

Forbes Burnham

and

The Liberation *of* Southern Africa



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Introduction

The African National Congress and the Government of the Republic of South Africa are to be congratulated for their decision to confer the *Order of the Companions of O.R. Tambo Award* on Mr. Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, the late President of the Republic of Guyana.

The main criterion for this award is that the recipient “promoted South African interests and aspirations through cooperation, solidarity and support.” Mr. Burnham, through his astute leadership, resolute statesmanship and fervent championship of majority rule in South Africa deserved the award.

The long-standing fraternity between the African National Congress and the People’s National Congress of Guyana and this country’s foreign policy provided the ideological and intellectual bases for Forbes Burnham’s unequivocal, unfaltering and undisputed contribution to the abolition of apartheid in South Africa in particular and to the liberation of other states in Southern Africa – including Angola, Namibia and Mozambique – in general.

The historical evidence of Forbes Burnham’s contribution to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and to the liberation of Southern Africa is incontrovertible. The historical record of the Government of Guyana’s diplomatic campaign for the liberation of Southern Africa and the establishment of majority rule in South Africa is unquestioned. The publication of three small books testifies to Forbes Burnham’s labours:

- *In the Struggle for the Liberation of Southern Africa.*
- *Extracts of Statements in Support of the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa.*
- *Georgetown Declaration of Solidarity and Support for the Liberation of Southern Africa.*

President Forbes Burnham, as Head of State and Government, pursued assiduously the causes of freedom for the people of South Africa and of other Southern African States in all international organizations including the Commonwealth. He established a High Commission in Lusaka, Zambia in order to improve Guyana’s diplomatic, financial and material support for the “frontline” states. He permitted, at great risk to our country, the passage of Cuban aircraft ferrying troops to Angola to reinforce the Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (FAPLA) and to support the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA). These actions contributed to the strategic victory at Cuito Cunavale and to the ultimate liberation of Angola and Namibia.

The friendship between the People’s National Congress of Guyana and the African National Congress of South Africa has been forged over several decades. Oliver Tambo’s own visit to Guyana in July 1987 was immensely popular; he was received with warm acclaim everywhere he went. The visits of other senior ANC officials to Guyana from

time to time served to cement the fraternal bonds between the two parties and the two countries.

There is abundant evidence of President Burnham's tireless efforts to promote "South African interests and aspirations through cooperation, solidarity and support". He said:

"We pledged our support to our African brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia in their struggle to rule themselves and rid their countries of minority racist regimes and colonial powers and, as you know, we made the first of annual contributions in the sum of \$50,000 to the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity. We were one with our colleagues in opposing the proposed sale of arms to South Africa by the United Kingdom and the continued sale by countries like France and West Germany. In the circumstances, we welcomed and supported the appointment by the Organisation of African Unity of a team headed by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to visit certain European countries for the purpose of persuading them against supplying arms to South Africa."

It can be confidently claimed that nothing has happened over all of these years to impugn Mr. Burnham's incomparable record or to impair his excellent reputation in support of the liberation of Southern Africa and in his resistance to apartheid.

1. The Struggle against colonialism

Forbes Burnham served as Prime Minister of Guyana from 1964 until 1980 and as President from 1980 to 1985 when he died. He led the struggle for Independence from Great Britain which was achieved in 1966 and to making Guyana a Republic in 1970.

Forbes Burnham's political thought matured as a law student in London in the years after World War II. The city, at that time, was a hive of anti-colonial agitation and a very fertile breeding ground for resentment, resistance and revolution. The 5th pan-African Congress, held in Manchester in October 1945, intensified demands for an end to colonial rule and racial discrimination.

Forbes Burnham met legendary African and Caribbean students – including Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, Seretse Khama of Botswana and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Caribbean leaders such as Michael Manley of Jamaica and Errol Barrow of Barbados during his studies in London. These experiences contributed to his personal life-long struggle against colonialism.

Forbes Burnham's commitment to the liberation struggle in Africa was born of his dedication to the principle of the freedom and the right of self-determination of all people. He was a severe critic of British colonial rule in Africa and the Caribbean. He is on record as having condemned:

- Suppression of the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya in 1953;
- Suppression of the disturbances in Nyasaland in 1959; and the
- Massacre of Africans in Sharpeville and Pondoland in 1960.

Forbes Burnham, speaking in the Legislative Council on 30th March, 1959, condemned the barbarous killings perpetrated by the colonial powers in Nyasaland [now Malawi]. The conscience of the world was shocked and sickened almost a year later by the massacres at Sharpeville in South Africa. Burnham said:

“The whole South African Government’s policy is to be deprecated and the shootings at Sharpeville and Pondoland were just the culmination of the most disgusting policy. Not only are the native Africans – the original inhabitants of the country – robbed of their political rights but they are also destitute of human rights. They are not allowed to organize Trade Unions in the same way as the whites are; it is an offence for them to strike, and the trade union leaders, from time to time are prosecuted.”

Forbes Burnham’s enlightened approach went step-by-step with public opinion in Africa, Europe and North America which was preoccupied with the imperative of African freedom. The post-World War II period would be noted for the number of states on the continent which achieved their independence. The process of decolonization moved more slowly in the south. Forbes Burnham, therefore, focused on the liberation of Southern Africa.

The process of giving programmatic and institutional form to African democracy, self-determination and decolonisation started in earnest in 1970 when Guyana became a Republic. Forbes Burnham, speaking at the Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement at the Mulungushi Hall, in Zambia, announced that his Government would give an annual subvention to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. This decisive gesture was characteristic of his statesmanship, leadership and support for the African liberation struggle. Forbes Burnham, urging other non-aligned countries to do likewise, said:

“Guyana is a young nation, a small nation, a relatively poor nation, but Guyana proposes...to make a contribution to freedom fighters and this is going to be an annual feature insofar as the Government of Guyana is concerned.”

President Julius Nyerere observed in accepting the first installment of G\$50,000 on behalf of the African Liberation Fund, Guyana had set “a wonderful example” for other nations to follow. The sum was increased over the years at a time when Guyana was traversing, probably, the most testing economic crisis in its post-independence history. The Government of Guyana, however, was undaunted in its mission to fight for the freedom of Southern Africa.

Guyana’s material assistance to the liberation movements also included the provision of Guyana passports to their members so that they could journey to different parts of the world in order to obtain support and solidarity from like-minded Governments, international organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations. He captured the

determination and purpose of his Government in a speech to the International Forum on the liberation of Southern Africa thus:

“We give because we considered it our duty to give. We gave not only because, to some of us, the Africans are blood brothers, but also because we were convinced and still are convinced that, so long as imperialism wanders abroad in any part of the world, our own hard-won freedom is at stake.”

Guyana’s human and material assistance must be placed, further, in the context of the situation in post-colonial Africa. The British Government had left Zambia – the former Colony of Northern Rhodesia – without any major human resources. Forbes Burnham did not hesitate to second more than a hundred Guyanese public servants to various departments of the Zambian Government. Many doctors, engineers, lawyers and secretaries worked in Southern African states throughout the 1970s – a practical example of Guyana’s ‘Liberation Diplomacy.’

Forbes Burnham, even as he offered material assistance to the liberation movements, sought to intensify diplomatic relations with the “frontline” states, which assumed primary responsibility for the liberation of that part of the continent. He established a High Commission in Zambia. His diplomatic representatives there were responsible for coordinating his policy with the liberation movements and the “frontline” states. The personal relations between the Presidents of the “frontline” states of Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola reinforced their resolve.

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania is on record for according Guyana significant recognition saying that, even though Guyana was physically not a “frontline” state, it was “spiritually so” because of its material contribution to the struggle. The good diplomatic and personal relations between Guyana and the “frontline” states were pivotal when both Mozambique and Angola had reached critical points in their struggle for freedom and independence.

The liberation of Angola seemed in jeopardy when it appeared that Apartheid South African Defence Forces (SADF) troops and other reactionary forces seemed poised to win the day. Forbes Burnham made the bold and decisive decision to allow Cuban troops to transit Guyana to oppose South African troops and those reactionary forces. The result was decisive for the MPLA and the forces for freedom in Angola.

2. The Struggle against Apartheid

Guyana became a Republic in 1970. This event marked the transformation of its foreign policy during which a distinguishing characteristic was the emphasis placed on what may be called ‘Liberation diplomacy.’ Forbes Burnham, after attending the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Lusaka, Zambia, paid official visits to several African countries—Zambia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia—over the period 12th-30th September 1970.

The Guyana Government remained fully involved in the African liberation movement throughout the 1970s. Diplomatic, political and financial support was to be complemented by other substantial forms of practical and meaningful assistance. Guyana provided:

- Training to Namibian and Zimbabwean students as part of its contribution to prepare skilled human resources for their independence;
- Travel documents to certain African liberation personalities to facilitate their international movement in pursuit of their external campaign; and,
- Annual financial contribution to the African Liberation Fund.

Guyana continued its service on the UN Council for Namibia throughout the 1970s. Its UN Ambassador, Rashleigh Jackson, was elected to serve in the important post of President of the Council in February 1974. Guyana was also to provide the chairman of the Second Committee of the Council in the second half of the 1970s.

Guyana's activist and uncompromising stance in support of African liberation made it the Caribbean country which African leaders, liberation representatives and other delegations linked with the liberation, sought to visit. Sam Nujoma, the SWAPO leader, visited Guyana in May 1974; President Julius Nyerere paid an official visit in November 1974; a delegation from the UN Council for Namibia also visited in 1974 when Guyana announced a separate financial contribution to the Namibia Liberation Fund and the provision of training opportunities for Namibians; President Tolbert of Liberia; President Kaunda of Zambia; Prime Minister Seretse Khama of Botswana and President Gowon of Nigeria and a delegation from the OAU also visited Guyana in 1975.

It was evident at the time that these visits were in recognition of the progressive and supportive role that Guyana had played in relation to the Non-Aligned Movement—NAM—generally but, more specifically, to African liberation. Nyerere publicly acknowledged during his 1974 visit: *"The Cooperative Republic of Guyana is renowned to our people as this small nation has publicly identified itself with the progressive and liberation movements of the world."* Guyana's consistent support for African liberation remained undiminished.

Guyana, since the beginning of the 1970s, had adopted uncompromising positions with respect to sport personalities who engaged in sporting contacts with South Africa. The question of sporting links with South Africa emerged as a major source of pressure on, and isolation of, the regime with regard to international support of the forces in Southern Africa struggling to gain their freedom from the racist apartheid state.

The issue of sporting links with Southern African countries because of such a controversy that the Commonwealth addressed it at the 1977 Summit in London, reaching a consensus called the *"Gleneagles Agreement"*. This, thereafter, represented the broad policy and practical steps that Commonwealth countries undertook to observe in relation to sporting contacts. For Guyana, the *Gleneagles Agreement* served as the basis of its policy and approach on this issue.

Cricket authorities in Apartheid South Africa, as Anthony Bagues pointed out, attempted to manipulate Caribbean cricketers to play in that racist state. It seemed that, “as the West Indies team began to dominate the game with exciting new stroke players and fast bowlers, South Africa sporting authorities began to make what were then substantial monetary offers to members of the team.”

A team of the best West Indian players – led by the Guyanese batsman, Alvin Kallicharan – was assembled and did actually play a series of matches in South Africa. Kallicharan himself had been made an ‘honorary white’ and began playing for the then Transvaal. The Guyanese captain Clive Lloyd criticised the event saying:

“I don’t think that the players concerned understand what damage they could do not only to cricket but those Third World countries and all those people who are fighting against apartheid...I know that the money is very tempting but that is not all in life.”

The Guyana Government, on another occasion, banned an English cricketer, Robin Jackman, from entering the country. It was learnt that Jackman had been a regular coach in South Africa. A furore erupted. The ‘Jackman Affair’ as it came to be known, divided opinion in the Caribbean. Forbes Burnham, however, was not for turning. The Guyana Government stood its ground and the test match in Guyana was cancelled.

Guyana had also banned the Barbadian cricketer, Geoff Greenidge, from entry to play a cricket match in February 1976. Guyana also withdrew its national team from the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games in support of an African boycott to protest against New Zealand’s sporting contacts with South Africa and the former’s participation in the Olympics. Guyana, from the perspective of CARICOM countries, was located at the forefront of practical opposition to any sporting contacts with South Africa. Hilary Beckles had noted:

“The Guyana government, unlike others in the region, was unequivocal in its support for the United Nations resolution on non-discrimination in sport. President Burnham went further, however, when he declared that “no South African who supports apartheid in South Africa, shall be allowed to enter Guyana.”

The persistence of apartheid in South Africa and the colonization of Namibia remained seemingly intractable issues of the African liberation struggle into the 1980s. For Guyana, therefore, African liberation continued to be a priority focus of its foreign policy over the 1979-85 period.

Guyana pursued other notable initiatives to highlight its active political support of this cause. Its policy and action on the issue of sporting contacts with South Africa might have been the most publicly striking of its positions with regard to African liberation in the 1979-85 years. Other policies were pursued:

- Guyana continued its active involvement in the UN Council for Namibia, with its UN Permanent Representative serving as Vice-President in the early 1980s. A

Guyana UN representative also continued to hold the chairmanship of the important second committee of the Council in 1979-80. Several initiatives were taken and implemented in pursuit of the economic interests of an independent Namibia.

- Guyana was host to a high-level mission of the Council that was led by Algeria's Permanent Representative to the UN – Ambassador Mohamed Bedjaouiin – in May 1980. That visit saw a strong pledge of commitment for the freedom struggles in Namibia and the rest of the Southern Africa.
- Guyana organised an African Liberation Forum that attracted extensive international representation over the period 30 April - 3 May 1981. Among the countries that attended the Forum were Tanzania, Zambia and India, as well as Cuba, Jamaica and Trinidad from the Caribbean region. Also in attendance were several liberation movements, including South Africa's African National Congress and various UN agencies with responsibility for African liberation concerns – notably the UN Council for Namibia and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

President Forbes Burnham emphasised that the liberation of Southern Africa has always been a critical theme in [Guyana's] foreign policy in his opening address at the Forum. He used the occasion to reaffirm the country's political and material support to the struggles of the Namibian and South African peoples.

He suggested the holding of an international conference for the purpose of pledging financial and others material assistance for the African liberation movements and to this end he pledged the sum of \$250,000 on behalf of Guyana. This was at a time of severe economic crisis for Guyana. That forum endorsed a final resolution that, among other things, declared *“appreciation for the sterling support which the Party, Government, and People of Guyana render to the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa”*.



Prime Minister of Guyana, Mr. Forbes Burnham (right) presents to the President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (left), \$50,000 cheque for the freedom fighters in Africa at the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Lusaka, Zambia in September, 1970,

3. The Struggle for the Liberation of Southern Africa

The final phase for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia itself began with the independence of Mozambique and Angola. Burnham had a strategic view of this situation which he expressed at an International Forum for the Liberation of Southern Africa in 1981 as follows:

“The time is propitious. The strategic balance has been altered irrevocably. The forces of freedom now press against the very frontier of apartheid. In Southern Africa there remain only two areas, Namibia and South Africa, where the racists brutally rule but are conscious that their system is falling apart.”

Namibia did indeed become free. The Council for Namibia was established to govern that territory until it won its independence from South Africa. The first President for the Council of Namibia was Guyana's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Rashleigh Jackson. When the Council first visited Guyana, the Government of Guyana constructed the *Liberation Monument* which is dedicated to the freedom fighters of Southern Africa and which stands to this day in the capital city.

Guyana, at the 25th Session of the UN General Assembly, cosponsored five draft resolutions on the question of apartheid in the Special Political Committee. One of them appealed to Governments to give generous assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle against apartheid. All of these Resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly – 2671 (XXV) in addition to another supported by Guyana on the situation in South Africa and the foreign relations of that Government.

This resolution recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the people to eliminate apartheid by all means at their disposal. It deplored the continued co-operation by certain states with South Africa in the military, economic and other fields. It urged all countries to terminate all official relations with the then Government of South Africa.

Guyana, at the 26th Session, co-sponsored a Resolution (A/SPC/146) which reflected concern at the growing acts of brutality committed against opponents of apartheid in South Africa.

Forbes Burnham was also correct in his prediction about the situation in South Africa. The forces of freedom which were pressing on its border and within the country itself effected the collapse of the apartheid system. Nelson Mandela was freed and became President of a free South Africa. Forbes Burnham never tired in his support for the freedom of Mandela. He did so at the International Forum for the Liberation of Southern Africa. He launched a successful petition calling for the release of “Madiba” which was signed by thousands of Guyanese citizens. He said:

“Peace and security are but a chimera and international stability, a vain pursuit, so long as vast and significant numbers of peoples in any continent are

bereft of their rights to self-determination – treaties, pacts and summitry, notwithstanding. Without any claim to originality, we in Guyana posit that the struggle for freedom and justice is an integral part of the wider contest for an equitable arrangement amongst states which in turn is a pre-requisite of stable international relationships. We Guyanese, having won political independence, cannot be oblivious of the issues at stake in Southern Africa. A sense of morality as well as the recognition of self-interest compel our involvement.

The issue of freedom in Southern Africa has always had significance beyond that region and has been a concern of the international community. The obnoxious system of apartheid which was premised upon the denial of all important rights to millions of Africans and which only two days ago we saw disenfranchise four-fifths of the population of South Africa, cannot be isolated as a regional problem. Its continued existence must and does have profound implications for international peace and security.”

Forbes Burnham, late President of Guyana, played a significant role in the liberation of South Africa and the states of Southern Africa. The facts speak for themselves.

Album of Photographs of the Official Visit of Oliver Reginald Tambo, President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa to the Republic of Guyana, July 1987.



Appendices

Appendix 1. Journal of the Official Visit of Oliver Reginald Tambo, President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, to the Co-operative Republic of Guyana, 14th -19th July 1987.

1. ANC President's visit highlights Guyana links with liberation struggle. Guyana Chronicle No. 3455, Tuesday 1987.07.14

President-General of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo arrives in Guyana at 11:00 h today for a visit spanning four days and which will highlight Guyana's support for the Liberation Struggle in Southern-Africa.

Mr. Tambo, a lawyer who once shared a joint practice with now imprisoned ANC Leader Nelson Mandela, will soon after his arrival, lay a floral tribute at the 1763 Monument and later proceed to discussions with President Desmond Hoyte. This evening, he will attend a film review at the National Cultural.

Mr. Tambo's visit, as part of a Caribbean tour, represents another highlight in the close links Guyana has maintained with the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa, which can be traced to highlights such as the announcement of annual financial assistance to the struggle, in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1970, made by the late President Forbes Burnham on behalf of the Guyanese nation.

Mr. Tambo and other ANC members who will accompany him to Guyana are expected to discuss with President Hoyte and other senior Government officials, a programme for strengthening bilateral cooperation between Guyana and the Liberation Movement of South Africa. They will also review recent and current developments in Southern Africa and in the international arena generally.

Tomorrow, the ANC President-General will pay a courtesy call on Prime Minister Hamilton Green and, later, hold discussions with PNC General Secretary Ranji Chandisingh and other Party officials. The ANC members will attend a luncheon hosted by the Prime Minister and participate in a rally at Sophia Auditorium, beginning at 17:00 h today. A cultural reception in honour of the visitors will be hosted by President Hoyte this evening.

2. Warm welcome for Tambo. *Guyana Chronicle No. 3456, Wednesday 1987.07.15*

A warm Guyanese welcome was afforded President-General of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, as he touched down at Timehri International Airport around 16:15 h last evening, for a packed four-day visit.

A crowd of citizens were at the airport to wave their welcome to the distinguished African Freedom Fighter, as he was formally welcomed by Vice-President Ranji Chandisingh and a party of Government officials

Mr. Tambo and members of his delegation were motored to Georgetown where he almost immediately laid a floral tribute at the 1763 Monument, Square of the Revolution, before holding one-hour of talks with President Desmond Hoyte. The warm reception given the ANC delegation again highlighted the close links Guyana has maintained with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, including political and modest material support.

Mr. Tambo and other ANC members who have accompanied him here were expected to discuss a programme for strengthening bilateral cooperation between Guyana and the Liberation Movement of Azania in their talks with Government Officials.

Today, the ANC Leader is scheduled to pay a courtesy call on Prime Minister Hamilton Green and, later, hold discussions with Vice-President Ranji Chandisingh, who is General Secretary and Deputy Leader of the People's National Congress (PNC). The ANC members will attend a luncheon hosted by the Prime Minister and participate in a rally at Sophia Auditorium, beginning 17:00 h today. A cultural reception in honour of the visitors will be hosted by President Hoyte this evening.

3. Tambo addresses biggest gathering on Caribbean tour. Guyana Chronicle No. 3457, *Thursday 1987.07.16*

Apartheid is a crime which is now beyond reform and "has got to be stopped", African National Congress (ANC) Leader Oliver Tambo told a mass rally of Guyanese at the Sophia Auditorium in Georgetown yesterday. The demand of the oppressed people of South Africa is for a transfer of power to the people on the whole, permitting the exercise of power by the South African people, regardless of colour, Tambo said.

A unanimously acclaimed resolution, proposed by a representative of the Young Socialist Movement (YSM), later reaffirmed unwavering Guyanese support for, and solidarity, with the struggle of the oppressed of South Africa to end apartheid. President Desmond Hoyte, and Prime Minister Hamilton Green were among the cross-section of the Guyanese community and the diplomatic community based in Georgetown participating in the rally, highlighting the second day of the four-day visit to Guyana of the ANC Leader and delegation.

Mr. Tambo, who was enthusiastically applauded for his one-hour address, said the packed Sophia Auditorium held the largest gathering of his Caribbean tour. He and President Hoyte, at the end of the rally, walked from the auditorium, hands clasped aloft, to the resounding cheers of those present.

The current visit, Vice-President Ranji Chandisingh told the rally, is "*a measure of the solidarity of the Government and people of Guyana with the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.*" This nation believes its freedom is diminished once the freedom of the people of South Africa is not secure, he said, and he saluted the vanguard role of the ANC, in its 75-year history, in galvanising the people of South Africa and mobilizing international support against apartheid.

"We were welcomed home, we could not have expected a greater welcome", said the ANC Leader in expressing appreciation of his delegation for the arrangements for the visit and the spirit of the welcome by the people of Guyana.

Noting similarities between the aspirations of the people of Guyana, the Caribbean, and Africa, Tambo told his audience, *"Africa continues to be in chains because a part of Africa (Namibia and South Africa) continues to be in chains"*. Because of the identity established between Guyanese and the struggle in Africa, *"the chains that bind us bind you as well."* Tracing the history of continued oppression against South Africans by the apartheid regime and the aggression against other States in Africa, the ANC Leader acknowledged the important part the international community plays in the struggle against the system.

Imprisoned freedom fighters such as Nelson Mandela know that they are in prison as a result of the continuing struggle, and are further sustained by the knowledge that the people of the world support them.

Tambo described the present position of the apartheid regime as *"a desperate situation"* which cannot survive the forces of change. There is rising militancy among Black workers, and in the first six months of this year, there have been more strikes than in the whole of last year, all under a continuing state of emergency. The whites-only election has been bypassed, and the people have taken the initiative, with, among other things, a number of new anti-apartheid organisations of youths

People to resist any form of pressure it can bring against them and the struggle is one *"that is certain to be won"*, he said. *"There is no doubt that apartheid is retreating...that (the generals of apartheid) are looking for new positions of defence."* The struggle must continue its momentum, Tambo said, with South Africans having an obligation to step up opposition to the system and Guyana and other members of the international community having a challenge to mobilise forces in the international community against the system. Action in the international community is a deterrent to the South African regime embarking on greater atrocities against the oppressed of the country, he said.

Expressing further confidence of eventual victory, the ANC Leader repeated the ANC appreciation of Guyana's support and solidarity, adding that the rally yesterday was the largest during the present Caribbean tour.

"This rally is a powerful message to us that the people of Guyana and their leadership take our struggle as their own." Tambo said.

4. ANC will act on renewed Guyana aid offer. Guyana Chronicle No. 3458, Friday 1987.07.17

The African National Congress (ANC) reaffirmed yesterday the importance of diplomatic support Guyana and other Caribbean nations can give to help bring international pressure on the oppressive apartheid regime.

ANC President-General Oliver Tambo told a press conference the armed struggle against apartheid could lead to hundreds of thousands of lives being lost and the ANC is calling for international action as a way of limiting the destruction.

Tambo, who leaves Guyana today after a four-day visit aimed at explaining developments in South Africa and seeking help for the anti-apartheid struggle, emphasised, on behalf of the ANC: *"We are a people in need of help...material assistance...diplomatic assistance, and also assistance by way of preparing ourselves for a liberated South Africa"*.

Among those accompanying the ANC Leader to Guyana were Neo Mnumzana, Chief ANC Representative in New York, and Frene Ginwala, Press Attache.

Referring to Guyana's assistance to the liberation struggle, Cde Tambo said diplomatic support is already provided by this country. The ANC Leader, in his Caribbean tour, has appealed to regional countries to do whatever else they can to bring about mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa or, at least, comprehensive sanctions. The sanctions are needed to avoid the deterioration of a dangerous situation in South Africa, he emphasised at yesterday's press conference.

Other Guyanese assistance offered the ANC Leader covers scholarships for study in Guyana, an offer made by President Desmond Hoyte last year and renewed this week. The ANC will be acting on the offer, Tambo said.

The ANC Leader at his press conference also touched on recent trade union activity in South Africa, and the significance of divestment of some foreign businesses in South Africa.

The powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Tambo said, has become a principal target of attacks by the regime, in response to the political actions by the Black organisation. Under the influence of the Congress, *"strikes are almost a daily event in South Africa"*, Tambo said.

The disinvestment by foreign businesses campaign by the ANC and supporters overseas, Tambo said, has so far produced *"a largely cosmetic"* response, in the sense that although foreign companies have been pulling out, the companies continue to operate under new ownership and the impact on the economy is not as intended.

New investment has been discouraged, by the withdrawal of foreign companies, but the intention of bringing major economic pressure against the regime has not really been achieved because only some (withdrawals) have been (genuine), *"very few"*, Tambo said.

As regards mild constitutional reforms claimed by the regime, the ANC Leader reiterated that nothing less than a true people's Parliament is desired.

5. Lindeners thanked for anti-apartheid struggle aid. Guyana Chronicle No. 3458, Friday 1987-07-17

President-General of the African National Congress Oliver Tambo has expressed gratitude for the support Lindeners are giving to the anti-apartheid struggle.

Tambo, who left Guyana yesterday, addressed a rally on Thursday at the Palm Tree Cinema where he spoke of the determination of the African masses to liberate themselves from the system of racial segregation.

The African freedom fighter was given a warm welcome upon arrival in the mining town where he was greeted by regional and other officials. Thursday's rally programme included a number of cultural presentations with traditional African drumming and masquerade dance.

Appendix 2. The Georgetown Declaration of Solidarity and Support for the Liberation of Southern Africa (Extracts).

1. The International Forum on the Liberation of Southern Africa was held in Georgetown, Guyana from April 30 to May 3, 1981. The Forum was convened as a means to mobilise greater international support in order to intensify international pressure for the liberation of Southern Africa at a moment when, as the forces of freedom stand poised at the frontiers of apartheid, the Pretoria regime, buttressed by external allies, is manifesting a renewed determination to maintain the status quo in Southern Africa, even at the cost of the innocent lives being sacrificed daily and instability which increases dangerously as the grave situation in Southern Africa worsens.
2. (a) Representatives of the following States participated in the Forum: Angola, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Mozambique, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago and Zambia.
(b) Representatives of the following Liberation Movements participated in the Forum: African National Congress; Polisario Front.
(c) Representatives of the following Organisations participated in the Forum: United Nations Council for Namibia; United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid; United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation; Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia; Organisation of African Unity; Caribbean Community; Dominica Labour Party; Jamaica Peace Council; Pan African Movement (Jamaica); Council for the Affairs and Status of Women in Guyana; Guyana National Association of Youth and Students; Guyana Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha; National Congress of Local Democratic Organs; People's National Congress; Guyana Committee for solidarity and Peace; Guyana Pandits Council and Hindu Parishad; Trades Union Congress; Trinidad and Tobago T.V.; United Nations Association of Guyana; University of Guyana Students Society; Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement; Young Socialist Movement.
3. The Forum was privileged to hear an inspiring opening address by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Guyana, Comrade Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, which was unanimously accepted as a document of the Forum. In his address, the President Burnham affirmed that the struggle for freedom and justice

was an integral part of the wider context for an equitable arrangement amongst states, which in turn was a pre-requisite of stable international relationships:

“It is incumbent upon us all in the circumstances, even at the cost of Sacrifice, to render all assistance to our brothers in Namibia and South Africa struggling to be free, for their cause is our cause, their victory will be our victory.

We in Guyana offer no compromise or apology. The independence of Namibia which South Africa holds against the wishes of the people of that country in the teeth of countless resolutions and judgements of the International Court of Justice, the freedom of the countless millions of Africans in South Africa brutalized and discriminated against over the years, are our immediate concern.”

Appendix 3. Extracts of the Resolution of thanks to the Government and People of Guyana on the occasion of the International Forum on Southern Africa, Georgetown, 30th April to 3rd May, 1981 (Extracts).

The Participants,

NOTING with appreciation the efficient and friendly atmosphere in which the Forum was held;

CONVINCED that the excellent arrangements made and the facilities provided by the Government of Guyana as well as the warm reception and hospitable disposition of the Guyanese people contributed in large measure to the significant results;

- 1. EXPRESS** their profound gratitude and admiration to the Government and people of Guyana, in particular, to the President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, His Excellency, Cde. L.F.S. Burnham, for his inspiring opening address;
- 2. EXPRESS** their appreciation to the Chairman of the Forum for the efficient way he has guided its deliberations;
- 3. DECLARE** their appreciation for the sterling support which the Party, Government, and People of Guyana render to the Liberation Movement of Southern Africa

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