate of Steven Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, is only the best known tragedy - coming from treatment that has now become commonplace.

Last month, Amnesty International issued a report describing South Africa in the eighties:

"Many allegations of torture have been made before the courts both by defendants and by detainees who appeared as witnesses for the prosecution in political trials. It was frequently alleged that detainees were tortured during pre-trial interrogation by security police in order that they should either confess to offences which they had not committed or implicate other people in the commission of political offences."

The report described the case of one student leader in Soweto who was convicted on the basis of a confession extracted by electric shocks and by security police who pulled his teeth out one by one with a pair of pliers. A government that condones this has no claim to respect or to legitimacy. This government stands today as an enduring symbol of man's barbarity towards his fellow man.

What has been the reaction of the international community to these outrages against life and liberty?

Some governments have adopted the policy of "constructive engagement". That policy has been a total failure. Rather than persuading South Africa to pursue meaningful reform, or to lift the harshness of its police state, "constructive engagement" has only had the destructive effect of lending the apartheid regime the appearance of legitimacy.

Without the policy of "constructive engagement", it is unthinkable that the leaders of Western Europe would have been willing to receive Prime Minister Botha on his recent trip.

And what of Namibia? How much longer will the people of Namibia be forced to wait for an independence that was promised to them over sixty years ago? All the world knows that "linkage" has been a disaster for the people of Namibia. By tying the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, neither aim has been accomplished. Rather than a comprehensive settlement, we now have comprehensive discord. Because of linkage, the Cubans remain in Angola, and the South Africans remain in Namibia.

Today's policies of "constructive engagement" and "linkage" stand in stark contrast to the words of President Kennedy twenty-two years ago, when he told the General Assembly:

"My country intends to be a participant and not merely an observer in the peaceful, expeditious movement of nations from the status of colonies to the partnership of equals. That continuing tide of self-determination, which runs so strong, has our sympathy and our support... my nation was once a colony, and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed whatever their continent, their class or their colour."

And fifteen years ago, Robert Kennedy spoke to the students of South Africa and challenged them with the idea that one man or one woman can make a difference. He said:

"Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation... It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centres of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

I remind you of these words as we set out again today to "sweep down the mighty walls of oppression and resistance" in South Africa and Namibia. The General Assembly has called on the member nations - repeatedly and by overwhelming majorities - to take "separate and collective action" to achieve an end to apartheid. We can no longer tolerate the vast gap between the words of the Assembly and the deeds of government.

For my part, I believe that the United States, the nation which first lighted the flame of liberty in the modern world, must take real measures to help bring that liberty to the people of South Africa.

First, the export controls that were in force under President Carter but removed by President Reagan should be immediately re-imposed;

Second, the 1977 United Nations arms embargo - including the enforcement of restrictions on the sale of "dual use" equipment - should be scrupulously enforced and a special team in the Department of Justice should be created to do just that. That vote in 1977 is the only time the United States has ever supported mandatory sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council. We have a special obligation to live up to that vote;

Third, there should be a ban on all new loans by United States business interests to the South African government - and there should be stringent controls imposed on all new investments and loans to the South African private sector. I associate myself with Congressman William Grey and others who are seeking to eliminate the extension of loans to South Africa through the IMF.

Finally, U.S. companies that violate United Nations Decree 1, which prohibits foreign exploitation of Namibian mineral wealth until Namibia attains independence, should be fined heavily and should have their other international trading licences suspended.

The struggle will be long, but we must not be discouraged. For deep in our hearts we do believe that - here too - we shall overcome. History and the people are on our side in South Africa; the structures of injustice will not be sustained forever; and the spirit of liberty is indomitable.

Each of us must do what we can - as we pursue our public duties and as we live our private lives - to remove the curse of racism from South Africa - and from any other place where it casts its blight upon this planet.

Among freedom-loving South Africans, the debate goes on about violence and non-violence. Let us take heart at the emergence of the extra-parliamentary, non-violence groups - the United Democratic Front under the leadership of Beyers Naudé and Alan Boesak - and the National Forum. We pay tribute to their efforts, and we acknowledge their important contribution to the struggle.

There are areas in the world where time heals some wounds - where the passing of time is in fact the only real hope for peace. But this is not so in South Africa. There, the African has less voice now in the ordering of his life than he did a century ago - and there, the oppressors now show less inclination to listen to what the African wants to say.

Now, in 1984, let us speak across the globe with one voice. Let us raise our voices for the millions who cannot speak for themselves. Together we say: "Apartheid must end! "

And let us act to that end. Let us pledge to each other that we will leave this chamber with new resolve and new inspiration.

Mr. Chairman, honoured delegates, ladies and gentlemen, as much as we have a simple duty to our fellow human beings in South Africa and Namibia, we also owe it to ourselves, to our children, and to our children's children. Apartheid must end, and we must end it in our time.

ADDRESS BY H.E. MR. SHRIDATH J. RAMPHAL,
THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL,
"MYTHS OF ALLIANCE AND CHANGE"

This meeting is about bringing the cause of the anti-apartheid movement to North America. There is a sense in which there should be little need to do so, for has not the story of America - of both Canada and the United States - been the victory of progressive societies over the primal urge of otherness - otherness first of all as between the many nationalities that came to these shores yearning to be free; otherness in relation to differences of colour, of class, of creed, that have been gradually subsumed in the oneness of national identity. That victory over otherness did not come easily or quickly, but that it came means that when we raise the banner of the anti- apartheid cause in North America we are entitled to assume an ethical environment in which we need not argue the issue.

And yet we are here because there is need, if not to argue, then at least to reinforce the argument and to remind North America that the struggle for human dignity within South Africa and in the wider theatre of southern Africa still remains to be won. I wish to touch on two aspects of that need for reinforcement and reminder; two myths that need to be dispelled; two distortions that tempt North America to withhold from apartheid the vigorous opposition which its own traditions would otherwise oblige it to sustain.

The first is what I would call the distortion of alliance; a distortion which thrives in an environment of heightened East/West tensions. South Africa has fed, and feeds upon, these tensions; has sought systematically to divert North America from an unequivocal stand against apartheid by an invocation of cold war attitudes which depict South Africa as a country under seige from international Communism and an ally of the West and of Western influence in a strategic area threatened with instability. It is an invocation to which some have regrettably succumbed to the point of excusing, or at least acquiescing in, Pretoria's excesses, in the wholly mistaken belief that South Africa is an ally of the West.

But an ally of the West to what end? To win Africa for the West? By what quirk of logic can anyone believe that it is possible for the West to be an ally of South Africa without being an enemy of all of Africa? How can the values that North America espouses - of democracy, of human rights, of decency and morality - how can these be squared in the eyes of Africa with the image of Pretoria as a Western ally? The truth is that South Africa is the enemy of Western interests, that apartheid is the antithesis of every value which the West espouses.

If North America values the friendship of Africa, places store by its influence within the Continent, it must not be deceived into allowing South Africa to destroy that friendship and undermine that influence by riding as a Western partner on the back of East/West tensions.

This North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid needs to confront this issue squarely for it is the heart of the insidious campaign that whispers, sometimes loudly, that for all the evil of apartheid and the wrongs of South Africa, America must stand with an ally. Let the truth be told that South Africa can only help America to fall, can only bring her down in Africa, can only help to advance the cause she pretends her friendship can suppress.

The second distortion is that of change. I come to you from Europe, from a Europe that Mr. Botha has just visited; a visit carefully constructed on the illusion of alliance; a visit that took him there while Western leaders were gathering in London; took him to France close to the commemoration of D-Day on the beaches of Normandy; sought to imply his inclusion in a close circle of kith and kin. It is worth remembering, as Mr. Botha laid a wreath beside South African graves in Normandy, how firm was the support of the Afrikaaner leadership for the Nazi regime during the war itself. It is worth remembering that many of those leaders remain in the forefront of Afrikaaner politics today and believe as passionately in the warped ethic of apartheid as they ever did in Hitler's national socialism. It is worth reflecting on the irony of their espousal of a community of democratic interest between Western governments and their own.

But the further distortion is in the message of constructive change which was Mr. Botha's text in Europe, a message delivered with the aid of all the techniques of media manipulation and sophisticated public relations. This myth your Conference must also dispel. Mr. Botha came to Europe not as the scourge of apartheid, but as its modern day exponent. He and his colleagues in the Government of South Africa are not pulling down its structures, they are deepening its foundations. But they need the illusion of change to deceive those who are genuinely concerned about apartheid into believing that real changes are being made; and they need the illusion of change to make life more comfortable for the supporters of apartheid as they work to spread a carpet of apologia.

Mr. Botha will proclaim that the Government of South Africa is actually reducing the number of black South African citizens subjected by law to apartheid; he will not go on to add that they achieve this simply by stripping millions of their status of citizenship and transporting them forcibly to the arid scrublands of the bantustans. Mr. Botha will talk of constitutional change, about the enlargement of democracy, but he will fail to underline the basic intent of apartheid that such changes are not for the black people of South Africa. Majority rule, democracy, is not even remotely in the contemplation of white South Africa. In fact, the very opposite. The underlying purpose of every move of the regime is to consolidate minority rule in perpetuity, a minority rooted in apartheid.

The United Democratic Front does not speak with the militancy of the African National Congress. It is, in fact, a grouping of some 600 non-governmental groups - political, civic, women's, youth, workers', students', religious and sporting bodies - representing South Africans of all races, formed less than a year ago to oppose those very constitutional changes of which South Africa now boasts. Their voice at least should command attention in North America. As Mr. Botha moved around Europe they wrote warning the leaders of Europe that:

"The constitution and related legislation does not signify a 'move in the right direction' as some have claimed. Quite simply, the new constitution is based on the very pillars of apartheid that have been in existence in South Africa for many years, namely the Pass, the Homelands and the Group Areas Act. The apartheid government has no intention of doing away with these mechanisms of control. In fact, all the new constitution does is reinforce these measures by presenting a more acceptable image to the world".

And they continued:

"Mr. Botha will of course tell you that he wants peace, that he is a peaceful man. But what Mr. Botha says, and what he and his government do, are two different things. Behind the "peace" of Nkomati lies the full might of the South African Defence Force. Behind the process of "reform" lies the full might of the Internal Security Act, designed to silence those who do not want to accept the apartheid way of change".

Millions in Europe were not duped by Mr. Botha's brand of "Newspeak" and "Doublethink". None in North America must ... subjugation of neighbouring states provides a platform for 'friendly co-operation'; or its pernicious extension that an expansion of arms supplies to South Africa will help it to fulfil its commitments under the Nkomati Agreement even though it involves circumventing the arms embargo. Mr. Botha has been seeking exposure. This Conference must help instead to give exposure to the evil for which Pretoria stands.

In New Delhi last November Commonwealth leaders said in no uncertain terms what was their stand against apartheid, namely that:

"Only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of the free and fair exercise of universal 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 prevailing in southern Africa".

That same Commonwealth waits to welcome Namibia as its 50th member state and, therefore, stands by the United Nations in fulfilling its sacred trust to bring Namibia to freedom. That freedom is being too long delayed. The United States, in particular, must recognize that the linkage it makes in the context of East/West issues - and now presses with greater intensity because of domestic electoral considerations - places it on the side of those who would defer Namibia's freedom. And linkage is serving just that purpose - South Africa's purpose. Nor have we seen the end of linkages; others are in the making - not only what forces should be in Angola but what elements should be in its Government.

Namibia will be free. The dawn cannot forever be held back. It will be clearer in the light of day who were friends and who were not in the struggle for freedom. The traditions of this Continent as a heartland of freedom are too precious to be squandered by its alignment against the last major act of decolonization in Africa.

There are, therefore, many messages that this Conference must send and among them also must be:

- a message to the victims of apartheid, the black people of South Africa and their leaders, that they are not forgotten, that it is they in all their suffering that we saw when Mr. Botha walked in our midst.
- a message to all who struggle against apartheid, to the ANC, to the PAC, to the UDF and to all who aid them in that struggle in South Africa and around the world, that his attempt to secure respectability for Pretoria will be made instead an occasion to expose its abomination and the calumny that there is change.
- a message to all to whom the entreaty may be addressed, in Europe and here in North America, that the West must not break ranks with humanity; must not be induced to become apologists for apartheid and, rather specially, must not waver in commitment to the arms embargo.
- a message that Namibia must be free with Resolution 435 as the chariot of freedom and the United Nations as its charioteer.
- a message of reminder to ourselves that we must not grow weary or fainthearted in the struggle against apartheid - whatever the subterfuges, whatever the distortions, whatever the blandishments, whatever the sacrifices.

- a message from this headquarters city of the United Nations that North America sees apartheid for the plague on humanity that it is and will not falter in its resolve to eradicate it from our human society.

- yet, a message as clear as any other that only a welcome awaits the genuine dismantling of apartheid and the establishment 'south of the Limpopo' of a true era of peace and freedom and justice.

Let this North American Regional Conference help to open the eyes of this Continent to the reality of man's most horrible crime against his fellowman, and to open the hearts and minds of its people to the resolve to oppose and to end it.

ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE DANIEL M. LISULO, S.C., M.C.C., CHAIRMAN
OF THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF ZAMBIA
AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA

Mr. Chairman,
Members of the Special Committee against Apartheid,
Distinguished Guests,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. Chairman, and through you the Special Committee against Apartheid, for inviting my Government to participate in the North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid. My delegation takes comfort in seeing you preside over the work of this Conference because of your well-known diplomatic skill which is an invaluable asset in making this Conference a success. The commitment of your country, Nigeria, to the eradication of the scourge of apartheid has been second to none. It is only fitting, therefore, that this Conference on action against apartheid should take place under your esteemed chairmanship.

Mr. Chairman, the question of apartheid has continuously and intractably remained on the agenda of the United Nations without any solution in sight. Thus the convening of this Conference on action against apartheid, takes on a special significance. It is taking place at a time when the situation in southern Africa is most fluid, thus making it extremely difficult to discern the true direction of events in the area in so far as action against apartheid is concerned. It is taking place also in the aftermath of some political developments in southern Africa. One such development of the past year has been the introduction of the so-called constitutional changes in South Africa. These, as is well known, will continue to deprive the black majority of their fundamental right to participate in the political and other decision-making processes in the country of their birth. This action has been condemned and we should urge the international community to continue to treat such attempts with the contempt they deserve until apartheid, which is at the core of the problem, is eliminated.

Apartheid is the cornerstone of South Africa's internal and external policies. Thus, in its projections of domestic and foreign policies, South Africa has, as its anchor, serious violations of fundamental human rights both at home and abroad. Apartheid, therefore, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

It is in the defence of apartheid that the Pretoria regime persists in its callous subjugation of the black masses in South Africa. It is in the defence of apartheid that South Africa persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is in the defence of apartheid that South Africa has inflicted untold suffering through its unprovoked aggression against the frontline States which have been victims of destabilization for their support of those fighting against apartheid. It is in the defence of apartheid that South Africa has been turned into a beehive of dissident groups from neighbouring independent States. These dissidents are trained with the sole purpose of

overthrowing legitimate governments which are opposed to apartheid. It is in the defence of apartheid that South Africa has become the mecca of mercenaries from some western countries. These mercenaries mount military attacks against neighbouring independent States which are opposed to apartheid. It is also in the defence of apartheid that South Africa has acquired nuclear weaponry capability against denuclearization of Africa. Developing countries in the region are being forced to acquire more conventional weapons for defensive needs against apartheid at the expense of their developmental programmes.

Mr. Chairman, there have been other developments in the region. Some of these have been the disengagement agreement between Angola and South Africa aimed at the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola, and more recently the Lusaka talks on the independence for Namibia. These developments are not strange in the light of the Lusaka Manifesto of April 1969 which was adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and taken note of by the United Nations General Assembly. That document articulates and defines a two-pronged approach to the eradication of apartheid:

- (I) Through peaceful negotiations; and
- (II) Through armed struggle if peaceful negotiations fail.

Because South Africa remains uncompromisingly committed to its obnoxious apartheid policy - based on the domination of the black majority, racism, repression, oppression, deprivation and state terrorism - this situation has given rise to heightened militancy and increased combat capacity of the oppressed people. This is an indication that the will of an oppressed people cannot be thwarted even under the weight of publicized military machine as that of racist South Africa. For those who say that African liberation movements have no power to face the sophisticated monstrous military machine of South Africa, we can say that Angola and Mozambique have been free. Zimbabwe too has been free. Namibia shall also be free by all means and apartheid in South Africa shall be eliminated leading to majority rule in that country.

The international community has reached a consensus by declaring apartheid a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. We very much appreciate the role being played by the United Nations in the struggle against apartheid and racist minority rule in South Africa. It is unfortunate, however, that consensus has not yet been reached as to how to eradicate apartheid.

On the contrary, apartheid is growing in strength due to economic, political, diplomatic and military support which it is receiving from its western allies.

It is the considered view of my government that if measures were not taken soon to remove apartheid, there would be such a serious conflagration in our region which would be extremely difficult to contain.

Your Committee, Mr. Chairman, in fact the Conference as a whole, may wish to address itself to the following areas of action against apartheid:

1. The independence of Namibia would significantly reduce political and racial tensions and imminent conflict in southern Africa. It would indeed restore to the people of Namibia their right to self-determination. It would contribute to the economic and social development of the countries and peoples of the region and enhance world peace and security. SWAPO, the frontline States, the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have all emphasized that Security Council resolution 435 remains the only acceptable basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

However, even after Namibia's independence, the other problem, a grave problem, namely, apartheid may remain. The struggle against apartheid will continue. As the Heads of State and Government of the frontline States stated in Arusha on April 29, 1984, the struggle is between the people of Namibia and the occupying power, and between the people of South Africa and the apartheid regime. There is an unqualified commitment to the liberation struggles of Namibia against colonialism and of South Africa against apartheid.

2. The international community should remain alert to manoeuvres by the Pretoria regime and some of its collaborators who are always in the forefront of presenting an incorrect picture of what apartheid really stands for. The latest trip to some western capitals by Mr. P.W. Botha is a case in point. Invited or not, there was no need for Mr. P.W. Botha to visit the eight countries because isolation of apartheid South Africa is one of the forces in our fight against apartheid. The Special Committee will need to intensify its campaign to ensure continued ostracisation and isolation of the Pretoria regime.
3. The so-called policy of constructive engagement is destructive because it only serves to spur racist South Africa in its oppression and repression of the black people of South Africa, intransigence in Namibia and destabilization of frontline States. The Conference should unequivocally reject the so-called policy of constructive engagement of the United States and strongly urge those western countries which collaborate with racist South Africa to put an end to such collaboration if they are really sincere in making a contribution to the eradication of apartheid as we heard during Mr. P.W. Botha's visit to their respective countries. Western countries should use their leverage to cause meaningful changes leading to the eradication of apartheid. If these countries can have the power to sustain apartheid, surely they can also, conversely, have the power to cause its eradication - but they must have the political will to do so.

4. The Conference should demand the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council against the apartheid regime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.
5. The International Monetary Fund should in no way extend credit facilities to the racist regime.
6. The special Committee against Apartheid should mount a more vigorous and comprehensive campaign in major cities and capitals of western powers. Such campaign would take several forms including periodic sending of delegations at the highest level - including Heads of State - for the purpose of impressing upon them that their continued support for apartheid South Africa is not in the long-term interest of their respective countries.
7. In view of Pretoria's unprovoked acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, the Conference should resolve that it is imperative that financial, material and military support of independent progressive States to the frontline States, SWAPO and to liberation movement in South Africa, be increased to enable them to effectively defend themselves and pursue the armed struggle for independence and liberation.
8. The Special Committee should encourage the creation of more support committees in major universities in the western countries; and
9. The Conference should call on all its participants to initiate the organization of support groups in their respective countries with a view to helping in the implementation of the conclusions and recommendations of your deliberations.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to conclude by reaffirming Zambia's commitment to the eradication of apartheid and solidarity with and support for the nationalist liberation forces which are waging a legitimate struggle against the awesome military machine of the Pretoria regime. Destiny is on their side and victory is certain.

Thank you.

ADDRESS BY H. E. GROUP CAPTAIN EMEKA OMERUA, MINISTER FOR
INFORMATION, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, YOUTH, SPORTS AND
CULTURE OF NIGERIA, AND REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE HEAD OF STATE OF NIGERIA, H.E.
MAJOR-GENERAL MOHAMMED BUHARI

Mr. Chairman
Secretary-General of the United Nations
Your Excellencies
Distinguished guests
Ladies and gentlemen

I bring you greetings from the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, Major-General Mohammed Buhari, the Government and the people of Nigeria on this occasion of the North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid.

It is a singular honour for me, as a Nigerian, to congratulate you and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid which you head, on your initiative and foresight in organizing this landmark conference in the struggle for the eradication of the obnoxious apartheid system at this crucial period in the history of South Africa.

This Conference is coming at a very critical and opportune time in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa. Firstly, since last year we have been fed with the racist propaganda about the so-called constitutional changes in South Africa. Secondly, we have been bombarded with recent so-called peace accords or arrangements between South Africa and some of its neighbours. Thirdly, in the wake of this propaganda we have witnessed a whirlwind tour of Western Europe by the racist South African Prime Minister.

But in the wake of this massive and increased propaganda by the racist Pretoria regime to break out of its isolation and the unbelievable, almost stunning, rush to embrace the racist Prime Minister, P. W. Botha, the real essence of the changes taking place in South Africa is lost on the international community.

The so-called constitutional reforms are merely a smokescreen to cover the real aim of the racist Pretoria regime which is the further entrenching of the apartheid apparatus in South Africa. These constitutional changes are the first attempt to legally exclude the blacks, who constitute over 80 per cent of the population of South Africa, from their motherland. While the so-called reforms are going on, the racist Pretoria regime has increased its military spending by over 20 per cent, has intensified its repression of the already oppressed blacks, and has purportedly denationalized over 3.5 million blacks by its policy of forced removals. Another two million blacks will be affected by the next wave of these forced removals.

By the recent constitutional changes and its policy of forced removals the racist Pretoria regime, backed by a minority four million white racist bigots, has embarked on a calculated and systematic process of excluding the majority 23 million black africans from all rights in their own motherland. this is the most heinous and massive denationalization ever known in recent history and has ominous consequences for the blacks in South Africa. If care is not taken very soon the question will not be whether the blacks have any rights in their own motherland but rather, the anthropological question, whether they ever existed in that country at all.

Another ominous development in southern Africa is the so-called peace accords and arrangements between South Africa and some of its neighbours. It must be made quite clear that the root cause of the instability and crisis in southern Africa today is the apartheid policy of the racist Pretoria regime. South Africa did not embark on the practice of apartheid because of the so-called problems with its neighbours! rather the problems with its neighbours came about because of its policy and practice of apartheid. There can be no peace in southern Africa unless, and until, apartheid is totally eradicated from South Africa. To think otherwise is tantamount to an illogical reasoning that puts the cart before the horse.

The recent visits of the racist Prime Minister to some Western European countries also give us some cause for concern. Those countries which invited the racist Prime Minister have claimed that such visit will, amongst other things, give them an opportunity to have dialogue on the apartheid policies of the racist regime. But such notion of dialogue is misplaced. The first and foremost dialogue should be amongst the entire people of South Africa: the racist regime must first engage in a dialogue with all its people, including the majority oppressed black population. Until this is done no amount of dialogue between the racist regime in South Africa and any other country can solve the problem of apartheid in South Africa.

Mr. Chairman,

This Conference should therefore be seen as serving two purposes. Firstly it should serve as an avenue for exposing the racist propaganda for what it is and secondly as an avenue for mobilizing support of the Governments and peoples of North America for the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

It should not be an avenue for recriminations and condemnations, but one for soul searching and critical examinations by the Governments and peoples of the United States and Canada of their policies and actions towards the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

The United States, in particular, from its own experience of the trauma of racism is in a better position to appreciate the problem of the blacks in South Africa. Because of this experience and because of its position as the leader of the Western alliance which prides itself as being the custodian of Western democratic ideals, the United States of America should readily lend its support, if not lead, the struggle for peace, freedom and justice in South Africa.

We know that the United States have, in the past, supported efforts at the United Nations towards the eradication of apartheid. We would like to recall in particular the positive role of the United States, during the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, when it voted in favour of the Security Council resolution against apartheid after the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960; the arms embargo against South Africa enacted by President John F. Kennedy; and the positive role of President Jimmy Carter when the United States supported Security Council Resolution 418 on "mandatory arms embargo against South Africa". We look forward to the time when the United States will join once more in the international efforts towards the eradication of apartheid.

We would also like to recall here the several initiatives taken by the Canadian Government to demonstrate its opposition to the abhorrent system of apartheid of the racist regime in South Africa. We would like to recall in particular the contributions of Canada at the 1977 Lagos World Conference for Action against Apartheid and her very laudable role during the consultations which led to the unanimous resolution of the Security Council on mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977.

The inevitable path of every liberation struggle is well documented. If the oppressed people cannot achieve their liberation by peaceful means with the support of the international community, the alternative will be an intensified armed struggle and its consequent large-scale bloodshed. Already the frustration of the oppressed people in South Africa is beginning to show. This frustration was aptly articulated at a press conference in Nairobi last year by the leader of the African National Congress (ANC) Mr. Oliver Tambo, after the Pretoria regime bombing, when he stated that "we have been asked to turn the other cheek so many times that now we have no more cheeks left to turn. Never, never again are our people going to do all the pleading."

It is, therefore, incumbent on all of us who cherish peace, freedom, and justice to ensure that the situation does not degenerate into one of bloody proportions. It is incumbent on all States which have subscribed to the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the members of the Security Council, to ensure that they live up to their sacred obligations of maintaining international peace and security by taking effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats or breach of international peace and security caused by the apartheid policies of the racist regime in South Africa. Posterity will not forgive us if we fail to do so.

Nigeria's commitment to the struggle in South Africa is total. We strongly believe that we cannot live in an island of peace and prosperity in a sea of oppression, repression and misery. We will continue to give our support - financial, material or otherwise - to the oppressed people of South Africa.

We know that the road to freedom in South Africa is arduous and long. We fear that the struggle might become more bloody if the situation continues longer. Africa cannot and should not be left alone to fight the racist apartheid regime in South Africa because apartheid is not merely an African problem. It poses a great challenge to all mankind because it is a negation of all the attributes of human morality and dignity and a threat to international peace and security.

On behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa, we appeal today to the Canadian and American Governments, organizations and individuals for their support for the legitimate aspirations and struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for peace, freedom and justice.

I am heartened to note here that the Governments of the United States and Canada are participating in this Conference. I hope that they will join together with other participants in helping to find a workable approach to the crisis in South Africa.

I am also happy to note here that we have amongst us here today the Honourable Edward Kennedy, a friend of Africa and a consistent supporter of the struggle for freedom, equality and justice in Africa; as well as the indefatigable Reverend Jesse Jackson, a tireless fighter for freedom and justice in South Africa, and a man who more than anyone else has placed the question of apartheid South Africa on the political agenda of the United States.

We appeal through you and the numerous organizations and individuals present here today to listen to the cry of the anguished oppressed people of South Africa. The support of the Governments and peoples of the North American region, particularly that of the United States, is very crucial to the success of the liberation struggle in South Africa. We hope that you will be able to persuade your Governments to join in the concerted international campaign to rid South Africa of apartheid. But above all, we appeal to you to intensify your programme of divestment, boycotts and other forms of actions that will lead to the isolation of the racist regime in South Africa.

We also appeal to you to understand our problem. More than that we appeal for your support to make the eradication of apartheid less bloody than it would be if the matter continues for too long. Any assistance to, or co-operation with, the racist Pretoria regime represents a damper on the liberation struggle and a vote for the escalation of the armed struggle in South Africa and its consequential bloodshed.

Before concluding I would like to acknowledge here the very positive and constructive role of the non-governmental organizations and individuals in both Canada and the United States towards the struggle for liberation in South Africa. I want to thank the various legislators, the students groups, and the churches for their struggle for the divestment of their various funds from South Africa.

I was reminded on my arrival here that the City of New York has decided to divest its pension funds - the largest in the United States - from South Africa. I thank the authorities of the City of New York for this courageous act. I would also like to thank the trade unions, other anti-apartheid groups and individuals who are fighting for the cause of freedom in South Africa.

In conclusion, I would like to leave you with some thoughts of Nelson Mandela. Speaking from the dock during his 1962 trial, Nelson Mandela stated:

"I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in my hatred I am sustained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. I hate the systematic inculcation of children with colour prejudice and I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind, here and abroad, are with me in that, I hate the racial arrogance which decrees that the good things of life shall be retained as the exclusive right of a minority of the population, and which reduces the majority of the population to a position of subservience and inferiority, and maintains them as voteless chattels to work where they are told and behave as they are told by the ruling minority. I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind both in this country and abroad are with me."

I hope that we can justify this confidence which Nelson Mandela has in the international community.

ADDRESS BY THE REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished United Nations Ambassadors,
Members of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid,

It is a distinct privilege for me to have this opportunity to share this significant occasion with you. I want to thank Ambassador Garba for his kind invitation to attend this North American Regional Conference, and I express my appreciation to Mr. E. S. Reddy and Reverend Bill Howard for having worked out the details.

This meeting is profoundly necessary and meetings like it all over the world, in large part because of the African policy of the United States and its Western allies.

A great Afro-American, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, long ago called attention to "The African Roots of War", as he revealed how the policies of plunder and exploitation of the African continent led to war between the European and American Powers who had developed at the expense of Africa, and who often went to war between themselves over a redivision of the spoils.

Our Africa policy in the United States, our relations and attitudes toward the countries of the African continent, have always been in distinct contrast to our policy and attitudes towards the nation-states of Europe. Europe, in our perception, has historically been seen as a source of immigrants and culture. While Africa is perceived in our country as a source of cheap labour and raw materials to be exploited for the benefit of a privileged class of European settlers. This stereo-type of Africa, as being without culture and civilization, a continent to be subjugated by the advocates of "master race" politics, has led to a kind of Tarzan, Jane, Boy relationship between the United States and Africa. This not only reflects racial chauvinism, but a grossly unreal attitude which underplays the significance of Africa to the world in general and to the United States in particular.

One of the tragedies of our own times that this history of negative attitudes has produced, is the massive starvation and drought in huge areas of the African continent. We live in a scientific age that recognizes that what are viewed as natural disasters are often the by-product of years of neglect and plunder. The hunger and death that stalks wide areas of the African continent today must become the concern of the entire international community because it is a threat to the human family. Poverty and injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We, in North America, blessed with one of the most fertile and productive agricultural lands in the world, must cease being insensitive to the current suffering in Africa. We must mobilize our abundant resources, through both Government and non-governmental organizations, to bring assistance and relief to our brothers and sisters that are in Africa. It is a measure of the callousness of the present administration in the United States that it would pull 82 million acres of arable land out of production, while 5,000,000 people a year die of starvation in the third world. This too is a dimension of U.S. Africa policy, when we, who have such abundant capacity to feed the hungry, deny members of the human family access to this relief from hunger and starvation.

This policy of cynicism and callousness has the United States in an official partnership with the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. Corporate greed, in the search for the maximum return on investments, has found in the racist apartheid system, with its brutal denial of human rights, a favourable climate guaranteeing the highest profits in the world. An American Government that pretends to be outraged by the human rights situation in Poland is apparently quite satisfied with the brutal denial of human rights in Pretoria. This is measured in part by the deafening official silence in our country concerning the plight of 8,000,000 black Africans who have been stripped of their South African citizenship and forcibly removed from the cities of South Africa and relocated into Bantustans, thereby made refugees and aliens in their own country. In the language of the apartheid regime, this is called "separate development" and the U.S. Southern Africa policy which supports this barbarism is called "constructive engagement".

In the service of this policy, the Reagan administration has given the green light for loans to South Africa from the International Monetary Fund. It has allowed more South African Consulates to open in the United States; expanded military ties with the apartheid regime, which includes training the South African Coast Guard; it has encouraged South Africa's repeated military invasions in Angola, by withholding diplomatic recognition to the Angolan People's Republic; and has generally created a climate of official endorsement that has made the United States South Africa's number one trading partner. It must be remembered that the flow of foreign capital into South Africa, from the United States, Britain and other allies, is essential to the apartheid regime's economic growth, and economic growth in South Africa, as elsewhere, is essential to political stability.

In order to promote the political stability of the apartheid regime, U.S. policy invariably adopts a double-standard in matters of human rights. For example, when a solidarity union in Poland is suppressed and a leader is jailed, our official policy is to implement an economic boycott against Poland in response to this violation of human rights. When the ANC in South Africa and the trade unions affiliated to it are suppressed and abolished, and leaders, like Nelson Mandela, are jailed, we respond to this violation of human rights by expanding economic, diplomatic and military ties with the regime. Furthermore, the U.S. veto is repeatedly used in the U.N. Security Council to frustrate every effort by the international community to effect economic sanctions against South Africa. We, in the United States, must measure human rights by one yardstick and free ourselves of this hypocrisy that increasingly alienates us from the peoples of the world struggling for human dignity and self-determination. Our national view of southern Africa must radically change from seeing it as essentially a piece of geo-political real estate to be used by the United States for selfish ends without regard to the aspirations of the people of southern Africa. This purely geo-political approach has led to a dangerous situation in which American nuclear technology has been made accessible to the apartheid regime. Now that regime has acquired the technical capability of producing atomic weapons. In this way, our Africa policy, together with that of Israel, has helped to create a situation that is a threat to the sovereignty of every nation on the African continent. The disarmament movement in our country must give far more attention to this particular nuclear threat than it has in the past.

The Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy is a multi-pronged strategy designed to help South Africa gain acceptance and respectability in the West and thereby break out of the isolation it has experienced in the international community since the late 1960's. This support from the United States has emboldened the apartheid regime, and encouraged its military aggressions. This places a particularly heavy burden on the frontline States, who have courageously maintained a principled opposition to apartheid in the face of ever-mounting military and diplomatic pressures upon them to accommodate to South Africa's wishes. All of us have been inspired by the courageous struggles and sacrifices being made by these newly emancipated countries, in an effort to overcome generations of economic and cultural deprivation, that are the legacy of colonialism. The fruits of these sacrifices are now being threatened by a new form of subjugation coming from the most brutally racist regime on earth.

I need not tell you that we live in perilous times. I need not tell you that the vast majority of humankind wants peace, economic and social justice, and the right of self-determination. This very institution was designed and built by the nations of the world including the United States to implement these goals. We in the United States have had a very special interest and mission in creating the United Nations. Our people have come from all corners of the globe, from Africa, Europe, Asia and the Americas. Our nation indeed is a mini-United Nations. I want to assure you that as I travel around this country and talk to the people in the towns, cities and factories they tell me how important it is that we learn to live with the rest of the world especially because we are fast becoming a genuinely interdependent world. The electronic media brings to our living rooms the wars in Salvador, Lebanon, and Angola. The people of this country know and want a continuing dialogue with the rest of the world and they see the United Nations as a forum where this dialogue can take place. I would like to assure you that the political gimmicks to punish this or that international organization is nothing more than political gimmickery. After all it is somewhat humorous when a major Power like ours begins to punish an international organization devoted to uplifting the small farmers of the world. The real American tradition is to stand by the seashore and wave people to come in and share our bounty and not to wave them goodbye.

The crisis in southern Africa needs our attention. This is 1984. For the people of Namibia 1984 means one hundred years of colonialism. For decades the United Nations has attempted to negotiate the independence of Namibia with the Republic of South Africa. Never before has the world come so close to achieving a solution as in Security Council resolution 435. But the Government of South Africa continues to place stumbling blocks on the road to Namibia's independence. The Government of South Africa introduces conditions that must be solved prior to addressing Namibia's independence. The Government of South Africa is delaying the independence of Namibia. The United States must not find itself a party to South Africa's obstructionist plan. We must not find ourselves supporting a Government that violates the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. The world has long recognized the inhumanity, immorality, and injustice of apartheid. The global community has sought to isolate the apartheid Government. In every other part of the globe nations have made steps forward achieving greater social, economic, and political justice for their people. South Africa chose to stand still/step backward.

In every other part of the globe nations have given up or are giving up their colonies. South Africa chooses to stand still/step backward. The preconditions and extraneous issues raised by South Africa only delay Namibia's independence. The United States must not find itself a party to the delaying process. We can play a major role in developing a new strategy towards achieving independence for Namibia. This strategy should be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations and include SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

This Conference today can be yet another milestone pointing U.S. public opinion in a new direction. One that insists U.S. Africa policy be consistent with justice and world peace. This requires a new formula in our relations with South Africa. The enfranchisement of the majority population in South Africa justifies investment in the economy of that country. "One person-one vote," freely exercised, is an internationally recognized principle consistent with justice and the rule of law. On the other hand, disenfranchisement such as exists on a mass scale in South Africa today justifies disinvestment by U.S. corporations in the South African economy. Not one more U.S. corporation should be licensed to do business in South Africa, and the more than 350 U.S. corporations already doing business must be given a strictly enforced time-table for coming out of South Africa. We mean Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, IBM, Exxon, Control Data Corporation, and all the others. The present U.S. partnership with apartheid is a violation of our national morality. Choosing dollars over dignity not only in South Africa, but in El Salvador, Chile, the Philippines, and elsewhere around the world is leading us as a nation down the road to moral suicide.

I am confident today that our social change movement in the United States for peace with justice has reached a turning point in the understanding of the foreign policy of our nation. There is a rapidly growing recognition of the urgency to move our nation in a new direction. Our "rainbow coalition" is the broadly-based vehicle and the rallying point through which millions of people are expressing their hope and determination to free themselves from injustice. The Rainbow Coalition is giving the people of America a vision of a peaceful world and a just society at home.

In recent months, I have personally had extended to me a number of cordial invitations from distinguished representatives of the frontline States to visit their respective countries and to talk with the people. I intend to honour those invitations, because I know such visits shared between us can help build the bonds of friendship and solidarity, that can move the world away from the brink of nuclear holocaust into a bright dawn of human development and peace.

The United Nations, as an international forum, continues to be a beacon light and a vital center of moral authority in these perilous but hopeful times. Because it is a meeting place for the whole of humanity, the United Nations helps us to see through the darkness, the great possibilities for profound changes that are on the horizon. For those of us who play some role in moulding public opinion, one of our most important challenges is to make the work of the United Nations more widely known among the peoples of the United States. We accept that challenge and regard this Conference as a significant contribution towards helping us fulfil that task.

Struggle for freedom - continue to struggle - but it must be mass suffering, mass sacrifice, mass marching, mass prayer and mass resistance. You will then reap massive results. Suffer, but suffer voluntarily for the sake of liberation and self-respect. Suffer because you intend to pay the price to go forward. Suffer, not by negation, but by affirmation, and determination to be free.

Don't adjust to apartheid - resist and rebel. Face the crucifixion. Faith teaches that beyond the Crucifixion the stone will be rolled away, and you will then realize a Resurrection, new life, new hope, new possibility.

If you must die, do so with dignity, die nobly, die like a bear facing forward, not like a rabbit, running and ducking and dodging in humiliation.

Remember that suffering breeds character, character breeds faith, and in the end, faith will not disappoint. May God bless you.

ADDRESS BY DR. SAM SHAFIISHUNA NUJOMA
PRESIDENT OF SWAPO

Mr. Chairman,
Mr. Secretary-General of the United Nations,
Your Excellencies,
Members of the Special Committee,
Invited Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades,

Mr. Chairman,

My colleagues and I are most gratified to see you preside over this important North American Conference for Action against Apartheid. The convening of the Conference by the Special Committee is both timely and appropriate. Your Committee has, over the years, played an imaginative and leading role in the United Nations and the world over as a vital instrument for promoting the interests of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Its active opposition to the forces of colonial oppression, racist domination and foreign exploitation is a matter of a proud public record.

The Special Committee has been able to carry out this commendable work thanks to the able and dynamic leadership emerging, at some critical times, from the ranks of its membership. In addition, the Special Committee is quite fortunate to have at its disposal the Centre against Apartheid, under the directorship of Mr. Reddy, one of the most creative and powerful minds, coupled with a keen sense of duty, as well as the ever productive Secretariat of the Committee; their combined efforts serve to assure the success of the deliberations of the distinguished delegates.

Undoubtedly, now is such a critical time in terms of the explosive situation which is currently prevailing in southern Africa. Fortunately, Mr. Chairman, your assumption of the leadership of this important Committee, at this time, is, indeed, favourable and welcome to us. You have all the necessary qualifications and you hail, as well, from a great African country, Nigeria, whose role in the decolonization of southern Africa and in the world-wide anti-apartheid campaign is second to none. Your own personal support for and commitment to the heroic struggles being waged by the African patriots in South Africa and Namibia has remained firm throughout the years, consistent with the resolute position of Nigeria to providing on a continuing basis all-round, concrete material assistance to the National Liberation Movements of South Africa and Namibia. We are most grateful for this militant and practical gesture of solidarity. And we wish you well in your heavy responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, it is an honour for me to share the limelight on this special occasion, marking the solemn opening of the Conference, with an impressive cast of world statesmen, government and party leaders, diplomats, and other outstanding personalities. All of them are well-known

for their tireless efforts to reduce tensions and conflicts in the world and to promote liberation, justice, peace and human progress.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades, it is hardly difficult to imagine how our detractors and apologists of apartheid South Africa will react to this Conference. They will decry the speeches; they will calculate the cost of holding the Conference and conclude that it was a waste; they will express a deep concern about the language of the final declaration; they will argue about the lost opportunities and point to the so-called peace process in southern Africa; they will invite us all gathered here to reciprocate Botha's latest initiatives for peaceful co-existence which, it is alleged, is the basis for bringing about Namibia's independence and for eliminating apartheid in the long run.

Of course, if there were no apartheid, there would be no need for this Conference. If racist South Africa had implemented Security Council resolution 435 (1978), there would be no talk about illegal occupation and colonial rule in Namibia. Similarly, there would be no talk about Pretoria's state terrorism, repeated acts of aggression and destabilization against the frontline and other States in the region.

The fact of the matter is apartheid, which has been condemned as a crime against humanity, is further being entrenched institutionally and as a matter of domestic and regional policy. Therefore, we must continue to repeat things that we have been saying against that repugnant and evil system since its inception in 1948. The apartheid system is founded on brute force; it breeds violence and racial hatred daily; it has now in the recent years assumed a most dangerous course, namely, the total domination of virtually all aspects of the society by the military and its support units such as the intelligence and the so-called "Security". Under the circumstances, it is the duty of the entire world community to redouble its efforts to further effectively isolate, rather than embrace, the apartheid regime. On this basis, we are on record as having condemned those western European governments, which invited racist Botha to visit their capitals recently. Such reprehensible actions by prominent members of the United Nations, including certain members of the Security Council, weaken rather than strengthen the efforts of the Organization and prevent it from giving a practical meaning to its resolutions and decisions which are intended to compel the Boer regime to comply.

In the face of Pretoria's persistent defiance and intransigence, the strong demand is now for the immediate imposition of total sanctions against it.

Pretoria is the very source of all the problems in our region. Its aggressive regional expansionism and reign of terror are continuing to cause much suffering and destruction and the resulting situation is increasingly threatening peace and security in the region and in the world.

While preaching peaceful co-existence from one side of his mouth, Botha is calling for more and more military expenditures and expanded

nuclear weapons capability, which is assuming dangerous proportions, thanks to the ever ready co-operation and assistance which certain major western powers give to the admirers of Nazi Germany and Hitler.

Mr. Chairman, Saturday was the eighth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. June 16th is marked annually since 1976 as a day on which all mankind is reminded once again of the brutal and wanton murder of thousands of young school children and other South African patriots by the fascist South African army and police. SWAPO, in militant solidarity with the fraternal people of South Africa and their liberation movement, pays revolutionary tribute to the memory of those who made a supreme sacrifice on that dark day in apartheid South Africa.

Our standard practice in warfare is not to mourn for the fallen comrades and heroes. Rather, what is called for is rededication in the continuing struggle and to, as we further intensify the armed liberation struggle, carry on the people's national resistance, conscious of the fact that freedom is not free, and that suffering is the price for liberty.

Today we join hands with the comrades of the African National Congress of South Africa and Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, to rededicate ourselves in the struggle, leaving, in the process, no stone unturned, until we have achieved fully the objectives and goals for which many others have sacrificed and continue to sacrifice, namely, the right to self-determination, freedom, liberation and democracy.

Mr. Chairman, this year marks the tenth anniversary of apartheid South Africa's suspension from the General Assembly. This historic action was taken in order to send a strong message of censure to Pretoria to change its ways and to accept the authority and directives of the United Nations calling for the total eradication of the evil apartheid system. Many other actions and decisions have been taken to turn racist South Africa away from a dangerous path of confrontation with the world community and to compel it to accept the demands of the overwhelming majority of the South African population for the abolishment of the tyranny of apartheid and for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in the interests of all the people of South Africa as one political and geographical entity.

The latest injustice against the interests of the South African black majority is the insidious constitutional farce which would effectively strip them of their citizenship in their own country. The so-called constitution does not deal with the fundamental issues of land and transfer of power from the illegitimate minority regime to the entire South African population regardless of race or national origin. As long as the black majority is denied its basic human and political rights, the struggle will continue and will, in due course, assume various new dimensions and the situation will grow from bad to worse. Botha's half-way or stop-gap arrangements will not solve any of the major political problems facing the apartheid regime. There is already a growing and impressive activism inside South Africa itself. The national resistance of the oppressed will continue to embrace all the sections and tendencies of the black majority in South Africa.

Thus, we see that the black people, the Asians and the so-called Coloured communities will continue to strengthen unity and co-operation in the face of the efforts of the apartheid regime to isolate the blacks by trying to co-opt the Asians and the Coloureds in order to make them liable for compulsory military conscription to fight the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe. The policy of divide-and-rule has no chance of success. It stands despised and rejected by the struggling masses. We urge all gathered here to condemn and reject these diabolical schemes.

This is the centenary year of the infamous Berlin Conference which heralded the scramble for Africa, subjugation of its people and plunder of its raw materials and minerals by the European powers. Namibia is not yet free and our people have been waging a heroic struggle against the successive colonial regimes for the past 100 years.

Today SWAPO is leading that struggle. SWAPO has mobilized the Namibian masses and they have assumed the patriotic duty as their own liberators. For the past 18 years, SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) has been waging a fierce armed struggle against the occupation forces of racist South Africa. Pretoria's war machine has failed to impose a military solution. The cost of continuing aggressive, colonial war has become unbearable for the regime in terms of lives, resources and politically. It costs the regime nearly 2 billion rand per year to maintain its colonial forces. Politically and, indeed, economically, the situation has become uncontrollable and is bound to produce grave results in the not too distant future.

It is clear that Botha has some serious problems in his lap. He sees that the future of his colonial rule in Namibia is doomed. But he lacks the political will and the courage of a strong leader to expedite Namibia's independence. Right now Botha is selling some deceptive ideas about various alternatives to resolution 435. This has been the characteristic behaviour of the Pretoria regime, always trying something new to avoid a firm commitment that would lead to the implementation of that resolution. Botha, contrary to the much publicized change of heart on his part, has done nothing new or differently from his basic ideological and racist position. He, like his predecessors, has no intention of leaving Namibia. He is also totally opposed to a SWAPO government, even one emerging from free and fair elections. The idea of a genuine independence for Namibia is an anathema to Botha and his Gestapo agents.

So it is today, instead of accepting implementation of the UN Independence Plan for Namibia, Botha has joined the unholy alliance with the Reagan Administration, and they continue to insist on the "linkage" issue. In other words, no independence for Namibia until the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Our patience has been tested for so long, and the suffering of our people is considered meaningless. The pain and sorrow that we endure as we plead for our just rights and legitimate demands engender no understanding from those who are driven only by ideological considerations and pre-occupation for profits and mineral rights over human rights.

Actually, their position is we must patiently wait while the Reagan Administration is pursuing its geo-political and ideological interests! It is adamantly declared that there can be no independence for Namibia unless and until the Cuban forces are out of Angola. Frankly, apart from the fact that this is a cruel and unwarranted imposition, the Namibian people

have absolutely no power to change matters which are extraneous and alien to resolution 435 and which fall within the jurisdiction of sovereign States. We have privately and publicly repeatedly condemned and rejected the "linkage" pre-condition. We reiterate our position here today.

Another area of grave concern to us is what we see as calculated attempts to undermine the authority of the United Nations over Namibia and to frustrate the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to implement resolution 435. As far as SWAPO is concerned, the Question of Namibia must remain as a unique responsibility of this Organization. The Member States should find, as a matter of urgency, ways and means to support the United Nations in this noble cause.

I would like to urge particularly that there is an imperative need for the Security Council to assume its responsibility fully and to compel Pretoria to implement the UN Plan forthwith. The central role of the Secretary-General in this process must be assured and enhanced so that he can do all that is required to accelerate the decolonization process of Namibia.

Mr. Chairman, last month SWAPO and its allies went to Lusaka for what we thought would be a serious meeting, which took place from 11 to 13 May 1984. As we did at the Geneva meeting on Namibia in 1981, I stated in Lusaka that I had been given a full mandate by the SWAPO Central Committee to sign a ceasefire with South Africa right at that meeting, and to proceed with the overall implementation of resolution 435 in order to bring about the independence of Namibia. Once again, South Africa and her puppets, a re-run of the Geneva meeting, engaged in an endless array of diversionary activities. It became clear that they had something else in mind, and another golden opportunity was missed. While we keep the door open for any serious business is South Africa is ready to talk about implementation of resolution 435, SWAPO will not allow itself in the future to join that kind of a circus which exposed to the whole world, one more time, that apartheid South Africa's promises are meaningless and that it will always abuse the goodwill and flexibility of those who really desire an end to this tragic story.

There was, however, something positive and politically significant at the Lusaka meeting. SWAPO leadership, those from home and those abroad, and followers, joined hands with other patriots from Namibia, whites included, who came for the meeting to consolidate unity in action on the basis of a common interest, that is, the immediate independence of the fatherland. SWAPO's vanguard role was acknowledged and accepted, as being the leader of the nation at home and abroad. That is where our strength lies, and it is that popular support of the Namibian masses which gives us confidence to declare that we are ready to participate in the elections supervised and controlled by the United Nations, but, in the absence of the ballot box, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) will intensify and prosecute a protracted people's war of national liberation. We are confident that we shall eventually win, for that is the only logical outcome of the struggle which so far has taken us 18 years. The morale of our cadres is very high, and the Central Committee is committed to continue to mobilize the international community to render increased and sustained all-round material assistance. We will do the job ourselves as our own liberators.