



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MR. PYOTR MASHEROV, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

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AGENDA ITEM 75: IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (continued) (A/35/146, A/35/65, A/35/419)

1. The CHAIRMAN expressed the Committee's condolences to the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic on the death of Mr. Pyotr Masherov, Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labour.
2. Mrs. KARPENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) thanked the Chairman and the Committee for their condolences.
3. Mr. ABDUL-AZIZ (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) first drew the Committee's attention to the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which emphasized the

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(Mr. Abdul-Aziz, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

importance of recognition of the inherent dignity of all men to freedom, justice and peace in the world. He reminded the Committee that disregard and contempt for human rights had resulted in barbarous acts which had outraged the conscience of mankind and caused wars and unparalleled catastrophes. Despite the differences in their political and economic systems, their cultures and their traditions, all peoples were agreed that men were born free and equal in dignity and rights and that they were entitled to exercise all those rights and freedoms without distinction as to race, colour or sex.

4. As long ago as 1963, the General Assembly had adopted the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, in which it had affirmed the necessity of speedily eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and of securing understanding of and respect for the dignity of the human person. The international community had adopted many conventions and declarations aimed at combating racial discrimination since then. However, there were many obstacles to the practical application of the principles enshrined in those instruments. In South Africa, a minority race was still oppressing the majority of the population and the exploitation of man by man was only being intensified, as though the international community did not really desire the abolition of that racist régime which had not only oppressed, exploited and murdered its African population but had also committed repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring African States.

5. Twenty-one years had gone by since the African National Congress had appealed to the international community to take the necessary steps to isolate the racist régime of South Africa; and yet, there were still some countries that had not responded to that appeal. In 1962 the General Assembly had adopted a resolution calling upon Member States to boycott the racist régime of South Africa. That appeal had gone unanswered also, as it conflicted with foreign and colonialist interests and those of the transnational corporations of the so-called "free" capitalist world. Between 1959 and 1977, foreign investment in South Africa and South Africa's foreign trade had increased sevenfold.

6. It was obvious that the objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination could not be attained overnight but, as an African country, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was particularly aware of the evil consequences of South Africa's racist policy. The Secretary-General had drawn attention to the heightening of concern throughout the world over the system of apartheid because of the increasing number of incidents and disturbances in the region. He had also underlined the gravity of the problem and had said that the United Nations would never rest until racial discrimination had been banished for ever.

7. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believed it was impossible to eliminate racial discrimination by co-operating with those who practised it in utter disregard of the will and the convictions of the international community: it could not be eliminated except by force of arms. The States which advocated a policy of

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persuasion and wished to seek a peaceful solution of the problem were the very ones which were giving South Africa increasing political, military and economic support. Instead of forbidding their corporations to deal with that country or organizing information campaigns against apartheid, they were providing South Africa with assistance which enabled it not only to strengthen its military potential but to acquire a nuclear capacity. Mr. Khalifa's report was particularly alarming in that respect and a perusal of it might well make one wonder whether it would ever be possible to overthrow the apartheid régime.

8. The increasing co-operation between the racist régime of South Africa and the racist régime in occupied Palestine only increased that alarm. Since the adoption by the General Assembly of the resolution equating zionism with racism, zionism could rightly be combated as a fanatical racist movement. It was not a colonialist movement like the others. It did not only oppress the local people, it expelled them and forced them to live in tents, replacing them with Zionist settlers from every part of the world. The people of Palestine, torn from their homes, were also subjected to bombings and the most savage attacks by the Zionist forces. There were more than 1.7 million Palestinians on the rolls of UNRWA, and more than 600,000 of them lived in tents.

9. His country firmly believed that there was no difference between the racist régime of South Africa and the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine. It was worth while to point out the similarities between those two régimes. In South Africa, a white minority denied the black majority its right to self-determination and its fundamental freedoms. That same minority was persecuting the people of Namibia, depriving it of its resources and preventing its economic development. The Zionist entity was doing exactly the same thing. It was denying the Palestinian people its right to self-determination and the exercise of its inalienable rights. Like the South African régime, the Zionist régime was occupying the territory of neighbouring States and was constantly committing acts of aggression against them. Furthermore, both régimes considered liberation movements recognized by the United Nations to be terrorist movements and they refused the freedom fighters the status of prisoners of war, in violation of the rules of international humanitarian law, particularly the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The delegation of the Zionist entity had even gone so far as to vote against granting that status to the members of national liberation movements. There were therefore striking resemblances in the attitudes and the international positions adopted by both those régimes.

10. The Zionists had recently given further proof of their fanaticism and their disregard for the decisions of the international community by promulgating legislation making Jerusalem their capital. That measure, which was a veritable challenge to some two billion Christians and Muslims, also violated Security Council resolution 476 (1980), which stated that all measures designed to alter the character of Jerusalem were null and void. The representative of the Zionist entity had even refused to discuss his Government's report in the Committee

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on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, claiming that members of the Committee had adopted political stands and had not been equal to the task entrusted to them. It went without saying that such behaviour constituted an extremely dangerous precedent.

11. The struggle of peoples for self-determination was an integral part of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination. In that connexion, it was gratifying to welcome into the United Nations, the State of Zimbabwe, which had distinguished itself in the struggle against racism and for independence and freedom, and the State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

12. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was impatiently awaiting the day when Namibia would be freed from the yoke of South African racism and when the people of Palestine would be freed from the Zionist yoke of colonialism. It was convinced that justice would finally prevail, as always, with the support of the peace-loving peoples. On that day all racist theories would disappear, white and black would live in friendship and brotherly love and Arabs and Jews would live in the same democratic State of Palestine where they would be able to work together on an equal footing and in freedom to build the civilization of man.

13. Mrs. ITGEL (Mongolia) emphasized that support for the national liberation movements in their struggle against racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism had always been a basic element of Mongolian foreign policy and that Mongolia attached the utmost importance to the issue of racial discrimination and supported all initiatives by the international community designed to eradicate racism and racial discrimination.

14. In spite of all the efforts of the international community, racial discrimination continued to exist, particularly in southern Africa. The racist régime, which was encountering growing opposition from the African population, was continuing its hateful policy of apartheid - described by the United Nations as a crime against humanity - thanks to the support of certain Western Powers and their transnational corporations. It was also carrying out acts of aggression against neighbouring States, thus seriously endangering international peace and security in Africa and the world.

15. Accordingly, the international community must bring pressure to bear upon the States which practised racism and on those which assisted them. In addition, the racist régime must be isolated and all Member States must be brought to observe the proposed sanctions scrupulously. Any co-operation with the racist régime encouraged it to pursue its policy and strengthened its position and thus impeded the liberation of the peoples in southern Africa.

16. In view of the grave danger that the development of South Africa's nuclear capability constituted, all nuclear co-operation with the racist régime and the supply of other types of weapons must be terminated. An international conference must be convened, as a matter of urgency with a view to the universal imposition of economic and other sanctions against the South African régime, under Chapter VII of the Charter.

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(Mrs. Itgel, Mongolia)

17. The People's Republic of Mongolia was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. As the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had noted in its report (A/34/18), Mongolia conscientiously carried out all its obligations under those conventions.

18. The Mongolian people condemned all manifestations of racism and apartheid and supported the peoples that were struggling against colonialism and oppression. Every year, meetings were held on 21 March to mark the international day for action to combat racial discrimination. The Programme for the Decade for Action to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been widely publicized. All the socio-economic conditions that fostered racial discrimination had been eliminated in Mongolia. All citizens enjoyed equal rights, whatever their race, social status or national origin.

19. In conclusion, she said that her delegation supported the draft resolution which the Economic and Social Council had recommended to the General Assembly for adoption under agenda item 67.

20. Mr. PITARKA (Albania) said that the documents submitted to the Committee in connexion with the items under consideration and the statements by the representatives of a number of democratic, peace-loving and progressive States presented facts which proved that the people of Namibia and Azania continued to be subjected to the cruel oppression of the racist régime of Pretoria. The African peoples and the international community as a whole were greatly indignant when they observed the obstinacy and arrogance with which the régime continued to implement its racial policy, to intensify its oppression through the murder, torture and imprisonment of thousands of people and to pursue its policy of Bantustanization consisting of the creation, in Namibia, of veritable concentration camps.

21. The apartheid régime enjoyed the support of the transnational corporations and that of the imperialist Powers - first and foremost of the United States of America - which were determined to preserve their neo-colonialist domination over southern Africa at all costs and to plunder its resources because the régime openly served their interests. That was the reason for the ever-mounting flow of economic, financial and military assistance from those Powers and for the increase in the number of mercenaries and military advisers from various capitalist countries who were preparing the Fascist South African troops for combat with the freedom fighters of Namibia and Azania; acts of aggression were also being committed against South Africa's neighbours.

22. At the same time, the imperialist Powers were coming to the assistance of the racist régime in Pretoria by engaging in various political manoeuvres designed to deceive the black population and the international community about the nature of the so-called reforms relating to an internal settlement of the situation in Namibia. The Pretoria racists were, of course, making use of the tensions created by the imperialist super-Powers - the United States, the Soviet Union, China and

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others - in their rivalry to secure zones of influence. Those rivalries interfered with the liberation struggle of the African peoples, sowed discord among them and set them against one another and thus prevented them from joining forces in the struggle to eradicate colonialism and neo-colonialist domination once and for all.

23. No matter how hard the Pretoria racists fought, their régime was doomed. They could not withstand the peoples of Namibia and Azania, struggling for their freedom, who could not be deceived by the declarations and demagogy of the imperialist Powers. The great victory achieved by the people of Zimbabwe was a further encouragement to them to continue the struggle for liberation.

24. Although racial discrimination was openly practised in southern Africa, it also persisted in the capitalist countries. In the United States and other countries, the blacks and other minorities were subject to various forms of open discrimination in employment, housing and health care. Such a situation bore testimony to the fact that the reactionary bourgeoisie were not only supporting the policies of racial discrimination in southern Africa and other regions of the world but were also practising it in their own countries. That attitude rebutted the imperialist Powers' propaganda concerning their so-called opposition to racial discrimination and apartheid, their alleged mediation to bring them to an end in southern Africa, and their statements on the adoption of economic, military and financial sanctions against the racist régime in Pretoria. It also disproved the statements of some Western Powers which tried to justify their countries' collaboration with South Africa by a need to maintain some links with the racist régime in order to pursue a dialogue which might eventually lead that régime on to the right path.

25. The Albanian delegation strongly condemned the policy of annexation, racism and genocide pursued by the Israeli Zionists in the occupied Arab territories as well as their criminal activity against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. Those practices, which included the murder and arrest of many Palestinians and other Arab inhabitants of those territories, the expropriation of Arab lands, the demolition of houses and the deportation of the Arab population to areas where they were subjected to obvious social, economic and cultural restrictions were only too well known. The analogy with the racist policy of South Africa was striking and explained the long-standing close collaboration between the Fascist régime of South Africa and Israel.

26. The Albanian people and Government would continue to denounce the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid wherever it was pursued and to support the just liberation struggle of peoples against the colonialist and neo-colonialist systems.

27. Mrs. WYNNEER (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), after expressing condolences to the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, referred to the co-operation that had existed between the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination ever since the Committee's third session, on the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

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(Mrs. Wynter, UNESCO)

28. In 1979, at the invitation of the Director-General, the Committee had held its nineteenth session at UNESCO headquarters. At its twenty-first session, UNESCO had submitted a document (CERD/C/69) entitled "UNESCO's preliminary observations on the implementations of article 7 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination", which had been prepared at the request of the Committee. Those observations were based on UNESCO's long experience with the implementation of international instruments such as the Convention Against Discrimination in Education and its Recommendation on the Status of Teachers. A joint ILO/UNESCO committee was monitoring the implementation of that recommendation. To monitor the implementation of those instruments, UNESCO used questionnaires, a method which it had particularly recommended to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination as a means of ensuring that reports from States Parties provided the information required. The Committee could count on UNESCO's co-operation in working out guidelines for monitoring the implementation of article 7 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

29. On the question of the elimination of racial prejudice from school textbooks to which the representatives of Yugoslavia and the Dominican Republic had referred, individual Member States such as Australia had already done much work on that matter and Belgium had concluded bilateral arrangements with Senegal to that end. The Centre for Mass Communications Research at Leicester University was preparing a study for UNESCO on the manner in which the ideology of apartheid appeared in textbooks intended for white students in South African schools.

30. In relation to the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the international Seminar on Children under Apartheid, sponsored in 1979 by the Special Committee against Apartheid, had been held at UNESCO headquarters and the organization had contributed a paper on the condition of children in Nazi law and in South African legislation. It had also participated in the Round Table on Information Relating to Problems of Racial Discrimination held at Geneva in November 1979 and had contributed a background paper. UNESCO had also co-operated in a seminar held at Nairobi in May 1978 on political, economic, cultural and other factors underlying situations leading to racism and had submitted a study on the problem of non-recognition of cultural identity, discrimination in education and training, and the absence of measures for dissipating racial prejudices.

31. In its programme of study and research on racial questions, UNESCO had recently published various studies, for example, Women and racial discrimination in Rhodesia, Apartheid: Power and Historical Falsification, and a sociological study (Sociological theories: race and colonialism). She also gave the names of various studies to be published in the near future ("Anti-development: South Africa and its 'Bantustans'" and "The birth of a State by national liberation war - the case of Guinea-Bissau"). A third revised edition of Apartheid, its effects on education, science, culture and information was scheduled to appear early in 1981. A study on methods employed by South Africa to create pressure groups in other countries was being prepared. Concrete cases would provide evidence of the techniques used not only by the Government of South Africa but also by the principal political and

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economic groups in other countries which benefited from the maintenance of that régime.

32. In conclusion, she referred briefly to the normative role of her organization, in particular concerning the implementation of three instruments, the Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) and two Declarations adopted in 1978: the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice and the Declaration on the fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the information media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and concerning racialism, apartheid and incitement to war. The implementation of the first of those instruments was monitored by the UNESCO Committee on Conventions and Recommendations. The UNESCO General Conference, currently meeting at Belgrade, was studying the result of consultations held in May 1979 on the means of enforcing the principles involved and of installing a new world order of information. UNESCO would thus contribute to the objectives of the Decade.

33. Mr. Molefe Ike MAFOLE (Observer, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania), speaking at the invitation of the Chairman, said it was befitting that he, indigenous to South Africa and a victim of apartheid, colonialism and imperialist exploitation, should contribute to the deliberations and to the resolutions on southern Africa. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania's stand was that Africa was for the Africans, in the same way as Europe was for the Europeans and Asia for the Asians, which meant that power must be in the hands of the African majority and not of foreigners - the settler minority of European extraction. The Indian minority, brought to the country to work in the sugar-fields of Natal, were a special case; oppressed and exploited by the whites, they had had no choice but to identify with the struggle of the African majority, and that had earned them acceptance as comrades in arms by the latter.

34. After three centuries, the white minority had not changed its brutal policy of conquest, dispossession and systematic occupation of the land. Arrogating to itself 87 per cent of the most fertile and mineral-rich lands, the white minority had huddled about 23 million Africans in 13 per cent of the poorest lands, the bantustans, which were nothing but reservoirs of cheap labour.

35. Dispossessed of its lands and deprived of all political power, the African majority was a victim of both economic exploitation and cultural domination. White minority domination and exploitation could be seen in racial and class terms. The arrogance of conquest had given rise to a feeling of race superiority, which was the basis of apartheid. In South Africa, class contradictions coincided with racial conflicts. It was therefore absurd to pretend that the white workers could be allies of the black workers because, being socio-economically privileged and thus part of the status quo, they shared the racial arrogance of the bourgeoisie. The major conflict was between the white minority oppressors and the African oppressed majority, between white colonialism and the national liberation movement.

36. It was the contention of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania that the struggle in South Africa was anti-colonialist rather than being, as some pretended, a civil and human rights struggle. It was not only a struggle for the restoration of human dignity and the African personality, but also a struggle for the restoration of the lands to their rightful owners, a struggle to establish the right of the

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Africans to self-determination and to build socialism and pan-Africanism. Locked into a relationship of master and slave, the African majority had no alternative but revolutionary violence to regain its dignity and to answer the violence of the fascist State. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the genuine vanguard of struggle of the African majority, was waging, along with the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the struggle of the oppressed Azanian masses. Domination by the white minority had been inherited from British colonialism in 1910, when the British Government, against the wishes of the African majority, had established the Union of South Africa.

37. That relationship of domination had in no way changed with the emergence of developed forms of capitalism and imperialism. In fact, the techniques of domination, discrimination and exploitation had been perfected and adapted to the needs of the white minority and the imperialist exploiters. The creation of the bantustans had purported to meet demands for the right to self-determination and independence and had been accompanied by token reforms, the removal of certain petty restrictions and the institution of the so-called Sullivan Code of Conduct for transnational corporations and its European and Canadian counterparts, which had been rejected by the African Heads of State and Government at the recent OAU summit meeting in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

38. Approximately 80 per cent of the South African economy was controlled by Western interests of Britain, the United States, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and so on, and that reduced South Africa to the status of a semi-colony. Therefore, while white colonialism was the main internal enemy of the liberation movement of the Azanian people, Western imperialism was its main external enemy. Despite some contradictions, white colonialism and Western imperialism remained linked, and the overthrow of both was necessary for the building of socialism and pan-Africanism. Reforms and codes of conduct would not suffice to change the situation, even if they enabled South Africa to develop its technological capability and become self-sufficient in arms and nuclear technology.

39. It was hypocritical of the Western Powers to condemn apartheid on moral grounds while enabling the régime to strengthen that system through their investments and bank loans, despite international condemnation and pressures on South Africa to abandon an anachronistic and doomed system. The intransigence of the minority Government was increased by the political and moral support afforded it by the Western Powers in the United Nations, where they opposed the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions. The time had come to clear away all equivocations and excuses by the Western Powers vis-à-vis apartheid. It was time for them to take a clear stand on the question and to stop invoking the so-called threat of Communist expansion.

40. The struggle of the Azanian people was the natural outcome of white domination and racial discrimination and must not be confused with super-Power rivalries and the struggle for world hegemony. The present struggle of the Azanian people, of which the Pan Africanist Congress was the organized expression, was part of humanity's global struggle against all forms of oppression, injustice and domination

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which had stunted the full development of mankind. The present wave of labour strikes and school boycotts was evidence of the determined resistance of the black people of Azania, just as brutal repression was evidence of the bankruptcy of the system.

41. The African people of Azania were not going to be sacrificed for the interests of the Western imperialist Powers, which apparently had not learnt the lesson of Zimbabwe. Reformism and opportunism was not going to rob the oppressed masses of their independence. Intrigues through the ballot-box would not succeed. Only the Azanian people would decide which liberation movement was to be the vanguard of the struggle. The Pan Africanist Congress was there in Azania, and it was useless to pretend that it was not or to over-estimate the influence of outside supporters on the course of events in Azania. It was the oppressed masses of Azania who in the final analysis would decide the fate of their country.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.