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Time for Sanctions Against Apartheid South Africa is Now: Statements by H. E. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid

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United Nations Centre Against Apartheid

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**TIME FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA
IS NOW**



**Statements by H.E. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule (Nigeria),
Chairman of the United Nations Special
Committee against *Apartheid***

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I. RACISM: NOT JUST MORAL ISSUE

EXTRACT FROM INAUGURAL ADDRESS MADE ON 14 SEPTEMBER 1981 AT A MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST *APARTHEID*

Racism is not simply a moral issue. I believe that it remains the source of the greatest danger to international peace and security. How can there be peace and stability in southern Africa when the racists continue to deny the black majority their basic human rights? Or can anyone doubt the determination of the black majority in South Africa to overthrow the iniquitous racial system under which they are governed, and which is the source of the brutal repression and oppression to which they are subjected? Does the international community not have a moral responsibility to help the blacks in South Africa in overthrowing the brutal racist régime in South Africa?

The issues involved in racism are even wider than that. The system of *apartheid* is a direct negation of all known forms of civilized Government. It undermines all the worthy achievements of human civilization. It is unparalleled in its brutality and repression. It is based not on the consent of the governed, but entirely on the ruthless application of force. It has no moral or legal basis, except the use of the gun to stifle any political dissent. Thousands of blacks have been murdered solely because of their opposition to racial injustice in South Africa. The history of racist South Africa is replete with the dastardly murder of several prominent blacks who have dared to stand up to the iniquitous system. Soweto is just one of the several tragic events in the dark record of the South African racists.

Excellencies, we must be absolutely clear in our minds about the nature of the evil forces against which we are fighting, and the sources of strength of *apartheid*. The South African racist is easily identified, and his horrendous crimes against the black majority are well known enough. But what about those who publicly condemn *apartheid*, but who secretly work for its survival on account of short-term economic gains? The fact of the matter is that *apartheid* has survived the international pressure for change because of the economic underpinnings provided it by the transnationals from the Western bloc of nations. It is these nations which talk glibly of the democratic traditions, and civilized standards, while at the same time, working secretly and assiduously to ensure the survival of *apartheid*, a direct negation of the civilized standards to which they profess adherence. These double-faced Januses represent the greatest challenge to this Committee, for we have the onerous responsibility of exposing their duplicity to the international community. . . .

Having regard to the important responsibilities placed upon us, it is, therefore, with a great humility and a sense of responsibility that I assume the Chairmanship of this Committee. I have every confidence that I can rely on you for support in our service to humanity, and that by working

closely together, we would be able to make our own modest contribution to the struggle against *apartheid*.

STATEMENT MADE ON 27 NOVEMBER 1981 IN THE PLENARY MEETING OF
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We, in Nigeria, have consistently expressed our abhorrence for *apartheid* in the conviction that it is not only a negation of all known civilized norms and standards, but that it represents a serious danger to the peace and stability of our continent. It is an issue over which we will never compromise. Since the attainment of our independence in 1960, we have maintained a complete trade embargo on the racist régime. We do not allow it overflying rights in our country. We have even gone further than that by banning transnational corporations known to be collaborating with racist South Africa from doing any business in Nigeria. We are determined to maintain this policy of economic, political and cultural boycott against racist South Africa for as long as the racist régime persists with its abhorrent racial doctrine. We are strengthened in our resolve to maintain a policy of sanctions against South Africa by the knowledge that the international community, as manifested in this august assembly, shares our deep revulsion and abhorrence for the racist doctrine of the South African régime.

It is a matter of deep regret and concern that despite the resolutions of the United Nations, admonitions and warnings, the racist régime of South Africa has not only persisted in its dangerous course, but has intensified its repression of the black people of South Africa. Its constant military forays against its African neighbours have also been intensified with incalculable consequences for the peace and stability of the world. What is even worse is that in desperation the racist régime has stepped up frantically its programme for the development and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Nigeria will not be deterred in its strong opposition to *apartheid*, and holds South Africa's allies responsible for the consequences of the nuclearization of Africa. We will continue to give the freedom fighters of South Africa all the material resources at our disposal for the prosecution of their just war against their racist oppressors in South Africa. For us this is the path of national honour and we will not be detracted from this path of honour regardless of the price and sacrifice. We are only strengthened in our resolve by the consistent failure of certain Western powers to discharge their international responsibilities in the face of persistent acts of provocation and aggression by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Those who for reasons of economic considerations are collaborating with the *apartheid* régime bear a heavy responsibility for the outright war which now threatens to engulf the whole of Africa.

Even at this late hour, it is our hope and expectation that they will come down on the side of justice and freedom by invoking Chapter VII of our Charter for the application of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions on the racist régime.

Short of a wider conflict from which no one will profit, the only option that we, as responsible members of the international community are left with, is the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions on the racist

régime. Nothing less than that will impress on the racist régime our total opposition to their heinous crimes in South Africa. Sooner or later the people of South Africa through armed struggle will overthrow the racist régime. On that day of reckoning, all of us as individuals and Governments will be called upon to give account of our response to the misery and suffering which has been the lot of the blacks in South Africa for over a century.

The past year has seen a further development of the mobilization of the oppressed people of South Africa against racist tyranny in their land. Workers, school-children, religious leaders and journalists have defied intimidation and terror to demonstrate their indomitable will to freedom and their willingness to sacrifice even their lives so that their children will be free. The massive boycott of the festivities organized by the régime in May to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the racist Republic — in which not only blacks but also many white men and women of conscience joined — showed that the racist régime survives only through brute force and the goodwill of some external powers. The nearly total boycott of the elections of the South African Council showed that the racist régime's manoeuvres to divide the black people are in vain.

Meanwhile the armed resistance of the national liberation movement has greatly advanced during this year. Freedom fighters have attacked police stations, *apartheid* institutions and even military installations at the risk of their lives. There is no doubt that the struggle will escalate until *apartheid* is destroyed. The international community, which has denounced *apartheid* as a crime akin to slavery, and which has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people, must rise to the occasion. Action by the international community will determine whether freedom will come through the martyrdom of the flower of youth, from the killing and maiming of people of all colours — or whether a new, non-racial and just society can be built through a process of consultation. That is why we stress the urgency and importance of action by the international community — and especially of the major trading partners of South Africa who can make a vital contribution if only they abandon their short-sighted and selfish policies and look to the future.

II. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND SOUTH AFRICA

EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT ISSUED ON 24 SEPTEMBER 1981 URGING SUPPORT FOR THE SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA HELD IN NEW YORK FROM 9 TO 11 OCTOBER 1981

The United States can and must play a crucial role in promoting the liberation of South Africa and Namibia, in ending the constant acts of terrorism and aggression by the *apartheid* régime, and in averting the wider conflict which is inevitable if *apartheid* persists in South Africa. The United States is a great Power with a special responsibility under the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is a major trading partner of South Africa and a major investor in South Africa, and hence bears a responsibility for the present situation in South Africa.

Apartheid is a negation of all the moral values proclaimed by the United States since its own Declaration of Independence and cherished by the American people. Moreover, the dignity of the millions of people of African origin in the United States is inextricably linked to the redemption of Africa as recognized by the great leaders of the black people—like Dr. William E. Burghardt Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Paul Robeson, and Reverend Martin Luther King—who have played a leading role in the Pan African Movement for freedom and justice.

We have, however, noted with dismay and deep distress that the recent pronouncements and actions of the United States Government have given comfort to the racist rulers of South Africa. Emboldened by the expectation of “understanding” by the United States, the *apartheid* régime launched a dastardly raid against Mozambique in January and a massive aggression against Angola beginning in July. It has threatened all neighbouring independent African states, and stepped up support to subversive groups. It has defied all international efforts for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. It has intensified brutal repression in South Africa and Namibia.

In the face of such a challenge, the United States has regrettably continued with the policy of so-called “constructive encouragement” with the *apartheid* régime. It stood alone in vetoing even a resolution condemning the aggression against Angola, thereby confronting all the African States, when all other Western States have joined in an unprecedented condemnation of the *apartheid* régime. There are also efforts to divert attention from the clear case of aggression against front-line States, indeed against Africa and the United Nations, by reference to the so-called “wider context” of great-Power rivalry, instead of the true context of Africa’s just struggle for emancipation and redemption, and the solemn commitment of the international community to eradicate *apartheid*.

I hope, therefore, that the American people will acquaint themselves with the grave developments in southern Africa, the aspirations and sacrifices of the people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements, and the solemn commitments of the entire continent of Africa as well as the United Nations. I hope that an enlightened public will exert its influence to ensure that this nation will lend all its great influence in the cause of freedom, human dignity and peace in southern Africa.

STATEMENT MADE ON 14 JANUARY 1982 AT A SEMINAR ON
UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA

I hope that you will excuse me if I do not address myself directly to the important report of the Study Commission on United States Policy towards South Africa, as it is part of an internal debate in this country, but explain to you my concerns and my hopes as the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and also as an African and a Nigerian.

Let me begin by emphasizing that we have reason to expect much from the United States Government and people in international efforts to end racist domination in South Africa and promote freedom and human dignity.

The United States is a founding member of the United Nations and a Great Power which has special responsibilities to promote peace. It is committed to freedom and human rights. It has a historical experience with racist and colonial domination — including a bitter civil war. Thirty million blacks in this country trace their origins to Africa, and the dignity of no person of African origin is secure so long as people are humiliated anywhere because of the colour of their skin.

We have, therefore, been sadly disappointed that the United States has not played a very positive role in the context of Africa's struggle for emancipation in the past generation. Too often this country's policy was determined in the prism of East-West conflict or the interests of corporations, or the relations with European allies, as if the people of Africa did not exist and did not matter.

As a result, the United States dissipated the tremendous goodwill it had gained at the end of the Second World War. Goodwill of nations, I might add, is as important for any great Power as military muscle or economic strength

Practically the entire international community has recognized, after three decades of debates in the United Nations, that the struggle of the black people is just and legitimate. Africa is totally identified with the struggle in South Africa as it is the last and crucial stage of the Continent's struggle for emancipation. To us in Africa, this is a matter of life and death.

It is in that context that we view the policies and actions of the United States and other Powers. The basis for policy cannot be the supposed "national interests", but the interests of the people of South Africa and of freedom and peace. A policy on any other basis will be disastrous.

The United States, in particular, is a Power which has tremendous leverage on South Africa not only because it is the largest trading partner of South Africa, but also because it is the leader of the Western Alliance. The actions of the United States will largely determine whether the black people of South Africa will attain their freedom reasonably peacefully or at the cost of enormous suffering and bloodshed. That is why we are very sensitive to developments concerning United States policy towards South Africa.

We have been shocked in the past year by a series of developments which seemed to indicate that the United States was becoming a protector of the racist régime in South Africa, at the risk of confronting all of Africa and even distancing itself from its European allies.

General Alexander Haig, speaking before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January in the hearing of his nomination as Secretary of State said that the South African régime had the same "values" as the United States.

A few weeks later the President of the United States himself spoke of the traditional friendship and alliance with South Africa.

In August, the United States stood alone in vetoing a resolution in the Security Council condemning the South African aggression against Angola.

In December, when the General Assembly discussed the problem of *apartheid*, the United States voted against 12 of the 16 resolutions, and abstained on two more. No other country proved as negative.

The United States was alone in arguing that there were meaningful reforms in South Africa and that we should, in fact, relax pressure on the racists.

It appears to me that the United States policy is based on the premise that the black majority will not be able to succeed in its struggle, in spite of the fact that a similar assumption on the Portuguese colonies proved utterly wrong.

The so-called "constructive engagement" with the Pretoria régime means that the black people of South Africa and the international community should be satisfied with what the oppressors can be persuaded to give. In fact, it is accompanied by hostility to the national liberation movement without which there can be no true liberation

Every Western country, including the United States, has more economic and other interests in independent Africa than in *apartheid* South Africa. A choice cannot be avoided. The true test of statesmanship is to identify with the future, rather than an immoral, discredited and doomed system.

III. TRIBUTE TO ANC

STATEMENT MADE ON 9 NOVEMBER 1981 REGARDING OBSERVANCE OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS MILITARY WING, *UMKHONTO WE SIZWE*

On 8 January 1982, the African people of South Africa and their friends all over the world will observe the seventieth anniversary of the establishment of the South African Native National Congress (later renamed African National Congress of South Africa). The birth of this national movement was an event of great importance in the struggle for liberation in South Africa and in Africa as a whole.

During the course of the past seven decades, this movement has struggled with perseverance, determination and courage for the inalienable rights of the African people, made great sacrifices, and has produced eminent leaders deserving of respect all over the world. It became the spearhead of the struggle of all the oppressed people of South Africa, and of men and women of conscience, for a democratic society, in which all the people of the country irrespective of race, colour or creed, would enjoy freedom, equal rights and human dignity. In the face of the unrelenting brutality of the successive racist minority régimes, it has always upheld the principles of non-racialism and genuine self-determination.

It has made a notable contribution to the struggle of the Continent of Africa and all other oppressed regions for emancipation from colonial and racist domination, and was an active constituent of the Pan African Movement and the Non-aligned Movement. It has inspired millions of people all over the world and earned the respect, support and solidarity of the overwhelming majority of Governments and peoples

I would recall that for three decades from 1912, the African National Congress and other black organizations sent numerous deputations to the

authorities in South Africa and to the erstwhile colonial Power to protest against unjust laws, but in vain. They led many campaigns against pass laws, dispossession from land and other iniquities, only to be faced with brutal violence.

Enthused by the establishment of the United Nations and the promises made during the Second World War, and inspired by the ANC Youth League, the movement then embarked on a programme of positive and non-violent action, but at the same time the white minority elected a Fascist régime sworn to the forcible imposition of *apartheid* in flagrant contravention of the United Nations Charter. The great non-violent struggle of 1950-1960, which evoked admiration all over the world, was met by the most brutal measures such as the Public Safety Act providing for the whipping of passive resisters, the trial of 156 leaders of the people on charge of treason, and finally the Sharpeville massacre, the mass detentions under a State of Emergency and the outlawing of African liberation organizations.

The African people were, therefore, obliged to give up their strict adherence to non-violence and prepare for armed resistance to rid themselves of the tyrannical and criminal racist régime

The racist régime has so far survived the ever-growing national resistance by an escalation of crimes against the black people. Immune to all appeals, it has utilized its control of the wealth of the country to build an enormous military and repressive apparatus to suppress all resistance. It has not hesitated to resort to mass deportations of people, massacres of peaceful demonstrators and even indiscriminate shootings of schoolchildren. Foreign economic and other interests, driven by greed for profits, continue to support that régime and powerful Western countries have protected it from international action. Emboldened and encouraged by such support, the racist régime is proceeding with a diabolical plan to deprive the African majority of its citizenship and attempting to blackmail Africa and the world with nuclear weapons.

This poses a challenge not only to the oppressed people of South Africa who are determined to make supreme sacrifices for their deliverance but to the United Nations and the world. We have a vital interest in the triumph of their national liberation movement which has made great sacrifices for the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

While extending our greetings to the South African people on this anniversary, we must acquaint world opinion of the heroic struggle for liberation in South Africa and the forces which have frustrated its triumph. We must mobilize all Governments and all decent men and women in a determined effort to isolate the *apartheid* régime and assist the South African people in their just struggle.

We witness today a powerful national mobilization of all the oppressed people of South Africa — workers and peasants, women and schoolchildren, churchmen and journalists — for national liberation, and a courageous struggle by freedom fighters against the tyrannical régime. International action must correspond to this crucial and final stage of the struggle for the elimination of *apartheid*.

The anniversary of the ANC will appropriately coincide with the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Let us pay tribute to the heroic struggle for South African people by effective international action in solidarity with their struggle.

STATEMENT MADE ON 16 DECEMBER 1981 AT THE OPENING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE MEETING HELD IN OBSERVANCE OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

We are gathered here today to observe the seventieth anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa, as well as the twentieth anniversary of its military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation"), to congratulate and salute them for their great contribution to the cause of freedom and dignity of Africa and the principles cherished by humanity as a whole; and to assure them of our full support in their struggle to destroy the evil and criminal system of *apartheid* and build a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We must inevitably place these anniversaries in the context of both the centuries-old struggle of the African continent for its redemption, and of the resistance by the African people of South Africa — ever since alien settlers landed on the Cape in 1652 — against occupation, dispossession, discrimination and oppression.

The African people of South Africa, under the leadership of their traditional kings and chiefs, fought heroically for their land and for their freedom. It was only after more than a century of wars that they were subdued by the superior armour of the colonizers.

We recall with great respect the leaders of the African people such as Dingaan, Shaka and Cetshwayo, the Zulu Kings: King Moshoeshe of the Sotho; King Sekhukuni of eastern Transvaal. We recall Ndlambe, Hintsa, Makana, Moletsane, Sekwati — to mention but a few.

That phase of resistance came to an end with the Zulu rebellion in Natal, led by Bambata in 1906, which was put down with the massacre of thousands of people.

Soon after, in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War, the white communities of the four provinces came together to form the Union of South Africa. They not only ignored the rights of the African majority but conspired to take away even the few rights that the black people enjoyed.

It was at that time that Pixley Ka I. Seme and others convened a congress of African Kings, chiefs and leaders in Bloemfontein which established the South African Native National Congress, later renamed the African National Congress of South Africa.

The founding of this organization — uniting all the African people of South Africa irrespective of tribal and other differences — was an important event in the history of South Africa, and indeed in the history of the struggle for freedom in Africa as a whole.

For half a century, the ANC tried through innumerable petitions, deputations, demonstrations, boycotts and all forms of non-violent resistance to induce the minority régime to consult with the leaders of the

majority, to recognize the inalienable rights of the African people and to move towards a democratic society. The successive minority régimes proved to be deaf to all appeals to reason, and relied on brute force to impose total white domination.

But the struggle of the African people — joined by other oppressed people and a number of white men and women of conscience — inspired Africa and the world.

In the wake of the non-violent “Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws” in 1952, in which 8,000 people courted imprisonment, the United Nations recognized the international significance of the struggle in South Africa. Today, all Governments of the world without exception denounce *apartheid* and recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people to remove that scourge.

By 1961, the brutality of the racist régime, its massacres of peaceful demonstrators and its banning of African organizations persuaded the national liberation movements to undertake underground activities and armed resistance.

I would recall that twenty years ago, on Human Rights Day, 10 December, 1961, the late Chief Albert J. Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of the historic non-violent movement led by the ANC.

Six days later, when *Umkhonto we Sizwe* undertook sabotage actions in several cities under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the international community squarely laid the responsibility for violence on the *apartheid* régime.

Today, we recall, therefore, the half a century of non-violent resistance as well as the two decades of complex struggle, combining legal and underground activities, peaceful protests and armed resistance.

We rejoice that this struggle has greatly advanced, despite all the odds.

During this year alone we have witnessed an unprecedented upsurge by the South African people, demonstrating a total rejection of *apartheid*, defiance of terror and loyalty to the national liberation movement. We have also witnessed a series of courageous attacks by the freedom fighters against police stations, military installations and other carefully chosen targets. We have been particularly impressed with the training and discipline of these freedom fighters who have invariably tried, unlike the oppressors, to avert the loss of innocent human lives.

EXTRACT FROM A STATEMENT MADE ON 16 DECEMBER 1981 AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE MEETING HELD IN OBSERVANCE OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS MILITARY WING, *UMKHONTO WE SIZWE*

Before concluding this meeting, I would like to make a few remarks as Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I extend my greetings to the African National Congress and to its respected President,

Mr. Oliver R. Tambo, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of ANC.

I am sending greetings to Mr. Henry Selby Msimang, one of the founders of the ANC.

I also extend my greetings to *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and its founder and leader, Nelson Mandela, who is now serving his twentieth year of imprisonment on Robben Island.

Nelson Mandela has become a symbol of both uncompromising resistance against *apartheid* and of hope for a peaceful transition to a democratic society. The Special Committee will, therefore, continue and intensify its support to the campaign of the South African people for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

We have always recognized that the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement bear the primary responsibility for the liberation of their country from racist tyranny. But we recognize equally that the international community has a responsibility and a duty to support that struggle, not only because it is just but also because humanity has a vital interest in the elimination of *apartheid*.

We recognize that *apartheid* cannot be reformed but must be totally eradicated. It can only be destroyed by a struggle, by a movement of the people.

We declare, therefore, that Governments which profess to abhor *apartheid* but do not want to recognize the national liberation movement, cannot be serious in their professions.

We affirm the right of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement — in the light of their long and bitter experience with the racist régime — to resort to a variety of forms of struggle, including peaceful protests, industrial action and armed resistance, in order to destroy *apartheid* and build a democratic society.

We applaud the national liberation movement for recognizing the rights of *all* the people of South Africa, and for avoiding loss of innocent lives, in the course of the struggle against a régime which has a shameful and shocking record of terrorism. We denounce with contempt any attempts by the racist régime or its friends to equate the national liberation movement with terrorism.

We recognize that in the struggle for liberation, many organizations, legal and clandestine, make a contribution, while the liberation movements and their freedom fighters play a crucial and indispensable role.

We applaud the ANC for the role it has played for seventy years, and especially for its declared policy of promoting unity of all the forces against oppression, without trying to impose its views on them.

The African National Congress has announced that it will observe its seventieth anniversary throughout the year to make known, as widely as possible, the history of the struggle of the South African people and their legitimate aspirations. The Special Committee will do its share in this task of education and publicity. It will promote a series of observances in 1982, not as ritual and routine events but as a means for discussion and action.

The Special Committee has emphasized since its inception in 1963, that the most appropriate, peaceful and effective action by the international

community is the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and their full implementation.

1982, the year of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the national movement in South Africa, will be observed by the United Nations as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. On behalf of the Special Committee, I invite all Governments and organizations to co-operate in making this International Year a year of meaningful action.

IV. ON BANTUSTANS

STATEMENT MADE ON 9 NOVEMBER 1981 ON THE IMPENDING GRANT OF "INDEPENDENCE" TO THE CISKEI BANTUSTAN BY THE APARTHEID RÉGIME

The *apartheid* régime of South Africa is proceeding with plans to proclaim the so-called "independence" of the Ciskei on 4 December 1981, despite the universal denunciation of the sham "independence" of the bantustans of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. This move is designed to deprive 2.1 million Africans of their South African citizenship. It is part of the diabolical plan of the racist minority to ensure total white domination of South Africa and to dispossess the African people of their inalienable rights in their own country by declaring the so-called "independence" of ten bantustans in 13 per cent of the country. As the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. C. P. Mulder, announced on 7 February 1978, "If our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as the Black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship".

On behalf of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, I call on all Governments and organizations to condemn this new crime of the *apartheid* régime, in proclaiming the so-called "independence" of the Ciskei.

The Ciskei has a population of 636,000 while the régime regards 2.1 million people of Ciskeian origin all over South Africa as "citizens" of Ciskei. It has an area of 8,300 square kilometres or only 2.4 per cent of the area of South Africa. According to the South African *Geographical Journal*, 47 per cent of the land is eroded and 37 per cent overgrazed.

Ciskei suffers from a high density of population and extreme poverty and unemployment. The farm income is too low and the region cannot feed itself. There is hardly any industry and only about 5,000 people are engaged in trades, services and industry. In 1979-80, less than a quarter of the budget was derived from local sources. Over 30 per cent of children are reported to suffer from marasmus and kwashiorkor, diseases of malnutrition.

Chief Lenox Sebe, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, and his brother Brigadier Charles Sebe, Ciskei's intelligence Chief, have established a régime of terror with brutal repression against trade union leaders, students and others in order to suppress the widespread resistance to their collusion with the racist Pretoria régime in purporting to abandon the inalienable rights of the African people.

The international community must denounce the so-called "independence" of Ciskei, and refrain from any recognition, direct or indirect, or any dealings with its authorities. It must proclaim that the 2.1 million people of Ciskeian origin retain their inalienable rights as citizens of South Africa as a whole.

V. ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

STATEMENT MADE ON 24 SEPTEMBER 1981 REGARDING THE OBSERVANCE OF THE DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS OF 11 OCTOBER 1981

Eleven October is observed annually all over the world as the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

It is an occasion to express solidarity with all men, women and children imprisoned, banished or restricted for their opposition to *apartheid*; to demand the unconditional release of all such persons; to publicize and support their legitimate aspirations for freedom and human dignity; and to express support for the many resolutions of the United Nations calling for the release of political prisoners, an end to all repression, the abrogation of bans on the liberation movements and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

I trust that the Day of Solidarity will be observed even more widely and effectively this year in view of the grave developments in South Africa.

Faced with the growing resistance to all manifestations of *apartheid* involving hundreds of thousands of workers, students, teachers, churchmen, journalists, black communities and other segments of the population, as well as the advance of the armed struggle by the national liberation movement, the *apartheid* régime has further intensified repression.

Six freedom fighters — Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, David Moise, Noimbithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Napahali Manana — have been sentenced to death under the repressive and obnoxious laws of the *apartheid* Pretoria régime. Hundreds of persons have been detained and numerous trials instituted under obnoxious security laws. There are alarming reports of torture of detainees.

The régime has resorted to increasing violence and repression against workers and uprooted African "squatter camps" by a massive show of force. It has prohibited two more black newspapers, the *Post* and *Sunday Post*. It has even killed and kidnapped South African exiles in the neighbouring independent African States.

This suicidal course of the *apartheid* régime can only increase conflict and violence. The oppressed people and their national liberation movement have so far shown great restraint to avert loss of life. They cannot be expected to tolerate executions of patriots, indiscriminate shootings of men, women and children, torture and assassination of leaders, and other brutalities without retaliation.

The United Nations has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for the elimination of *apartheid* and the establishment of a democratic society. It has recognized that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility toward those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for opposing *apartheid*. It has repeatedly demanded that captured freedom fighters be treated as prisoners-of-war under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocol thereto.

The campaign for the release of political prisoners is an important component of international action for freedom and peace in southern Africa. For the political prisoners in South Africa are the genuine leaders of the people who are incarcerated for their attachment to the principles of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Their release is an essential prerequisite for efforts to build a democratic society through peaceful means.

I would appeal to all Governments and organizations to reaffirm, on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity, their support to the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and to the relevant United Nations resolution. I would urge them to take urgent action to save the lives of freedom fighters threatened with execution. I call on them to support and extend the world-wide campaign for the release of South African political prisoners.

VI. UNITY IN STRUGGLE

STATEMENT MADE ON 30 NOVEMBER 1981 AT THE COMMEMORATIVE MEETING
IN OBSERVANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE
PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The core of the problem in the Middle East is the deprivation of the Palestinian Arab people of their inalienable right to self-determination, statehood and independence. For over three decades the Palestinian people have been rendered homeless and landless and have been subjected to immeasurable acts of discrimination and repression. They are in fact regarded as refugees in their own motherland as well as in the Middle East as a whole. During this period there has been a series of resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council on the Palestinian question but so far a viable and peaceful solution seems to have eluded the international community.

The cause of this impasse in the Middle East has been the continuous refusal by Israel to accord to the Palestinian people what she enjoys and strenuously legitimizes under international law and, in particular, under principle of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. While Israel guards jealously its independence and sovereignty with secure and inviolate borders, it strongly obstructs the regaining of these same rights by the Palestinian people.

To this end Israel has continued to pursue policies which are detrimental to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Taking advantage of the paralysis in the Security Council and arrogantly ignoring

world public opinion, Israel has proceeded to change the character of Palestine by continuing with the building of illegal settlements in the occupied Arab territory. She has also annexed the Holy City of Jerusalem to the known norms of international law and has continued to take measures in the occupied territories in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relating to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and in open defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

The international community has ultimately come to realize that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem and that no lasting peace can be achieved in that region unless the claim of the Palestinian people to their inalienable rights is restored and Israel withdraws to its pre-1967 boundaries. In addition, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which has been recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be part and parcel of the peace process in the Middle East.

The Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty without external interference. They should be enabled to return to their homes and property in accordance with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) and Security Council resolution 237 (1967).

In this regard, it will be pertinent to recall the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly of July 1980 which strongly endorsed the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own independent sovereign State. It is imperative that the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should be able to participate, on an equal footing and on the basis of General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3375 (XXX), in all efforts on the Middle East problem, which would be held under the auspices of the United Nations. For a lasting peace in the Middle East, it is essential that Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. It should also be noted that the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories do aggravate the conflict and render a peaceful, negotiated solution more difficult.

This, Mr. Chairman, brings us to the deplorable state of collaboration between Israel and South Africa. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* has repeatedly condemned Israel's collaboration with the South African racist régime in defiance of relevant resolutions of the United Nations. That collaboration in economic, financial, commercial, cultural, sports, military and nuclear fields encourages the South African régime to persist in its criminal policy of *apartheid* and constitutes an obstacle to international efforts to eradicate that evil policy.

It is regrettable that the Security Council has not acted on the recommendations of the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, which have been repeatedly brought to its attention. Security Council action would facilitate the creation of necessary conditions towards a just and lasting peace in the region. The Council should be urged again to consider urgently the matter with a view to taking action towards a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem.

The Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People have similar objectives, that is,

to enable the peoples concerned to exercise their right to self-determination. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* pledges once more its unwavering support to the Committee on Palestinian Rights in the discharge of its mandate.

On behalf of the Special Committee, I express our deep sense of solidarity to the Palestinian people, who have been inhumanly displaced and made Stateless.

EXTRACT FROM A MESSAGE SENT TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HELD IN ROME, ITALY, FROM 26 TO 27 FEBRUARY 1982.

I have noted with great satisfaction that the Conference is intended to mobilize the people of Italy on two crucial campaigns of solidarity.

The Special Committee attaches great importance to the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. They are the authentic representatives and leaders of the South African people who represent ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Campaign has become particularly urgent after the recent murder in detention of Neil Aggett, trade union leader, and the torture of many other detainees. The racist régime of Pretoria, desperate at the advance of the liberation struggle, has unleashed its fiendish security police against patriots. World public opinion has stressed the urgent need for increased material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. Needs of refugees from South Africa and Namibia, including particularly women and children, have greatly increased due to acts of aggression and terrorism by the Pretoria régime against independent African States. I, therefore, welcome your plans to organize the second ship of solidarity with food, medicine, clothing, and implements for the refugees. I assure you of all appropriate support of the Special Committee.

Your actions on political prisoners and assistance to oppressed people represent an important contribution to the observance this year of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

Finally, I wish to express my great satisfaction at the fact that all major political parties and trade unions as well as the Government of Italy, support these initiatives and that the Conference is taking place in the building of the Italian Parliament. The cause of freedom in South Africa and Namibia is a universal cause. It deserves and demands the support of all Governments and peoples irrespective of differences on any other matters.

STATEMENT MADE ON 2 MARCH 1982 AT A JOINT RECEPTION OF THE CHAIRMAN AND THE COMMITTEE OF ARTISTS OF THE WORLD AGAINST *APARTHEID*

I feel greatly honoured to be able to join with eminent artists of the world in hosting this reception and to be able to receive so many

outstanding cultural personalities, public leaders and others in this beautiful palace of culture.

I feel doubly honoured that His Excellency Mr. Jack Lang, the Minister of Culture of this great Republic, has graced this occasion.

What brings us here is our common concern over *apartheid* and the gross violation of human rights committed by the Pretoria régime against the great majority of the people of South Africa, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its constant aggression against the front-line States which have only recently acquired independence at great sacrifices.

Let me, as an African and as Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, state very clearly that we are not against *apartheid* because it is racism practised by a white minority against a black majority, but because it is an intolerable oppression of people and affront to human dignity — indeed a crime against humanity.

We seek, and the oppressed people of South Africa seek, a society in which all men and women — black, white and brown — will enjoy freedom and human dignity.

Last month, when Dr. Neil Aggett, a white physician and trade union leader, was killed in detention in South Africa, millions of Africans mourned for him and thousands of them defied the police and joined the funeral march in Johannesburg. They showed, by their course, their commitment to non-racialism.

Let us not dignify *apartheid* by describing it as an ideology or a political system. It is the institutionalization of oppression, similar to nazism and to slavery.

Apartheid is the antithesis of all that civilization and culture stand for. It is nothing less than barbarism.

That is why we are not surprised that the greatest artists of the world and other cultural personalities have answered the call to contribute to the effort to eliminate *apartheid* from this globe.

We are firmly convinced that their concern and involvement is an unmistakable signal that the doom of *apartheid* is near and that the deliverance of the people of South Africa and Namibia is assured.

The Special Committee against *Apartheid* enthusiastically supports the project of the Committee of Artists of the World against *Apartheid* for a unique exhibit and collection of art as a contribution to the cause of freedom and justice in southern Africa. It expresses its gratitude to the Committee of Artists for this initiative.

The continent of Africa has suffered untold humiliation, oppression and exploitation for five centuries. It is today determined, whatever the cost, to secure its redemption, and the crucial and final battle is being waged in South Africa and Namibia.

We have always been confident that in this historic struggle to bury a shameful era of human history and build a new society, we could count on the support of men and women of conscience outside the continent.

We have faith in the people of France who proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789.

We are gratified today in the confidence that we can count not only on the support of the intellectual community of France but also on the new Government of France under the leadership of His Excellency Mr. François Mitterand.

There can be no more appropriate place for the international art exhibit against *apartheid* — this homage to human rights — than France.

I trust that it will receive the support and the hospitality of the Government and people of France.

In 1948, the very year when the *apartheid* régime came to power in South Africa, the United Nations General Assembly, meeting in this city of Paris, proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

That Universal Declaration has been the banner under which the black people of South Africa, as well as democratic whites, have been waging a difficult and heroic struggle.

My visit to Paris has provided powerful confirmation that their struggle is not merely a concern of Africa but the concern of humanity.

It is in this context that I feel that we should make this appeal in France for the French have, for centuries, understood the true concept of man. Man is the greatest creation of God and man has been dignified by God — and all men, without distinction of colour, creed or religion have the same right to human dignity. The source of human dignity is not any human being, nor any man-made ideology; it is God himself.

Let therefore all men of God — men of conscience — let those who claim to be the protagonists of democracy, let those who pose as the symbols of Christian civilization rise above their blind self-interest, which will be short-lived, and let them accept the higher responsibility given to man because of his pre-eminence over other creatures and do away with man's inhumanity to man ONCE AND FOR ALL.

VII. SPORTS AND OTHER BOYCOTTS

STATEMENT MADE ON 7 DECEMBER 1981 IN RESPONSE TO THE CANCELLATION OF THE WELSH RUGBY TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA

I have learned with great satisfaction that the Welsh Rugby Union has cancelled its proposed tour of South Africa in May 1982. This decision is in conformity with United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* in sport.

On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend the Welsh Rugby Union for its decision, and express the hope that other rugby unions will follow its example. I would also like to express my appreciation to all organizations and individuals who have appealed to the Welsh Rugby Union to cancel the tour.

EXTRACT FROM A PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT MADE ON 9 MARCH 1982 IN LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM

I have noticed with interest that there is today a public debate in the United Kingdom about *apartheid*, provoked by the tour of 13 British cricketers to South Africa.

I welcome this debate and I would like to say a few words on the matter.

The whole world is solemnly committed to the elimination of *apartheid* which is as much a crime against humanity as nazism was in Europe.

We seek to help the South African people to build a democratic and non-racial society in which all the people, irrespective of race or colour will enjoy equal rights and opportunities.

We seek to do this by comprehensive sanctions, which are the only effective peaceful means, because the alternative is a bloody conflict.

The sports boycott is one of the most peaceful means, and one which involves the people — the sportsmen and sports fans — even more than Governments.

But our efforts are countered by some people, who are enticed by the blood money from *apartheid* oppression or other considerations. They do not seem to care if, by their actions, they encourage the racists in their crimes, or if they encourage the white minority of South Africa in its suicidal course, or if they provoke and challenge Africa and the rest of the world.

The cricketers who have gone to South Africa have violated the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sport, and international agreements. They have challenged the South African people who are fighting for their freedom and called for the sports boycott. They have succumbed to the temptation of *apartheid* money and have deliberately placed themselves beyond the pale of civilized society by the collusion with *apartheid*.

The issue is not the right of United Kingdom nationals to travel where they want but the consequences of collusion with *apartheid*.

The moral issue is the same if they are businessmen or entertainers, the only difference being that in sports there are already international agreements.

Governments, sports bodies and other organizations have every right to take appropriate action against the cricketers who have deliberately and by deception gone to South Africa.

I hope that they will be totally boycotted by the cricket world.

But this tour, though shocking, is not an isolated event.

The register of sports contacts with South Africa, published by the Special Committee last week, showed that the bulk of the sportsmen going to South Africa are from the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

I am heartened that Her Majesty's Government and the sports bodies have promptly deplored the action of the 13 cricketers. I would urge them to consider if they cannot do more to fulfil their responsibilities to prevent sports exchanges with South Africa.

For instance, South Africans can enter the United Kingdom without visas, while citizens of Commonwealth countries cannot, and freely participate in sport. I would urge the United Kingdom to consider ending this privilege, as France and other countries have done.

The Test and County Cricket Board has so far advised cricketers not to go to South Africa to coach and play in the winter. I would urge them to take that simple step, which entails no legal complications.

VIII. MOBILIZING FOR SANCTIONS

STATEMENT MADE ON 11 JANUARY 1982 ON THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF MOBILIZATION FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa at very short notice, of only two weeks.

In taking this exceptional step, the General Assembly and the Member States of the United Nations underscored the need for a sense of urgency in promoting collective action by Governments, organizations and individuals in dealing with the grave situation created by the policies and actions of the Pretoria régime — particularly its inhuman oppression of the great majority of the people of South Africa, and its escalating acts of terrorism, subversion, destabilization and aggression against independent African States.

For any objective person who has followed the developments in southern Africa in the past year, the need for urgency and the need for collective action is clear. I need only mention the massive and continuing oppression against the People's Republic of Angola; the grave threat to the security of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho; and the attempt to deprive another million and a half Africans of their citizenship through the proclamation of the so-called "independence" of the Ciskei.

Apartheid, the scourge of humanity, has become an intolerable menace. Not only our sense of morality, but also our concern for peace and our loyalty to the United Nations call for decisive action to destroy *apartheid*.

I would, therefore, venture to express the hope that even those Governments which did not support the proclamation of the International Year, especially the members of the Security Council, will soon be persuaded to support the purposes of the International Year. We will not fail to exert our efforts towards that end.

In the three decades since the General Assembly began consideration of the problem of *apartheid* — and especially since the adoption by the Assembly of resolution 1761 on 6 November 1962, which established the Special Committee — the United Nations has taken and encouraged a wide range of measures to demonstrate its support for the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and to promote the elimination of *apartheid*.

Many countries and many individuals have made commendable sacrifices in response to the appeals of the United Nations. There has hardly been another issue on which the international community has demonstrated such collective will as on *apartheid*.

Though the Security Council has been unable to take mandatory action, except for the arms embargo, because of the stubborn resistance of certain Powers, there has been significant progress since 1962; many countries, including a number of Western countries, have come to accept the imperative need for sanctions against *apartheid*.

The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in May 1981, demonstrated the overwhelming support for sanctions by States from all regions of the world and diverse ideological persuasions. It underlined the need for the mobilization of committed Governments, organizations and individuals to press for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. It has also encouraged unilateral measures by individual States and groups of States, pending action by the Security Council.

The Paris Conference has pointed out that the friends of freedom in South Africa constitute the overwhelming majority of humanity. They have the power, by united effort, to secure effective international action.

We must constantly confront the Powers which continue to resist sanctions against South Africa and their peoples — with the choice between credibility and hypocrisy, with the choice between friendship with a doomed system of *apartheid* and friendship with most of humanity.

If individual countries could announce a series of sanctions against other countries without any consideration by the Security Council, there is no justification in such countries rejecting demands for sanctions against the Pretoria régime — a régime that has been universally condemned as criminal and aggressor — these countries claim that sanctions are not feasible or effective.

The time has come when those who refuse to isolate the *apartheid* régime will find themselves isolated.

When the Security Council decided, by resolution 418 of 4 November 1977, to institute a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, we had hoped that the decision would be the beginning of an effective programme of sanctions against South Africa.

As a minimum, the arms embargo should have reduced and ultimately eliminated the capacity of the Pretoria régime to embark on aggression against independent States.

But, regrettably, the Pretoria régime has been able — with the connivance of certain Powers and transnational corporations — to expand its military arsenal and escalate its criminal acts of aggression. The Security Council has failed to act on the recommendations of its own committee to strengthen and reinforce the arms embargo, and there has been hardly any monitoring of the embargo. There has been little action to prevent and frustrate the efforts of the *apartheid* régime to acquire nuclear weapon capability.

We must, therefore, give utmost priority to promoting the reinforcement and effective monitoring of the arms embargo as an indispensable step to avert a wider conflict and to defend the authority of the United Nations

We have repeatedly emphasized the crucial importance of an oil embargo, as an indispensable complement to the arms embargo, and as an

effective means toward the elimination of *apartheid*. The decisions of almost all oil exporting countries to impose an oil embargo against South Africa have been a most significant development in international action against *apartheid*. An effective and universal oil embargo against South Africa is now feasible.

We must, therefore, make every effort to press for a mandatory decision by the Security Council and promote the effective monitoring of the national embargoes — in order to prevent the illicit supply of oil products to South Africa by international oil and tanker companies and unscrupulous dealers.

I would like, in this connection, to express particular appreciation to the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, and all its members, for their decision to tighten the implementation of their embargoes.

The Special Committee will give utmost priority to consultations with oil exporting countries and others to promote the monitoring of the oil embargo.

The Special Committee has also decided to redouble its efforts on the sports boycott of South Africa, and to mobilize writers, artists, entertainers and other personalities in the campaign against *apartheid*.

We will continue to press all countries, which have not yet done so, to terminate exchanges of military attachés and personnel with South Africa; to stop promotion of trade with South Africa; to end loans to South Africa; to prohibit emigration to South Africa; and to discourage tourist visits to South Africa. We will publicize the facts to enable an outraged public opinion to call for governmental action in all nations concerned.

We will follow closely the developments — such as the recent increase in importation of South African coal by several Western countries and Japan — and call for action.

STATEMENT MADE ON 13 JANUARY 1982 AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, DURING THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE MISSION TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE 53RD BIRTHDAY OF THE LATE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

I have come here with my colleagues — their Excellencies the Permanent Representatives of India, Somalia, Trinidad and Tobago and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations — in a delegation of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* to pay tribute to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The life of Dr. King was an embodiment of all the ideals of the United Nations. He struggled for peace, for an end to poverty and inequality, for human rights and dignity, against racism, for freedom of nations and for international co-operation. He belongs not merely to the black people of America, not merely to this great nation, but to the entire world. The composition of our delegation reflects the international dimension of the legacy.

Our visit here is, in a sense, a pilgrimage, for it gives us an opportunity to derive inspiration from him at this time when the world is faced with serious international tensions and grim challenges.

The Special Committee against *Apartheid* held a special session in Atlanta in 1979 to pay tribute to Dr. King and promoted the world-wide observance of his fiftieth birthday. It recalled, on that occasion, that Dr. King had joined with another Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Chief Albert J. Lutuli of South Africa, in publishing on Human Rights Day—10 December 1962 — an “Appeal for Action against *Apartheid*”, calling for international sanctions against South Africa.

We felt it most appropriate that we should return here at this time because the Year 1982 has been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa.

For me, this visit also provides an opportunity personally to pay tribute to Mrs. Coretta Scott King for carrying forward the struggle to fulfil the dream of Dr. King, and for her co-operation with the United Nations and the Special Committee. It also gives me an opportunity to congratulate the Honourable Andrew J. Young on his assumption of office as Mayor of Atlanta, a great city which has special relations with the capital of my own country.

The situation in southern Africa has become extremely serious.

For many decades, the black people of that country struggled by non-violent means — as the black people here have done under the leadership of Dr. King — to secure their rights and build a society in which the freedom and dignity of all people will be respected.

Their great struggle and their attachment to peace were recognized internationally by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the late Chief Albert Lutuli twenty years ago — on 10 December 1961 — and by numerous resolutions of the United Nations and other organizations.

But the racist régime in Pretoria has only responded by ever increasing repression and massacres of the black people, including children. It has proceeded with plans to declare some bantustans “independent” so that the African majority can be deprived of citizenship in its own country and South Africa secured for white racist domination.

The black people — Africans, Indians, people of mixed origin — and a number of decent white men and women felt obliged to combine non-violent protest with armed resistance. In the past three years, they have attacked many police stations, military installations and other symbols of oppression — taking care to avoid loss of human life.

There is now the beginning of a guerrilla warfare in South Africa.

The South African régime has continuously increased the military budget and placed the nation virtually on a war footing. It is engaged in a war against the national liberation movement in Namibia and in constant acts of aggression against Angola, causing enormous loss of life and economic dislocation.

It has attacked Zambia and Mozambique — and has threatened Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho.

It is trying to acquire nuclear capability to blackmail Africa and the world.

In the face of this, Africa and the great majority of States in the United Nations have felt that there must be effective international action to secure peace and justice in southern Africa.

The International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa was proclaimed to promote such action.

The Special Committee is approaching Governments and public opinion in all countries to observe the Year by concrete action. We are particularly concerned about public opinion in the major Western countries which have built up strong links with South Africa and have been resisting action.

This visit to Atlanta is the first mission for that purpose and will be followed by missions to several Western countries.

I want to emphasize that the United States has a crucial role as the largest trading partner of South Africa and as leader of the Western alliance.

We expected its support because of its own historical experience and its own ideals. But I must confess that regrettably we have been very disappointed and distressed at its performance.

We have come to Atlanta, as I said, to seek inspiration from Dr. King — and because of the importance of this great city as a cultural, economic and regional centre.

We are grateful for the invitation from Mrs. Coretta Scott King since it also provides us the opportunity to meet and consult with many leaders who are participating in the celebrations this week in honour of Dr. King.

Our message is the message of Dr. King in his 1962 “Appeal for Action against *Apartheid*”:

“We therefore ask all men of good will to take action against *apartheid* in the following manner:

“Hold meetings and demonstrations on 10 December, Human Rights Day;

“Urge your church, union, lodge, or club to observe this day as one of protest;

“Urge your Government to support economic sanctions;

“Write to your Mission to the United Nations urging adoption of a resolution calling for international isolation of South Africa;

“Don’t buy South Africa’s products;

“Don’t trade or invest in South Africa;

“Translate public opinion into public action by explaining facts to all peoples, to groups to which you belong, and to countries of which you are citizens until an effective international quarantine of *apartheid* is established.”

We seek, in the words of Dr. King, “an international alliance of peoples of all nations” against “the monstrous Government of South Africa engaged in a grim war against its own black people”.

This campaign cannot and should not be an issue in any so-called East-West or other conflict — but a campaign to unite all people of conscience.

STATEMENT MADE ON 3 MARCH 1982 AT A PRESS CONFERENCE
AT UNESCO HOUSE DURING A MISSION TO FRANCE

In May last year, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* organized, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa — in this UNESCO House.

That Conference showed clearly that an overwhelming majority of Governments of the world — Asian, non-aligned and Socialist States, as well as a majority of Western States — and also trade unions, religious bodies and other non-governmental organizations, support the struggle for liberation in South Africa, and the imposition of sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa.

They have the power, by concerted action, to oblige the few Governments, particularly in the West, which did not even attend the Conference, and which collaborate with the Pretoria régime, to stop such collaboration.

For instance, the trade of these countries with independent African States alone is far greater than their trade with South Africa.

And public opinion in these countries is increasingly opposed to *apartheid*.

On the suggestion of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa — in order to mobilize Governments and public opinion for effective international action in this decisive stage of the struggle in southern Africa.

The Special Committee has undertaken this mission to France as one of a series of missions to promote the observance of this International Year.

As you know, the International Conference coincided happily with the coming to power of the new Government of France — the Government committed to human rights and the Government which is sincerely opposed to *apartheid* and racism.

The Special Committee was convinced that this new France can play a crucial role in international action for the emancipation of South Africa and Namibia — not only by national action, but also through its great influence in Europe and the world.

So it was not an accident that we came first to France.

We will follow with missions to other countries.

We have received invitations from many other countries.

During this visit to Paris, we have had the opportunity to meet with leaders of the Government; with leaders of political parties and trade unions; parliament members; and many artists and other intellectuals.

I would like to say here right now that we are greatly encouraged by the full consultations we have had here. Our hopes and expectations in the new France have now been confirmed. We are convinced that France will take new initiatives in support of our common effort for freedom in southern Africa.

The Government has, of course, already announced that it will strictly implement the arms embargo against South Africa and will not make any further contracts with South Africa in the nuclear field.

We are convinced significant political and economic measures will follow at an appropriate time.

Above all, we are assured that the new France regards *apartheid* as much its concern as it is ours, and is open to consultation and co-operation with the United Nations and Africa.

STATEMENT MADE ON 5 MARCH 1982 AT A PRESS CONFERENCE
IN ANKARA DURING A MISSION TO TURKEY

It gives me great pleasure to be with you here today and to share with you the views of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* on the inhuman treatment suffered by black Africans under the racist régime of South Africa. As you are all aware, the General Assembly of the United Nations, during the last session, declared 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The purpose of the International Year is to disseminate world-wide information about the pernicious system of *apartheid* in South Africa and to mobilize world opinion against the racist Pretoria régime with a view to the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. It is envisaged that during the International Year, Governments, local councils, youth and student associations, trade unions and other non-governmental organizations would undertake various actions to heighten the consciousness of the peoples in their various countries about the prevailing situation in South Africa in particular, and in southern Africa in general.

There is no gainsaying the fact that South Africa is a threat to international peace and security. *Apartheid per se* has been condemned as a crime against humanity by the United Nations which has called on the South Africa régime to abandon its inhuman policies and practices of *apartheid* However, the racist Pretoria régime has continued to defy the United Nations and has increased its repression, oppression, imprisonment, extermination and murder of innocent black population whose only crime is that they are asking to have a say in the way they are governed. In addition the South African régime has not only continued to occupy Namibia illegally but has used that territory as a spring-board to carry out constant and increasing acts of aggression against Angola and other neighbouring African States.

The situation, therefore, requires effective action by the international community to stem the dangerous threat to international peace and security posed by the action of the racist régime in Pretoria. It is in this light that the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in keeping with its mandate during this International Year, is striving to bring the plight of the oppressed people of South Africa to the attention of the world community in order to consolidate the solidarity of the peoples in the fight against *apartheid*.

It is, therefore, in keeping with the mandate of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* during the International Year that I am visiting Turkey to appeal to the Government and people of Turkey for their increased support

for the struggle of the international community against the inhuman *apartheid* system in South Africa.

You will notice I used the expression "increased support" of the Government and people of Turkey. This is so because Turkey has always supported the fight against *apartheid* and racism, and the cause of freedom in South Africa. In this connection, I cannot but recall that Turkey voted in favour of all resolutions on *apartheid* during the 36th Session of the General Assembly last December. We therefore, hope that Turkey will increase its support for a continued international action to isolate the racist régime in South Africa in the diplomatic, political, military, economic, cultural and other fields so as to put an end to *apartheid*.

We at the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* place a great premium on the role which Turkey can play in this regard. Turkey, in keeping with its historical pride of not compromising its principles with regard to colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, could use its connection as a member of NATO to help mobilize international support for the fight against *apartheid* in South Africa.

We are aware of the increasing and open support for the Pretoria régime by some NATO members. We are not advocating war with South Africa. On the contrary we are urging the international community to try to avoid the possibility of war by adopting peaceful methods to get the Pretoria régime to abandon its obnoxious policies and its inhuman practices of *apartheid*. It is only in this way that all countries can promote their economic, political, military and other interests in South Africa.

The time has now come for a choice to be made by these Western collaborators of South Africa between their economic interests in South Africa and the rest of Africa. Trade with the rest of Africa cannot in any way be compared with trade with South Africa alone. For example trade between Nigeria alone and France or Britain surpasses that between South Africa and these countries. Another choice that will have to be made is that between trade with the present *apartheid* régime and trade in the future with a multi-racial and democratic Government of South Africa. Any divestment from South Africa now as a result of sanctions would only be temporary as a multi-racial and democratic Government will create a better and more stable climate for more profitable investments in and trade with South Africa.

It is exasperating to observe that friends of South Africa fail to grasp this simple truth and refuse to co-operate with all well meaning people in the process to eradicate the *apartheid* system. The South African problem is a human problem — it is a problem of upholding human dignity. We are not trying to substitute one type of discrimination for another — we are not trying to substitute discrimination by the white for discrimination by the black. What we are aiming at is the eradication of all forms of discrimination in South Africa and the building of a multi-racial democratic society in which the rights of all the people — be they black, white, yellow or otherwise — will be guaranteed and protected equally.

Accordingly, those countries which are collaborating economically or otherwise with the Pretoria régime have nothing to lose in the long run by disengaging from South Africa. Their gains in the rest of Africa and with a future free South Africa will more than compensate them for their loss, if any, by temporarily disengaging from South Africa.

We believe that justice will prevail in the end in South Africa. The suffering of the black people of South Africa — for the past 300 years or more — because of the colour of their skins will inevitably come to an end. The point here is how the international community wants this to come about — either by peaceful means through the imposition of sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime or by violent upheaval with great catastrophic consequences for the southern African region in particular, or for the world at large. Let us therefore join hands in striving to bring an end to these obnoxious and inhuman policies of *apartheid* in South Africa.

And in this final phase, as it were, of the struggle against *apartheid* and during the course of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, the role of the Government and people of Turkey will be very crucial in the efforts towards mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa so as to avoid the alternative of violence in that region.

PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT MADE ON 9 MARCH 1982
IN LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM

I was most encouraged by the consultations and I am confident that France will soon take important initiatives in support of freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

I regard the mission to the United Kingdom as equally important, in view of the historic relations of Britain with southern Africa, and Africa as a whole.

The United Nations has decided on the International Year because of the seriousness of the situation in southern Africa resulting from escalating repression and constant aggression by the Pretoria régime. Unless timely action is taken to put an end to this intolerable situation, we will be confronted by a disastrous and widening conflict.

The proclamation of the International Year also reflects our faith that if people are fully informed, they will support the cause of freedom in southern Africa, even if it involves some temporary sacrifice, and influence their Governments to take action.

The International Year is also the occasion to carry a message from the overwhelming majority of States committed to sanctions against South Africa — to the few major Powers which are still opposing sanctions — that the time has come for all of us to choose between racist South Africa and the rest of the world.

Britain, as I said, has special historical responsibilities and is also capable of making a unique contribution to freedom and peace in southern Africa, thereby earning the goodwill of African States and the acclaim of history.

That is why I have ventured to address a special appeal to Britain. With your permission, I would like to read the appeal.

“I venture to address a special appeal to the Government and people of the United Kingdom at a critical time in southern Africa. You have a responsibility, indeed an obligation, to act, and an

opportunity to make a unique contribution for peace, freedom, human rights and friendship among nations.

“We are faced today not only with intolerable oppression of the black majority in South Africa, but with constant breaches of the peace and the threat of a widening conflict.

“The Pretoria régime has continued, in persistent defiance of unanimous resolutions of the United Nations, with its vain effort to suppress the legitimate demands of the majority of the population by resort to repression, violence and terror. It has maintained its illegal occupation of Namibia, a sacred trust of the international community, by a war against its inhabitants. It has constantly resorted to acts of aggression, assassination and subversion against the neighbouring independent African States. It seeks to blackmail the people of South Africa and of southern Africa as a whole, through the use of its military and economic power, into accepting a perpetual status of subservience and inferiority. Its attempts to acquire and employ nuclear capability represent an enormous danger to peace.

“The proclamation of the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa reflects the deep concern of the overwhelming majority of States, and numerous public organizations, at this grave crisis resulting from the policies and actions of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. It also underlines their determination to concert international action in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

“The gravity of this crisis demands urgent and decisive measures. Mere condemnation of the evil of *apartheid*, and mere gestures of opposition to it, are no more adequate.

“The overwhelming majority of States, including Western States, have recognized that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa are the only effective and peaceful means to resolve the situation.

“The major Western Powers, which have resisted such counter-measures and enabled the Pretoria régime to continue with its disastrous policies, can make a great contribution if only they are willing to harmonize their policies with those of the great majority of the States of the world.

“The South African régime has caused an escalating crisis by refusing to heed the timely warning of a British Prime Minister about the ‘winds of change’ blowing through Africa. But some Western Powers have also failed to adjust their policies to the winds of change, and have thus enabled the crisis to grow.

“They must make a choice between friendship with the Pretoria régime and friendship with Africa and all countries committed to the eradication of *apartheid*; between support for a doomed and dying system, and the inevitable triumph of liberation; and between the bitter legacy of the past and the promise of the future.

“Africa and the United Nations seek to assist the people of South Africa to eliminate *apartheid* and build a non-racial democratic society in which all the people, irrespective of race or colour, enjoy equal rights. They call for the support of all Governments and all

peoples, despite their differences on any other matters, to join in this effort. Southern Africa must not become the scene of any cold war confrontations of external powers.

“A policy of inaction or collaboration with the Pretoria régime only serves to encourage it in its suicidal course at the cost of enormous human suffering, and to precipitate a conflagration.

“The Government and the people of the United Kingdom have a vital interest to pursue the cause of peace and freedom in Africa, and thereby develop close and productive relations with the African nations.

“It is a painful fact of history that much of the agony and suffering of the black people of southern Africa results from the British decision to transfer power in South Africa to a white minority, ignoring the anguish and the appeals of the African people for their rights. Indeed, the situation has been aggravated by Britain’s involvement in South Africa, especially through trade and investment, which has helped to sustain the white minority régime and its racist policies.

“At the same time, we have valued the concern of public opinion in Britain over racism and repression in South Africa, a concern shared by religious leaders, trade unions and many other organizations. We have commended the untiring work of the *Anti-Apartheid* Movement and other groups committed to African freedom. We have welcomed the steps taken by successive Governments to show their abhorrence of *apartheid*.

“What is needed now is for the Government and people of the United Kingdom to use all their influence and capacity to help in the speedy liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

“I appeal to you, therefore, to terminate all relations with the racist régime in Pretoria; to assist the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia; and use all influence in the United Nations and in other international organizations to help concert international action.

“I make this appeal because of my faith in the British people and their best traditions.

“I recall that the United Kingdom helped bring about the independence of Zimbabwe, though after a long conflict and much suffering. There is no time to wait in the case of South Africa and Namibia, for the danger is of an unimaginable loss of life and a fateful and ever-widening conflict.

“The time to act is now.”

ADDRESS MADE ON 11 MARCH 1982 AT A CONFERENCE ON THE BRITISH
POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA HELD IN LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM

I have the greatest pleasure, on behalf of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, to welcome you all to this Conference organized by the British *Anti-Apartheid* Movement, in co-operation with the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

I am deeply moved by the participation of so many British leaders and organizations — including the leaders of two major political parties, the Right Honourable Michael Foot and the Right Honourable David Steel, and the Trade Union Congress — as well as representatives of anti-*apartheid* movements from all Western countries.

Ever since its inception in 1963, the Special Committee has enjoyed and valued the close co-operation of the British Anti-*Apartheid* Movement. This conference represents a new level of co-operation in this final stage of the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

We believe that it is of tremendous significance that so many people in the United Kingdom and in other countries, especially the Western countries, have lent their time and energy and indeed made great sacrifices, to support the struggle for freedom in South Africa. Thousands of people have even risked imprisonment and injury over the years in demonstrations against *apartheid*.

They have thus underlined the universal concern over the situation in South Africa and acted as the conscience of their countries when the professions of their own Governments were not matched by meaningful action. The Special Committee particularly appreciates their contribution since the Western Governments have so far declined repeated invitations to join the Committee.

This great movement of solidarity is, indeed, a tribute to the national liberation movement of South Africa which, for seven decades, and in spite of brutal repression, stood firm in defending the principle of a multi-racial, democratic society in which all the people of South Africa will enjoy their inalienable rights.

I would like to pay special tribute to the former Presidents of the British Anti-*Apartheid* Movement, including Mrs. Barbara Castle, David Steel, the late Bishop Ambrose Reeves, and to the present President, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, for giving so much of their time to the righteous cause of the people of South Africa and indeed of Africa.

We are deeply concerned over the plight of the millions of Africans, Coloured people and Indians in South Africa who are subjected to inhuman treatment, oppression, exploitation and humiliation by a racist régime which has defied all known norms of human rights and of international law.

But our concern is not for the black people alone but for all the people of South Africa. The policies and actions of the Pretoria régime, in its mad effort to perpetuate racism, cause immense suffering to the black people, but are also suicidal for the white minority. The national liberation movement is, indeed, the trustee for the future of all the people of that country.

That is why I wish to reiterate here that the *apartheid* problem in South Africa is a human problem. Firstly, it is a problem of upholding human dignity *per se*. Secondly, it is a problem which, if left unresolved for too long, could result in catastrophic consequences not only for the southern African region but also for the entire world.

I would also like to emphasize here that our struggle to eliminate *apartheid* is a struggle to eradicate all forms of racial discrimination in South Africa. We abhor all forms of racial discrimination — whether it is discrimination of white against black or of black against white. Hence we

envisage in a future South Africa a democratic and multi-racial society where the basic human rights will be guaranteed for all irrespective of colour, race, religion or sex.

We are heartened that the national liberation movement has enjoyed the support of men and women of conscience of all racial origins in South Africa and of all nations of the world.

The courageous action of the African people in marching in the funeral of Dr. Neil Aggett in Johannesburg a few days ago demonstrates their attachment to multi-racialism.

We cannot emphasize this too much in the face of the so-called "kith and kin" argument to induce the British people to support the racists in South Africa.

One cannot but contrast their commitment with the attitude of those who employ the so-called "kith and kin" argument to persuade the British people to support the racists in South Africa, and profit from *apartheid* slavery.

The British people will need to ask themselves: "Am I my brother's keeper only if the brother is white?" and weigh the implications of such blasphemy in a world which is mostly "coloured".

South Africa is a microcosm of the world with people of many racial and national origins. The African States, India, Indonesia and other countries have constantly tried to assist the South African people to abandon the bitter legacy of racism and build a just society.

We call on the countries of origin of the white community in South Africa — the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Germany and France — to join in this effort which is in the interest of all the people of South Africa and of humanity.

Mr. Chairman,

At the turn of the century, in 1900, the first Pan African Conference met here in London and adopted an "address to the Nations of the World" which contained a prophetic statement:

"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the colour line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea".

That problem remains unresolved and its crux is today in South Africa.

The African conference presented a memorial to the British Government protesting against the "acts of injustice directed against her Majesty's subjects in South Africa and the Dominions". It received a reply from Joseph Chamberlain on behalf of Queen Victoria which said:

"Her Majesty's Government will not overlook the interests and welfare of native races".

We are still waiting for that pledge to be fulfilled in South Africa. The handover of power to the white minority in 1910 does not absolve the British Government of its responsibility.

The policy of inaction and appeasement — the policy of trusting the good faith of a racist régime — has now precipitated a crisis of grave proportions.

We are faced not only with an intolerable situation in South Africa and Namibia, but also with constant aggression, subversion and destabilization all over southern Africa, and the enormous danger of a racist régime acquiring the capacity for nuclear blackmail. We are faced with a view to defying even the Western Powers which have protected it against international action.

We are faced with a clear and present threat of a catastrophic conflict unless the international community is prepared to use its collective strength towards a peaceful solution.

All nations and peoples, especially the Western countries must make a choice. A choice has indeed become inescapable, and it is very clear.

It is a choice between racism and respect for the dignity of men and women.

It is a choice between friendship with the racist régime of South Africa on the one hand and friendship with the future leaders of South Africa and with the rest of Africa and the world on the other.

We urge you to make the choice between the short-sighted and amoral policy of collaboration with *apartheid* and loyalty to the principles of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I need hardly remind you that the trade of Western States with independent Africa is over seven times their trade with South Africa. Nor need I tell you that any Power that allies with South Africa on so-called strategic consideration will forsake the goodwill and co-operation of most of the nations of the world.

The choice is imperative, urgent and inescapable.

In conclusion we would like to recall that a hundred years ago, the people and Government of Britain played a decisive role in abolishing the slave trade. We look to them to make their contribution at this final stage of the struggle for the dignity of Africa.

EXTRACT FROM A STATEMENT MADE ON 18 MARCH 1982
AT A MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

I am heartened by reports on actions taken by many Governments, organizations and individuals during this International Year. Even limited actions can build up a momentum to wider action.

I commend the Netherlands for abrogating its cultural agreement with South Africa.

I commend the Government of Denmark for refusing visas to South Africans to participate in an international tennis tournament.

I commend Ian Botham and other British cricketers who refused fabulous offers of blood money to play in South Africa.

I commend the many prominent world artists who have agreed to donate original paintings for an exhibit against *apartheid*, to be eventually donated to a free South Africa.

I commend the United States student groups which are launching tomorrow "Two Weeks of Action in Support of Southern African Liberation Movements".

I commend the many New York churches which will be observing a southern Africa Sunday.

I commend the 1,200 or more Mayors of the world who have signed a declaration for the release of Nelson Mandela and other South African political prisoners.

I commend the many organizations which are observing this International Day all over the world.

This International Day, during this International Year, must be a landmark for an upsurge in international action for the freedom of South Africa.

IX. MILITARY AND NUCLEAR THREAT

KEYNOTE ADDRESS DELIVERED ON 12 MARCH 1982 TO THE COMMISSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA: THE TIME TO CHOOSE, HELD IN LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM

In dealing with South Africa's military and nuclear build-up, we are not engaged in an academic exercise but considering one of the most serious moral and political problems of our time: collusion with the only régime in the world dedicated to racist domination, and the creation of a situation which threatens to lead to a conflagration with unimaginable repercussions.

The South African régime began its programme of military expansion in 1960 — the year of the Sharpeville massacre, the year of independence of many African States — in order to suppress the struggle of the national liberation movement by brute force and to push back the irresistible march of freedom in Africa.

As early as November 1962, when the General Assembly was considering sanctions against South Africa, a press report indicated that the Pretoria régime was undertaking the development of nuclear weapons and poison gases.

Since then, the Pretoria régime has resorted to new massacres in South Africa and indiscriminate shootings of schoolchildren. It has militarized Namibia — in violation of even the League of Nations mandate. It sent its forces into Rhodesia in 1967. It launched a massive invasion of Angola in 1975 and has since then committed numerous acts of aggression, destabilization and intimidation against neighbouring independent African States. It has caused enormous damage to the front-line States, killing even refugee women and children, and destroying the infrastructure of newly-independent States. Internal terrorism has been complemented by ever-growing external aggression.

What was a mere threat to international peace in 1960 has developed into incessant breaches of the peace and a menace of a catastrophic conflict. The Pretoria régime has become an outlaw and has proved to be an incorrigible aggressor. As we meet here, it is occupying Namibia and large areas of Angola, and assisting subversive elements in Angola, Mozambique and other countries.

The United Nations has discussed the matter on numerous occasions and repeatedly condemned South Africa's acts of aggression and repression. But the failure of certain major Powers to support indispensable action under the United Nations Charter has encouraged the Pretoria régime to resort to new levels of international brigandage with serious consequences for the norms of international law and morality.

The Special Committee against *Apartheid*, at its very inception in 1963, called for a strict arms embargo against South Africa.

The Security Council solemnly appealed to all States in 1963 to impose an arms embargo, and in 1977, after several attempts, imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

Yet the South African régime has been able to increase its military budget since 1960 by sixty times. It has acquired an enormous amount of military equipment — including aircraft, patrol boats, submarines, highly advanced artillery, missiles and other sophisticated weapons systems. It has become one of the major arms producers of the world, and is even exporting some arms.

It has even acquired nuclear weapon capability, and poses an enormous danger to Africa and to international peace and security.

It has become a menace not only to Africa but also to the Indian Ocean countries. It has been trying to forge a South Atlantic pact. It has developed close links with régimes such as those in Israel and Taiwan.

South Africa has also become the main centre for mercenary operations against other States.

How is it that the international community has allowed this menace to develop into such enormous proportions?

The evidence shows that the South African régime, despite its apparent international isolation, has been treated by some Powers as a favourite child. It has freely received capital investment and sophisticated technology from Western countries while developing countries have great difficulty in obtaining them. It has been provided loopholes through which to overcome the arms embargo, which has been adopted by a unanimous resolution of the Security Council.

I must note with serious distress that the problem has been aggravated by the approach of the present United States administration which has described South Africa as a traditional ally and found it fit to relax its arms embargo a few days ago.

This strategic agreement between the United States and Israel, which provides for the development of the production and export of arms by Israel, may totally undermine the arms embargo against South Africa if the agreement is reactivated. The recent visit of the Defence Minister of Israel to South Africa and Namibia is ominous.

It is in this context that we need to look at the problem of South Africa's military and nuclear build-up and consider the means to reinforce the arms embargo.

We must begin by emphasizing that any supply of arms to South Africa, any military links with South Africa, and any assistance to the military and police establishment in South Africa — direct or indirect — is a challenge to the authority of the United Nations, a hostile act against the

oppressed people of South Africa, against the continent of Africa, against humanity and against international peace.

We must act — committed Governments, organizations and individuals alike — to stop all military co-operation with South Africa.

The loopholes in the arms embargo

I would like to recall that the African States called for a United Nations arms embargo against South Africa as early as 1960.

At that time, we were told by the major Western Powers that they did not supply arms for repression but only for external defence.

South Africa had, of course, set up factories for the manufacture of rifles (the Israeli Uzi rifle under Belgian licence), Panhard armoured cars under licence from France and ammunition with the collaboration of the Imperial Chemical Industries of the United Kingdom.

The pressure for an arms embargo increased by 1963 when the late Chief Albert Lutuli addressed a moving appeal to the British people; when Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour Party, called for an arms embargo at a Trafalgar Square rally of the *Anti-Apartheid* Movement; and when the first Summit Conference of all independent African States in Addis Ababa demanded sanctions.

On 7 August 1963, the Security Council solemnly called on all States to impose an arms embargo against South Africa. The Kennedy Administration in the United States supported the resolution and announced an arms embargo but Britain and France abstained. All three claimed it was a "voluntary" embargo.

Britain imposed an embargo after the Labour Party came to power in October 1964, and France became the main supplier of military equipment to South Africa.

Within the next 13 years, South Africa acquired an enormous amount of military hardware. It built an aircraft industry with Italian, French and other assistance. It developed missiles with French assistance, and I refer, of course, to the former French Government.

After 14 years of pressure by Governments and organizations, and soon after the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* (held at Lagos in August 1977), the Security Council finally decided on a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa — by resolution 418 of 4 November 1977.

Despite its serious flaws, resolution 418 was a very significant resolution. It could have undermined South Africa's aggressive capacity if it had been effectively implemented, in letter and spirit.

But the major Western Governments have again allowed serious loopholes so that South Africa was able to continue its militarization and, in fact, increase its acts of aggression.

The speakers who will follow me — especially Dr. Frank Barnaby and Mr. Abdul Samad Minty — will provide expert analyses of the loopholes, and the means for strengthening the arms and nuclear embargo.

I want only to emphasize that we are confronted not so much by problems of interpretation of the resolution, but by the problem of political will and commitment.

The major Western countries have taken no action to prohibit so-called "dual-purpose items" — for instance, aircraft, computers and radar equipment which can even remotely be used for civilian purposes, even if supplied to the South African military establishment. They have not prohibited transfer of militarily useful technology to South Africa, or transfer of capital for industries supplying the military establishment in South Africa.

They have not taken steps to prevent transfers of military equipment through third parties.

Above all, some of them have continued nuclear collaboration with South Africa, claiming that the Security Council resolution has only prohibited direct involvement in nuclear weapon programmes.

The South African régime has been able to exploit the lack of political will in order to consummate several secret deals.

It has obtained, for instance, a most sophisticated artillery system from the Space Research Corporation of the United States and Canada, a system which is described as superior to the artillery of even the United States.

Some of the Western Powers have imposed embargoes against other countries without any Security Council resolutions. They have, for instance, embargoes against Eastern European States and employ a comprehensive COCOM list for that purpose. They have not used any such list for South Africa, and have again treated it with special favour.

They have also paralysed the Security Council Committee set up to monitor the arms embargo.

I have dwelt at some length with the past in order to emphasize that the world cannot wait for another decade to close some more loopholes. The situation warrants urgent action to counter the capability of the Pretoria régime for aggression and for war against the people.

We must make a concerted effort:

- (a) To strengthen the arms embargo;
- (b) To reinforce the embargo by a prohibition of the supply of oil and other strategic commodities, as well as technology to South Africa;
- (c) To stop *all* nuclear collaboration with South Africa;
- (d) To reinforce the arms and nuclear embargo with an embargo on oil and strategic commodities;
- (e) To institute an effective system for monitoring the embargo, and for punishing the violators.

Role of non-governmental organizations

I would like to emphasize that non-governmental organizations have played and can play an important role in reinforcing the efforts of committed States for an effective arms embargo.

I recall the efforts of the British *Anti-Apartheid* Movement in persuading the British Government to impose an arms embargo in 1964 and to abrogate the Simonstown Agreement several years later. The British Council of Churches and the trade union movement also played an important role at that time.

Dockers in Antigua and journalists in the United States and Britain unearthed the scandal of the supply of military equipment and technology to South Africa by the Space Research Corporation. Journalists in Denmark and other countries have disclosed other violations of the arms embargo.

I would particularly commend the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa — established with the encouragement of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and directed by Mr. Abdul Samad Minty — for its commendable work in exposing violations of the arms embargo and promoting public support for the arms embargo.

Conclusion

I would prefer to refrain from any conclusions at this stage but to wait for the presentations of the experts and the discussion.

I would merely emphasize the need for the recognition of the seriousness of the matter; for informing public opinion in the Western countries to develop the necessary political will; for effective monitoring of the embargo; and for reinforcing the arms embargo by the prohibition of the transfer of oil, strategic materials and technology to South Africa.

X. PAN AFRICANISM AND SOUTH AFRICA

ADDRESS DELIVERED ON 22 MARCH 1982 AT A MEETING IN HARLEM, NEW YORK, IN OBSERVANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

I want to thank the organizers of this meeting in the heart of Harlem for this opportunity to say a few words.

This is a deeply moving occasion for me and I hope you will understand if I speak not only as the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, but also as the representative of Nigeria, and above all, as a humble African.

Coming to Harlem, I cannot but recall and be inspired by the memory of the great Afro-American and Pan African leaders — the giants of our time like Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Paul Robeson, Malcolm X, Adam Clayton Powell, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., not to mention the many cultural personalities — as well as the many African leaders who walked these streets, like the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

All of us have the great responsibility of fulfilling their testaments and dreams, of building a new world in which racism and racial discrimination will be totally abolished.

We meet here on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, which has been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

We recall the brutal killing by the racist police of South Africa of 69 unarmed men, women and children in Sharpeville in 1960, and the wounding of over two hundred, for no offence other than gathering together to protest against humiliating pass laws. We pledge, as we have done annually, that we will strive to eliminate racial discrimination from this globe.

But this year, which has been proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, this Day has, and must have, much greater significance.

I need not recall to this audience the history of the humiliation of five centuries; or the historic resistance against alien occupation by our kings and chiefs who were overpowered by the superior arms of the invaders.

But I want to refer to the struggle for the redemption of Africa and people of African origin in recent times.

At the turn of the century, in 1900, a Pan African Conference was held in London. The Declaration of that Conference, prepared by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, made the prophetic statement that:

“The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the colour line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.”

We have made some progress in the past 80 years but the international community has not yet been able to destroy the colour line and establish a true community of man.

Unless that colour line is destroyed, there can be no true justice and peace in this world. And that is what this International Day is about.

Our great leaders have also taught us that our struggle is not for the freedom and dignity of black men and women alone.

The people of African origin have been pushed by greedy forces to the bottom of the pile. When they regain their dignity, they will achieve not only their own liberation but also the liberation of all those who have been oppressed and humiliated.

The African people and people of African origin are thus destined by the Almighty to destroy injustice and build a new society for *all* the people of the world.

The struggle in South Africa today is not for the black people alone: it is even for the white people who are now driven by the racists into a suicidal course.

Last month, Dr. Neil Aggett, a white physician who had worked for a black trade union, was tortured to death by the South African police. Tens of thousands of African workers then went on a protest strike. Three thousand Africans defied the police to march in the funeral for this white man, and demonstrated the righteousness of their struggle.

Because they have been concerned about salvaging a just society of the future from the injustices of the past and present, the African people

have been patient and have struggled by peaceful means, and made great sacrifices, in order to avoid a bloody race conflict.

It was only after gruesome massacres of unarmed people as in Sharpeville that the African people felt forced to resort to armed struggle — because violence is better than cowardice.

That was true of Algeria, of Angola, of Guinea-Bissau, of Mozambique, of Zimbabwe.

If the people of South Africa and Namibia are now taking up arms, they deserve full understanding and support. I am glad that they have received that from most of the world — and we cannot but denounce attempts in this country and elsewhere to defame the freedom fighters as terrorists.

The founding of the national movement in South Africa in 1912 was a landmark in the struggle for the redemption of Africa. So was the Pan African Conference in Manchester in 1945 attended by Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah, among others.

The independence of Ghana in 1957 — twenty-five years ago — was the beginning of the march of Africa to freedom.

We have made many sacrifices and won the independence of most of the African continent.

Only South Africa and Namibia remain.

The struggle in those countries is not the struggle of the people of those countries but of the world — of all Africa and all people of African origin. It is the final stage of the struggle for the emancipation of Africa — and no sacrifice is too high for ensuring the victory of that struggle.

I mentioned Kwame Nkrumah. It was he who gave voice to the feelings of all independent African States when he said that our own freedom is not complete, nor is it secure, so long as any part of Africa is under racist and colonial domination.

No person of African origin can walk in dignity so long as people of African origin are humiliated anywhere.

In the United Nations we are doing our utmost to obtain maximum support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia, from Governments as well as from trade unions, religious bodies, student groups and other non-governmental organizations.

I have just returned from a very encouraging mission to France and Britain for this purpose and have been moved by the dedication and commitment of millions of people there.

But here today, I would like to refer to the responsibility of all people of African origin — in Africa, in the Caribbean, in this country, in Europe and elsewhere — to stand in the forefront of this international campaign.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois said:

“When once the blacks of the United States, the West Indies, and Africa work and think together, the future of the black man in the modern world is safe”.

We must work together.

The black people all over the world face many economic, social and other problems, but nothing overrides the struggle for the dignity of the human person — and the centre of that struggle today is South Africa.

In saying this, we are not being exclusive. We do not claim that Africa is for the black man alone, any more than we accept that Europe and North America are for the white man alone; we must destroy racial discrimination everywhere.

It has been said that the United States is the second largest “African nation”, next only to Nigeria.

We, in Nigeria, are conscious of our responsibility. Our Government and people have proclaimed that African liberation is our foremost priority. We shall not be wanting in courage or sacrifice.

I am sure that the people of African origin in the United States, true to their great traditions, especially as the founders of the Pan African movement, can and will make a tremendous contribution.

I appeal to all of them — workers and students, artist and writers, sportsmen, musicians and entertainers — to join with the United Nations, with Africa, and with the African liberation movements to make their rightful contribution.

I plan to devote special efforts for consultations with them on this matter.

I must say that action in this country is crucial because this country has regrettably become the main protector of and collaborator with the South African régime.

In this country — with one-tenth of its population tracing its origin to Africa — the South African racists can go to the highest centres of power, but the liberation movements, the real representatives of the great majority of the population, have to wait in the corridors.

Only a few days ago, this country relaxed the arms embargo against South Africa — to enable the racist régime to continue its killings of the black people and attacks on independent African States.

We have said that the problem in southern Africa is a human problem. It is the concern of all humanity.

We, in the United Nations, are appealing to all nations and all organizations, irrespective of ideological or other differences, to join in the campaign against *apartheid*. We are grateful to all those who have responded.

We do not want any cold war in Africa to detract our attention and make the African people fight each other. We will resist it with all our might.

I say this because there is an attempt here to slander the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia as linked to communist countries.

The black people know how their leaders like Dr. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were slandered, hounded and persecuted with similar propaganda.

We cannot afford to fall into any trap.

We must work together with courage, with determination, with unity. We must make a covenant to fight together until the continent of Africa is

redeemed, until the dignity of all people of African origin is restored — indeed, until racial discrimination in all its manifestations is abolished all over this globe.

That is the teaching of all our religions.

That is our imperative and inescapable duty at this time.

XI. DISCREDITING THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

EXTRACT FROM A STATEMENT MADE ON 2 APRIL 1982 AT A MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST *APARTHEID*

As I have had occasion to mention earlier, a Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the United States Senate had found it fit to divert attention from the terrorism of the Pretoria régime by holding hearings against the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. It has heard deserters from the ranks of freedom fighters and an informer who has appeared in numerous trials against patriots in South Africa.

These hearings are apparently organized in co-operation with the South African Police. They are intended to discredit the national liberation movements and to reinforce the propaganda of the racist régime that it is some kind of a bulwark against Communism.

I am sure members of the Special Committee would endorse the statement issued by the African Group two days ago denouncing the purpose of these hearings.

We in this Committee have always emphasized that the struggle in South Africa is a struggle of all the decent people against racist tyranny. We have constantly called for support of that struggle by all Governments and organizations, irrespective of differences on any other matters. We have repeatedly warned against viewing the struggle through "cold war" spectacles and complicating the task of the people in southern Africa.

We know very well that persons professing Marxist ideology have made sacrifices in the long struggle in South Africa, as indeed many others who profess other ideologies have done. We have commended them without hesitation.

We know very well that Communist States have provided material support to the struggle, as African and non-aligned States, as well as a number of Western States, have done. We commend them for their support without any hesitation.

We wish everyone to make a contribution so that South Africa can be free and non-aligned.

The national liberation movement in South Africa has a long and glorious history. Its task has been difficult because powerful external forces have lent support to the racist régime, either because of greed for profits from *apartheid* or because they saw it as an ally against the so-called Communist menace. We recall the many attempts in the past toward military alliances with that régime.

The purpose of the Pretoria régime is to take the world back to the 1950s when it was a respected member of the Western alliance. It is most regrettable that some people are co-operating with it in this regard.

I hope the American people will recognize that the outcome of such a course is to range this country not only against the great majority of the people of South Africa, of Africa and of the world, but against all the ideals cherished by their country and, indeed, against history.

XII. WOMEN UNDER APARTHEID

EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT MADE ON 17 MAY 1982 AT THE OPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND APARTHEID IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

I need hardly describe the particular suffering under *apartheid* of the women — especially African women — who are summarily thrown out of urban areas as “superfluous appendages”, who are forcibly separated from their husbands and children, who are confined to impoverished bantustans to live in starvation and misery.

The indignities inflicted on African women by the racists and the callousness of some of the friends of those racists — certainly infuriates us. All men and women of conscience resent, abhor and condemn these atrocities.

In spite of all these, Africa has been patient because we want to overcome the past and create a glorious future, a future that is truly non-racial. But there is a limit to the affront that we can tolerate. When our women are humiliated, when they are separated from their children and husbands, when they are manhandled by the racist in prison cells, we certainly cannot sit back and watch this inhumanity to the human person. We must act, we must, against this ungodliness, we must act against this brazen injustice

The tale of women under *apartheid* is not merely the bitter story of the oppression of millions of women. Equally, it is an epic of the determination, courage and heroism of the women of South Africa and Namibia; of the sacrifice and solidarity of the frontline States; of the concern and contribution of many people of conscience around the world.

XIII. ASIAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT MADE ON 11 MAY AT THE ASIAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID HELD IN MANILA, PHILIPPINES

Asia's solidarity has a long history, preceding the independence of many of our countries in Africa, and has great relevance at the present time.

South Africa is a multi-racial country with people of varied origins. Many of its inhabitants trace their origins to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Malaysia. There is thus a very close link between Asia and South Africa. The solution we seek in South Africa is the truly multi-racial society which several Asian countries have established.

I believe it is most appropriate that the Conference is being held in the Philippines, for the Philippines has consistently supported the cause of freedom in South Africa ever since achieving its own freedom in 1946. I am informed that the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, General Carlos P. Romulo, spoke against racism in South Africa in the General Assembly as early as 1946.

The Philippines is also a link between Asia and Oceania where newly independent countries have emerged to join Australia and New Zealand.

We will no doubt take the opportunity to recognize the positive actions against *apartheid* taken by the Government of Australia, the impressive demonstrations against *apartheid* by the people of New Zealand last year and the contribution of the newly independent States.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS MADE ON 31 MAY AT THE
INDIA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE, NEW DELHI

I must pay tribute to the deep compassion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru toward Africa. Under his leadership, India not only made a great contribution for freedom in Africa, but used every regional or international forum to press for international action for the emancipation of Africa.

My predecessor in the Special Committee made a visit here in 1976 to pay tribute to India and the Committee held a special meeting for that purpose on 5 October 1976. The United Nations presented an award to the late Pandit Nehru in 1978 for his great contribution to the international campaign against *apartheid*.

Mr. Nelson Mandela has paid tribute to India in his moving letter from Robben Island prison to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations on 3 August 1980. I can do no better than to affirm that he spoke not only for the oppressed people of South Africa but also for me, for Nigeria and for Africa

I believe that India and Nigeria bear a special responsibility to concert the efforts of Asia and Africa and the international community as a whole at this crucial stage. Regrettably, support of freedom in South Africa has entailed not only economic sacrifices, but the hostility of powerful interests which profit from *apartheid*.

Happily, the people of India and the people of Nigeria are totally committed to freedom in South Africa. They have willingly made sacrifices for that righteous cause, and have demonstrated the courage to resist any pressures and threats. They have sought no recompense for their efforts, not even the mantle of leadership.

We have suffered economically, and only quite recently Nigeria has suffered no less than two oil gluts, all because of its role in the fight against *apartheid*. We are not prepared to compromise our principles. We are determined to go ahead. We, like you, are the type of people who when

they enter into conflict, will not terminate that conflict until justice is done. And when we enter such a conflict our resources are immeasurable.

XIV. SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST ANGOLA

EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT MADE ON 17 MAY 1982 IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, ON SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST ANGOLA

The United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 36/172 adopted on 17 December 1981, called upon all States and inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations to provide moral and material support to the Government and people of Angola and other independent African States subjected to acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism by the *apartheid* régime. It requested the Special Committee against *Apartheid* to publicize the situation and promote moral and material support to Angola and other front-line States.

The People's Republic of Angola — which has emerged after five centuries of colonial rule by Portugal — has not known peace since its establishment on 11 November 1975. It has suffered an enormous loss of human lives and material damage due to the invasions by the South African forces and their mercenaries. It has been obliged to devote most of its resources to defence against aggression.

Other front-line States have also been victims of attacks, threats and subversion because of their support to the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

And a few months ago, a mercenary invasion was mounted against the Republic of Seychelles from South Africa.

These acts of aggression, if not stopped by international action, will set dangerous precedents for the international community.

I would like to express satisfaction at the assistance by the European Community and some of its Member States. We are also gratified that several Parliamentary delegations from European countries have visited the front-line States and have supported such assistance

I hope that it will help public opinion to become more fully aware of the grave situation in southern Africa and the need for greater international assistance to front-line States.

XV. NORDIC COUNTRIES AND APARTHEID

EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT MADE ON 23 APRIL 1982 AT A MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Development is the basic human right of our people

I would say that no ideology is of relevance to us today in Africa — capitalism or communism — unless it comes in the form of food, medicine and education.

Africa needs help for development, and is entitled to help.

We are, therefore, grateful to the Nordic countries and organizations which have recognized the duty of the international community to assist Africa in economic and social development

You can do more and you have groups in your own country pressing for stronger action. We in Africa can also do more. Equally important, you and we can co-operate much more, between ourselves and with our friends, especially to ensure that those major Western Powers which continue to collaborate with South Africa abandon their collusion with evil

We seek nothing more and nothing less than freedom, human dignity and democracy in South Africa and Namibia not for the blacks alone but for all the inhabitants. We seek peace and stability so that the people of southern Africa, the people of Africa, can devote all their energies to development.

There are only two ways to those goals: a violent struggle with all its gruesome consequences, or the peaceful oath of comprehensive sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

