

REPORT OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST *APARTHEID*

Lagos, 22-26 August 1977

Volume I

(Report, including Lagos Declaration
for Action against *Apartheid*)



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REPORT OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

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Corrigendum

Volume I, paragraph 148 (List of messages received at the World Conference)

Insert the following in the appropriate alphabetical order:

H.E. Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, President of Venezuela

Volume II, annex VI (Messages received from Heads of State at the World Conference)

Insert the following in the appropriate alphabetical order:

VENEZUELA

H.E. Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, President of Venezuela

I am addressing myself to you to pledge the active support of the Government and People of Venezuela for the aims and objectives of the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid. I offer this support in my capacity as spokesman for a people which repudiates and deplores the abhorrent policy of apartheid practised by the racist Government of South Africa in contravention of all the principles of human coexistence, and in open defiance of the decisions of the United Nations, which my Government supported and will continue to support. This constant violation of basic human rights is a challenge to the sincerity of those great nations which in one way or another are responsible for the persistence of such systems, which offend the dignity of all mankind. I take this opportunity to send you my cordial greetings and sincerest wishes for every success in the discharge of your duties as President of the Conference.

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**UNITED NATIONS
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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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I. ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE

1. The World Conference for Action against Apartheid was organized in Lagos, Nigeria from 22 to 26 August 1977, in accordance with resolution 31/6 G, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 November 1976, in which the Assembly authorized the Special Committee to organize the Conference in accordance with the recommendations in its annual report.

2. The Special Committee had stated in its report: 1/

"The International Seminar for the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, organized by the Special Committee in Havana, Cuba, from 24 to 28 May 1976, made a thorough analysis of the situation in South Africa, and southern Africa as a whole, and formulated a comprehensive Programme of Action which has received wide support in the international community. The events since that Seminar have added great urgency to the development and implementation of this Programme by Governments, intergovernmental organizations, churches, trade unions, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements and other non-governmental organizations. The threat to the peace, to the lives of the oppressed people of South Africa and to the security of independent African States has greatly increased.

"The Special Committee considers it desirable that a world conference be organized in 1977 to consider concrete measures for the implementation of the Programme of Action formulated at the Havana Seminar, as well as the decisions to be taken by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

"The Conference should make a thorough study of the threat posed by the militarization and the nuclear programme of South Africa to the independence of African States, to peace in the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic Zones, and to the security of the people in southern Africa. It should adopt concrete measures for the discharge of the special responsibility assumed by the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa. It should prepare recommendations, to be transmitted to the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, 1978, to enable the latter to take decisive steps for the eradication of apartheid as a matter of utmost priority during the Decade.

"The Special Committee considers that the Conference should be preceded by extensive preparatory work in order to ensure that it will result in concrete action with respect to the isolation of the South African régime, assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and the promotion of collective security against acts of aggression by the South African régime. It has in mind to invite Governments and organizations to announce at the Conference their pledges of political and material support to the liberation struggle in South Africa.

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/31/22), paras. 297-301.

"The Special Committee considers it most appropriate that the Conference be held in the capital of an African State totally committed to the liberation of South Africa. The Committee has accepted with deep appreciation the offer by the Federal Republic of Nigeria to host the Conference."

3. After extensive consultations, the Special Committee decided on 2 June 1977 that the Conference would be organized in Lagos, Nigeria, from 22 to 26 August 1977, "by the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Federal Government of Nigeria and in consultation with the South African Liberation Movements recognized by OAU and the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Decolonization, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid".

4. It decided to invite Governments of all States Members of the United Nations and of specialized agencies; a number of intergovernmental organizations; the liberation movements of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe recognized by OAU, and the Palestine Liberation Organization; a large number of trade unions, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, and international and national non-governmental organizations which have co-operated with the Special Committee in the international campaign against apartheid; and several prominent personalities.

5. The Special Committee also announced the agenda of the Conference, 2/ and subsequently circulated the guidelines 3/ for the Conference and proposals on other arrangements.

II. OPENING OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE

6. The World Conference was opened on 22 August at 10 a.m. by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

7. Addresses were delivered at the ceremonial opening by the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, H.E. Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo; the President of the Republic of Zambia, H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda; and the President of the United Nations General Assembly, H.E. Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe.

A. Address by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. Dr. Kurt Waldheim 4/

8. The Secretary-General of the United Nations stated that the issues facing the Conference were of crucial importance to international peace and understanding and that their discussion by such a distinguished gathering was most necessary and timely.

9. The gravity and complexity of the problem of apartheid, he said, could best be put in perspective when it was recalled that the racial policies of South Africa were among the first subjects to command the attention of the United Nations at the inaugural session of the General Assembly in 1946. In 1952, the whole question of South Africa's racial policy was for the first time raised before the General

2/ For text see annex I.

3/ For text see annex II.

4/ For text see annex III.

Assembly and became the subject of frequent discussion in the years that followed. However, it was not until the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 that the world was jolted into a real awareness of the inhumanity of the system and the dangers which it posed. That incident occurred at a time when the decolonization process in Africa and elsewhere was at its peak and many new sovereign States were coming into being. The question of apartheid was then brought before the Security Council.

10. Since the establishment in May 1963 of the Organization of African Unity, which by its charter was firmly committed to the struggle against apartheid, numerous initiatives on the problem had been undertaken in the United Nations by African Member States. The policies of apartheid continued to be of steadily increasing concern to the world Organization.

11. The Organization firmly rejected the thesis of the inequality of people on the grounds of race and colour and unreservedly condemned acts and policies based on racial discrimination. The United Nations unanimously supported the cause of people opposing racial policies and practices and it recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of people in pursuit of their human rights.

12. Throughout the years, the United Nations, within the letter and spirit of the Charter, attempted to deal with the situation in many ways. In the early stages it had been hoped that wise counsel, coupled with a sense of justice and respect for human rights and human dignity, would prevail in South Africa. To that end, appeals were directed to the South African Government to put an end to its practice of racial discrimination and to accord all of its citizens equal rights and opportunities. South Africa's refusal to respond to those appeals led to demands by many States for political and diplomatic pressures. Subsequently with the continued entrenchment of apartheid, demands for international action included the application of economic sanctions and an arms embargo.

13. The Secretary-General added that there was evidence in South Africa that world opinion had begun to be noticed although the Government had by no means - and this was most regrettable - taken any action to alter the course or nature of its policies. Those policies, if pursued, could only have tragic consequences for the country. Apart from the profound immorality of apartheid, it was a disastrous course to attempt to separate people on strictly ethnical grounds, as the Bantustan policy was designed to do and to structure their development to suit the interests and convenience of one group. The United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly unanimously condemned and rejected that policy. There could be no peace and understanding in South Africa as long as three quarters of the population was excluded from the mainstream of its national life and from the rich resources of the country as a whole. Furthermore, the imprisonment, detention and banning of many of their respected and acknowledged leaders could only serve to destroy the chances of peaceful national reconciliation.

14. The Secretary-General said that, in the light of the standards set out in the United Nations Charter and widely supported international instruments, and, indeed, in the light of ordinary human decency, the policies which make up the apartheid system earned the strong and sustained condemnation of the United Nations since its inception. He emphasized that a programme of effective action commanding the widest possible support from the international community was never more needed than at the present time, and he hoped that the proposals which emerge from the Conference would make a contribution to that end.

15. If the "Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws" in 1952 signified the first public outcry against apartheid, and the Sharpeville demonstration of 1960 expressed the frustration at the continued policies of apartheid, then the Soweto demonstrations of 1976, with the great loss of life entailed, must be regarded as the breaking point in the black population's suffering of apartheid. That, he said, was an inevitable development because apartheid and racism were progressively institutionalized in every aspect of South African society. Far from providing a harmonious, peaceful path to national stability, as its supporters maintained, apartheid engendered - both inside and outside South Africa - hate and bitterness, violence and bloodshed, tension and instability.

16. The Secretary-General pointed out that the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity had consistently advocated peaceful pressures to secure freedom and equality in South Africa. The Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, endorsed by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations General Assembly, remained a clear affirmation of the desire and commitment of the international community for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement.

17. He recalled that when the Security Council studied the racial situation in South Africa in 1964, a distinguished group of experts, appointed through a decision of the Council, had urged that South Africa be called upon to convene a national convention, composed of the genuine representatives of all the people of that country, to chart a new course for the future. That recommendation for a national convention, he said, remained as valid today as it was then and offered the most constructive approach for a peaceful and lasting solution. It would create a forum in which the leaders would meet under conditions of equality. In it, the problems that had torn apart the fabric of South African society could be tackled and resolved in accordance with the principles of justice and humanity.

18. Meanwhile, the international campaign against apartheid must be continued and the momentum which had so successfully resulted in the holding of this Conference must be maintained.

19. He said that there were many channels through which direct assistance could be given to the people of South Africa. For example, the United Nations voluntary funds provided humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid and education and training of students from that country. A considerable amount of assistance was also provided by States to the liberation movements and voluntary humanitarian agencies on a bilateral basis. He also appealed for strong support to programmes of assistance to student refugees from South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, co-ordinated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

20. Another important area for international action, he said, related to the mobilization of public opinion and to in-depth studies of particular facets of the problem. He paid particular tribute to members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their outstanding work in this respect.

B. Address by the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria,
H.E. Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo 5/

21. H.E. Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, stated that Nigeria regarded the Conference as a gathering of men and women of conscience from all the corners of the globe to harmonize views and work out a programme of action of all nations and peoples of the world to effect complete liberation of southern Africa without delay and without undue suffering and to bring about the eradication of the inhuman policy of apartheid in South Africa.

22. He said that when the "wind of change" cyclone had started, some had not expected it to blow through the whole of Africa. It was assumed that those territories in Africa with sizeable colonies of settlers from the northern hemisphere would retain their built-in injustices, at best assimilating deserving natives. That assumption had provided the foundation for the establishment of the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis. That Africa had succeeded in detaching and destroying one leg of the tripod was largely due to its own efforts and the material support of its friends. If Salisbury was now threatened, it was largely through the blood and sweat of the liberation fighters. In all those efforts Africans were also grateful for the "sympathy" of some other friends. They were even appreciative of the efforts of such friends in seeking peaceful solutions to those problems. While they would continue to be open to those sympathizers and responsive to initiatives for a peaceful solution, they were resolved to throw into the struggle all their resources to remove Ian Smith and his fellow conspirators.

23. Lt. Gen. Obasanjo said that behind and beyond Zimbabwe and Namibia, where the attempts to establish the system of racial segregation were failing, was the citadel of apartheid, and that the moral and political aspects of the system were too easily mistaken for the root cause and sustainer of the system. He added:

"Apartheid is about keeping 80 per cent of the resources of South Africa for less than 20 per cent of the population chosen on the basis of race. Apartheid is about destroying and distorting the quality of life of 18 million citizens of South Africa so that 4 million other citizens of South Africa can have the good life. Apartheid is about sustaining the myth of white supremacy in South Africa. Apartheid is equally about the mutual support which the OECD and South African economies render each other. In all these, apartheid is about restrictions and limitations to the fulfilment of every Black and African person as a full human being. For as long as the system of apartheid remains intact in Pretoria, so long will our aspirations for economic development and our fair share of the world's resources be unattainable."

24. He said it was in the economic aspects that apartheid was most criminal and most dangerous. It was in that aspect too that it was most vulnerable, and must be attacked most ferociously. Multinationals had contributed in no small measure to the evil machinery of apartheid.

25. Welcoming the present efforts being made within the United Nations system to regulate the activities of multinationals by means of legally binding international

instruments, he added that the fundamental issue in South Africa was not equal pay for equal work, or abolition of job reservation or insurance for workers, but the very system within which multinationals operated. Nigeria found it difficult to fraternize with enterprises and organizations which were party to the system that held fellow Africans in southern Africa in bondage and regarded them, on account of their colour, as subhuman.

26. In that regard, he said, the Nigerian Government was compiling information on all those Governments which pretended to be Africa's friends but allowed themselves to be used as "weapons laundry" for South Africa - all for limited economic advantages. It was mounting a surveillance on all those enterprises which depended on Nigeria's raw materials and markets but continued to help its enemies. He declared:

"Foreign contractors who are known to have links or connections with South Africa are already barred from taking part in any tenders of any kind or nature for any transactions or construction works in Nigeria. An economic intelligence unit has been set up to ensure successful implementation of this policy directive."

27. He hoped that at the conclusion of the deliberations of the World Conference, a declaration would emerge, which would not only reaffirm support and solidarity for the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and the liberation movements, but demonstrate the commitment of all Governments and peoples of the world to take actions to put an end to apartheid. Such actions, he said, should include the cessation of new investments in South Africa, the progressive dismantling of existing ones, the cessation of the supply of arms, spare parts and components and the cancellation of existing licenses for their manufacture, as well as the cessation of all nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

C. Address by the President of the Republic of Zambia,
H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda 6/

28. H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, stated that the Conference was in itself of great historical and future significance.

29. It was taking place immediately after the equally historic Maputo Conference which was devoted to the problems of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe-to-be) and Namibia.

30. Second, credibility of peaceful options for bringing the desired change in southern Africa was at the lowest level. There was no doubt that the intransigence of the architects of apartheid in Pretoria pointed to growing conflicts inside South Africa in particular and in southern Africa in general.

31. Third, the Conference was taking place at a time of intensified armed struggle in both Zimbabwe and Namibia.

32. Fourth, the Conference was taking place at a time when apartheid South Africa was making frantic and highly dangerous preparations for war not only against independent Africa but also with a view to widening the area and scope of the conflict so that it could progressively assume global dimensions.

6/ For the text see annex V.

33. Fifth, the situation within South Africa was such that every day that passed witnessed intensified repression against the oppressed people.
34. Finally, the Conference was taking place when pressure was being applied by the international community to isolate the apartheid régime. The successes of the liberation struggle in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and the impending liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia created such favourable conditions for the struggle against the citadel of apartheid that the international community was now in a better position to focus its attention and action on the heart of the problem of apartheid inside South Africa.
35. Apartheid, he said, was a negation of the common humanity of all races not only in South Africa but in the world as a whole. It should not be permitted by the international community to be the state doctrine of any member State of the world community.
36. He said that the racist white minority in South Africa was fighting, killing and maiming to preserve the entrenched absurdity of the apartheid doctrine. The "institutionalized racism" presently headquartered in South Africa was a more serious threat than class strife to the Member States of the United Nations. It was a danger to inter-State relations even outside the African continent. It constituted a serious threat to international peace and security.
37. President Kaunda pointed out that, while the structure of society in South Africa was the outward expression of the theory of apartheid, its inward motive force was the desire of a small minority to dominate the majority. All efforts were made by the racist authorities to make the class structure of the South African society correspond with racial groupings.
38. He warned that the situation within and around South Africa was today very grave. It was a time bomb which was ready to explode with the smallest spark. And when it did, there would be a bonfire of the huge investments the West continued heedlessly to pour into the apartheid system.
39. He added that the Pretoria régime became even more committed to the continuation of the diabolic system. The resistance movement of the oppressed people was therefore meeting with the most horrible massacres that South Africa had seen.
40. From the heroic uprisings of Sharpeville to the more recent ones of Soweto, hundreds of innocent men, women and children had been either maimed or murdered in cold blood. Thousands had been detained, imprisoned and tortured, while others had died in racist police cells mysteriously.
41. South African soldiers had intensified their military activities along the borders of independent African States. New military bases had been constructed and expanded. The whole region of Africa south of the Equator had been put under surveillance of the apartheid military machine of South Africa.

President Kaunda called on the Conference to:

- (a) Reaffirm its recognition of the legitimacy of armed struggle as an instrument for ending apartheid;

instruments, he added that the fundamental issue in South Africa was not equal pay for equal work, or abolition of job reservation or insurance for workers, but the very system within which multinationals operated. Nigeria found it difficult to fraternize with enterprises and organizations which were party to the system that held fellow Africans in southern Africa in bondage and regarded them, on account of their colour, as subhuman.

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President Kaunda called on the Conference to:

(a) Reaffirm its recognition of the legitimacy of armed struggle as an instrument for ending apartheid;

(b) Recommend increased material assistance to the people of South Africa through their liberation movement;

(c) Urge the international community to increase training programmes for southern African refugees;

(d) Effect a complete and total isolation of the apartheid régime from political, economic, social, cultural, and diplomatic circles;

(e) Recommend to work out a programme for a total arms embargo against South Africa in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations (in this regard, there should be no exemption on the unacceptable grounds of the need to fulfil contractual obligations);

(f) Recommend mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions, including a total cut to the flow of oil into South Africa;

(g) Reiterate the United Nations position that Member States and international organizations should have nothing to do with the "bantustan homelands" and refuse to recognize them as independent states;

(h) Recommend that a solemn warning be given to South Africa to the effect that the world community would take all appropriate steps against it in the event of its launching an armed attack against any Member State of the United Nations, particularly the front-line States;

(i) Call upon all States to stop all sporting links with apartheid South Africa.

D. Address by the President of the United Nations General Assembly,
H.E. Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe

42. H.E. Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, said that the Conference brought together the most widely representative section of the international community that had ever been assembled in the history of human relations. It encompassed in its participation States Members of the United Nations, the United Nations bodies to which the responsibility for dealing with the main aspects of the problem of apartheid had been entrusted by the General Assembly, the specialized agencies and other organizations, within the United Nations system, other intergovernmental organizations, liberation movements, trade unions, associations of jurists and lawyers, student and youth movements, and other influential organizations. It was an effort in the greatest crusade ever launched for the vindication of human rights and to avert a cataclysm and a disaster.

43. He noted that for almost as long as the United Nations had been in existence, the problem of apartheid had occupied its attention. With every passing year the measures taken to suppress the opposition to apartheid had been intensified with increasing brutality. The collaboration between certain countries and the white minority régime of South Africa, despite significant diminution in certain areas, continued to be of alarming dimensions. That collaboration, deriving from cultural and ideological affinity, had been reinforced by a community of material and strategic interests.

44. Mr. Amerasinghe added that in situations of this nature, however, as events had unmistakably demonstrated, patience preached to the oppressed was a respite provided to the oppressor as also to those nations that unconscionably consorted with the white minority régimes for economic profit or political advantage.

45. Mr. Amerasinghe said that the Conference was taking place at a time when a lively interest was being exhibited by some nations in the question of human rights and a greater degree of attention had been given to the sad plight of the black majorities of southern Africa. Those countries which still, through one form of collaboration or another, strengthen, comfort and encourage the practitioners of apartheid should without further delay provide an earnest of their good faith to black Africa. The Conference should make it clear that the black Africans were free to choose for themselves the sources of the help, material and otherwise, that they needed to sustain them. They could hardly be expected to wait for assistance from other sources.

46. Finally, Mr. Amerasinghe commended the "Programme of Action against Apartheid" and other resolutions adopted at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly as the most exhaustive analysis and treatment of the problem of apartheid ever presented to the United Nations. He hoped that a true and mutually beneficial understanding would be reached by all right-thinking nations for the deliverance of black Africa from the indignities and persecution to which it had long been subjected under apartheid.

III. ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK

47. The Conference elected H.E. Brigadier Joseph N. Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, as its President.

48. It elected the following other officers:

Vice-Presidents: H.E. Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique

H.E. Mr. Peter Florin
Deputy Foreign Minister of the German
Democratic Republic

H.E. Mr. Adam Malik
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia

H.E. Mr. Isidoro Malmierca Peoli
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba

Hon. Robert Stanbury
Member of Parliament, Canada

Mr. Olof Palme, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party
of Sweden and Vice-President of the Socialist International,
Co-Chairman of the Commission (ex officio)

H.E. Mr. Leslie O. Harriman
Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
and Co-Chairman of the Commission (ex officio)

Rapporteur: H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun
Ambassador of Algeria to the Federal Republic of Germany

49. At its first plenary meeting, the Conference adopted guidelines for its work. The text of the guidelines is reproduced as annex II.

50. In accordance with the guidelines, the officers of the Conference constituted its Steering Committee which was responsible for the conduct of work of the Conference and for the preparation of the draft declaration. The Steering Committee invited to its meetings the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity; the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia; and leaders of the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

IV. STATEMENTS BY SPECIAL GUESTS

51. At the invitation of the Special Committee against Apartheid, opening statements at the World Conference were delivered by:

(a) The Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity;

(b) The Prime Minister of Norway;

(c) Mr. Olof Palme, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden and Vice-President of the Socialist International;

(d) The Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO);

(e) The Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO);

(f) The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia;

(g) The Foreign Minister of Mozambique, as President of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia;

(h) The Foreign Minister of Angola as Chairman of the OAU African Liberation Committee;

(i) The Reverend Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London;

(j) Mr. Sean MacBride, winner of Nobel Peace Prize;

(k) Mr. Nicolas Guillen, Chairman of the Association of Writers and Artists of Cuba;

(l) Leaders of the liberation movements of southern Africa, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the South West Africa People's Organization and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

These addresses are briefly summarized below.

A. Address by the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua

52. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua, Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, stated that OAU was proud to associate itself with the Conference not only to illustrate the convergence of the ideals of the United Nations and OAU, but also to mark the continuity of the struggle for which they had always mobilized and sensitized world opinion. They had postulated that the problem of human rights in southern Africa did not only concern Africa, and that the intolerable situation established as a system in South Africa was a matter that concerned humanity as a whole.

53. He said that the Western Powers were showing the sad impression of accepting a de facto solidarity with South African régime which had always been able to count on the constant vetoes against action in the United Nations, and had succeeded in attracting capital and technology from those Western Powers. South Africa had become the paradise for the manufactures and merchants of arms of all types. It had acquired many licences to produce arms. Though humiliated and disowned by world opinion and rejected from the forum of the United Nations, it continued to enjoy the solicitude of powerful allies. The course of establishing the guilt of the régime and isolating it had, therefore, not had the expected results.

54. Mr. Mboumoua added that it was only through physical pressure that the South African régime could be brought to change or to crumble. He emphasized the need for pressure at all levels.
55. First, territorial isolation of South Africa by the immediate and genuine liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the assurance of active solidarity of the international community to independent countries neighbouring South Africa.
56. Second, economic pressure by the South African workers themselves, and also at the level of the migrant workers from the neighbouring countries which could be enabled by international assistance to retain and integrate the workers.
57. Thirdly, greater assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa, to enable them to arouse and guide the black majority that was now realizing its force.
58. This was the shortest way to the obliteration of apartheid and matched the essentially violent and obstinate nature of apartheid. OAU, for its part, was already at work in that direction. It was necessary to stimulate the political will at the level of the United Nations and all organizations working for peace, to implement this plan of action.

B. Address by the Prime Minister of Norway,
H.E. Mr. Odvar Nordli

59. H.E. Mr. Odvar Nordli, Prime Minister of Norway, described the Conference as a massive demonstration of political opinion in the majority of the countries of the world against the policy of apartheid, and thus also against the racist régimes in Rhodesia and Namibia. It was a test of the ability of the international community to contribute to raising the quality of life for the people of South Africa, and to create a more worth-while existence for coming generations.
60. He said that it was essential to mobilize the necessary international action to put a stop to the economic and military aid which the South African Government was receiving as a result of some countries' vacillating approach to the whole issue of South Africa.
61. The front-line States in Africa, he said, bore the brunt of the burden - and made the greatest contributions in the struggle for freedom and human dignity in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. Active support was also forthcoming from many other African countries. However, there were too many countries which still were inactive.
62. He said that the Norwegian Government was working on those questions in close co-operation with the other Nordic countries.
63. The Prime Minister stressed that a joint policy for a non-armed pressure against South Africa should be designed along six main points:
- (a) Adoption of a binding arms embargo.
 - (b) Halt to investment in South Africa.
 - (c) Stoppage of export credit guarantees.

(d) Increased support to the South African people and their liberation movements.

(e) Increased support to the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their fight for freedom.

(f) Increased support to the African neighbours of the minority régimes, who have to bear an unfairly large share of the burden in the liberation struggle.

64. He said that Norway had imposed a total ban on the sale of arms, on investments and on government export credit guarantees to South Africa. In recent years it had stepped up financial and humanitarian aid to the African liberation movements and to the front-line States.

65. He noted that the white minority régimes in South Africa and in Rhodesia claimed that they were fighting to safeguard Western democracy. As spokesman for one of the Western democracies, he wished to make it absolutely clear that they could never accept Smith's and Vorster's perversion of Western democracy. Their system of suppression, racism and human degradation could never be any part of democracy. In truth, it was anti-democracy.

66. The Prime Minister concluded that the Conference represented a clear call to him to endeavour to see that the Norwegian Government - in its bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries - intensified its work in support of the majority of the population in South Africa. He regarded the invitation extended to Norway to participate in the Conference as a challenge to play an active role with the team fighting for freedom and human values.

C. Address by Mr. Olof Palme, Vice-President
of the Socialist International

67. Mr. Olof Palme said that the problems of southern Africa were in the forefront of international affairs. What was at stake in Rhodesia and Namibia was also the future of South Africa. During the last two years the international community had witnessed the final failure of the system of apartheid. The people of Soweto and other urban townships in South Africa had shown by their revolt that they regarded the system as impossible to endure. They demanded total and immediate change rather than reforms. The revolt, he said, would continue to flare up again and again so long as apartheid remained. Soweto was a signal, a watershed in the development towards the ultimate downfall of apartheid.

68. Mr. Palme said that the architects of apartheid knew that the system had no future. It was a question of time before it would collapse entirely. But every day it continued, it meant suffering for the children in Soweto and for millions of human beings in southern Africa.

69. The privileges of the white minorities rested on two pillars: firstly, the continued use of cheap labour and the economic exploitation of the African population and, secondly, the continued support from abroad, from what the leaders of the racist régimes usually refer to as the free world. Without those two pillars apartheid would crumble.

70. The liberation from exploitation would come from within Africa; it would be pursued and led to victory by the Africans themselves.

"The African peoples prefer, as before, to achieve their liberation by peaceful means. But if they are met only by oppression and violence, they will not hesitate to resort to armed struggle, as they did in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and as they now have been forced to do in Namibia and Zimbabwe and history tells us that when a people has taken up arms to liberate itself, they will not give up until freedom is achieved. Under these circumstances, I see little reason for people from abroad to moralize about the resort to arms, especially as they have themselves for so long condoned institutional violence to uphold the privileges of the minority."

71. Mr. Palme said that it was not often that the ideas and practices of apartheid were openly defended in other countries. But in concrete terms the South African régime received massive support in the form of arms and military co-operation, transfer of technology, large loans and capital investments. The representatives of the régime had concluded that they had an ideological affinity to Western democracies. In truth, Smith and Vorster represented a perversion of Western democracy. Their oppression and racism would never be included in a world of freedom.

72. He stated that an immediate ban on investments and export of capital to the racist régime should be a minimum target. The Swedish Parliament had recently adopted a Social Democratic party motion which instructed the Government to appoint a commission in order to work out legislation to prohibit by law new investments and export of capital from Sweden to Namibia and South Africa.

73. To those who claimed that such measures upset basic principles of the Western economic system, he repeated that free men were more important than free movements of capital.

D. Statements by leaders of national liberation movements

1. Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

74. Mr. Potlako Leballo, Acting President of PAC, said that a heroic national uprising was sweeping through South Africa, violently upsetting the apartheid-colonial status quo.

75. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) had given important recognition to the valiant struggle of the Azanian people by deciding, during the summit meeting in Libreville, in July, to increase all assistance so that it could be intensified and rapidly developed into an all-out guerrilla warfare against the apartheid régime.

76. Mr. Leballo stressed that the white minority rule in Azania could only be brought down through armed struggle. That was why, during the recent national uprising since the Soweto massacre, the people had counter-attacked the reactionary violence of South Africa's fascist police with their own revolutionary violence, even with sticks and stones.

77. The armed struggle in Azania would be difficult and was bound to take a heavy toll in human lives. But the Azanian people were determined to free themselves and assert their right to self-determination. The international community, which had

proclaimed itself as having a special responsibility towards the Azanian people, had a duty to support their noble cause.

78. Mr. Leballo said that in view of the ever-mounting repression against the indigenous African majority, the United Nations had adopted a series of resolutions condemning apartheid and urging the white settler régime to abolish the obnoxious system. South Africa's apartheid régime had treated those resolutions with contempt. It had been reinforced in its arrogance by the fact that General Assembly resolutions were not mandatory, and because its Western supporters openly flouted the decisions passed by the majority of Member States. Encouraged by the seeming impotence of the world community, and wantonly using military might and police, the apartheid régime had systematically denuded the African people of fundamental rights in South Africa.

79. He said that South Africa's trading partners in the West had joined in routine condemnations of apartheid, but had always steadfastly refused to join in international action to isolate South Africa and give support to the struggling Azanian masses and their liberation movements.

80. He stated that the Azanian people expected the Conference to produce a concrete programme of action in support of their liberation struggle. OAU and the United Nations had recognized the liberation movements as the legitimate representatives of the people of South Africa, and the most meaningful assistance was that which the people requested through their liberation movements.

81. The international community should recognize the legitimacy of armed struggle to overthrow the evil system of apartheid, which the United Nations had declared a crime against humanity. Only through armed struggle could the Azanian people exercise their right to self-determination.

82. It also had to be recognized that the South African apartheid régime posed a grave danger to peace and security in Africa. Thanks to the co-operation of some Western countries, South Africa had secretly been developing nuclear weapons which it intended to use as a blackmail against African countries which supported the just struggle of the Azanian people. PAC urged that the Security Council of the United Nations be convened, as soon as possible, to impose a mandatory arms embargo on the apartheid régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

2. African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)

83. Mr. O. R. Tambo, President of ANC, wished to acknowledge, on behalf of the people of South Africa and especially the national liberation movement, the world-wide support which their struggle had received over the years.

84. He recalled that, at its thirty-first session in 1976, the General Assembly had approved the Programme of Action against Apartheid, formulated by an International Seminar in Havana, and had reinforced it with several resolutions. It had recognized that the oppressed people of South Africa had no alternative but to resort to armed struggle to achieve their legitimate rights. It had affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination. It had also reaffirmed that apartheid was a grave threat to international peace and security. In the context

of related decisions by OAU and the Non-aligned Movement, and of various other conferences, it could be said, without exaggeration, that the overwhelming majority of mankind, at both governmental and non-governmental levels, had taken positions of confrontation with the criminal apartheid régime.

85. The struggle of the people in southern Africa had reached a crucial and critical stage. The mass upsurge of Soweto last year had turned out to be but one of a series of explosions that were reverberating across the face of their country.

86. The overthrow of Portuguese colonialism in Africa had destroyed a vital link in the chain of an unholy alliance that had held the peoples of the world and fortified by their own unshakeable resolve, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were poised for victory to achieve their birthright and legitimate aspirations.

87. The response of the South African régime was an ever-growing fascist terror, and the wanton murder of defenceless men, women and children.

88. Mr. Tambo declared that the main guilt for the crimes committed against the South African people should be placed squarely on the Western Powers and the multinational corporations which had placed profits above human life. As these interests grew so did the commitment of the imperialist Powers to the defence and strengthening of the racist régime.

89. There was now the shocking news that the racist régime was about to test its own atomic bomb, thanks to the extensive scientific, technological and financial support given by the Western imperialist Powers to the nuclear programme of the racists. The imperialist Powers had also shown that they were not prepared to countenance the total isolation of the Vorster régime, hence the "triple veto" at the Security Council.

90. He declared that the military aggression and involvement of fascist South Africa in Angola, before and after the independence of that country, clearly showed that racist South Africa was more than just a threat to independent Africa.

91. ANC appreciated and welcomed the support for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter adopted by the oppressed people of South Africa in 1955. It was only through the implementation of the provisions of the Freedom Charter that freedom could be made meaningful for all the people in South Africa.

92. Finally, Mr. Tambo called on the Conference to ensure implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action against Apartheid, with the additions already proposed at the Conference. In particular, he asked the Conference to adopt for implementation the following measures:

- (i) Increased political and material support for the national liberation movements in southern Africa - the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe - which were committed to armed struggle for the seizure of power;

- (ii) The invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions and an arms embargo against the Vorster régime;
- (iii) Increased pressure against the Governments of the imperialist countries, the multinational corporations and other institutions which continued to aid apartheid;
- (iv) A renewed and intensified campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all persons imprisoned or restricted for their involvement in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa;
- (v) The enforcement of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;
- (vi) Assistance towards student refugees who were the victims of Bantu education and repression in apartheid South Africa;
- (vii) The expulsion of the apartheid régime from the United Nations.

3. South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

93. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, stated that apartheid was an aspect of the colonial system of oppression and repression of an illegitimate, minority régime over the indigenous majority.

94. The balance of forces had changed since 1974 in favour of the oppressed masses in southern Africa. Zimbabwe and Namibia were at the threshold of great decisions of transition from the illegal colonial régimes to people's Governments. As demonstrated by Soweto, the masses inside South Africa were defying and getting ready for patriotic actions.

95. SWAPO believed that there were only two ways out of the conflict. Negotiated settlement to the problems of southern Africa were increasingly becoming futile. Armed struggle for the seizure of power by means of revolutionary violence had already started with varying degrees of intensity in all the remaining colonial territories in southern Africa.

96. Referring to the initiative of the five Western members of the United Nations Security Council to explore, with the Vorster régime and other parties concerned, the possibilities for a negotiated settlement to the Namibian problem, he said that SWAPO's position had always been in favour of peaceful options to achieve a genuine independence for the Namibian people. It was South Africa's colonial oppression and ruthless aggression that had forced it to resort to the armed liberation struggle. SWAPO remained committed to that only viable and effective alternative, unless all the conditions that had led to the war of national liberation were eliminated.

"It is for this reason that we have followed with keen interest the initiative of the Five. As we understand this exercise, it is a private undertaking by these countries aimed at assisting the United Nations on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) to create a climate of peace

in Namibia and favourable conditions that will lead to the holding of elections in the whole of Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations."

97. Mr. Nujoma stated that so long as the enemy troops and the para-military police force of South Africa remained in Namibia, and so long as the Vorster régime and others obstructed the United Nations from moving into Namibia with a sufficiently large and effective force, there could be no negotiated settlement in that country.

98. He said that while SWAPO was being made to believe by the Five that the South African régime had agreed to scrap the Turnhalle Plan for bantustanization of Namibia, the South African régime and Turnhalle puppets were going ahead with their programmes of establishing so-called second-tier ethnic authorities for the whole of Namibia. SWAPO, he said, could not be manoeuvred to accept these. Nor could the United Nations be asked to legalize South Africa's illegal occupation through bogus negotiated solutions.

4. Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe

99. Mr. Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, said that apartheid was synonymous with fascism that the world took up arms to destroy in 1939 to 1945. If fascism and racism could not be brought down by declarations and resolutions from 1939 to 1945, it was evident that they could not be brought down by resolutions and declarations in 1977.

100. Having attempted for a number of years to reason with apartheid the liberation movements had decided that the only means of removing that evil against humanity was armed revolutionary struggle. The struggle in Zimbabwe was not merely complementary to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa: it was a struggle to remove a similar philosophy as espoused by Vorster. Apartheid was itself violence against the person and spirit of the black man in southern Africa. It could not be removed by declarations but only by counter-violence.

101. The final declaration of the Conference, he said, should take the form of a prescription for active and decisive action if it was to match the theme set by the two heads of State at the opening meeting. It should include the following:

(a) It should call on the entire progressive world not only to mobilize material support for the liberation movement but also to take stringent action to isolate the fascists and racists by tight economic sanctions, including oil embargo;

(b) It should call on the world community to recognize that apartheid could only be effectively removed by a complete transfer of power from the minority to the majority. The power of the minority could only be forcibly removed;

(c) It should impress on the world community that any country that assists South Africa to acquire nuclear weapons was committing a crime against humanity and must be accordingly dealt with;

(d) It should call upon progressive countries to take action similar to that announced by the head of State of Nigeria against multinational and other companies which trade with apartheid South Africa.

E. Statements by other special guests

1. Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO

102. Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO, recalled that South Africa had left UNESCO in 1955 because the latter had published scientific studies on racism and distributed them in South Africa.

103. In 1967, at the request of the Special Committee against Apartheid, UNESCO had prepared a study on the effects of apartheid on education, science, culture and information. That study, which had been banned in South Africa, showed that apartheid constituted a violation of all the norms established by the international community, and was a major source of conflicts between races and groups in South Africa. The present situation in South Africa sadly confirmed the trend predicted in that study.

104. Describing the flagrant racial discrimination in education in South Africa, and repression against black writers, and even whites who strayed from the set path, he said that the whole educational and cultural policy of the South African Government had but one goal - "to deliberately prevent the development of a modern intellectual elite which could cement the unity of the blacks and help them to a better knowledge of the true problem of South Africa both within and outside the country".

105. The encouragement of the so-called "traditional culture" by the South African Government amounted to the deliberate encouragement of tension among black Africans, the creation of divisions among blacks to prevent the emergence of a national system, and a veritable cultural genocide to stifle the development of any element of progress in the genuinely African aspects of the traditional culture.

106. Reviewing UNESCO action against apartheid, he recalled that it had broken relations with all international non-governmental organizations whose branches in South Africa practised racial discrimination or segregation or co-operated in any way with the South African Government in its apartheid policy. It had ceased to invite South Africa to participate in the meetings and activities of the International Oceanographic Commission. UNESCO had set an example to the other specialized agencies in the United Nations system by being the first to draw up a practical programme of assistance to the liberation movements. UNESCO was also proceeding with its studies and publications, and was disseminating information with a view to enlightening international public opinion as to the nature and effects of apartheid.

107. He concluded:

"... we are not dealing with isolated incidents or unconnected problems: apartheid is a whole; it is a system, and that system did not come about by chance; it cannot be improved by means of minor piecemeal reforms. Like Nazism, apartheid is the consistent ideology of a racist State which, while it primarily hits the black majority, also affects people of mixed race, Asians and the whites themselves. No one can escape this master-slave dialectic.

"This ideology is reflected in all the institutions of the Republic. It permeates all levels of the education system; it is taught in the schools, it is imposed on creative artists, it controls information within South Africa and seeks to do the same abroad.

"UNESCO is totally and radically opposed to the system of apartheid ...

"With its patient but persistent and firm action, UNESCO is playing its part in the struggle of the black South Africans, who have themselves shown that, through courage and revolt, they have cast off fear and found hope again. The international community, if it is to be true to itself, must mobilize and take firm action to ensure that that hope is not disappointed."

2. Dr. Halfdan Mahler, Director-General of the World Health Organization

108. Dr. Halfdan Mahler, Director-General of WHO, said that the processes of change in South Africa had reached a point of no return. Self-determination had become the conscious goal and programme of action of the oppressed majority, and nothing short of the radical dismantling of the present system based on inequality, exploitation and fear would bring about a solution acceptable to the South African people and to world public opinion. The international community must, in the first place, think of the most effective ways in which the resources of governments and intergovernmental and other organizations could be rallied to support the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid. It must also plan with foresight its co-ordinated action that would be needed in the future to assist in the building of a just and free society for all the people in South Africa.

109. As a system of social control based on the institutionalization of racial discrimination, apartheid determined every aspect of an individual's life from cradle to grave. Its destructive implications for the health and psychosocial well-being of millions of people had been documented in studies undertaken by WHO which had concluded that "the prevailing situation stemming from the policy of apartheid presents an obstacle to the achievement of the highest level of health for all individuals".

110. The most revolting fact about the health situation in South Africa was the existence of an enormous gap between the health status of the white minority and that of the black majority. The patterns of morbidity and mortality of whites and blacks were so different that one would find it difficult to believe that they referred to populations within the same country.

111. Apartheid, he said, also affected the mind by forcing millions to live in a psychosocial environment characterized by constant stress, unpredictability and hostility. The uprooting of over three million people under the policy of forced resettlement in the so-called "black homelands", the breaking up of families by the system of migratory labour, the ceiling imposed on occupational skills and wages of employed Africans, the legally enforced inferior status and constant harassment of the black people through the hundreds of humiliating laws to which they

were subjected in and outside their ghettos - all this was part of the abnormal psychological climate in South Africa. Since all this had been achieved by design, one could see in the ideological, legal and social machinery of apartheid the most inhuman mass-scale experiment in behaviour manipulation in history.

112. The prevailing system in South Africa of delivering health care not according to need or to the availability of the best resources was in flagrant contradiction with the ethical values that have guided the health professions since Hippocratic times. It contravened the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the World Health Organization. The health system in South Africa, however, was part and parcel of the over-all doctrine and practice of apartheid, and no radical improvements in health care delivery were thinkable unless apartheid itself was forever abolished.

113. In this context of co-ordinated international action against apartheid, the duties and functions of WHO, as he saw them, were twofold. First, WHO would continue to collect and disseminate information about the destructive effects of apartheid on the human condition and health. Secondly, WHO would consider action and planning for co-operation with the people of South Africa in the future, when apartheid would be irretrievably committed to history, and the building of a new society based on justice for all would be the order of the day. The requirements and difficulties in the health field were likely to be enormous; resources must be mobilized now in order to assess the future needs, to design programmes and above all, to train future leaders and planners of health care.

3. H.E. Miss Gwendoline Konie, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia

114. H.E. Miss Gwendoline Konie, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, stated that the people of South Africa, under the leadership of their liberation movements, had intensified the struggle for national liberation from the criminal racist minority régime in Pretoria. The deaths of innocent men, women and children from Sharpeville to Soweto and the suffering of their families, were an anguished cry which called upon all progressive forces to eradicate apartheid once and for all from the face of the earth.

115. The South African Government continued to violate all United Nations resolutions on apartheid, on its illegal occupation of Namibia and on the sanctions against the criminal racists in Salisbury. Its recklessness was further demonstrated by its policies of aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

116. Miss Konie stated that the United Nations Council for Namibia co-operated firmly with SWAPO, the sole and authentic liberation movement of Namibia, in its struggle for self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia. The resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly - in particular, Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and General Assembly resolution 31/146 of 20 December 1976 - had stated the conditions for a transition to an independent Namibia under SWAPO.

117. As a result of the heroic struggle and sacrifices of many patriotic Namibians, South Africa had been forced to end its misleading manoeuvres through the Turnhalle tribal talks. But, she said, in its dreams of hegemony, it was

still bent upon contriving ever more dangerous schemes and stratagems. The most dangerous initiative, she said, was the creation of a military-industrial complex capable of producing atomic weapons. The intense exploitation of uranium deposits in South Africa and Namibia, as well as scientific and technological co-operation with Western Powers, had the stated aim of giving South Africa a nuclear capability. It was imperative that all sane humanity act to frustrate such heinous design of the racists in Pretoria.

118. The results of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia held recently in Maputo constituted a milestone in international mobilization and action in support of the peoples of southern Africa. The Maputo Declaration and the Programme of Action recommended measures to speedily bring to an end the acts of aggression of South Africa against the people of Namibia and against the United Nations. It also expressed the will of the United Nations to render all possible assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against the criminal racist minority régimes.

119. The General Assembly, in approving the Programme of Action against Apartheid, had formulated a crucial strategy for the coming decade. It had recognized that the abolition of racist domination and exploitation in South Africa, and assistance to the South African people to establish a non-racial society, had become one of the primary concerns of the United Nations. The full weight of the international community was thus vigorously thrown against the criminal bastion of racism and colonialism. The Conference should consolidate the will of the international community in this endeavour.

4. H.E. Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mozambique and President of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia (Maputo, 16-21 May 1977)

120. H.E. Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, said that the addresses by the Heads of State of Nigeria and Zambia gave a clear basis for a programme of action against apartheid.

121. Apartheid, he said, was the fruit of exploitation of man by man in South Africa with the support of international imperialism. Therefore the struggle against apartheid must be a struggle of all freedom-loving peoples from all over the world against imperialism. The monopolies and multinationals supporting the apartheid régime must be reminded that they were on the losing side.

122. The solution of the apartheid problem lay first and foremost in the hands of the revolutionary forces of South Africa rallied around their liberation movement. Their aim was to destroy the whole system of political, economic and social life in South Africa and to replace it by a new system. To achieve this they had to destroy first of all the racist and fascist régime of Pretoria and bring power into the hands of the majority.

123. With the eradication of apartheid the danger of an international conflict in southern Africa which would escalate to other parts of the world would be swept away. The danger of atomic bombs which the Western countries were helping Vorster to build would be avoided. Relations between Africa and the countries presently

collaborating with South Africa would be improved. A new world order would more easily be established.

124. But, unfortunately, the Western countries continued to support in many ways the racist régimes in southern Africa, particularly the régime of Pretoria. They refused to vote for an arms embargo against South Africa. They insisted on co-operation with the South African régime in all fields, and refused to recognize the legitimacy of the armed struggle for liberation.

125. Mr. Chissano proposed that the problem of southern Africa be regarded as a global problem of which apartheid was just one component. Action against apartheid presupposed action against Smith's régime in Rhodesia and the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. For that reason the Maputo Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia should be completed by concrete steps to implement the Programme of Action against Apartheid adopted by the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. To them should be added the proposals made by the President of Zambia, particularly the reaffirmation of the recognition of the legitimacy of armed struggle as an instrument for ending apartheid.

126. Describing the actions of Mozambique in support of the struggle for freedom in southern Africa as a whole, Mr. Chissano urged all countries which were forced by colonial history to establish links with South Africa to undertake measures to decrease their dependence on that country. He condemned the countries which, under several pretexts, were seeking new links with South Africa, particularly those which could easily have found alternatives.

5. H.E. Mr. Paolo Jorge, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola and Chairman of the OAU African Liberation Committee

127. H.E. Mr. Paolo Jorge, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola and Chairman of the OAU African Liberation Committee, expressed hope for concrete measures to speed up the elimination of apartheid, particularly to ensure the implementation of the resolutions already adopted on this subject, including the Programme of Action against Apartheid adopted in 1976.

128. In any case, he said, negotiations and conferences would not alone bring an end to apartheid. Armed struggle was the way to achieve the liberation of the peoples of South Africa. What they needed now were training camps, arms, equipment, funds, clothing and food. It was unlikely, he added, that they would get these things from the Western Powers, which, by their aid, enabled the racist régimes to survive and to build up their military strength.

129. The task of the OAU Liberation Committee was obviously to help the struggle of the freedom fighters, and it did all it could to that end. Many African countries had already gained their independence and only a few in southern Africa, remained under colonial domination. He appealed to all those committed to the cause of liberation to provide direct support to the national liberation movements - material, financial and other aid.

6. The Reverend Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London

130. Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, recalled that he had been involved in action against apartheid since 1948. His organization had been engaged in providing assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa since the Defiance Campaign of 1952, and especially the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, at the request of the national liberation movement. It considered assistance to victims of apartheid as an international duty.

131. The present South African régime, he said, was utterly intransigent with regard to apartheid; it was deaf to every appeal. Oppression was increasing day by day in that country.

132. The problem in South Africa, now that it was about to test a nuclear device, assumed terrifying dimensions, he stated. It was already too late to hope that armed struggle could be avoided. The international community must, however, help assure that the suffering was kept to an absolute minimum.

133. If the struggle against South Africa was to be won, the strength of South Africa demanded that the strength of the entire world be brought to bear against it.

134. He said that sanctions of every kind must be applied against South Africa and he hoped that his Government, the British Government, would join with the rest of the world in action to bring apartheid to an end. He called for greater assistance to the liberation movement.

7. Mr. Sean MacBride, Nobel Peace Prize Winner

135. Mr. Sean MacBride, former United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and Nobel laureate, said many resolutions had been adopted on apartheid, many books written on the subject, and many conferences held to deal with it. But it still existed. The present Conference must not merely pass resolutions - that would be an insult to the struggle - but decide on concrete action.

136. The attempt of South Africa to test a nuclear bomb, he said, was a threat not only to Africa but also to other parts of the world. South Africa had become a nuclear Power with the assistance of three countries which claimed to condemn apartheid - France, the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. He did not believe that the people of France, the United States or the Federal Republic of Germany wanted nuclear weapons in South Africa. Military establishments had often co-operated with South Africa even without the knowledge of the Governments concerned.

137. Mr. MacBride suggested that the Conference ask the General Assembly to set up immediately a committee of experts to report on the sources of nuclear supplies being obtained by South Africa. The Committee should also report on the vast quantities of conventional arms being brought into South Africa. It should examine

the links between South Africa and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which, he was certain, were not supported by many States members of that organization.

138. Mr. MacBride also called for an investigation of the exploitation of Namibia's uranium resources, especially by Rio Tinto Zinc, a British company.

8. Mr. Nicolas Guillen, Chairman of the Union of Writers and Artists in Cuba

139. Mr. Nicolas Guillen said that it was hardly conceivable that human culture in the present time should still have to fight against a concept so absurd, so base, so hateful and so disgusting as apartheid, which was assuming the same historical responsibility, by means of a modern State as that of the old slave traders, who flooded the American soil with the blood of slaves. The great riches, which really belonged to a population of several millions of black men and women, were in the hands of a scattering of white men and women, who had set up a régime against which progressive humanity had now risen up. The leaders of apartheid, he said, did not hide their objectives and seemed to be set on defending this ignominious situation by every means possible, from cunning to violence. Basically, apartheid was demonstrative of a dreadful social drama: the exploitation of the black man by the colonialist, to the benefit of the latter. He said that was inadmissible and must be fought against by whatever means available. The struggle should be directed not only against the visible external signs of apartheid, but also against its causes.

V. GENERAL DEBATE

140. After the opening statements, the Conference held a general debate in which 97 speakers took part. In addition to representatives of Governments and intergovernmental organizations, several representatives of trade union confederations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations were given an opportunity to make statements in plenary meetings. Fourteen other participants presented written statements for inclusion in the records of the Conference.

141. The participants recognized unanimously that the problem of apartheid was a matter of concern to humanity as a whole and that greater action was essential to put an end to that evil without delay. They agreed that apartheid must be totally eliminated and that superficial reforms were inadequate.

142. Most delegations commended the opening addresses by the heads of State of Nigeria and Zambia as pointing the way to effective national and international action, in support of the struggling people of South Africa, to eradicate apartheid.

143. Many speakers emphasized the grave danger of the enormous military build-up of the South African régime and its efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. They called for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter; and end to nuclear co-operation with the South African régime; and a cessation of investments in South Africa.

144. A number of delegations deplored the continued collaboration of many Western Governments and transnational companies with the South African régime. Several delegations drew attention to the growing political, military and economic collaboration by Israel with South Africa.

145. Some delegations, especially from Western countries, while condemning the violence of apartheid, stressed the need for peaceful means to end apartheid. Some others, while advocating peaceful international action, expressed appreciation that the liberation movements had been obliged by the violence of the régime to resort to armed struggle. Many others proposed that the international community should recognize armed struggle as the appropriate means for destroying apartheid.

146. Many delegations took the opportunity to report on actions taken by their Governments in opposition to apartheid, and pledged greater assistance to the oppressed people and their liberation movements. Several Western countries undertook to use their influence to encourage firmer action by all Western Powers, especially as regards an arms embargo and a cessation of investments.

147. The representatives of a number of Governments acknowledged the important role of non-governmental organizations and public opinion in the efforts for the elimination of apartheid.

VI. MESSAGES RECEIVED AT THE WORLD CONFERENCE

148. The World Conference received messages from the following heads of State and Government:

H.E. Mr. Houari Boumedienne, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria

H.E. Mr. Lynden O. Pindling, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas

His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan

H.E. Mr. Todor Zivkov, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

H.E. Mr. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada

H.E. Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, Acting President of the Republic of Cyprus

H.E. Mr. Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

H.E. Mr. Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

H.E. Mr. Salem Rubai Ali, Chairman of the Presidency Council of the Democratic Yemen

H.E. Mr. Mohamed Anwar EL-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

H.E. Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman, Provisional Military Administrative Council and the Council of Ministers of Socialist Ethiopia

H.E. EL Hadj Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon and current Chairman of OAU (read by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Gabon)

H.E. Mr. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

H.E. General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Military Council of Ghana

H.E. Mr. Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of Guinea

H.E. Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, Life President of the Republic of Haiti

H.E. Mr. Pal Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic

H.E. Mr. Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India

H.E. Mr. Soeharto, President of Indonesia

H.E. Mr. Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica

H.E. Dr. Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho

H.E. Mr. W. R. Tolbert, Jr., President of Liberia

H.E. Col. Moussa Traore, President of the National Military Committee, President of the Government and Head of State of Mali

H.E. Mr. Yu Tsedenbal, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, King of Nepal

H.E. Mr. Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Republic of the Philippines

H.E. Mr. Henryk Jablonski, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

H.E. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania
 H.E. Mr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal
 H.E. Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Somali Democratic Republic
 H.E. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and current Chairman of the Conference of Non-Alligned Countries
 H.E. Mr. Gaffar Mohamed Nimeiry, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan
 H.E. Mr. Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister of Turkey
 H.E. Field Marshal Dr. Idi Amin Dada, President for Life of Uganda
 H.E. Mr. Leonid I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 H.E. Mr. James E. Carter, President of the United States of America
 H.E. Mr. Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

149. The President of the United Nations Security Council sent a message and a representative to the Conference. Messages were also received from the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme. The Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa sent a message.

150. Messages were received from the following Ministers of Foreign Affairs:

H.E. Mr. M. van der Stoep, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands
 H.E. Mr. Park Tong-Jin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea
 H.E. Mr. Guy Simon, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism of Seychelles

151. A message was received from Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

152. Messages were also received from the following:

Mr. Willy Brandt, President of the Socialist International OAU Liberation Committee, Dar-es-Salaam
 M. François Mitterrand, First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France
 Mr. Dennis Akumu, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity
 Mr. Jan Kulakowski, Secretary-General of the World Confederation of Labour
 Dr. Amadou Karim Gaye, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference
 Mr. Amin Shibli, Acting Secretary-General of the Arab Lawyers Union
 Mr. Joe Nordmann, President, International Association of Democratic Lawyers
 Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Comité belge contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, Présence Africaine (Dakar)

VII. WORK OF THE COMMISSION

153. The Conference set up a Commission to consider proposals for further action against apartheid with special reference to the promotion of increased political and material support to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements and the implementation of United Nations resolutions. All Governments, organizations and individuals invited to the Conference were entitled to participate in the work of the Commission.

154. The Conference elected Mr. Olof Palme* and H.E. Mr. Leslie O. Harriman (Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid) as Co-Chairmen of the Commission.

155. The Commission elected the following other officers:

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Pete Vlasceanu (Romania)

Mr. P. J. Rao (India)

Dr. Lucille Mair (Jamaica)

Dr. Vassos Lyssarides (Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization)

Judge William Booth (American Committee on Africa)

Mr. Kader Asmal (Anti-apartheid Movement of Ireland)

Mr. L. G. Eriksson (International University Exchange Fund)

rapporteur: Mr. Thomas Benjamin Sam (Ghana)

156. The Commission held six meetings during which it considered a series of proposals made by the participants. The report of the Commission is contained in annex IV of this report.

157. Following an assurance by the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid that the Committee would urgently consider the proposals in the report of the Commission for appropriate action, particularly recommendations to the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly, and would take steps to disseminate the report widely, the Conference decided not to discuss the report of the Commission, but to refer it to the Special Committee.

* Mr. Olof Palme was unable to participate in the work of the Commission.

VIII. OBSERVANCE OF NAMIBIA DAY

158. Part of the morning plenary meeting of the Conference on Friday, 26 August, was devoted to the observance of Namibia Day.
159. Statements were made on that occasion by the President of the Conference and by:
- (a) H.E. Gwendoline Konie, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
 - (b) H.E. Dr. Ptolemy Reid, Deputy Prime Minister of Guyana;
 - (c) H.E. Mr. Olavi Martikainen, Minister of Social Affairs of Finland;
 - (d) H.E. Mr. Paolo Jorge, Chairman of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola;
 - (e) Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.
160. The Conference observed a minute of silence in memory of those who had laid down their lives in the struggle for freedom of Namibia and sent a message of solidarity to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).
161. The Conference received a number of messages in connexion with Namibia Day.

IX. CLOSING OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE

A. Adoption of the Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid

162. On 26 August, the President of the Conference moved the "Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid" prepared by the Steering Committee.
163. The Declaration was adopted by acclamation.

164. Representatives of the following Governments made statements in explanation or reservation of their positions: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Egypt, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Holy See, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

B. Closing ceremony

165. At the last meeting of the Conference, H.E. Mr. Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, moved the following draft resolution:

The World Conference for Action against Apartheid

1. Expresses its gratitude to the Federal Military Government of Nigeria for hosting the World Conference for Action against Apartheid;

2. Expresses its highest appreciation to the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the warm reception accorded and generous hospitality provided to all the Conference participants;

3. Further expresses its appreciation to the Head of the Federal Military Government for his inspiring and historic address to the World Conference which provided important guidelines for the Conference and contributed significantly to its success;

4. Commends the Federal Military Government of Nigeria for its contribution to the international efforts for the eradication of apartheid and, in particular, highly commends the measures announced by the Head of the Federal Military Government at the opening of the World Conference;

5. Pays tribute to the President of the World Conference, His Excellency Brigadier Joseph N. Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs of the Federal Military Government, for the effective, impartial and dynamic manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Conference.

166. Statements were made by the representatives of Togo, Nepal, Ukrainian SSR, Venezuela and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

167. The draft resolution was then unanimously adopted.

168. The World Conference concluded with a statement by its President. 7/

X. LAGOS DECLARATION FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

169. The following is the text of the "Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid" adopted by the World Conference:

The World Conference for Action against Apartheid organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Federal Government of Nigeria, met in Lagos, Nigeria, from 22 to 26 August 1977, with the participation of representatives of 112 Governments, 12 intergovernmental organizations, 5 liberation movements, 51 non-governmental organizations and a number of prominent individuals.

1. The Conference heard keynote speeches from the head of State of Nigeria, the President of Zambia and the Prime Minister of Norway, as well as other prominent personalities.

2. After a full discussion of the items on its agenda, the Conference adopted the following Declaration.

7/ For text see annex VII.

3. The Conference reiterates the universal abhorrence of apartheid and racism in all its forms and manifestations and the determination of the international community to secure its speedy elimination.

4. The Conference reaffirms support and solidarity for the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and their national liberation movements, and the commitment of Governments and peoples of the world to take actions to contribute towards the eradication of apartheid.

5. Apartheid, the policy of institutionalized racist domination and exploitation, imposed by a minority régime in South Africa, is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It rests on the dispossession, plunder, exploitation and social deprivation of the African people since 1652 by colonial settlers and their descendents. It is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. It has resulted in immense suffering and involved the forcible moving of millions of Africans under special laws restricting their freedom of movement; and the denial of elementary human rights to the great majority of the population, as well as the violation of the inalienable right to self-determination of all of the people of South Africa. This inhuman policy has been enforced by ruthless measures of repression and has led to escalating tension and conflict.

6. The apartheid régime in South Africa is the bastion of racism and colonialism in southern Africa and is one of the main opponents of the efforts of the United Nations and the international community to promote self-determination and independence in the area.

7. It has continued illegally to occupy the Territory of Namibia, for which the United Nations has a special responsibility and extended apartheid to that international Territory.

8. It has sustained and supported the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and has constantly resorted to threats against neighbouring independent African States and violations of their sovereignty. Since the end of colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique it has engaged in a series of acts of aggression against neighbouring States and has connived at acts of aggression by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia. Its massive invasion of Angola and constant violations of the territorial integrity of Zambia have been condemned by the United Nations Security Council. It continues to violate the territorial integrity of neighbouring independent African States.

9. The policies and actions of the South African régime have already created an explosive situation in the whole of southern Africa and events have moved into a phase of an acute crisis. The apartheid régime has intensified its military activities along the borders of independent African States and is constructing and expanding new military bases. It is reinforcing its enormous military arsenal and the production of nuclear weapons is within its reach. The possession of this arsenal and the acquisition of nuclear weapons by this racist and aggressive régime constitutes a menace to all independent African States and the whole world.

II

10. The World Conference recalls with admiration the valiant efforts of the South African people for many decades for an end to racial discrimination and for the establishment of a non-racial society. By their courageous struggle at heavy sacrifice, the South African people, under the leadership of their national liberation movement, have made a significant contribution to the purposes of the United Nations.

11. The United Nations has solemnly recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for freedom and human equality, and for enabling all the people of the country irrespective of race, colour or creed, to participate as equals in the determination of the destiny of the nation. It has proclaimed that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid.

12. The World Conference pledges its full support to the legitimate aspirations of the South African people and urges Governments, organizations and individuals to provide all appropriate assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement in their just struggle for freedom and human equality.

13. The Conference rejects all aspects of the apartheid system, including the imposition of "bantustans" which divide the population, deprive the African people of their citizenship and inalienable right to self-determination, and deny them a just share of the wealth of the country. There can be no international co-operation with bantustans and other entities based on racism.

14. The Conference condemns all manoeuvres by the South African régime aimed at preserving racist domination and the system of exploitation and oppression in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole.

15. It calls upon all Governments to enact legislation declaring the recruitment, assembly, financing and training of mercenaries in their territories to be punishable as a criminal act and to do their utmost to discourage and prohibit their nationals from serving as mercenaries.

16. It declares that South Africa belongs to all its people irrespective of race, colour or creed and that all have the right to live and work there in conditions of full equality. The system of racist domination must be replaced by majority rule and the participation of all the people on the basis of equality in all phases of national life, in freely determining the political, economic and social character of their society and in freely disposing their natural resources.

III

17. The Conference calls upon Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify the campaign for the further isolation of the apartheid régime with a view to complementing the efforts of the South African people and their national liberation movement and to ensure:

- (a) The immediate and total elimination of the policy and practice of apartheid and granting equal rights to all its inhabitants, including equal political rights;
- (b) The termination of all measures, under whatever name, which forcibly separate elements of the population on the basis of race;
- (c) The dismantling of the system of apartheid and the policy of bantustanization, and abrogation of all racially discriminatory laws and measures;
- (d) The ending of repression against the opponents of apartheid, and the immediate and unconditional release of all persons, imprisoned, detained, restricted or exiled for their opposition to apartheid;
- (e) The exercise, freely and on the basis of equality, of the inalienable right to self-determination of the people of South Africa as a whole;
- (f) The removal of the illegal South African forces of occupation in Namibia and compliance by the apartheid régime with the relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly resolution 385 (1976);
- (g) Compliance by the South African régime with Security Council resolutions on the question of Southern Rhodesia, and full implementation of sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime, including the oil embargo;
- (h) The immediate cessation by the apartheid régime of all aggressive acts and threats against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of African States;
- (i) The immediate cessation by the apartheid régime of military and nuclear build-up which constitutes a serious danger to international peace and security.

18. The World Conference recognizes that the continuation of the prevailing situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, will inevitably lead to greater conflict in Africa with enormous repercussions to international peace and security.

19. The World Conference condemns the South African régime for its ruthless repressive measures which are designed to perpetuate white racist domination. It recognizes and respects the inalienable right of the oppressed South African people and their national liberation movement to resort to all available and appropriate means of their choice to secure their freedom, and the need to assist them to achieve freedom. It declares that the international community has an inescapable duty to take all necessary measures to ensure the triumph of freedom and human equality in South Africa.

20. It further calls upon the international community to assist States which have been subjected to pressure, threats and acts of aggression by the South African régime because of their opposition to apartheid and implementations of United Nations resolutions for action against apartheid.

21. Governments and organizations participating in the World Conference pledge to use their separate and collective efforts forthwith, and on a continuing basis, to bring about the elimination of apartheid, to provide assistance to the victims

of oppression, and to lend appropriate support to their national liberation movements in consultation with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, in their legitimate struggle to eliminate apartheid, and to attain the inalienable right to self-determination of the South African people as a whole.

22. The Conference commends those States and organizations which have provided assistance to the oppressed people and their national liberation movement, and appeals to all States and organizations to increase such assistance.

23. It draws attention to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

24. The Conference calls upon all States for the cessation of any assistance or co-operation enabling South Africa to obtain nuclear capability. It further calls upon all States to prevent companies or institutions within their jurisdiction, from any nuclear co-operation with South Africa.

25. The Conference solemnly calls upon all States to cease forthwith all sales and supplies of arms and military equipment, spare parts and components thereof; to withdraw all licences for the manufacture of arms and military equipment in South Africa and to refrain from any assistance to the South African régime in its military build-up or any military co-operation with that régime. It further recommends the setting up of a watchdog committee to follow up the observance of the arms embargo.

26. It calls on the United Nations Security Council to take all necessary measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure the full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa.

27. The Conference recognizes the urgent need for economic, and other measures, universally applied, to secure the elimination of apartheid. It commends all Governments which have taken such measures in accordance with United Nations resolutions. It calls upon the United Nations and all Governments, as well as economic interests, including transnational corporations, urgently to consider such measures, including the cessation of loans to, and investments in, South Africa. It requests the Special Committee against Apartheid, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and all other appropriate organizations, to promote the implementation of the above recommendations.

28. The Conference urges States, and international and national sporting bodies to take all appropriate steps within their jurisdiction to bring about the termination of all sporting contacts with South Africa.

29. It commends all public organizations which have taken actions in accordance with United Nations resolutions and in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

IV

30. The World Conference calls on all the Governments and peoples of the world to lend their full support to international efforts, under the auspices of the United Nations and in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the

liberation movements recognized by it, to eliminate apartheid and enable the South African people as a whole to attain their inalienable right to self-determination.

31. The Conference expresses its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and with all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa, and pledges the total support of all participants to continue and intensify their campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees. It further pledges its unswerving support to all efforts to end arbitrary arrests, detentions and political trials in South Africa.

32. It endorses the proposal to proclaim 1978 as the International Anti-apartheid Year and appeals to all Governments and organizations to observe it in the spirit of this Declaration.

33. The liberation of southern Africa as a whole from colonial and racist rule will be the final step in the emancipation of the continent of Africa from centuries of domination and humiliation. It will be a major contribution to the elimination of racism and racial discrimination in the world, and to the strengthening of international peace and security.

34. The World Conference calls on all Governments and peoples to make their fullest contribution in this historic and crucial effort for freedom, peace and international co-operation.

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