

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS



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Mr. President:

The person who should have been addressing this august assembly is not available. For 16 years now he has been a prisoner of the South African white minority regime in one form or another.

In 1960 he masterminded a political campaign which almost toppled the apartheid regime; he was arrested, tried and sentenced to 3 years hard labor. When he finished his sentence, served in prisons all around the country, a special law was enacted and he became the first political prisoner in this century to be detained in the notorious former leper colony, Robben Island maximum security prison. He was kept there for six years, after which he was removed and placed under house arrest and a maze of other restrictions in Galestewe Village - an African township in the diamond city of Kimberly. He has been there ever since.

As you all know I am talking about Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress and National leader of the Azanian people. I am honoured to be standing here in the name of this truly great Son of Africa to address you on behalf of the struggling African majority in my country.

South Africa is today in the grips of the worst political crisis since Sharpeville, the acronym of the political campaign Mangaliso Sobukwe masterminded. The world is marvelling at the impassioned and raw courage of Azania's school children who are battling well armed para-military police, many of whom are veterans of anti-guerilla campaigns in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The para-military police move in armoured cars, are supported by helicopters and are armed with modern pistols, rifles and machine guns. The young freedom fighters move on foot and they have only stones, clubs, and petrol bombs as weapons.

Dating from June 16 when Black anger burst out following the cold-blooded murder of a young school boy by police, during a peaceful, and indeed jovial demonstration against the imposition of Afrikaans in Soweto schools, the writing on the wall clearly spells out that the Azanian masses are joined in a final thrust against hated white domination. The non-stop demonstrations, defying wanton killings of thousands of school children and other demonstrators, are sufficient evidence to prove that this struggle will not let up until apartheid colonial rule is overthrown.

As a result, the white minority regime no longer governs, it is simply fighting for survival.

Countless demonstrations leading to violent confrontations with the police have and are taking place all over Azania. The police are absolutely brutal and they have killed thousands, and not 377 as they claimed yesterday. Tsietsi Mashinini, who personally led several of the demonstrations in Soweto, tells how, when he visited a mortuary after the first shootings in Soweto, he counted up to 365 bodies. At that time the police were claiming to have killed no more than a few dozen demonstrators.

The heightened resolve of the Azanian masses to make every sacrifice necessary in order to attain their freedom makes the

National Uprising at home a unique event in the annals of African liberation struggles. The white colonial regime in Pretoria desperately tries to put on a business as usual facade but the realities are too stark for anybody else to join in the pathetic self-deception.

Successive white minority regimes have attempted to insulate the white oligarchy in South Africa from the flowing tide of revolutionary violence which has brought down Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and is now buffeting the brittle dykes of white domination in Namibia and Zimbabwe. At the same time the forces of national liberation in Azania, against the most formidable odds, have laboured steadily to create favorable conditions for popular armed struggle against our mortal enemy - white settler domination.

The struggle in Azania has not been favoured with base areas along our borders. The rebellion had to grow from within. The Pan Africanist Congress has always followed this approach to the struggle. In the Revolutionary Message to the Nation of September, 1967, Acting President Potlako Leballo warned combatants not to heed the fulminations of the reactionary chorus that says "Guerilla warfare can't win in South Africa." He stressed that objective conditions for armed revolution are ever present in the South African situation. "By objective conditions we mean that the vast majority of the people of Azania have been completely alienated from the Herrenvolk state. They owe it absolutely no loyalty; they consider its police and army as

forces of occupation; its industries, commerce and farming as machines of their enslavement; its white made laws as devoid of all morality, and the philosophy of apartheid as absolutely repugnant."

In well substantiated petitions and other submissions condemning the Pretoria regime in this Organisation, as well as in news media coverage of South Africa, there is abundant evidence of the colonialist nature of the apartheid system; of the use of police and the army to safeguard white minority interests; of the treatment of African workers as slave labour in principal industries like mining and farming; and of laws that render the African an alien in his own land. All of these are time honoured colonial practices. Since people are the decisive force in the shaping of history, to paraphrase the greatest people's war theoretician of our times, Chairman Mao Tsetung, it is that resource which PAC depends upon first and foremost for creating favourable conditions for guerilla warfare in Azania. If human ingenuity can conquer space, we can also overcome geographic and other material obstacles blocking our way to armed struggle and liberation.

This scientific approach is not new for the P.A.C., in a book published in '66, Southern Africa in Transition, the well-known American political scientist and expert on Southern Africa, Professor Gwendolen M. Carter, testifies to this. Mangaliso Sobukwe, says Professor Carter, "has always been political rather than spiritual in his approach." She says, "Sobukwe's objective is to establish an African mass movement that will bind together peasants, migrant workers

and those living close to or below subsistence in the urban townships. Many of the Pan Africanists are highly educated (Sobokwe was a lecturer at the Witwatersrand University from 1953 until 1960), but they have made a deliberate and quite successful attempt to communicate their own aspirations to African migratory workers in their own native languages and through examples and idioms that the workers understand in terms of their own experiences." She continues, "The earlier African nationalist movements concentrated on the urban literate, used English as their medium of communication, and thought in terms of change within the existing structure."

"Such an appeal to the rural Africans had been made successfully in the Cape during the defiance campaign, and the PAC built on this experience. The Pan Africanists were particularly successful, however, in using this approach to migrant workers in the townships outside Cape Town ... By making understandable to them both the existing political system in South Africa and the PAC's objectives for the future in which Africans would play the major role, the Pan Africanists developed a closer relation between intellectuals and illiterates, and between urban and rural, than had any earlier African nationalist group. How effective this relationship became was demonstrated on March 30, 1960, after the Sharpeville crisis, when 30,000 Africans made a peaceful disciplined march from Langa and adjoining townships into Cape Town." This march against the pass laws, after Sharpeville and Langa, is an important landmark in South African political history.

It is against that background of intensive work amongst the broad masses that the PAC leadership pointed out in the Revolutionary Message of 1967 that "The problems connected with making it possible in the initial stages for the guerillas to survive and thereafter grow, is thus one of utmost concern to our revolution. The immediate tactical problem therefore clearly demands that we build up the organisational capacity to disperse the enemy from the very outset of the struggle. But while the armed struggle proceeds, we will conduct intensive political education amongst the peasants and landless labourers about the nature, objectives and tactics of the armed struggle, for the spirit of a people is not easily crushed when they have developed ideological convictions as to the rightness of the cause for which they and their sons and daughters fight. The cry for land and liberty is very powerful. People are moved by correct slogans, but they will only fight with the ferocity of a lioness protecting her cubs if there is reality to the promises."

The foregoing is necessary if what is happening in Azania is to be understood in proper historical perspective. Our struggle as from the turning point at Sharpeville, like the heroic wars of resistance against colonial aggression by our forefathers, has frequently been the subject of gross distortions by instant historians; not to speak of the riff-raff on the fringes. As it is we have had to wage a bitter struggle with the western media which at the beginning of the national uprising slandered our young militants as "hooligans" and the

Azanian people's answer of revolutionary violence against the enemy's reactionary violence as "riots". Some of this language has even crept into the vocabulary of unsuspecting compatriots and supporters.

Beginning with the PAC campaign in 1960 our people did away with the pursuit of civil rights or changes within the structure. The struggle is for the seizure of political power. The organic link between the approach adopted by the PAC and the present uprising cannot be denied. The initially spontaneous uprising has therefore accelerated the pace towards all out armed struggle. We salute the brave young kindred who have paid with their valuable lives to advance the cause, their sacrifices are certainly not in vain.

The Pan Africanist Congress reminds that the national liberation movement in our country has made the people a pledge that should never be made lightly. We have promised to lead the people in armed struggle. Our credibility can sustain only if we live up to our responsibilities. The mass organisations have got strikes and demonstrations in hand. Our task is to lead the people's war.

WHITE RESPONSE

In an interview with the New York Times last week, Vorster made it plain that as far as he is concerned, the Black man will never rule in Azania. Against the uprising he threatens measures ever harsher, as if butchering school children and mass arrests are not the worst. This is vintage Vorster, shorn off the sheepskin of dialogue, detente and shuttle diplomacy.

Since the threat of harsher measures was issued, Vorster's police have raided a high school in Soweto and arrested all the students and teachers. Last week-end in Soweto the fascists sank below their own record of degeneracy when they raided two funerals held, respectively, for a high school girl of 16 who was killed by the police and a male student who died in detention. At the girl's funeral they shot and killed one person, injured several and arrested 115 from amongst the 1,000 mourners. 7 more were killed later at the boy's burial.

These barbaric acts will however not deter our people. As the Founder-President of SASO, Steve Biko, told the New York Times before he was detained: "The outbursts are going to become increasingly frequent, and the white community, which has so far been very protected, is going to realize how thin their security really is. Eventually blacks are going to move out of the townships into the white suburbs, destroying and burning, and when that happens there will be white panic."

On the 20th of September, June Goodwin reported in the Christian Science Monitor that "In the past two weeks South African whites have withdrawn into themselves. And blacks have pulled back to prepare their answer. The answer will be tough because, for blacks the plan is to move into white areas next. On the 23rd of September the Johannesburg STAR reported: "Violence erupted in central Johannesburg today as hundreds of Black youths staged a surprise march down Eloff Street and Joppe Street (roughly that is the equivalent of 5th Avenue and 42nd

Street in New York). Petrol bombs and bricks were thrown and shooting and stabbing incidents were reported before Riot Squad dispersed the mobs."

During last week-end white police armed with automatic rifles were patrolling downtown Johannesburg following rumours of a repeat performance of the formidable demonstrations that shook the city centres of Cape Town and Johannesburg itself last September.

It turned out that Black urban guerillas spread the rumour as false alarm and diversion because it was in Soweto where the resistance struck.

The fight blossomed into a classical urban guerilla warfare when Black militants sabotaged a police station, a railway line and blew up the Urban Bantu Council's offices in Soweto. The attacks on key installations such as the police station, the railway line and the offices are a demonstration that the people won't be cowed by Vorster bombard and threats.

Talk is rife in white political circles about the realignment of opposition forces and the formation of a coalition comprising the United and the Progressive Reform parties, businessmen, retired judges and charmen. Some prominent whites are even reported to be warming to the outdated call for a multi-racial national convention to draw up a new constitution for the country. All of this is less than too little and it comes far too late. Africans are spilling blood in order to seize political power and not because they want concessions from the oppressors.

Be that as it may, it has to be recognised that the national uprising has shattered white compacency, even top brass in the white minority regime's security services contemplate alternatives to the present apartheid policies. Last week the American magazine Newsweek published an interview with an anonymous top ranking officer, or a group of them, of BOSS, the notorious Bureau of State Security which the interviewer described as the CIA and FBI rolled into one.

In a nutshell the leaders of BOSS let it be know that they would welcome the scrapping of the so-called separate development policy and its replacement by a multi-racial confederation based on the cantonal system which operates in Switzerland. Clearly these people, who are the supreme responsible for the apartheid regime's security, are flying a kite, to coin a phrase.

Against the background of reported anxieties in the officer corps of the South African army, especially amongst those officers that do not support the National Party of Vorster, about the reliability of a largely conscript army fighting against African nationalist guerillas with deep convictions, the BOSS move to dump Vorster cannot be taken lightly. Moreso that shrewd political analysts know full well that there is no white political grouping that can take enough white votes away from the National Party to win elections.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

South African economy was already in a bad state before the current national crisis. A leading American banker told the US

Senate Sub-committee on African Affairs in September that problems for the South African economy were primarily caused by the boom which gave the country a huge balance of payments surplus in 1972. This was followed by an extremely high inflation rate, the money supply rose by more than 60 per cent in only three years.

Intoxicated by the boom in 1972 the racist regime itself aggravated the economic situation by recklessly spending on para-statal projects like the development of harbours and the purchasing of war supplies; the military budget rose to \$1.8 billion by 1975, twice what it was in 1973.

The slump in the price of gold on the international market from a high of \$188 in July 1975 to around \$112 at present dropped South African foreign exchange levels to the point where it was pointed out that the country had only three months worth of imports in hard currency by one of the opposition politicians last month.

This month it has been again confirmed that apartheid South Africa is having a difficult time trying to raise loans for imports. The giant American bank, CITIBANK, has been prominent amongst US banks lending South Africa over the past two years. But it is known that Citibank, like the Euromarkets from where South Africa has been struggling to raise a \$500 million loan, is currently re-evaluating its loans to the apartheid regime in a downward trend. South Africa already owes Citibank \$350 million.

Big business finds this situation intolerable and knows full well that in South Africa with more dramatic confrontations between militant Black demonstrators and the police coming up, and with the situation rapidly deteriorating into all out guerilla war, their businesses will be dealt fatal blows.

Which is why earlier this month the National Development and Management Foundation - representing top business and industry - called for an urgent scrapping of residential, business and job apartheid. Last week, a similar call was echoed at a conference of the Association of South African Chambers of Commerce. This was in defiance of a stern warning from Vorster that businessmen should keep their hands off politics, when he addressed them at the opening of the conference. These frantic calls by businessmen and moves by BOSS or the army are unrealistic and sadly out of touch with African aspirations. Neither a coalition supporting the calling of a national convention nor a coup replacing Vorster can meet the demand for African majority rule, the minimum objective of the Azanian national liberation movement in its entirety.

Like Namibia, like Zimbabwe and indeed like every country on African soil, Azania is an African country and nothing short of the African taking his rightful place at the helm of the country's political and economic affairs is enough to stop the national liberation struggle. The fighting is going to keep escalating until a full scale people's war covers all of Azania. And from there continue until the enemy is completely annihilated and a people's Azania is born.

The present national uprising is living proof that the Azanian people have the resolve and indomitable spirit needed to fight and win a war as great as that which has been fought and won by the Indo-Chinese people recently.

AFRICAN AND WORLD SUPPORT

At their last Summit Conference in Mauritius, the countries of the Organisation of African Unity openly stated that they recognise the fight of the Azanian people as a struggle for the seizure of political power. The mood of Africa at this time has been well articulated from this podium by speaker after speaker from Africa. Even those countries whose very independence is daily threatened by the South African racist regime, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, have boldly reaffirmed their commitment to the national liberation struggle in Azania.

Perhaps the mood of African can best be judged by the declaration from the Commissioner of External Affairs of Nigeria, Brigadier Joseph Garba, which he made during this year's Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, in the United Nations:

"Let us be resolute and determined, like those children, born in the wake of Sharpeville, now in the prime of youth, who are determined and prepared to shed their blood in Soweto, Langa and other South African townships in the hope of making tomorrow a brighter day for their generation and for those to come. Let us with unequivocal determination like theirs, muster all necessary support within our reach to their liberation movements in the fight for the liberation of political prisoners and all the oppressed people of South Africa."

Once more the brotherly people of the Caribbean countries have also come forward and upheld Africa's just stand behind the Azanian people and their national liberation movement. And so have our traditional friends, the socialist countries, whose support dates from the time when there were very few African states who were members of the United Nations. Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan Hua of the People's Republic of China told this Assembly: "We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national liberation ... We warmly hail the powerful mass movements of the people of Azania." The enlightened policies of the Scandinavian countries towards our just struggle are once more in evidence during this session, we attach great importance to their support. The countries of Asia truly regard the struggle of the people of Azania as their own and the militant support pledged by speaker after speaker from the countries of this region augurs well for strengthening bonds of solidarity within the Non-Aligned movement and amongst Third World countries.

From South America, Guyana demonstrated in words and in deeds its unfledging support for the struggle in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe. After making two dynamic speeches here and in the Security Council, Foreign Minister Willis proceeded to present a handsome contribution of nearly \$80,000 for the liberation movements of Southern Africa. We value the participation of Peru in the Special Committee against Apartheid and the solidarity demonstrated by other Latin American countries.

With our Arab brothers we are locked in the same struggle, particularly in the wake of closer links between the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine and the neo-Nazi regime in Azania. We were emboldened in our own war of liberation by the great success of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Egypt, Syria and the other Arab armies during the October War. More victories of the same nature would be the greatest contribution to our struggle because Zionist Israel after Vorster's visit with Rabin this year, has become an even greater ally of apartheid South Africa. All the freedom fighters of the world are our strong allies because the main force sustaining their oppressors, world imperialism, is the same force sustaining our mortal enemy - the white minority regime in Pretoria.

EEC COUNTRIES

We have been critical of members of the European Economic Commission, the EEC, because of the very close diplomatic, economic and even military ties that exist between some of them and the white minority regime in South Africa. Indeed the ranking scandal of our times is how France has most times been completely oblivious, and sometimes devious, in violating United Nations sanctions against the supply of arms and sale of war materials to the South African fascist regime. This scandal has been exacerbated by the extensively published French decision to sell nuclear reactors to South Africa. A dangerous move by any standards.

However, we recognise that on an issue of great significance

to the Azanian people and our country's territorial integrity, these countries pledged, in this Assembly, through Foreign Minister Max Van der Stoep of the Netherlands, that they would not grant recognition to the apartheid fraud - the Transkei bantustan.

We are as yet uncertain whether Foreign Minister Anthony Crosland of Britain jumped the gun when he told reporters of the EEC decision, last month, and said that US Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger "has absolutely no intention of doing this" in answer to a question whether the United States would recognise the Transkei bantustan.

WESTERN AND JAPANESE INVESTMENTS

Investments from Japan and western countries, which total 80 per cent of all the money invested in South Africa, have been and continue to be the main pillar of support for white minority rule in Azania. To date the Japanese and western governments have shown little sensitivity and even less sincere concern over the piling evidence of white settler brutality towards the indigenous African majority. These countries are satisfied to pay lip service against apartheid atrocities, such as the wanton murders in Soweto, Alexandra township, Manaberg, Ravensmead, Guguletu, Mabopane, Qwaqwa, KwaMashu, KwaZakhele, Mamelodi, Garankuwa, Mafekeng, Kagiso, KwaThema, Natalspruit, Thembisa, Langa, Nyanga, Witbank and Middleburg, to mention but a few places where unarmed peaceful demonstrators have been mowed down by trigger happy South African police. To this day they refuse to join the economic boycott against apartheid South Africa.

We have seen twisted bodies sprinkled like debris in the dusty streets of Black townships all over Azania.

Ever since June 16 newspapers the world over have been full of horror about children who have been detained or have simply disappeared. Police have admitted that six of the people have died in detention, there is evidence that they were tortured to death, the figure is obviously far higher.

It long ago stopped to be enough to merely condemn the apartheid policies of the South African white minority regime and then proceed to provide the financial and military support which makes it possible for the Pretoria fascists to perpetrate these sanguinary crimes. It is sheer hypocrisy to grant an undertaker a license to kill and then turn around and criticise him for doing a roaring business.

Until western countries abide by the many resolutions of the United Nations which call for an embargo on trade, economic relations, the supply of arms and they sever diplomatic and cultural relations with apartheid South Africa, they can never escape the charge that their insensitivity to the plight of the Azanian people is influenced by the fact that the victims of oppression in South Africa are in the main Black, as much as by the profits they reap from the slave labour provided by the African people.

Recent history bears out this contention: when Hitler conducted programs against the Jews and the people of Europe and sent others to gas chambers and concentration camps, the same powers, particularly

Britain and France, and later on the United States, declared war against the Nazi tyrant and the Third Reich. Also they had no qualms about enlisting the support of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Vorster, a dedicated supporter of Hitler during World War II who was detained for pro-Nazi sabotage activities, is re-enacting Hitler's policies inside South Africa and even creating his own Vichy-style regimes in the Bantustans, at the same time he passes laws empowering South African aggressor troops to attack any African states south of the Sahara - as recently as last week he threatened war against African states supporting liberation movements. The situation is too similar to that created by Hitler for anyone to pretend otherwise. But west European countries and Japan do not only remain opposed to our just resort to armed struggle but support Vorster in many important ways. What is more, they object to socialist countries aiding freedom fighters with the means to reply to Vorster's Hitler-like institutionalised violence. This is the worst form of double standards.

UNITED STATES' INITIATIVES

The significance of the so-called US initiative in Southern Africa at a time when African liberation struggles are approaching complete victory, in our candid view, lies in the fact that American wants to see the status quo in South Africa remain what it is. The threats against non-Africans interfering, when the US itself is supplying investments approaching \$2 billion, topped with a short-lived certificate of respectability from shuttle diplomacy afforded, simply

tell us the US wants its apartheid protege to retain the monopoly of superior weapons in the battle that is now unfolding.

The US has a growing history of taking wrong sides and following incorrect policies in situations like the one in Azania, evidently the lessons of Indochina and Angola have not gone home.

This we must make clear once and for all: that our freedom is too precious for us to subordinate it to America's or any other super power's hegemonistic ambitions. The Pan Africanist Congress, as the vanguard of our people - their life and death struggle to win back the Fatherland, will take assistance from all people of goodwill. And I will again paraphrase another great leader of the Third World, President J. K. Nyerere of Tanzania: our enemies cannot choose our friends for us.

To portray our liberation movements as patty in the hands of foreign manipulators is the ultimate insult. Further, we in PAC have fought long and hard, we lost some of our finest cadres on the battlefield and at the gallows; in great numbers we have served savage sentences of imprisonment on Robben Island and other prisons, through bitter winters and scorching summers. As the African idiom says, we will never let false converts feed on our sweat.

If it is the resolve of the United States or any of the imperialist powers to deny us the victory of a free and democratic Azania under indigenous African rule, let them be warned that the awakened Azanian masses will fight with even greater ferocity against foreign devils and their local lackeys.

T R A N S K E I

Today was supposed to be a proving day for the South African white minority regime's policy of apartheid, separate development or whatever nomenclature the racist system now goes under. Billions of dollars have been spent preparing apartheid's first showpiece, the Transkei Bantustan, for international exhibition. On top of the wild spending every fascist precaution was taken to ensure a colourful debauchery. Last night our office received a cable informing us that scores of patriots suspected of belonging to PAC and of planning to disrupt the obscene jamboree have been detained under Proclamation 400, a detention without trial regulation of the South African Emergency laws in force since the time of Sharpeville in Azania's Transkei region. As the whole world knows, those internationally celebrated Azanian authors and actors of the plays "Sizwe Banzi is Dead" and "The Island", John Kani and Winston Ntshona, have recently been placed in detention by Vorster's flunkey and so-called prime minister of the Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima. Not a single country responded to the invitation and none has extended the much and expensively canvassed recognition. Consequently, the celebrations have landed like a damp squib.

A ruse against the Azanian people and their liberation movement has turned into a useful weapon in their crusade against white settler South African tyranny, because our people dared to struggle.

A Z A N I A

During this Session many of the representatives that have taken

the floor have referred to my country by the name popularly accepted by the broad movement of our people at home - Azania. Distinguished delegates will have read in the New York Times, in the Christian Science Monitor, the Washington Post and the Manchester and London Guardian, to name but a few papers, that this is indeed the name increasingly used by Black militants and the masses at home. It is no accident that PAC was first to use the name in modern times, our history is a history of always breaking new ground in the struggle for national liberation in Azania. We thank the many delegations who are moving with the current of our national liberation struggle - Long Live AZANIA!

C O N C L U S I O N

Before concluding, I wish to sincerely thank the African Group at the United Nations for having acceded to the PAC's request for the item on South Africa to be brought before the plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly, this year. In so doing, the OAU member states have once more demonstrated high esteem for Azanian patriots and the thousands who have paved the way to freedom with their precious lives. I also want to thank all of those who supported this motion from the African Group. Our thanks also go to you, Mr. President, for inviting us to address the General Assembly.

The world is turning its back on the primitive policies of colonialism, of which South African apartheid is a vulgar remnant. We implore all those who pride themselves as custodians of the sacred

principles that lie at the foundation of this august body, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to demonstrate their commitment in a living way. It is incongruous for any member of this body to help deny the 21 million oppressed African people of Azania the inalienable right to self-determination which people of all countries have enjoyed or are about to enjoy.

There is much we could ask for. For now we simply say: Let us hope that we have seen the last of negative votes be they triple, double or single, by permanent members of the Security Council, when it comes to taking correct punitive measures against the outlaw white minority regime in South Africa.

I thank you Mr. President.

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