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THE POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Note by the Secretary-General transmitting the report of the
International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination
and Colonialism in Southern Africa

1. In operative paragraph 6 (a) of resolution 2202 A (XXI), adopted on 16 December 1966, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General "to organize as soon as possible, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, an international conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, and to transmit the report of that conference or seminar to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session".
2. Accordingly, after consultation with the two Special Committees, and following an invitation by the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the Secretary-General organized the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa at Kitwe, Republic of Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967.
3. The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit herewith the report of the International Seminar to the General Assembly in pursuance of the above-mentioned resolution.

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Annex I

ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF ZAMBIA ON 25 JULY 1967

1. I consider this a very important and historic occasion when a seminar on apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa is held away from United Nations Headquarters and so near to the troubled area. You are holding your meeting not far from the land where apartheid, racial tyranny, oppression and exploitation of the majority of human beings by a few people of foreign origin comprise the way of life. In this same hall the United Nations Committee of Twenty-Four on Decolonization heard petitions from some of the victims of minority rule some six or seven weeks ago.
2. It is with a sense of pride that we in Zambia welcome you on a soil which once experienced this violation of human rights. Copper-belt residents are particularly happy to welcome this United Nations Seminar only a few weeks after enjoying the presence of another. You are in a very important region of our country. Economically, this is the heart of Zambia, the life-blood of this nation.
3. Indeed, the history of this young Republic would have been very different without the economic life of this region. It is my hope that you will discuss the problems before you, freely.
4. We in Zambia regard the United Nations, despite its shortcomings, as a vital instrument for the preservation of peace and security in this world, for the establishment of a decent world order for all human beings.
5. We regard as cardinal to the aims and objectives of the United Nations, the achievement of understanding and co-operation among nations in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, political or humanitarian character and in promoting and fostering respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all human beings without distinction as to race or social groupings, colour, language, religion or station in life.
6. The late 1950's and early 1960's form a period during which progressive forces of decolonization have enabled the United Nations successfully to extend the boundaries of freedom and independence. The realization of these objectives has not only brought respect for human rights in the hitherto unliberated lands, but also unleashed the dynamic forces of development - sweeping down this continent from the north in Algeria to Zambia and now across the Zambezi to Botswana.

7. In Asia, newly independent nations have continued in the meantime to consolidate their independence in defence of their freedom and human rights.

8. Having become independent during this period, we sang praises to the new world of change which had made human rights more meaningful.

9. Indeed, it seemed for a while that the determination of the peoples of the United Nations, and I quote from the Preamble of the United Nations Charter:

"... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small... and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" - had been translated into reality.

10. Today, however, this movement for the extension of freedom and independence, the whole process of decolonization, has come to a grinding halt. New and regrettable features have appeared on the southern African political panorama. Firstly, apartheid once a domestic imperative for the Whites to enable them to maintain in perpetuity their privileges and supremacy over the Black majority in South Africa, has now emerged as a political force to counter the movement for the decolonization of the unliberated lands.

11. Secondly, apartheid has found allies in the colonial policies of Portugal, in Angola and Mozambique, and Britain's failure to deal effectively with the Rhodesian rebellion has added more strength to the defiant régime in Pretoria. The Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis has been consolidated to give new props to the South African Government and to strengthen the basis of the minority régimes in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

12. With this strength, massive campaigns of psychological warfare have been mounted with full force, particularly in Western capitals, not only to defend apartheid, but to undermine the efforts of all men of goodwill the world over who, like you, are trying to bring about a just and lasting solution for all human beings in that area.

13. Thirdly, differences and divisions among Member nations of the United Nations over methods of liberating the rest of southern Africa from the advancing force of apartheid have thrown into disarray the forces of liberation. Hence, today in the United Nations, there are countries which are consistent opposers of and abstainers on any resolution pertaining to the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter on human rights and decolonization.

14. I do not intend to dwell on the cause of these differences and divisions. It is enough to indicate that Member nations have varying interests in this region. Some have sociological interests, others have economic and strategic interests. Whatever these interests are, they have produced an atmosphere of hesitancy and procrastination in giving the United Nations the necessary support for effective action in the implementation of the numerous resolutions passed by the General Assembly, the Security Council and various other agencies of the world body.

15. That your Seminar continues to make every effort to diagnose and understand more accurately this acute problem and that this Seminar makes recommendations as to measures for an early end to this iniquity, are manifestations of the humanitarian value of the United Nations.

16. If the objectives are to be achieved, Member nations of the world body and all those others engaged in the struggle for the right against wrong, for justice in freedom, must sink their differences and eliminate the current divisions which continue to generate suspicion among Member nations of the United Nations and hence make it impossible to attack the real sources from which this malaise of mankind springs. This failure to take effective action in good time, and the concomitant squabbles and filibusters have so far benefited only the advocates of apartheid and their supporters.

17. Mr. Chairman, there is a fourth feature in this tragi-comedy in which racial minorities, while advocating support for democracy, Western values, civilization and Christianity, at the same time oppress in a most outrageous manner the majority who have as much right to life - decent life - as the oppressors. This fourth feature is the deliberate and calculated attempt at undermining the rightful and lawful Governments in independent Africa.

18. Apartheid is on the offensive; this is evident already in what I referred to earlier as the psychological warfare in the West by South African foundations and their supporting institutions to popularize apartheid and indeed extend the boundaries of its influence. But in addition to this, this offensive is taking the form of espionage activities, sabotage and generally causing and fostering instability within and among free and independent African nations to demonstrate to the outside world their immaturity and administrative inexperience.

19. Added to this offensive is the new phenomenon in the name of mercenaries. The role of these notorious soldiers of fortune in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has assumed a new dimension in our struggle for peace and stability. Their recent acts of violence and aggression against the free, sovereign and independent Republic constitute a grave threat to the security of independent Africa.

Recently, there have been attempts in some Western capitals to rationalize the whole concept of mercenary forces in justification of their role in the Congo.

20. Indeed, some commentators have related these mercenaries to those of the Middle Ages, the period of the Renaissance, the Hundred Years' War, and the small wars among princedoms in Europe during which bands of adventurer-soldiers were hired for waging wars on behalf of their employers. We, the leaders of this continent are aware that the similarity between the mercenaries of that age and those now committing acts of aggression in the Congo does not go beyond their being professional murderers for money.

21. Those in the Congo fight for more than pay and glory; they are committed to an ideology. They are not indifferent to the directional force behind the development of the Congo and Africa. Unlike the mercenaries of the Middle Ages, when nation states had not yet come into being, these come from sovereign states with specific national interests and policies towards Africa. Their objective is not only pay and glory.

22. Take mercenaries from South Africa, for example. Most of these, if not all, are members of the so-called Nationalist Party, ardent supporters of apartheid. Why must they fight and risk death for a Black man like Tshombe if there is no added urge to make this man the instrument of their Government's national policy? South African supporters of apartheid have no respect for Africans and there can be no reason for their serving an African unless this is in the service of their own interests.

23. Africa is a continent of non-aligned nations. But we, the leaders of independent Africa, have to remember that this mercenary phenomenon poses a great danger not only to our security, but also the movement for African unity to which we are committed.

24. Let it be remembered further that the concept of exercising control over what was once called "the lesser breeds" is not dead; that the old commando spirit in

South Africa is being used to extend the boundaries of the influence of apartheid and its allied doctrines; and that the Boer Trek is still on and is now instrumental to the wider concept of neo-colonialism, the pillar on which the minority régimes in turn find their livelihood and derive their confidence.

25. We stand on the threshold of an era which has ended most of the barriers which for a long time have separated man from man both in time and distance. Prejudice is the enemy of international understanding and co-operation. This prejudice is based on what one might call ethnocentrism, that is, the tendency among nations to view alien cultures with disfavour, resulting in a belief that their culture is superior to those of other nations.

26. Indeed advocates of apartheid have called independent Africa all manner of names. But I regard people who kill to oppress any group of people, who practice outrageous suppression and who violate even the most elementary principles of human rights by any means whether it be by machine-guns, tear-gas, revolvers, bombs, etc., as no less barbaric and savage than those who kill with spears and bows and arrows. For murder is murder whatever missile one uses. Both types of weapons are unfit for decent society.

27. Unless we apply one standard, one moral code of conduct in human relations on this earth, the prospects for international co-operation and lasting peace are dim. We must thus fight prejudice to a successful conclusion.

28. In southern Africa and Asia, the United Nations is meeting the greatest of its challenges. The war in Viet-Nam rages and there are yet no prospects for a satisfactory end to it. Its main source is to be found in the basic prejudice among the combatants which breeds suspicion and leads to a conflict situation. In southern Africa racial prejudice and economic competition have produced a conflict situation which is dangerous to mankind as a whole.

29. Can the United Nations do any more than what is being done so far? My feeling is that this is the time for effective action by those who subscribe to the concepts and principles of the United Nations Charter.

30. For our part, the first stage was to declare our policy of non-racialism immediately after independence. Since then this policy has been followed up with our efforts to humanize the social, economic and political process. Our philosophy of humanism is humanitarian, it is a belief, a way of life, centered upon human interests and values.

31. We reject the trend towards supernaturalism which divides societies and brings with it conflicts within nations at a crucial time when the developing, the newly independent and old nations, the East and the West, are all engaged variously in the search for new levels in their relations, for a new equilibrium in their national interests in the changing international environment.

32. Our philosophy, as I have repeatedly pointed out, regards man as the central object, and asserts the essential dignity and the worth of man and his capacity to achieve self-idealization through the unlimited use of reason, without let or hindrance. Self-fulfilment by man cannot thrive where the process of reason and expression is systematically stifled. We remain convinced that tension will continue to build up in rebel Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and South West Africa.

33. We remain convinced that the world community must have a vital interest in the peace and stability of this area. Zambia, as a Member of the United Nations and as a nation dedicated to the principles of justice and respect for the human person, has given and will continue to give its unqualified support to genuine efforts to fight prejudice and racial tyranny and exploitation and restore the rights of the majority in southern Africa.

34. My Government is deeply concerned in particular with three potentially explosive aspects of the current situation in this region.

35. First, we regret that all the resolutions passed in the General Assembly and other organs of the world body, have failed to produce any positive improvement in the policies of the South African Government; that the minority rebel régime of Ian Smith still remains in power by force and against the will of the majority in Rhodesia; and that Portugal has defied the United Nations in her refusal to grant independence to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

36. Second, we are dismayed and disappointed as the unhelpful and prohibitive attitudes of those Member States of the United Nations who have responsibility for administering parts of southern Africa and those which have the capacity to resolve the problem. We continue to believe that the situation is potentially explosive and the United Nations may live to regret its inaction.

37. Third, we deeply deplore the military assistance and technical knowledge given South Africa by some Western Powers while it is clear that her objective in acquiring greater fire-power is to oppress more effectively the 12 million Africans in the interests of 3 million Whites. This must be clear to them, and they know it. We further deplore the failure of Britain to restore the rights of Africans in Rhodesia, a great number of whom now languish in Smith's concentration camps.

38. Therefore, we condemn unreservedly double standards applied in dealing with colonial problems; and we appeal to all Member nations to rid the United Nations of racial traits which could be prejudicial to the cause of humanity.

39. We are convinced that the cause of peace to which we are committed and have pledged ourselves to serve, cannot be won by paying lip-service to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter, but by action.

40. Your Seminar has a very important and historical role to play in this area and a moral duty to assist in the liberation of millions of human beings for whom freedom is a dim hope, if not a dream.

41. Let us bear high the torch of freedom and let our appeal for realism and justice resound in every corner of the earth; for the cry of millions in South Africa for human rights, for freedom and justice is genuine, and it is desperate. You and your Governments and fellow human beings all over the world can help, provided you, like ourselves, have the will and the desire to do so.

42. Africa, once the victim of oppression and exploitation, will one day emerge as a source of moral inspiration which forms the very basis of true freedom. Respect for human rights is cardinal to any decent society and we must, therefore, continue to uphold these rights in the interests of humanity.

43. You are committed to finding a just and lasting solution to serve humanity. Without truthfulness, honesty and morality, the results of your deliberations cannot but find themselves in the scrap-yard of history. I am, however, fully confident that you will leave Zambia having gone one stage further in the achievement of your cherished goal.

44. I now wish you and distinguished delegates a happy stay in Zambia and great success in your deliberations.

Annex II

STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON 25 JULY 1967^{a/}

1. It is my honour and privilege to welcome all of you who have responded to the invitation to attend the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa. A special debt of gratitude is owed to President Kaunda for having risen to the occasion at such short notice and offered Kitwe as a venue for the Seminar. The promptness with which countries, organizations and delegates responded to the change of site has been most encouraging and a sure indication of the importance which they attach to the subject before us.
2. While there are many causes of tension and unrest, those that have been deliberately imposed upon man by man easily take first place in their seriousness and persistence. Apart from such major disasters as wars and slavery, the history of the world recounts many instances of organized exploitation of man by man. The Spartans had their helots, the feudal lords their serfs, the masters their slaves. I make reference to the historical background because in the struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism one may sometimes wonder whether the poor are not always with us; whether the strong will not always lord it over the weak; whether it is not part of human nature for men to attain success by exploiting their fellow men. These doubts and misgivings assail the best and most resolute of us with varying intensity and at different times. It was such doubts and misgivings that troubled Wilberforce and Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, Lobenguala and Mosheshoe. Several thousand years ago it was said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish".
3. The same is true today. Nations, organizations and individuals have gathered here because in spite of the dark clouds that hang over the horizon they see a future in which the complexion of man's skin will no longer be regarded as the most significant thing about him. They see a brave new world in which there is one race and that is the human race.
4. The United Nations Organization, representing as it does, the morality of the international community has been interested in the question of apartheid, racialism and colonialism from its inception. One of the fundamental aims for the achievement

^{a/} Read by the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Apollo K. Kironde.

of which the founding Members of the Organization resolved to combine their efforts in San Francisco was, "To reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women..."

In its Universal Declaration of Human Rights the United Nations states that "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world".

5. The United Nations Organization has never lost sight of its basic aims and objectives, but has at all times maintained that freedom is the inalienable right of all men, that it is indivisible, that it cannot truly flourish if it is enjoyed by some and denied to others.

6. These principles, so basic to the purposes of the Organization, are not rules of conduct arbitrarily devised by the founding fathers, but are fully justified on moral grounds, because peace and freedom are in the last analysis inter-dependent. Moreover, the founder Members in their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", were fully aware that since wars begin in the minds of men it was not sufficient to lay down rules of conduct as between nations, but that it was imperative to define certain basic rules of behaviour between man and man without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

7. No association or organization can exist without rules and regulations. Throughout its existence the United Nations Organization has without fear or favour stoutly upheld its fundamental principles and passed judgement on those who have violated these rules. The resolutions passed by the General Assembly abound with instances where apartheid, colonialism and racial discrimination have been roundly condemned by the international community as vestiges of a bygone era which should be eradicated thoroughly in the same way as slavery and the slave trade.

8. Confronted as we are by seemingly unyielding systems of apartheid and colonialism in the southern part of the African continent, I suggest that it is opportune to dwell for a few moments on some of the positive gains that have been achieved.

9. Without enumerating the various resolutions that have been passed by the Organization at practically every session condemning the concept and practice of apartheid and the existence of colonialism in any of its forms, I will mention only instances which may be regarded as landmarks in the Organization's struggle to put the welfare and dignity of man above the prejudices and greed of races and nations.

10. The right of peoples to self-determination is enshrined in the Charter as a basic human right. The year 1960 saw the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration provided not only for the exercise of the right of self-determination but also specifically enjoined all States to observe faithfully and strictly both the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In 1961, a Special Committee was established by the General Assembly to watch over the implementation of the Declaration.

11. The General Assembly has been concerned with racial discrimination from the outset. Its efforts culminated in the establishment of the Special Committee on Apartheid. The Security Council's successful imposition of an arms embargo on South Africa in 1963 is of special significance, not so much because of the results that have been achieved but more as an indication of the awareness on the part of the world community of the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation in South Africa and of its readiness to adopt measures designed against South Africa.

12. The establishment of the Special Committee on Apartheid was a recognition by the international community that the struggle for human equality and dignity must continue and that the last vestiges of racialism and discrimination in the national law of Member States must be eradicated.

13. The latest addition to these far-reaching measures designed to end once and for all the myth of the inequality of races and people was passed last year when for the first time in the history of the Organization the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter were invoked against the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia which had seized power to forestall the establishment of democratic institutions.

4. Your Excellency, I would not like to take much of your time to go into the problems that are yet to be examined by this Seminar. I wish, however, on behalf of this Committee to thank Your Excellency for the most forthright, clear and most sincere statement you have delivered to this Seminar.

5. I am sure members of the Seminar will agree with me that this statement will no doubt form a corner-stone of our deliberations. On behalf of the members of the Seminar, I wish to thank the Government and the gallant people of the Republic of Zambia. Zambia has become and will continue to be a centre for such international activities. It is in this respect that we salute the people of Zambia in their gallant struggle to build Zambia by the sweat of their brows. Once again, Your Excellency, I wish to thank you for your most brilliant statement. I want also to thank all the Ministers of your Government and the members of the public who have come here to honour the opening of our Seminar.

6. Mr. President, colonialism in southern Africa is on the defensive.

Mr. President, colonialism in southern Africa is very much on the defensive. Apartheid in South Africa is on the defensive. If it were not for the help that these forces receive from their Western allies, I am sure the people of Africa are capable of getting rid of colonialism and apartheid by their own strength. I take this opportunity, Mr. President, at the opening of this Seminar, to appeal to these Powers to see the plight of the people of South Africa, to see the plight of the people of South West Africa, to see the plight of the people of Angola, to see the plight of the people of Mozambique, to see the plight of the people of Southern Rhodesia. It is only in the international co-operation of adhering to the Charter of the United Nations, it is only in the co-operation of the fulfilment of the resolutions of the United Nations that one day the whole continent of Africa will call the rest of the people their friends; for it is only then that they will realize that because the whole world co-operated in fulfilling the Charter of the United Nations, they were able to come into freedom as independent States. However, if that is not possible, the people of Africa are determined to get rid of apartheid. The people of Africa are determined to get rid of colonialism. They are determined to do this at whatever cost, including the sacrifice of their own lives.

7. As I speak now, Mr. President, I know there are people in the forests fighting. As I speak now, I know there are people in Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
ON
APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM
IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

Kitwe, Republic of Zambia

25 July-4 August 1967

(Organized by the United Nations with the co-operation
of the Government of the Republic of Zambia)

Rapporteur: Mr. Raja AZNAM (Malaysia)

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. ORGANIZATION OF THE SEMINAR

1. In operative paragraph 6 (a) of resolution 2202 A (XXI), adopted on 16 December 1966, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General "to organize as soon as possible, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, an international conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in Southern Africa, and to transmit the report of that conference or seminar to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session".

2. Accordingly, the Secretary-General, on 21 February 1967, requested the two Committees to advise him concerning the various aspects of the organization of an international conference or seminar. The two Committees presented identical proposals to the Secretary-General suggesting a seminar, and making recommendations concerning the date, place, participants and observers, agenda and documentation. The Secretary-General accepted the proposals of the two Committees.^{1/}

3. Following an invitation by the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa was organized in Kitwe, Republic of Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967.

4. In accordance with the recommendations of the two Committees, invitations were extended to the following fifty-five Member States to nominate participants to the Seminar: the members of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines and Somalia); the members of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, Ethiopia, Finland, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and

^{1/} A/6667; A/AC.109/236 and A/AC.115/L.197.

Yugoslavia); and the following twenty States - Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Japan, Kuwait, Mauritania, Mexico, Pakistan, Romania, Sweden, Turkey, the United Arab Republic and Zambia.

5. Invitations were also extended to the following organizations to send observers:

(a) International Labour Organisation; (b) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; (c) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; and (d) Regional organizations: Organization of African Unity, Organization of American States and League of Arab States.

6. Invitations to send observers were also extended to African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, and to non-governmental organizations and certain individuals recommended by the two Committees.

B. PARTICIPATION

7. The following participants and alternate participants nominated by the Member States invited to the Seminar attended the Seminar:

<u>Algeria</u>	Mr. Hadj Benabdelkader AZZOUT, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the United Nations Mr. Ali Cherif DEROUA, Chargé d'Affaires in Dar es Salaam Mr. Abderrahmane BENSID, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations
<u>Botswana</u>	Hon. M.P.K. NWAKO, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs H.E. Mr. R. MANNATHOKO, High Commissioner, Lusaka
<u>Brazil</u>	Mr. Guilherme FIGUEIREDO, Cultural Attaché at the Embassy of Brazil in Paris
<u>Canada</u>	H.E. Mr. A.F. HART, High Commissioner in Accra
<u>Chile</u>	H.E. Mr. Hernán SANTA CRUZ, Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the international organizations in Geneva
<u>Congo, Democratic Republic of</u>	H.E. Mr. E. KASHEMWA, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to Zambia Mr. J. FONGO, Counsellor, Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in Lusaka Mr. C. NGANDU, First Secretary, Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in Lusaka

Czechoslovakia Mr. Emil KEBLUSEK, First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires,
Embassy in Zambia

Denmark Mr. Niels MATTHIASSEN, M.P., Chairman of the Foreign Relations
Committee of Parliament

Finland Mr. Kristian GESTRIN, Vice-Chairman, Foreign Relations
Committee of Parliament

Mr. Richard MULLER, Deputy Chief of Bureau, Ministry for
Foreign Affairs

Ghana H.E. Mr. J.L. APPAH SAMPONG, High Commissioner in Nairobi

Hungary H.E. Dr. Janos BECK, Ambassador

India H.E. Mr. S. KRISHNAMURTI, High Commissioner in Lusaka

Mr. O.P. AGGARWAL, Personal Secretary

Iran H.E. Mr. Ahmad-Ali BARAMY, former Minister of Labour, Special
Counsellor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Mohieddin NABAVI, Director, Department of International
Organizations, Foreign Office

Iraq Mr. Salim SALEEM, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the
United Nations

Japan H.E. Mr. Kenzo YOSHIDA, Ambassador to the United Republic
of Tanzania

Mr. Kotiro TAKANO, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Malaysia Mr. Raja AZNAM, Deputy Permanent Representative to the
United Nations

Nigeria H.E. Chief T.O. EJKWUNMI, High Commissioner in Lusaka

Pakistan H.E. Mr. M.R. AHMAD, High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam

Poland Mr. Henryk BRZEZINSKI, Chargé d'Affaires of Poland in
Dar es Salaam

Romania Mr. Gheorge SECARIN, Legal Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Sierra Leone Mr. F.E. KAREMO, Department of External Affairs

Somalia Mr. Ali M. SAMATER, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

<u>Sweden</u>	Mr. Kaj BJORK, Member of Parliament
	Mr. Per WASTBERG, writer
<u>Syria</u>	Mr. NAEEM KADDAH, Chargé d'Affaires in Dar es Salaam
<u>Turkey</u>	H.E. Mr. Vecdi TUREL, Ambassador to Morocco
	Mr. Yuksel SOYLEMEZ, First Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations
<u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u>	Mr. Evgeny Nikolaevich NASINOVSKY, Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the United Nations
	Mr. A.I. CHETCHKOD, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	Mr. A.B. DAVIDSON, Institute for African Studies
<u>United Arab Republic</u>	H.E. Mr. Hassan A. EL-SINBAWI, Ambassador to Zambia
	Mr. Munir HALIM, Second Secretary, Embassy of the United Arab Republic in Zambia
<u>United Republic of Tanzania</u>	H.E. Mr. John W.S. MALECELA, Permanent Representative to the United Nations
<u>United States of America</u>	H.E. Mr. Olcott H. DEMING, Department of State
	Mr. Waldemar B. CAMPBELL, Bureau of African Affairs, State Department
	Mr. Donald F. McHENRY, Office of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State
<u>Venezuela</u>	H.E. Mr. Otmaro SILVA, Ambassador of Venezuela to Nigeria
<u>Yugoslavia</u>	H.E. Mr. Vanko BURZEVSKI, Ambassador to Zambia
	Mr. Dimitrije BABIC, Head of Department for Africa in the Commission for International Relations of the Federal Conference of Working People of Yugoslavia
<u>Zambia</u>	H.E. Mr. Simon KAPWEFWE, Minister for Foreign Affairs
	H.E. Mr. Jethro MUTTI, Ambassador-designate to Ethiopia
	Mr. I.R.P. MANDA, First Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations

Zambia (continued) Miss Gwendoline KONIE, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lusaka

Mr. Matthew D. NKOIOMA, Assistant Minister of State, Western Province

(Italy was represented by an observer, H.E. Mr. Armando ALBINI, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim in Lusaka).

8. The following observers from the specialized agencies of the United Nations and regional organizations attended the Seminar:

International Labour Organisation

Mr. Cedric MATTHEWS, Chief, Official Relations Branch

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Mr. F.I. AJUMOGOBIA, Chief of UNESCO Mission in the United Republic of Tanzania

Organization of African Unity

Mr. OYAKA, Representative of the Administrative Secretary-General

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mr. Klaus FELDMANN, Deputy Representative in Lusaka

9. The following observers from African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity attended the Seminar:

African National Congress of South Africa	Mr. Alfred KGOKONG
	Mr. Tennyson MAKIWANE
	Mr. Jack SILUMKO
Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (FRELIMO)	Mr. Alberto SITHOLE, representative in Zambia
Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa	Mr. Z.B. MOLETE, Director of Publicity
Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (G.R.A.E.)	Mr. Hendrick Vaal NETO, Director of Press in the Information Ministry of G.R.A.E.
South West Africa People's Organization	Mr. Misheck MUYONGO
	Mr. Joseph NAWA
Zimbabwe African National Union	Mr. S.V. MTAMBANENGWE, Secretary for External Affairs

10. The non-governmental organizations invited to send observers to the Seminar were represented as follows:

Africa Bureau	Reverend Michael SCOTT
African-American Institute	Mr. Donald W. WYATT, Vice-President
American Committee on Africa	Mr. Hope STEVENS, Vice-President and Attorney
Commission of Churches on International Affairs	Mr. Nicholas J. MARO, General Secretary, Christian Council of Tanzania
Defence and Aid Fund International	Mr. Jan HOOGENDYK, Organizing Secretary
International Commission of Jurists	Mr. Sean McBRIDE, Secretary-General
Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee	Mr. James FORMAN, Director of International Affairs Mr. Howard S. MOORE, Lawyer
World Federation of Democratic Youth	Mr. Joseph TCHATCHOUA

11. The following persons invited in their individual capacity attended the Seminar:

Mr. Dennis BRUTUS, Director, World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

Mr. Colin LEGUM, author, journalist.

12. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was represented by Mr. Apollo K. Kironde, Special Assistant on African Problems to the Under-Secretary of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, United Nations Secretariat.

13. Mr. Enuga S. Reddy, Chief of the Section for African Questions, acted as Secretary of the Seminar, and was assisted by Mrs. Patricia Tsien and Mr. Evgeny Antipov, Deputy Secretaries, and other members of the Secretariat.

C. AGENDA

14. The agenda of the Seminar, recommended by the two Committees concerned and accepted by the Secretary-General, was as follows:

1. The situation in southern Africa: political, economic and military structure
2. Foreign financial and other interests in their role in impeding the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa
3. Consequences of the situation in southern Africa for international peace and security
4. Consideration of the measures taken and of additional measures to be taken by the international community for the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa:
 - (a) Diplomatic and political
 - (b) Economic
 - (c) Moral and material assistance to the victims and opponents of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism
 - (d) Other measures.

D. DOCUMENTATION

15. The documents distributed to the Seminar comprised (a) Secretariat papers; (b) Consultant papers; (c) Participant/observer papers; (d) Information papers; and (e) Seminar documents. The list of documents appears as annex VII to this report.

E. OPENING OF THE SEMINAR AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

16. The Seminar was opened on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations by Mr. Apollo K. Kironde. (The text of the statement of the Secretary-General appears as annex II to this report.)

17. The following officers were unanimously elected:

Mr. John W.S. Malecela	(United Republic of Tanzania)	Chairman
Mr. Jethro Mutti	(Zambia)	Vice-Chairman
Mr. Otmaro Silva	(Venezuela)	Vice-Chairman
Mr. A.F. Hart	(Canada)	Vice-Chairman
Mr. V. Burzevski	(Yugoslavia)	Vice-Chairman
Mr. Raja Aznam	(Malaysia)	Rapporteur

F. ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA

18. His Excellency Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, addressed the opening meeting of the Seminar. (The text of the address appears as annex I to this report.)

G. TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE IVORY COAST

19. At the first meeting of the Seminar, the Chairman expressed serious concern at the absence of Mr. Achkar Marof, the participant from Guinea, who had been detained in the Republic of the Ivory Coast. He noted that Mr. Marof had been Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa since 1964, and had sponsored in the General Assembly in 1966 the proposal to hold the Seminar. He appealed to the Government of the Ivory Coast to see that Mr. Marof was needed in important work and expressed the hope that he could attend the Seminar.

20. On the proposal of the representative of Algeria, approved by the Seminar, the Chairman addressed the following telegram to his Excellency the President of the Ivory Coast:

"The United Nations International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, meeting today in Kitwe, Republic of Zambia, has asked me to appeal to you to release His Excellency Achkar Marof, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and representative to this Seminar, so as to enable him to participate in this Seminar. On behalf of the Seminar, I have the honour to transmit this appeal to Your Excellency and add my personal appeal for Your Excellency's prompt attention in the interest of African freedom. Highest consideration."

H. TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF CHIEF LUTHULI

21. At the first meeting, after the address by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, the Seminar observed a minute of silence in memory of the late Chief Albert J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, who had been invited to the Seminar.

22. The second meeting in the afternoon was devoted to tributes to the memory of Chief Luthuli. Tributes were paid by Mr. Oliver Tambo, Deputy President-General

of the African National Congress; Mr. Colin Legum; Mr. Dennis Brutus; Reverend Michael Scott; and the participants from a number of Governments. Other participants and observers paid tributes in their opening statements.

23. The Chairman sent the following telegram of condolence to Mrs. Albert Luthuli:

"On behalf of the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa now meeting in Kitwe, Republic of Zambia, I have been asked to convey to you and your family our sincere condolences on the unexpected death of your husband, one of Africa's noblest sons and a man whose passing diminishes all mankind. I wish to add a personal note that in him we have lost a great torch of liberty in Africa."

I. OPENING STATEMENTS AND CONSIDERATION OF THE AGENDA ITEMS

24. The Seminar then heard opening statements by representatives and observers from the second meeting, on 25 July, to the sixth meeting, on 27 July. (The Government participant of Chile, who arrived late, made his opening statement at the ninth meeting, on 31 July.) Altogether, twenty-one representatives and twelve observers made opening statements. The main points of these statements are covered in the subsequent chapters under the various agenda items of the Seminar.

25. The Seminar considered agenda item 1 at the seventh and eighth meetings, on 28 July; agenda item 2 at the eighth to tenth meetings, on 28 and 31 July; agenda item 3 at the tenth meeting, on 31 July; and agenda item 4 at the eleventh to sixteenth meetings, between 1 and 3 August.

26. During the consideration of agenda item 4, the Seminar considered the proposals submitted to it and adopted: (a) a resolution concerning the trial of thirty-seven South West Africans in Pretoria; (b) a resolution on the question of armed attack launched by foreign mercenaries against the Democratic Republic of the Congo; (c) the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar; and (d) the final declaration of the Seminar. These are included in chapters V to VII of this report.

J. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT AND THE CLOSING OF THE SEMINAR

27. At the seventeenth meeting, on 4 August 1967, the Seminar adopted the draft report, on the understanding that participants who felt that their views were not accurately reflected in it might send corrections to the rapporteur.

28. The Seminar then heard an address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, H.E. Mr. Simon Kapwepwe (see annex V).

29. On the proposal of the representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Congo (Democratic Republic of the), Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America, Venezuela and Yugoslavia, the Seminar adopted the following resolution by acclamation:

"The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held in Kitwe, Republic of Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967,

"Expresses its profound appreciation and gratitude to the Government and people of Zambia for their warm hospitality and their untiring efforts to ensure the smooth functioning and success of the Seminar;

"Further expresses its profound gratitude to the President of the Republic of Zambia for his great interest in the Seminar and his opening address to the Seminar."

30. After statements by the Chairman of the Seminar (see annex IV), the representative of the Secretary-General and several participants, the Seminar concluded its work.

II. THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY STRUCTURE

(Agenda item 1)

31. Nearly all the representatives and observers from the African liberation movements and non-governmental organizations stressed the growing seriousness of the situation in southern Africa created by the alliance of the régimes of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, and their continued defiance of the United Nations. An examination of this alliance of oppressive forces showed that it was based on a common ideology, identical economic goals and similar political, economic and military structures.

32. The speakers said that the political structure in the southern African countries covered by the terms of reference of the Seminar - the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique - was characterized by the control of power by a White minority. This minority also.

dominated economic and social life. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants, on the other hand, were deprived of political, civil and economic rights. They were denied the right to vote, the right to organize political parties and the right of self-determination. They were denied freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly and freedom of employment.

33. Other common features of these minority governments in southern Africa were their police-State methods of oppression and the lack of constitutional provisions for the transfer of power to the majority. While they sought to create a new image and deceive world opinion - through so-called "reforms" in the case of Portugal, or through the display of a so-called more "flexible policy" and the creation of so-called "Bantu homelands" in the case of South Africa - their basic goal was in fact to maintain the status quo and retain the control of power. Faced with the growing challenge of resistance by the oppressed people, those Governments had increasingly become more oppressive, as evidenced, for instance in South Africa, by the successive General Law Amendment Acts between 1962 and 1967 and the Criminal Procedures Amendment Act of 1965, and in Southern Rhodesia by similar legislation, such as the Unlawful Organizations Act, the Preventive Detention Act and the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

34. In the opinion of the majority of the speakers, those oppressive measures, accompanied by the strengthening of security and police forces, underlined the fact that there could be no lessening of racial discrimination and liberation from colonial domination without undermining the entire political structure. It was unrealistic to expect any solution to the problem from changes in the attitudes of the ruling groups.

35. The United States representative emphasized the desirability of achieving desired changes by peaceful means and the establishment of a dialogue with South Africa. Several speakers stressed that the minority governments in southern Africa controlled all the means of production and distribution, and that their sole aim was the exploitation of human and natural resources in the interests of the White minorities and of foreign investors. In all these countries, Africans were deprived of the use of the land and of the mineral wealth. In South Africa, for instance, 87 per cent of the total area of the country, including all the large cities, ports and harbours and the richest mines, was set aside for some three million Whites, or 19 per cent of the country's population, while 13 per cent of the land, largely

soil-eroded and over-populated, was reserved for the so-called "homelands" of Africans. Similar situations existed in Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa, as also in Southern Rhodesia, where the Land Apportionment Act allocated half the territory to a small White minority.

36. Moreover, there were numerous laws which control and limit the economic activities open to Africans so as to ensure a supply of cheap labour, especially to the mines and farms. Apartheid has been introduced in South Africa solely as a new way of enslaving the African people. It was only by that modern form of slavery, which depressed the value of labour by depriving Africans of human dignity and personal security and making them homeless, that capital invested in South Africa could reap the highest returns. To maintain the status quo, African workers in South Africa were denied the right to organize trade unions and previously existing unions had been paralysed by banning orders on their leaders.

37. In all the territories under consideration, both the content and the extent of education for Africans were deliberately limited and oriented towards the maintenance of the status quo. The lack of any significant number of Africans with university training in these countries was a direct reflection of this policy. In this connexion, the observer from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recalled that South Africa had withdrawn from his organization in 1955 on the grounds that UNESCO interfered in its racial affairs, and he drew attention to the various UNESCO activities aimed at dispelling the concept of superior and inferior races, since that concept had no scientific justification.

38. As regards the military structure, the speakers noted that all the minority governments had sharply increased their defence budgets and their armed forces in recent years. In South Africa, for instance, budgetary appropriations for military expenditure had doubled between 1961-62 and 1962-63, and had doubled again by 1966-67, rising to \$358 million. In its attempt to hold on to its colonies, Portugal had also increased its military expenditures, which had nearly doubled between 1961 and 1966.

39. Although the strength of the South African Permanent Force was 26,500, the Minister of Defence had claimed in 1965 that 250,000 men could quickly be put into action. Portugal was estimated in 1964 to have 47,000 men in its armed forces, but by 1967 it had an estimated 120,000 men serving in the colonial territories

alone; 25-40,000 in Angola, 40-60,000 in Mozambique and about 25,000 in so-called Portuguese Guinea. The conditions of military service had recently been revised to enable Portugal to double the number now serving in the armed forces. There was a build-up on similar lines by the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

40. Many of the participants pointed out that all the military equipment used by Portugal and South Africa and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia was of Western or South African origin. They noted that, in spite of the Security Council resolutions imposing an arms embargo on South Africa and selective mandatory sanctions against the régime in Southern Rhodesia, and requesting Member States to withhold assistance and military supplies to Portugal for use in its overseas territories, many Western countries, particularly France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, had continued to supply arms to these régimes. All the arms used against the African liberation movements could be shown to be of Western origin. France, for instance, was supplying both Portugal and South Africa with modern war materials. Under an agreement signed in April 1967, France would supply South Africa with three Dauphine-type submarines, each carrying twelve torpedoes, at a cost of about 8 million rand (\$11.2 million) each.

41. The representative of the United States stated that, in accordance with the decisions of the Security Council, the United States enforced a complete and effective arms embargo on the sale of arms and military equipment, or materials for their maintenance and manufacture, to South Africa and that similar though perhaps less sweeping measures had been taken by the United Kingdom. With regard to the supply of arms to Portugal, he noted that the Security Council had not embargoed the supply of arms to Portugal itself but those for use in the Territories under Portuguese administration. In accordance with the Security Council decision, and in fact as early as 1961, the United States had forbidden the provision of arms by public and private individuals to Portugal for use in its overseas territories. A simple dismissal of United States policy and its enforcement as a "pious" statement was not sufficient to refute that policy. Alleged "evidence" of captured American arms had been proved to be of old World War II vintage, cheaply and readily available from many countries through second-hand arms dealers. The export or re-export of even these weapons was forbidden by the United States for use in the African Territories under Portuguese administration.

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42. Many participants stressed that the situation in South Africa was particularly alarming as there was also a growing arms industry in that country, developed with the assistance and co-operation of many Western companies in order to escape the arms embargo. Several speakers also claimed that a network of airstrips was being built along the borders of South Africa and South West Africa, of which the Caprivi strip on the border of Zambia was the most notorious. Although the South African Government maintained that these airstrips were being constructed for commercial purposes, the speakers were convinced that they were designed not only to combat the growing liberation movements but, indeed, to launch attacks on neighbouring countries, should this be regarded as necessary.

43. Several speakers also charged that Western Powers were assisting the South African régime in the development of atomic energy and of nuclear weapons. In this connexion it was claimed that the Federal Republic of Germany was giving important assistance to South Africa. Scientists from the Federal Republic, while being prevented from developing nuclear weapons in their own country, were carrying out research and developing the weapons in South Africa.

44. With regard to the other White minority régimes in southern Africa, several speakers charged that not only did Portugal continue to receive arms and equipment from the United States in spite of the contention of the latter that these arms were meant for the use of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) but Portuguese soldiers who were sent to fight the people of Angola and Mozambique had received training under the auspices of NATO. As to Southern Rhodesia, while the United Kingdom contended that the rebel régime was too strong militarily to be easily forced into submission by the use of force, all the arms, planes and equipment of that régime came from the United Kingdom, and even spare parts for the military equipment apparently continued to be available to it.

45. As an illustration of the consequent new mood of aggressiveness that was evident in the allied forces of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, several speakers described the recent activities of White mercenaries in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They considered that that was part of a strategy of organized subversion of the minority régimes, supported by their allies, to undermine independent African Governments. With the linking of the military establishments of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the

Portuguese Territories, in what one participant labelled the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis, independent African States would soon be at the mercy of that axis unless positive measures were adopted to eliminate it.

46. Although there was no published information on the military alliance between South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, all the evidence pointed to their close co-operation. The three countries had agreements relating to tariffs and trade; transport and communications; recruitment of labour; and the development and use of hydro-electric power. Those were the first steps towards the establishment of a southern African common market, and there was little doubt that common military arrangements existed for the purpose of ensuring that the minority Governments retained power and extended their domination from the Cape to Katanga.

47. The racist and colonial régimes in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa were all now faced with armed struggles waged by the national liberation movements of the people. Nearly all the observers from the liberation movements attending the Seminar confirmed their determination to attain liberation by an armed struggle as all peaceful solutions had failed. Together with many Government representatives, they charged that the Western Powers were manifestly hypocritical in claiming on the one hand that they were against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, while on the other they provided military and other assistance to support the minority régimes.

48. One of the observers from non-governmental organizations, the Reverend Michael Scott, and Mr. Colin Legum thought that it was inaccurate to attribute the situation in southern Africa to a global conspiracy of Western Powers since the concept of a monolithic West was erroneous. Mr. Legum added, however, that the very strength of the suspicions about Western policies and intentions established an important international dimension within the southern African situation.

49. In that connexion, Mr. Legum suggested that although the partners in the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis shared common features, it would be useful to examine the southern Africa alliance system in detail in order to determine its coherence and durability. He considered that while each part of the axis supported the other in so far as might be consistent with its own interests, there were differences which could suggest the course for future action. For example, Portugal and South Africa publicly criticized each other's racial policies, and

consideration should be given to whether that difference was exploitable. Also, the economic and military strength of the three partners was unequal. South Africa and Portugal could hold out if the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia collapsed; the South African régime could survive even if Angola and Mozambique were lost to Portuguese control; but the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia could not exist without the support of its two other partners. In Mr. Legum's view, one of the possibilities before the Seminar was to propose a new initiative by the Security Council toward more comprehensive and effective measures against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and its allies.

50. Mr. Legum also suggested that the Seminar should closely examine the international relationship of the minority régimes of southern Africa. In this connexion, he pointed out that if the Western Powers were treated as a monolithic hostile force, the situation could only be solved by a conflict in which all major Powers would have to take part. He felt that approach was wrong and he appealed to those who were ready to write off the West to understand that it was possible to secure Western support for the objectives on which all participants were agreed.

51. Several participants disagreed with Mr. Legum's analysis of the attitude of the Western Powers. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, for instance, stressed that all problems in southern Africa derived from the same source, namely, colonialism. The political structures in southern Africa were closely linked to the Western countries which, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, had given up moral values in the pursuit of wealth. The African States had no desire to denounce all the Western Powers, but the latter had invariably joined to oppose effective action toward a solution of the situation in southern Africa. The United Kingdom, for instance, refused to use force against the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia but had no hesitation in using troops in Aden. The United States, on the other hand, professed to defend freedom all over the world but at the same time was the second largest investor in South Africa, where apartheid denied the great majority of the population all human rights. Another example was the silent consent which the Western countries gave to the recruitment of mercenaries from among their own nationals. The African States had often been accused of lacking in realism. For his part, he was led to ask why the Western Powers did not get together and put forward the concrete measures which they said the Africans could not devise.

52. The representative of the United States described as without foundation or fact such statements as that Western countries had given up moral values in pursuit of wealth. The United States, for example, had spent more than \$460 million in 1965 in donations and official capital for development, aid and education in Africa, all of which was for independent Africa and none of it for the area of Africa being discussed at the Seminar. Further, between 1963 and 1965 alone, the United States, in conformity with its embargo on the sale of arms and military equipment to South Africa, refused to sell that country arms and military equipment worth approximately \$400 million, a figure which equalled total United States exports to South Africa in 1965. Similarly, the United States, in accordance with the decision of the Security Council, had sharply reduced its trade with Southern Rhodesia. The United States exports to that country, for example, had dropped from \$23 million in 1965 to \$7.5 million in 1966 and consisted of only \$2 million for the first seven months of 1967. United States imports from Rhodesia in 1966 of sanctioned items dropped slightly even before the Security Council action of 16 December 1966 imposing selective mandatory sanctions. The United States had allowed no new import orders of sanctioned items from Southern Rhodesia since the adoption of the Security Council's resolution on selective mandatory sanctions. The United States provided no aid to the areas being discussed by the Seminar but it had for many years provided substantial amounts of surplus foodstuffs for people of those Territories who had taken up refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the United Republic of Tanzania. These actions could hardly be described as the action of a government motivated by a desire for power and profit.

III. FOREIGN FINANCIAL AND OTHER INTERESTS IN THEIR ROLE IN IMPEDING THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Agenda item 2)

53. In examining the situation in southern Africa almost all of the Government representatives and the observers from the African liberation movements and non-governmental organizations attributed the new offensive of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa to the support received from certain foreign economic, financial and other interests. They referred to the extensive information in the documentation before the Seminar on the extent of the involvement of Western economic and financial interests.

54. The information paper on foreign investment in South Africa, for instance, showed that in 1965 the United Kingdom and the United States between them accounted for 76 per cent of the total investment in that country, with the United Kingdom holding nearly two-thirds and the United States about 12 per cent. The book value of United Kingdom direct investments in South Africa amounted to almost \$900 million, representing some 7 per cent of its total overseas holdings. The book value of the United States direct investments amounted to \$528 million; although this represented only 1.1 per cent of the value of all United States foreign investments, it was more than 25 per cent of that country's investments in Africa.^{2/}

55. A number of speakers also attached great significance to the fact that after a considerable decline in 1960, the year of the Sharpeville massacre, United States private investments in South Africa had grown rapidly, increasing from \$286 million in 1960 to \$528 million in 1965, in spite of the claim by the United States Government that it does not encourage or discourage investment in South Africa. The principal inducement for these investments was no doubt the high rate of earnings: investment income paid out by South Africa on direct investments rose from \$152 million in 1960 to over \$200 million in 1965, and the latest report by the United Nations Secretariat showed that in that year gross earnings on direct investments amounted to \$173 million for the United Kingdom and \$101 million for the United States.^{3/} Among other Western countries with important interests in South Africa were France and Switzerland which, in 1964, together accounted for some 10 per cent of foreign investments in that country.

56. One of the observers, the Reverend Michael Scott of the Africa Bureau, London, submitted a list of over three hundred United Kingdom companies with interests in South Africa, and suggested that similar lists should be compiled for all major investing countries, including, in particular, the United States, Japan, France and Switzerland, preferably by the United Nations Secretariat since non-governmental organizations did not have the funds to undertake the necessary research. He drew attention to the recent tendency of foreign companies to establish subsidiaries in the countries in southern Africa which made it more difficult to trace the sources of investment.

^{2/} Information Paper No. 2, tables 4 and 5.

^{3/} Ibid., tables 14 and 15.

57. Some of the speakers, including the observers from the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, stated that in addition to the above-mentioned investments after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the United States had provided loans to support the South African economy.

58. The representative of the United States categorically denied that the United States provided loans to support South Africa or that United States investment or trade with South Africa was responsible for or was designed to support apartheid. The investments referred to were not those of the United States Government but of private concerns. The United States Government itself neither encouraged nor discouraged trade and investment in South Africa. In fact, the United States considered South Africa a developed country and, therefore, did not offer investment incentives such as were normally offered to encourage American investment in under-developed areas. The figures cited with regard to United States - South Africa trade and investment proved the insignificance of United States investments in South Africa as compared with its global overseas investments. Further, United States foreign investments in South Africa were not a determining factor in his country's policy towards South Africa. The United States representative dismissed as mythical claims that new United States private investment had saved South Africa's apartheid régime following the incident in Sharpeville in 1960. South Africa's foreign exchange reserves had fallen somewhat but were not in serious danger. Economic measures taken by South Africa, such as withdrawing South Africa's own deposit from the International Monetary Fund, were measures to save such relatively minor inconveniences as restricting luxury imports and allowances to South African tourists abroad. In point of fact, United States companies had invested \$23 million in South Africa in 1961. In that same year, South Africa had mined almost \$1,000 million in gold.

59. Reference was also made to information before the Seminar which showed that, although the General Assembly had called on South Africa's main trading partners to co-operate in implementing its resolutions, a number of countries still had a substantial trade with South Africa. Both the United Kingdom and United States exports to South Africa had increased after Sharpeville: United Kingdom exports, for instance, rose from 223 million Rand in 1960 to 356 million Rand in 1965. South Africa accounted for some 35 per cent of the total United States exports to

Africa and 26 per cent of the imports from that continent. Other important trading partners of South Africa were the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy, France and Switzerland. Most of these countries had moreover greatly increased their trade with South Africa over the last decade. Japan, for instance, had jumped between 1956 and 1962 from eighth place in South Africa's exports to the fourth. Currently Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany were vying for the position of South Africa's third best customer.

60. The representative of the United States stated that some countries, notably the socialist countries including the USSR, which were highly critical of trade with South Africa, were themselves carrying on a degree of trade, however small. In this connexion, he referred to the Consultant Paper prepared by Mr. Julian Friedman, which indicated trade between South Africa and the USSR, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary (PO 230, SOAF (2-7) - Consultant Paper No. 1). Similar information had been contained in a recent study by the International Monetary Fund.

61. The representatives of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR denied that their countries had any trade relations with South Africa.

62. A number of speakers drew attention to the new propaganda campaign launched by South Africa through the South Africa Foundation to attract foreign investment, and stressed the need to counteract such propaganda.

63. Most of the speakers attributed the failure of sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia to the help it was receiving from Portugal, South Africa and other Western countries. For instance, the Reserve Bank of South Africa had recognized the Southern Rhodesian pound and allowed its exchange with South African currency; the South African Department of Commerce provided cover for risks involved in South African trading with Southern Rhodesia; the Rembrandt Tobacco Group had continued in 1966 to buy tobacco from Southern Rhodesia; and South Africa continued to supply petroleum and petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia.

64. According to many speakers, recent information showed that in spite of the Security Council resolutions imposing selective mandatory sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime, many Western countries and Japan had increased their trade with that régime. They urged that the situation should soon be reviewed by the Security Council with a view to ensuring full implementation of the selective sanctions and the consideration of more effective measures. The United States representative believed that there was strong and understandable impatience that

sanctions against Southern Rhodesia had not yet achieved success. He did not believe, however, that sufficient time had elapsed to determine whether the sanctions would succeed or whether firmer steps would be necessary.

65. Several speakers expressed serious concern over the economic, financial and other activities of the Federal Republic of Germany in southern Africa. Apart from having large investments, particularly in South Africa, South West Africa and Angola, they stated, the Federal Republic of Germany was also supplying arms to Portugal and helping South Africa in the development of modern arms, poison gases, and nuclear research. It was their view that all those activities were also accompanied by the export of Nazism, which found a natural home in South Africa from which it would become a serious menace to the whole region.

66. Some speakers stressed that foreign economic and financial activities in the area were not limited to investments and trade; they also helped to reinforce the discriminatory labour policies and to exploit the peoples in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In South West Africa, for instance, members of the boards of directors of several of the largest mining companies linked with foreign interests were also active in the company responsible for recruiting labour for the mines.

67. To many speakers it was obvious that apartheid was not only a question of human rights but a question of colonialism, as the economic interests of the Western Powers were the common denominator in both problems. The countries obstructing the implementation of United Nations resolutions, they stated, were precisely those which had the largest economic interests involved and the very fact of their continued trade and financial activities in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa was tantamount to supporting apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. The representative of Algeria suggested that foreign economic and financial interests in all of southern Africa should be studied together. He suggested that the Seminar should propose that the special item which, according to paragraph 20 of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI), would be placed on the provisional agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, should be widened to include South Africa. He recalled also that in 1966, Algeria had already suggested that the General Assembly should establish a special committee with the task of keeping the situation in southern Africa under review.

68. The representative of Japan stated that his Government was strongly opposed to the policy of apartheid in South Africa. His country had no capital investment in South Africa and did not extend financial or technical assistance to its régime. In compliance with the Security Council's decision, it had imposed an arms embargo. It had made a contribution of \$20,000 in 1966 and another contribution of the same amount in 1967 to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for South Africans, and was currently considering the contribution to be made for 1968.

Japan's trade relations were highly complicated and fluctuating and the Government was now studying that problem. Its trade with South Africa had reached a peak level in 1964. In 1965 and 1966 it had dropped by \$12 million and \$9 million respectively below that peak level. In contrast Japan's total foreign trade had increased by some 20 per cent over the same period. His Government had also fully implemented the Security Council resolutions calling for selective sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and was prepared to comply equally fully if the Council were to decide on mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

69. The representative of the United States denied the charge that his Government was giving support to the policy of apartheid in South Africa in an attempt to protect the status quo. His Government continued to be opposed to the policy of apartheid in South Africa and was willing to take appropriate effective action, either unilaterally or within the United Nations, to bring that dangerous policy to an end. To that end, the United States had adopted and enforced an embargo on the sale of arms and military equipment to South Africa. The effectiveness of those measures had been acknowledged by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

70. The representative of the United States added that in the present circumstances a number of countries, including the United States, had expressed reservations on the wisdom, legality, and feasibility of economic sanctions against South Africa. At the same time the United States rejected the contention that all possibility of contributing to a peaceful solution had been exhausted. The United States hoped that the Seminar would avoid an unhelpful repetition of perhaps emotionally satisfying but over-simplified recommendations and would search conscientiously for a practical approach to the problem. As regards South West Africa, the United States continued to believe that any plan to bring self-determination to that Territory had to be practical, peaceful and within the capacity of the United Nations to

achieve. Since South Africa remained in de facto control of the Territory, the United States continued to stress the necessity of engaging South Africa in a meaningful dialogue aimed at a peaceful and orderly solution.

71. Government Representatives of several African and other Member States pointed out that the United States position appeared contradictory, as it claimed that trade and other economic and financial activities in South Africa were a matter for private interests, while the United States Government had ordered suspension of trade with Cuba and the People's Republic of China. They called for government action, as both trade and investment helped the régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and as the taxes paid by foreign companies were helping Portugal to wage its colonial wars. As regards the arms and equipment which Portugal was using in its colonial war in Africa, they stated it was evident that if the United States and other Western Powers wished to do so they could prevent such war materials from entering Portugal. Some of the participants did not accept the United States explanation of the separate roles of government and private capital, as in their view financial interests in fact controlled government policy.

72. Many of the participants and Mr. Colin Legum stressed that the analysis of the political and economic structure of southern Africa showed clearly that neither the moves for a dialogue with the racist and colonial régimes nor economic development and prosperity could help to bring about a gradual change leading to the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism.

73. Some speakers, while urging that total and mandatory sanctions should be invoked against South Africa, emphasized that the success of such sanctions would require the co-operation not only of the United States and the United Kingdom but also of all the major industrialized countries. They pointed out that as trade accounted for a substantial percentage of South Africa's gross domestic product, a total trade embargo would soon affect its economy, especially as the internal market was too small to absorb all the products now exported. Some speakers felt that to be effective a trade boycott had to be backed by force.

74. As regards Southern Rhodesia, most of the Government representatives and observers from the African liberation movements considered that the present selective sanctions could not be expected to be effective because of the assistance which the illegal racist minority régime was receiving from South Africa, Portugal and other countries. They urged that selective sanctions should be replaced by total mandatory sanctions and backed by force as necessary.

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

(Agenda item 3)

75. As the foregoing chapters show, the discussion on the situation in southern Africa arising from the political, economic and military structures of the minority régimes and the activities of foreign, economic and other interests made it possible for the Seminar to identify various consequences for the continent of Africa and the African peoples, the countries outside Africa and the United Nations in the context of international peace and security.

76. The recurring theme underlying the discussion of the third item was, on the one hand, what was considered the new aggressive and expansionist posture of the South African régime and, on the other hand, the declared determination of African liberation movements to seek liberation by means including violence in view of the apparent failure of international action in dealing with the South African régime and the other White minority régimes of southern Africa.

77. Almost all the participants and observers who spoke were of the opinion that the new aggressive and expansionist attitude of the minority régimes in southern Africa constituted a serious threat not only to the African peoples under their control but also to the newly independent States of Africa. That danger was underlined by the declared intention of the minority régimes to establish a White rampart in southern Africa, covering an area of more than 6 million square kilometres and involving some 36 million people. Portugal had deployed 150,000 Portuguese troops in Angola and Mozambique in an endeavour to put down the uprisings in those Territories. There had been infiltrations of armed men in Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. The South African Government had been building the most powerful military machine in Africa. There was increased co-ordination between the military establishments and security services of South Africa and those of the other White minority régimes. Furthermore, a powerful propaganda machine was operating on behalf of those régimes in Western countries and elsewhere. The Friends of Rhodesia alone had 122 branches with 25,000 members in Western capitals.

78. On the other hand, the African liberation movements, for their part, were hardening their positions as they had become increasingly convinced that they could achieve their goals solely through armed struggle. For the African peoples

oppressed by the minority régimes and their national liberation movements, there was no other recourse but to resort to an armed struggle until liberation was achieved. Thus in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, the White minority, possessing overwhelming economic and military strength, stood confronted by peoples determined to secure their liberation. The latter were bound to seek and accept aid from outside Powers in the pursuit of the armed struggle. Such aid, some speakers felt, might involve the possibility of further intervention from the outside.

79. Several speakers claimed that the activities of foreign economic and other interests in southern Africa implicated other countries in this confrontation. Because of their investments and trading activities, Western Powers in particular were charged with giving lip service to the elimination of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, while supporting by their actions the White minority régimes with which they shared common economic and other interests. Whether or not such a view of the intentions of Western Powers was confirmed by facts, one speaker stated, the suspicions alone added a new dimension to the problem which could result in an identification of "White and might" as lined up against the Coloured poor.

80. A number of speakers pointed out that the Western Powers that had such a large economic stake in southern Africa seemed to see only their short-term interests, which they considered to be those of safeguarding their investments and preventing any departure from the political status quo. Some participants felt that it was necessary to exert much more effort in informing the Western public and persuading Western Governments that it was clearly in their long-term interests to avoid a race war in southern Africa, which would become increasingly inevitable so long as no effective action was taken to deal with the White minority régimes in southern Africa and all initiatives calculated to bring about an improvement in the situation continued to be blocked or shelved by the West.

81. Others, however, believed that it was already too late to engage in enlightening and persuading Western Governments as to their long-term interests. They considered that only with the development of armed struggle on the part of the liberation movements would the Powers with economic interests in the area reassess their policies and make decisions that were more in keeping with justice and their own long-term self-interest.

82. As regards economic sanctions, all speakers agreed that they could not be effective without the full co-operation of all States, backed by enforcement measures. Some speakers emphasized that in order to ensure that sanctions were fully effective, they should be instituted only after detailed study and planning and the establishment of the necessary legal and administrative machinery, and after making provision, if necessary, for the sharing of the economic burdens. To institute sanctions without such essential measures, they stated, was to invoke failure.

83. Many speakers stressed that the present situation has arisen mainly because of the loss of confidence in the ability of the United Nations to bring about peaceful change in southern Africa. The great Powers appeared to care less than formerly about utilizing its peace-keeping machinery. The Africans themselves, greatly disappointed by the impotence shown by the United Nations in dealing with the problems of southern Africa, did not appear to be over-eager to explore further the support that could be derived from the United Nations machinery and to adapt it to render better service to their cause.

84. Many speakers also emphasized that the inability of the General Assembly and the Security Council to ensure the implementation of the scores of resolutions adopted over the past years on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism had led to the erosion of faith in the United Nations as the defender of human rights and fundamental freedoms and as an instrument for the peaceful solution of problems affecting southern Africa. In connexion with the alleged impotence of the United Nations, some speakers expressed the view that the disillusion with the United Nations resulted in part from a misunderstanding of the structure of the United Nations. Moreover, recent developments in southern Africa showed that the assessments made in the early 1960's of the possibilities of internal changes within the minority régimes had been over-optimistic. The actions and policies of Western countries with parliamentary systems of government reflected the will of the voters or their indifference and the main problem was, therefore, to educate and mobilize public opinion in support of fundamental human rights and the right to self-determination for all peoples.

85. One observer pointed out that the United Nations had no independent power of its own to bring about enforcement action. It was dependent on and indeed reflected the balance of forces and the policies of the great Powers. It was necessary to

understand that nation States acted out of self-interest, not on moral grounds, although at times actions were rationalized post facto in moral terms. Those States, and the great Powers in particular, acted through the United Nations only when it suited their interests. At the present juncture, there seemed to be an increasing tendency for the great Powers and others to ignore the United Nations. That was as apparent in southern Africa as elsewhere in the world. The minority régimes in southern Africa were therefore able to view the United Nations as a "paper tiger", and this could only make those régimes more intractable and even less subject to pressure from the outside. The obvious dangers to international peace and security resulting from this trend were frequently referred to by speakers on this item.

86. Many speakers expressed concern over the peculiar nature of racial oppression and the explosive implications of race war outside the immediate confines of southern Africa. It was pointed out that the issue of racial discrimination and oppression was such that it transcended national frontiers. Apartheid was much more than a denial of political rights: it raised passions in such a way as to render arguments about non-intervention in domestic affairs meaningless. A race war in southern Africa was bound to affect the other States of Africa as well as relations between the White and non-White peoples all over the world. That was the basic consideration behind the warnings of the approach of a racial holocaust.

87. Another peculiar feature of the danger of approaching race conflict in southern Africa was emphasized by one speaker. That was an element of escalation that ensured in an inexorable manner that the more violence became the accepted instrument on both sides of the conflict, the greater the measure of racial hatred and bitterness, which in turn provoked even greater violence.

88. Another speaker reminded the Seminar that it was only in the fairly recent past that anthropologists and geneticists had rejected concepts of racial superiority, and that a rational view of the subject had been accepted only quite recently by enlightened authorities. He recalled the madness of Nazi Germany and said it was useful to bear in mind that the idea of racial harmony was still rather fragile even in the best of circumstances. This was yet another reason for emphasizing the special dangers of race war in a world where intervention could so easily be transformed into a wider conflict.

89. Some participants felt it was necessary to deal with the whole of southern Africa on a single co-ordinated front. Others believed it was more realistic to deal with problems such as Southern Rhodesia or South West Africa one at a time since that would ensure concentration of effort against single régimes which, despite their similarities and common interests, also presented individual ambiguities and differences that could be exploited, as could the ambiguities and differences between their various sponsors and trading partners in the West.

90. All participants accepted the fact that a conflict in southern Africa had implications that would affect international peace and security. That was, therefore, a basic reason for seeking a solution to the growing conflict in the area at the earliest possible opportunity, whether through efforts at persuasion of southern Africa's trading partners or through active support of liberation movements. Some participants felt that only an increase in violence would drive home to the Western Powers the urgency of the matter. The United States representative called for an objective and more realistic analysis which would throw light rather than heat on the problem and thus result in practical proposals for a solution.

V. CONSIDERATION OF THE MEASURES TAKEN AND OF ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO BE TAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Agenda item 4)

91. The Seminar had before it three Secretariat papers relating to measures taken by States in response to relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions concerning apartheid, South West Africa and the Territories under Portuguese administration.^{4/} During the discussions, a number of Government representatives also referred to the measures their Governments had taken in this regard.

92. Many participants stressed the fact that the denial of human rights and self-determination violated the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

93. Mr. H. Santa Cruz, the representative of Chile, informed the Seminar of the conclusions and recommendations aimed at securing the implementation of the various United Nations resolutions relating to the question of apartheid which

^{4/} Secretariat Papers Nos. 1 to 3.

formed part of the report he had prepared as Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights.^{5/} Although these recommendations were not formally before the Seminar, they were fully endorsed by the majority of the participants and observers and many were incorporated, in essence, in the draft conclusions and recommendations submitted by the representatives of the Afro-Asian States.

94. The main concern underlying the discussion was the failure of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council to bring about a solution to the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, in view of the failure of several States to co-operate fully in their implementation. Some Member States, particularly Portugal and South Africa, had even refused to comply with the mandatory selective sanctions against Southern Rhodesia decided by the Security Council at the request of the United Kingdom. The major trading partners of South Africa had continued to trade with South Africa and some of those States had even increased their trade despite the recommendations of the General Assembly.

95. The proposals put forward gave special emphasis to measures to be taken to secure the implementation of decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly and the disengagement of the States maintaining political, diplomatic, military and economic relations with the régimes in southern Africa; measures for strengthening public opinion and the world conscience against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in order to secure universal implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; and the provision of financial, legal, humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of oppression.

96. In order to facilitate discussion, at the request of the Chairman, the observers for the non-governmental organizations jointly submitted a list of recommendations and the African liberation movements also submitted joint proposals.

^{5/} An excerpt from Chapter III of the report of the Special Rapporteur was circulated to the Seminar at his request.

Recommendations

97. The following recommendations were presented to the Seminar by Mr. Sean MacBride on behalf of the observers from the Africa Bureau, the African American Institute, the American Committee on Africa, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.^{6/}

Recommendation No. 1. Application of United Nations decisions and of the recommendations of the Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

Both from the point of view of southern Africa and of restoring faith in the effectiveness of the United Nations, it is considered that the most important objective must be to secure the effective and rapid implementation of the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. Failure to apply the United Nations decisions has the effect of weakening the efforts being made to end racialism and colonialism in southern Africa, and it also weakens the authority of the United Nations as an instrument of world order.

Without prejudice to this over-all consideration, it is strongly recommended that the Seminar should consider and endorse the eight valuable recommendations contained in the Report of His Excellency Ambassador Hernan Santa Cruz, Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The recommendations hereinafter set forth are intended to be in addition to or complementary to the eight recommendations of His Excellency Hernan Santa Cruz.

Recommendation No. 2. Special Representative of the Secretary-General

In order to secure the full application and implementation of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations relating to South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, it is considered necessary and urgent that the Secretary-General should appoint a Special Representative, with such assistants and staff as may be necessary, charged with the specific task of approaching Governments of Member States at top level in regard to the application of such decisions and resolutions. Such a Special Representative of the Secretary-General and his assistants should be of sufficiently high standing, repute and experience to make direct contact with the Presidents, Prime Ministers and Ministers of the Governments of Member States, and to enlist their co-operation to secure

^{6/} Mr. Colin Legum, Mr. Dennis Brutus and Mr. and Mrs. Per Wastberg were invited to attend the meetings of the observers from non-governmental organizations in which the recommendations were formulated.

the better implementation of the measures decided upon by the Security Council and the General Assembly in regard to southern Africa.

Recommendation No. 3. World-wide information campaign

It is considered that one of the most urgent priorities, in order to secure the application of the decisions of the United Nations in regard to southern Africa and in order to counteract the massive and misleading propaganda campaign which the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia are conducting throughout the world, is the undertaking of a world-wide campaign of information in regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. Such a campaign should have as one of its objectives the application and implementation of the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

It is further considered that the continued flouting of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations by the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia weaken the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations in the world, and that such a campaign is absolutely necessary to restore confidence in the sincerity, objectiveness, effectiveness and determination of the United Nations to bring to an end the flagrant violations of elementary human rights which are taking place throughout southern Africa.

To be effective, such a public information campaign must be carried out on a scale at least equal to that used by the racial and colonialist régimes of southern Africa and should utilize the most modern methods of mass media of communication for this purpose. In order to undertake such a campaign, an annual budget of an amount not less than that available to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of their diplomatic, information and propaganda services will be required. It would be unrealistic and indeed a reflection on the determination of Member Governments of the United Nations, not to be prepared to contribute total financial support for such an information campaign at least equal to that spent by the southern African régimes in trying to defeat the decisions of the United Nations and to destroy the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

The undertaking of such a world-wide public information campaign could be entrusted either to the United Nations itself, to a specialized agency to be created by the United Nations, to an existing non-governmental agency or to a non-governmental agency to be created for the purpose. Many considerations requiring careful expert examination are involved in the choice of the most competent and effective machinery to undertake such a world-wide information campaign. For this reason, it is recommended that a small working party, consisting mainly of experts, should be convened as soon as possible, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and under United Nations auspices, to consider and recommend the best means of setting up such a world-wide information campaign and all ancillary steps to secure the initiation of the campaign within the shortest possible time.

While the valuable information work performed under United Nations auspices is appreciated, it is considered that it is wholly inadequate to fulfil the needs of the situation. Nothing contained in the recommendation should restrain the United Nations Secretariat from expanding its existing information services and from applying fully the decisions of the General Assembly in this regard.

Recommendation No. 4. Co-ordination of United Nations activities and bodies dealing with southern Africa

It is considered desirable that close liaison and co-ordination be maintained between all the various bodies and authorities in the United Nations which are dealing with southern Africa for the purpose of ensuring the application of the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Such liaison and co-ordination would be especially desirable between the Special Committee on Apartheid, the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, the newly created Council and Commissioner for South West Africa, the Commission on Human Rights, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Economic Commission for Africa and the organs in the International Labour Organisation, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees which deal with problems relating to southern Africa. Consideration might be given to the setting-up of a permanent liaison committee for this purpose.

Recommendation No. 5. Acts of brutality and crimes against humanity

It is recommended that a register and record office be established at United Nations Headquarters for the purpose of registering all complaints of acts of brutality and other acts amounting to crimes against humanity committee in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique by or in the name of the de facto authorities or by anyone in these territories purporting to act in pursuance of the racial or colonial laws or practices being applied in these areas. With the complaints so registered, full and detailed records to sustain such complaints should be maintained. Governments, non-governmental organizations and liberation movements should be invited to transmit all relevant information relating to such complaints and acts. The register and records of such complaints should be made available for inspection by all interested Governments and organizations.

Recommendation No. 6. Register of prisoners

It is recommended that a register of all persons imprisoned by virtue or as a result of the racial or political laws of South Africa, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique be opened and maintained at United Nations Headquarters. Governments, non-governmental organizations and liberation movements should be invited to co-operate by supplying information concerning

all persons whose names should be included in the register of prisoners. The information contained in the register of prisoners should be made available to Governments, non-governmental organizations and interested persons, including the families of prisoners.

Recommendation No. 7. International Human Rights Year, 1968

It is recommended that the Chairman of the Seminar and/or the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid should write directly to:

- (a) The Chairmen of National Committees for International Human Rights Year, 1968, which have been or are in process of formation, and
- (b) Each non-governmental organization in the world,

inviting them to give special prominence in their plans and programmes for International Human Rights Year, 1968, to the problems of racial discrimination and colonialism in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, to the plight of political prisoners and other victims of racialism and colonialism, and to the application of the United Nations decisions and resolutions in relation to these territories.

It would also be desirable that special brochures be prepared in different languages relating to human rights in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique and to the measures adopted and recommended by the United Nations for wholesale dissemination by Governments and non-governmental organizations in the course of International Human Rights Year, 1968, programmes and conferences.

Recommendation No. 8. South West Africa

While of course priority should be given to rendering effective the transfer of governmental and administrative authority to the Commissioner and Council for South West Africa appointed by the United Nations, by police action and any other appropriate means, it is considered that the many ancillary steps to assure the smooth transition of South West Africa to full independence and self-government should be undertaken immediately.

We propose therefore that the Commissioner (following discussions with the South West African parties) should establish on a full-time basis the nucleus of a research and planning team of specially qualified people, principally South West Africans. Their role would be to study topics of which the following is a tentative list:

- (a) Constitution. Examination of types of constitutions which might be most suitable for South West Africa, taking into account the realities of the situation, especially the imbalance between the different tribal and regional groups, and the problems of

the minorities. N.B. Obviously, the final decision on what kind of constitution to adopt belongs to the representatives of South West Africa themselves, the intention is not to draft a blueprint constitution, but to undertake studies which will help to simplify the task of drafting a constitution for an independent South West Africa.

- (b) The legal system. To examine the present system of racially discriminatory laws with a view to replacing them by a legal system which conforms with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We believe that the Commissioner, by undertaking tasks along these lines, would serve a number of useful purposes. Some reality would be given to the office, providing it with practical tasks that in any event will have to be undertaken. It would provide constructive opportunities for South West Africans to prepare actively for the day of independence. It would ensure that the constructive pre-independence tasks are carried out in good time. If linked to the work of the Economic Commission for Africa (as is eminently desirable), it could bring about active African involvement at a technical and expert level.

- (c) The economy. Examination of existing mineral concessions and the companies exploiting them; agricultural production; labour conditions; economic links with neighbouring countries; trading and transport patterns.
- (d) The land. Ownership and tenure of private, public and tribal lands; mineral rights.
- (e) Manpower. Training to provide industrial, civil service, army and military personnel, as well as rural cadres for independence. Surveys to determine what skills are already available and what training facilities are required.
- (f) Education. General discrimination in education and its retarding effects over a number of years should be fully studied and recommendations made for the transformation of the whole system of education.

Finally, we suggest that the Commissioner and his planning and administrative staff should be established in an African country as close to South West Africa as possible. Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania offer advantages.

It will be necessary to define the Commissioner's powers and make budgetary provision for his activities. His role clearly cannot be governed by the normal rules applicable to a Secretariat official or the chairman of a committee. Clearly his ability to discharge his function will depend upon the staff and budget at his disposal.

Our proposal rests on three factors: (a) the appointment of the Commissioner and the need for him to be actively engaged so that his office does not quickly fall into disrepute; (b) the existence of a growing number of South West African and other southern African refugees who have university and technical qualifications, but do not have opportunities to put these to use; and (c) the absence of meaningful statistics and planning on which to base a blueprint for a non-colonial type of economy and society in South West Africa.

Recommendation No. 9. Extension of the terms of reference of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and of United Nations Education and Training Programme for South Africans

It is recommended that the terms of reference of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa be extended to include the victims of the racial and colonial régimes in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

It is likewise recommended that in so far as this may be necessary, a similar extension of the terms of reference of the United Nations Education and Training Programme for South Africans should be made.

Recommendation No. 10. Financial support for existing funds

It is recommended that in pursuance of the recommendations of the Brasilia Seminar, the United Nations should invite Member States to make direct contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Education and Training Programme for South Africans and the International Defence and Aid Fund.

In this connexion, special attention is drawn to the special fund-raising drive being undertaken by the International Defence and Aid Fund this year, culminating on Sharpeville Day, 21 March 1968. Consideration should be given to inviting the public to contribute generously to this fund-raising drive.

Recommendation No. 11. Refugees

Having regard to the difficulties encountered by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in regard to the status of and travel documents for refugees from South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, it is recommended that these questions should receive urgent attention.

In particular, it is considered that every effort should be made to assist refugees from the racialist and colonial régimes of southern Africa to acquire rapidly a status and United Nations travel documents enabling them to move freely and to obtain employment or pursue their education without

having to undergo protracted detention in refugee camps. It would also be desirable to establish advisory services for such refugees to assist them in securing employment or in pursuing their education.

Recommendation No. 12. Prison conditions in South Africa

It is recommended that the investigations into the conditions of political prisoners in South Africa be pursued and that the Working Group appointed by the Commission on Human Rights renew its request to investigate conditions in South Africa in accordance with the decision of the Commission on Human Rights.

Recommendation No. 13. United Nations action on Southern Rhodesia

The United Nations should make it unequivocally clear that there can be no recognition of independence for Southern Rhodesia without majority African rule and should call upon the Security Council to ensure the effectiveness of its actions with regard to the existing illegal régime.

98. The following recommendations were presented to the Seminar on behalf of the African liberation movements attending the Seminar:

- (a) That a voluntary United Nations fund should be established, to be called the South African Anti-Apartheid Fund, to help the victims of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism;
- (b) That the United Nations should appeal to all international labour organizations to intensify their war against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism;
- (c) That the régimes in southern Africa, by word and deed and in their philosophy and its implementation, in their utter and defiant disregard of the sacred principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, their refusal to be bound by and respect United Nations resolutions, their contempt for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have put themselves beyond the pale of civilized standards and pose to the world the same danger as Nazi Germany. Therefore, a treaty should be signed by all States condemning apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism as practised by these régimes as a crime against humanity, and declaring in accordance with the United Nations Charter that the practices of these régimes are a threat to international peace and security. Accordingly, that all Members of the United Nations cease to have any trade or diplomatic contact with these régimes and that all other countries continuing to derive profit from human slavery in South Africa are equally to blame;

- (d) That the United Nations appeal to the Governments, workers and trade unions of oil producing countries to cut off oil supplies to southern Africa at their source, and that Governments should legislate to prohibit the use of materials and equipment from southern Africa and against investments of capital in southern Africa by their nationals;
- (e) That countries supplying cheap labour to the mines of South Africa should cut off this cheap labour supply by forbidding the practice whereby the South African mines recruit their nationals to work on the mines, and that, to absorb the surplus labour in these countries, the United Nations Development Programme should make special loans to them for development projects;
- (f) That since the minority racialist régime in South Africa pursues vigorous immigration campaigns to attract White immigrants from Europe and America, all Governments should discourage their nationals from going to southern Africa by refusing them documents to travel there and by withholding citizenship to such of their nationals as continue to migrate to southern Africa notwithstanding;
- (g) The liberation movements of southern Africa view with satisfaction the meritorious work done by the International Defence and Aid Fund to relieve the burden of suffering of the victims and opponents of apartheid in South Africa. We recommend that the services and assistance offered by the International Defence and Aid Fund be extended to the whole of southern Africa and further, that the International Defence and Aid Fund seek closer co-operation with the liberation movements of southern Africa;
- (h) That the United Nations and all its organs and agencies intensify their propaganda against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism; that to this end the world body set up in Africa a powerful free Southern Africa Radio Station to be used by organizations recognized by the Organization of African Unity;
- (i) That the United Nations Education and Training Programme should be expanded to cover all southern African countries still in bondage and be made to cater to those victims who remained in their countries; (it should not encourage young men and women to leave their countries without immediate hope of return but those already outside should benefit from it);
- (j) That the United Nations should appeal to NATO members to desist from sending arms and personnel to Portugal for use in its colonies and also to desist from training Portuguese soldiers through NATO facilities until that country has denounced the policies of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism;

- (k) That the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity should be accepted as participants whenever the United Nations and its bodies meet to discuss matters that concern the particular countries;
- (l) That Member States of the United Nations should provide civilian supplies and services to liberated areas in southern Africa, such as medicine and educational facilities;
- (m) That the United Nations make special provision for some travel documents to be granted to bona fide fighters against racism to facilitate their free movement in the world in pursuit of the objective of their struggle;
- (n) Noting that certain Member States of the United Nations follow the practice of handing back political refugees from these oppressive régimes, we recommend that the United Nations should appeal to its Members to grant immunity to these refugees from this practice, and allow them to proceed to any place they may choose to go;
- (o) That the United Nations should call for the release of all political prisoners now languishing in detention, restriction and prisons in southern Africa and Portugal;
- (p) That the United Nations should impose total mandatory sanctions against southern Africa and should give moral and material assistance to the armed struggle in southern Africa.

99. In addition to these joint recommendations a number of proposals were also made by individuals and observers from non-governmental organizations. These included a proposal by the Reverend Michael Scott, observer in the African Bureau, that a Free Africa Foundation should be established for the purpose of research and the dissemination of information to counteract the propaganda campaign of the South Africa Foundation, and that an International Voluntary Force, composed of persons dedicated to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter, be formed to assist the United Nations in implementing its decisions.

100. In the course of the discussions, the observer in the International Defence and Aid Fund suggested:

(a) That active support be given to the special fund-raising effort to be made by the International Defence and Aid Fund beginning this year and culminating on 21 March 1968;

(b) That the United Nations should call upon Member States to make direct donations to the International Defence and Aid Fund, as well as to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa; and

(c) That in view of the vital need to counter the propaganda of the South African Government, the International Defence and Aid Fund be encouraged to develop its work under clause 3 of its terms of reference ("to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake"). To this end, Member States of the United Nations be asked to contribute to the Fund money earmarked for this purpose. 101. The observer for the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee suggested:

(a) That the Organization of African Unity increase its support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa;

(b) That the General Assembly find ways to implement its many resolutions, including the implementation of those resolutions by force;

(c) That the General Assembly recognize that the Security Council itself is composed mainly of those who are the chief supporters and perpetrators of racism, colonialism and apartheid, namely, the United States, the United Kingdom and France; (in this connexion it becomes mandatory for the General Assembly not to rely on these so-called great Powers to condemn themselves, but members of the General Assembly, especially the Afro-Asian delegates, must find ways and means to curtail their influence and even limit their veto power);

(d) That the United States withdraw its investment and civilians from South Africa before the stage of revolutionary armed struggle reaches the point of killing United States citizens and blowing up United States investments.

102. Subsequently, a number of proposals were submitted by Government representatives at the Seminar:

(a) A draft resolution by the representative of Algeria concerning the trial of thirty-seven South West Africans accused of violating the General Laws Amendment Act of 1967 (known as the Terrorism Act) (see resolution A, paragraph 108);

(b) A draft resolution by the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo concerning the armed attack launched against the Democratic Republic of the Congo by foreign mercenaries (see resolution B, paragraph 108);

(c) A proposal by the representative of Sweden that "the Seminar call for an international action of solidarity with Zambia in order to compensate the country for its losses in connexion with the application of sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia".

- (d) A draft resolution by the representative of Iran, which read as follows:

"The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in southern Africa,

"Considering the important role that world public opinion may and must play in the elimination of apartheid and colonialism from southern Africa,

"Considering that world public opinion, particularly in countries which, by virtue of their economic and political importance, assume a special responsibility, is not fully aware of the seriousness of the tragic situation prevailing in this part of the world,

"Considering that universal awareness of human solidarity is the sine qua non condition for the success of all economic and political measures which the international community, i.e., States and peoples, might be called upon to take in order to eliminate apartheid,

"Recommends to the General Assembly to invite the Economic and Social Council to organize as soon as possible, in consultation with and with the co-operation of all the international organizations concerned, governmental as well as non-governmental, an efficient campaign to mobilize world public opinion so that it will become fully aware of this situation, and to report on this matter to the General Assembly."

- (e) Draft conclusions and recommendations by the representatives of the Afro-Asian States attending the Seminar;

- (f) An amendment by the representative of Iraq to paragraph I of the draft conclusions and recommendations submitted by the Afro-Asian States;

- (g) Amendment by the representative of Botswana to paragraph XIX of the same draft conclusions and recommendations, reading as follows:

"Having regard to the difficulties encountered by refugees from the oppressive régimes in southern Africa, the Seminar recommends that the host governments give urgent attention to the possibilities of provision of travel documents to refugees in co-operation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

"The Seminar appreciates the efforts of the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in assisting refugees to obtain travel documents."

- (h) Revised draft conclusions and recommendations by the representatives of the Afro-Asian States, incorporating the proposal by Sweden (revised) and the

amendment by Iraq, and taking into account the other proposals and amendments, as well as oral suggestions made by the representatives of Hungary and Venezuela.

103. On 3 August 1967, the Seminar proceeded to act on the various proposals before it.

104. The Seminar took up first the draft resolutions submitted by Algeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

105. Several representatives said that while they were in full sympathy with the Algerian and Congolese draft resolutions, they considered that it was inappropriate for the Seminar to vote on and adopt resolutions. Some of them recalled that the Seminar on Apartheid held in Brasilia in 1966 had only adopted recommendations and they considered that resolutions created a new precedent in seminar practices. The majority, however, considered that the Seminar was the master of its own procedure and agreed that the resolutions should be formally adopted.

106. Before the vote, the representative of the United States stated that his delegation was in agreement with the substance of the resolutions but believed there was no precedent for the adoption of formal resolutions by a seminar. He felt that the substance of both resolutions could be included in the Seminar's conclusions and recommendations and noted that the Security Council had, in fact, already adopted a resolution on the Congo. Because of these considerations, he said, the United States would not participate in the vote.

107. The Seminar then adopted both the Algerian and the Congolese draft resolutions. In both cases, the vote was 18 votes to none, with one abstention. The representatives of Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Japan, Sweden, Venezuela and the United States did not participate in the vote for the reasons given above by the United States representative and because they had not been empowered by their Governments to do so.

108. The texts of the resolutions adopted are set out below:

A

"The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in southern Africa,

"Recalling resolution 2145 (XXI) by which the General Assembly decided to put an end to the Mandate of the Republic of South Africa over South West Africa,

"Recalling the direct responsibility of the United Nations towards South West Africa in accordance with that resolution,

"Aware of the obligations of the United Nations towards the people of South West Africa,

"Deeply concerned over the charges brought in June 1967 against thirty-seven Africans from South West Africa accused of violating the General Laws Amendment Act of 1967 (known as the Terrorism Act),

"Shocked by the procedure followed by the South African authorities in bringing these thirty-seven Africans to trial, which is to take place on 7 August 1967 in Pretoria,

1. Condemns the violation by the South African authorities of the international status of South West Africa, which since 27 October 1966 has been placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations;

2. Demands that the South African authorities release the thirty-seven Africans in order to put an end to this violation, the consequences of which are of exceptional seriousness;

3. Appeals to all Member States of the United Nations and world public opinion to exert pressure on the South African authorities for the immediate release of these thirty-seven African prisoners;

4. Recommends to the General Assembly to invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take the measures which he may deem necessary to obtain the release of these prisoners."

B

"The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in southern Africa,

"Taking note of the statement made by the Head of the Delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo concerning the armed attack launched against the Democratic Republic of the Congo by mercenaries at the disposal of certain Powers,

"Considering that this aggression is a part of a carefully planned plot and aims at disturbing public order and eliminating the legal authorities of the country, with the view of replacing them by persons on the pay-roll of selfish interests,

"Considering that the attack against the Democratic Republic of the Congo has already been condemned by the recent Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Central and East Africa and by the Security Council, and that this attack constitutes a vengeful measure against countries supporting the action of liberation movements,

"Considering that if careful attention is not given to this matter, other African States might become victims of similar aggression,

"Condemns the armed attack directed against the Democratic Republic of the Congo by foreign mercenaries as an act of gangsterism contrary to international law and gives its full support to the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in its determination to restore public order which was threatened by the armed intervention of foreign mercenaries."

109. The Seminar decided, with the agreement of the representative of Iran, not to vote on the draft resolution submitted by him, as the main ideas of the draft had been included in the conclusions and recommendations submitted by the Afro-Asian group.

110. The Seminar then proceeded to consider the draft conclusions and recommendations submitted by the representatives of Afro-Asian States, the revised text of which was introduced by the representatives of India and Zambia. While most of the participants and observers welcomed this draft, several participants expressed their reservations.

111. The representative of Denmark, on behalf of the representatives of the Scandinavian countries, explained that, while they appreciated and supported a good many of the recommendations, certain parts appeared to envisage a new role to be played by the United Nations which raised questions of the interpretation of the Charter and international law. In view of this, and considering further that questions of this magnitude had to be considered, in accordance with the democratic practices in the Scandinavian countries, both at the governmental and the parliamentary levels, and since consultations had not been possible during the Seminar, they would not be able to take a position on the Afro-Asian draft conclusions and recommendations. Nevertheless, as many practical suggestions and constructive ideas had been put forward on which general agreement could be reached, he suggested that the Seminar set up a new drafting committee, composed of representatives of all the groups present, to prepare a new text which would not raise constitutional and legal questions that raised difficulties for the Scandinavian countries.

112. The representatives of Brazil, Canada, Japan and the United States associated themselves with this suggestion. The majority of the participants, however, supported the Afro-Asian text and felt that the setting up of a new drafting committee, at that stage, could serve no useful purpose.

113. The Seminar then adopted the Afro-Asian draft conclusions and recommendations and as revised by the Afro-Asian group (see chapter VI), subject to the following reservations.^{7/}

114. The representatives of Denmark, Finland and Sweden, reserved their positions for the reasons stated above. The representatives of Japan and Venezuela also reserved their positions for the same reasons. The representative of Brazil reserved his position because the draft contained accusations against States with which Brazil maintained close relations.

115. The representative of Canada said that the recommendations suggested new ways and means of action on which he would have to consult his Government. For that reason, he reserved the position of his Government.

116. The representative of the United States stated that the United States fully respected the position of the Afro-Asian drafting group that in preparing the conclusions and recommendations they would not compromise on points of principle. The United States likewise could not compromise on matters of fact, on principles, or on positions taken up by the United States in other United Nations forums and in the Seminar. The United States would not attempt to seek changes in the draft conclusions and recommendations in view of the position taken by the Afro-Asian group that changes would be difficult to accept. Although the United States strongly supported the objectives of some of the Afro-Asian recommendations and supported many of the actions recommended, the draft text was unacceptable to his Government. The text was permeated with statements and positions with which the United States disagreed and was known to oppose, the misrepresentation of facts, contentious statements against his Government, and with impractical and unworkable proposals, some of which impinged on areas of competence of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and had far-reaching implications for the United Nations. The United States strongly supported the over-all objectives of the amelioration and elimination in the shortest possible time and by peaceful means of all those barriers to freedom, equality and majority rule in South Africa. The United States would continue to strive to do its part to achieve these objectives by vigorous and responsible action, bilaterally and through the United Nations. In the view of the United States representative, the United States could not have been otherwise than dissatisfied with the conclusions and recommendations because

^{7/} The representative of Chile had to leave Kitwe prior to the consideration of the draft conclusions and recommendations and wished to be recorded that he had, therefore, not been able to express an opinion upon them.

of the manner in which the paper had been prepared. As one of the two great Powers represented at the Seminar, his Government had been charged by a number of participants with acts which allegedly contributed to the situation in South Africa, but nevertheless, it had not been fully consulted during the preparation of the measures recommended.

117. The representative of Botswana reserved his position on the recommendations involving economic or military confrontation with South Africa, and expressed the hope that his position would be understood.

118. The representative of Turkey reserved his position on paragraph II, on the last sub-paragraph of paragraph III, and on clause (b) of paragraph V of the conclusions and recommendations.

119. Finally, the representatives of Algeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, India, Iraq, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia jointly submitted a draft final declaration for the approval of the Seminar. The sponsors accepted several revisions to the draft in the light of comments by Government representatives.

120. The representative of Canada said that his Government fully subscribed to the desirability of inviting the urgent attention of the United Nations and world public opinion to the accumulating dangers of the grave situation in southern Africa and strongly condemned the policies of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism. It fully supported the right of the peoples of southern Africa to the unfettered exercise of their right to self-determination. However, as the draft declaration advocated positions on which he would have to consult his Government, he reserved his position on the draft declaration as a whole.

121. The representative of the United States stated that as the draft declaration arose out of the text of the conclusions and recommendations, it suffered from the same limitations. He therefore could not reconcile the declaration with the position of his Government, which was that every effort should be made to resolve the serious problems in southern Africa, if possible by peaceful means, a position which was consistent with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter. He therefore reserved the position of his Government.

122. The Seminar adopted the declaration, subject to the reservations recorded by the representatives of Canada and the United States. The text of the final declaration is set out in Chapter VII below.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR

123. The following is the text of the conclusion and recommendations approved by the Seminar on 3 August 1967:

I

(1) The Seminar considers that the continued existence of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa constitutes a crime against humanity and poses a grave threat to peace and security, not only in southern Africa but also in other areas of the world outside the African continent.

(2) The United Nations and Member States have a vital interest in taking effective measures to secure the eradication of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism from southern Africa, and to promote a solution based on the right of self-determination, freedom and independence, the principle of "one man, one vote", and the full application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all the people, without distinction as regards race and colour.

II

(1) The Seminar congratulates and encourages the peoples of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the Territories under Portuguese domination in their struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism.

(2) The Seminar recommends to the General Assembly of the United Nations that it adopt a declaration recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination for the achievement of their inalienable right to equality, freedom and independence in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

(3) The Seminar attaches the greatest importance to the appeals addressed by the General Assembly of the United Nations to all States to provide moral, political and material assistance to the African national liberation movements in these Territories.

III

(1) Noting that appeals and other efforts at persuading the racist and colonial régimes to abandon their criminal policies and conform to their obligations under the United Nations Charter have failed, the Seminar considers it essential that the United Nations Security Council should take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

(2) The Seminar considers that the imposition of effective mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia is imperative in order to promote a peaceful solution.

IV

(1) The Seminar considers that, in order to be effective, the sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia must be total, comprehensive, universal and mandatory.

(2) It further considers that the United Kingdom bears the primary responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia and must be called upon to use force to crush the illegal racist minority régime.

(3) The Seminar strongly condemns the support given to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia by South Africa and Portugal, and considers that the Security Council of the United Nations should urgently take effective steps to stop such support by instituting mandatory sanctions against those States violating the sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime.

(4) The Seminar calls upon the United Nations to make it unequivocally clear that there can be no recognition of the independence of Southern Rhodesia without majority African rule.

(5) The Seminar calls for an international action of positive solidarity with the Republic of Zambia to assist the Republic to overcome the serious difficulties and economic strain resulting from the application of sanctions against the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia.

V

(1) The Seminar recommends that urgent attention be given to means to secure the implementation by all States of the resolutions already adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to the situation in southern Africa.

(2) It expresses serious regret at the attitudes and actions of States which continue to collaborate with the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa in contravention of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In particular, it deplores: (a) the continued supply of arms to South Africa and the assistance provided by several Western States and international companies in the development of an arms industry in South Africa and in the training of South Africa's armed forces; (b) the continued provision of military assistance to Portugal and the training of Portuguese armed forces by its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and (c) the increasing trade with and investment in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination by several Western States, as well as an Asian State.

(3) It draws the attention of these States to the fact that their attitudes and actions encourage the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa to persist in their criminal policies, and undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

(4) The Seminar recommends that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to take active measures to promote the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to southern Africa, and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council from time to time on the response from Member States.

VI

(1) The Seminar condemns the inhuman policy of apartheid and its manifestations anywhere in the world.

(2) The Seminar condemns the efforts of South Africa to undermine independent African States and to entice them by economic, financial and other inducements. It calls upon all States to resist such enticements.

VII

(1) The perpetuation of the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa and their activities in conjunction with racist elements around the world constitute a challenge to the United Nations. The growing international alliance of racist groups should be actively combatted by the supporters of the United Nations Charter.

(2) The Seminar strongly supports the decision of the General Assembly drawing the attention of all States to the grave consequences of the formation in the southern part of Africa of an entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, and calling upon all States to withhold any support of or assistance to this entente, whose existence and activities run counter to the interests of international peace and security.

(3) The Seminar considers it essential that the increasing collaboration between the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa, and the co-operation that these régimes receive from certain Western Powers and foreign economic and financial interests which impede the progress of these Territories to freedom and independence, should be fully documented and exposed before world public opinion.

(4) The Seminar condemns the activities of those foreign economic, financial and other interests which, by supporting the régimes in the Territories under racist and colonial domination, and their exploitation of the human and material resources of the Territories, are preventing the African people from attaining freedom and independence. It calls upon the Governments of the States concerned to take all necessary measures to bring such activities to an end.

(5) In this connexion, the Seminar recommends that a group of experts be established by the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee on Apartheid and the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, to study the interlocking economic and military patterns in southern Africa.

VIII

The Seminar endorses the warning given in his opening address by President Kaunda that "the mercenaries' recent acts of violence and aggression against the free, sovereign and independent Democratic Republic of the Congo constitute a great threat to the security of independent Africa". It condemns the aggressive activities of the mercenaries against the Democratic Republic of the Congo and calls for positive action by all Member States of the United Nations and other countries to introduce, or strengthen and rigidly enforce, legislation to prevent their citizens from enlisting as foreign mercenaries to fight anywhere on African soil, and to prosecute those who are caught evading such restrictions with severity, in order to discourage the growth of this dangerous phenomenon.

IX

(1) The Seminar expresses grave concern at the policy followed by colonial Powers in southern Africa of circumventing the rights of colonial peoples through the promotion of the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the displacement, deportation or transfer of indigenous inhabitants, and condemns these policies.

(2) The Seminar further expresses grave concern at the influx of white immigrants, especially skilled labour, to South Africa, particularly for assistance in the development of the manufacture of arms and equipment for the military forces.

(3) The Seminar calls upon all Governments actively to discourage their nationals from emigrating to the Territories under colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa by refusing them travel documents and by revoking the citizenship of those of their nationals who migrate to these Territories.

X

(1) The Seminar recommends that the General Assembly of the United Nations consider means to promote greater co-ordination in dealing with the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa so as to strengthen international efforts to secure a speedy end to these evils.

(2) In this connexion, the Seminar suggests that the item in the provisional agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination" be broadened to encompass South Africa under the following title: "Activities of foreign economic and other interests in southern Africa which impede the efforts to eliminate apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism".

(3) The Seminar further suggests that consideration be given to the creation of a special United Nations committee to deal with the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa as a whole.

(4) The totality of international efforts against apartheid, racial discrimination in southern Africa - by the various United Nations organs, specialized agencies, regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity and Member States, as well as anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations - should be reviewed in all their aspects with a view to a better co-ordination and more effective action against these evils.

(5) For this purpose, the Seminar suggests that consideration be given to the convening of a conference of representatives of Member States of the United Nations, specialized agencies, regional organizations, African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and other non-governmental organizations.

XI

(1) The Seminar strongly supports the appeal by the General Assembly to all States to provide moral, political and material assistance to the national liberation movements in southern Africa recognized by the Organization of African Unity, and recommends that such aid be provided in co-operation with the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity.

(2) The Seminar encourages independent African States to provide all necessary facilities to these liberation movements in the conduct of their legitimate struggle, including the provision of facilities for residence, training and transit, as well as broadcasting facilities.

(3) It calls on all Member States to desist from returning genuine political refugees from the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa to their countries.

XII

(1) Noting the massive propaganda carried on by the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa, with the assistance of racist elements abroad and foreign economic and financial interests which profit from the perpetuation of the present situation, in order to deceive world public opinion about the real nature of their policies and to discredit and defame the efforts of the United Nations and the international community, the Seminar considers it essential that attention should be given urgently to a campaign of information on the real situation in southern Africa and the purposes of the United Nations.

(2) The campaign should emphasize the fact on the real situation in southern Africa and its implications for international peace and security, the purposes of the United Nations and Member States with regard to southern Africa, and the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people for equality and independence.

(3) The campaign should expose the entente of South Africa and Portugal with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. It should devote special emphasis to the mobilization of world public opinion in support of effective action by the United Nations and implementation of its decisions, and in order to exert the necessary pressure on those States and economic, financial and other interests which collaborate with and encourage the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa and which obstruct the adoption of effective decisions by the United Nations organs or the implementation of decisions adopted.

(4) The campaign should devote special attention to publicity within the countries which impede effective international action, and also within southern Africa through broadcasts or other available means.

(5) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, should intensify their information activities with regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa on a continuous basis.

(6) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations should consider the publication of a popular periodical on this subject in various languages for wide distribution around the world.

(7) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations should give maximum publicity to the report, recommendations and papers of this Seminar.

(8) The Seminar further recommends that the Unit on Apartheid established in the United Nations Secretariat in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) to deal exclusively with the policies of apartheid in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, should be strengthened within the budgetary provisions to enable it to discharge its terms of reference more adequately.

(9) It suggests that the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, should consult with the Secretary-General on means to develop United Nations information activities with regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa.

(10) The Seminar recommends that a working party of experts should be convened as soon as possible, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and under United Nations auspices, to consider the best means of promoting a world-wide information campaign with the co-operation of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and non-governmental organizations.

XIII

(1) The Seminar recommends that in connexion with the plans and programmes for the International Human Rights Year, 1968, special prominence be given to the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, to the plight of political prisoners and other victims of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, and to the application of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations relating to these problems.

(2) It suggests that the Secretary-General be requested to invite the attention of Member States and interested organizations, including national committees for the International Human Rights Year, to the above recommendation.

(3) The Seminar considers it desirable that a special brochure be prepared in different languages concerning the mass violation of human rights in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, and the measures adopted and recommended by United Nations organs, for widest dissemination in the course of the International Human Rights Year.

(4) The Seminar appeals to Member States to make available television, radio and other publicity media facilities for the purpose of providing maximum coverage for the dissemination of information on the mass violation of human rights in southern Africa.

(5) The Seminar expresses its hope that the International Conference on Human Rights which will meet in Teheran in 1968 will devote special attention to the problems of the struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, which are major obstacles to the achievement of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of humanity.

XIV

The Seminar recommends that the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 1968, coinciding with the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre (21 March), be commemorated effectively in solidarity with the victims of the policy of apartheid. The programmes should emphasize

the plight of the political prisoners in South Africa and collections should be made on that day for the defence and aid of the political prisoners and their families.

XV

(1) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations should, in co-operation with the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and other non-governmental organizations, collect all information on political prisoners in southern Africa imprisoned for their struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, and publicize the information as widely as possible.

(2) The Seminar further recommends that the United Nations should, in co-operation with the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and other non-governmental organizations, intensify the campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. It should initiate special campaigns with regard to the incarceration of outstanding leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe, Abram Fischer, Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole and others, and with regard to the seventy-six Africans awaiting execution in Southern Rhodesia and the thirty-seven South West Africans illegally held by the racist régime of South Africa for illegal trial under the so-called "Terrorism Act".

(3) The Seminar further recommends that the investigation into the condition of political prisoners in South Africa be pursued and extended to cover the deplorable and inhuman treatment of political prisoners in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and other colonies in Africa.

XVI

(1) The Seminar endorses and supports international assistance to victims of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, not only as a humanitarian action but also as a demonstration of opposition to these evil policies.

(2) It warmly recognizes the notable contribution made by the International Defence and Aid Fund to assist the victims of apartheid in South Africa, and hopes that the Fund will receive increasing support from Governments, organizations and individuals. It supports, in particular, the special fund-raising drive being undertaken by the International Defence and Aid Fund in the period culminating 21 March 1968 and appeals to Governments, organizations and individuals for generous contributions to the Fund.

(3) It further appeals for support to the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, launched under the auspices of the International Defence and Aid Fund.

(4) It encourages the International Defence and Aid Fund and the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners to extend their activities more widely to cover the defence and aid of prisoners in Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique and other colonies in Africa.

(5) The Seminar strongly supports the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and recommends that its terms of reference be extended to include the victims of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique and other colonies in Africa.

(6) The Seminar recommends that the Secretary-General consult the specialized agencies in order to promote greater aid and assistance to refugees from the oppressive régimes in southern Africa, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, and through it with the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, with special emphasis on the education of refugees.

XVII

The Seminar strongly supports the consolidation and development of the United Nations special education and training programmes for southern Africa. It recommends that these programmes be administered in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, and through it with the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity.

XVIII

The Seminar recommends that the United Nations and Member States consider appropriate means for the provision of civilian aid to liberated areas in southern Africa. It suggests that the establishment of a special fund for this purpose be considered in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, so that Governments, organizations and individuals may contribute in cash and kind for the provision of teachers and doctors, medicines, books and other essential civilian supplies.

XIX

(1) Having regard to the difficulties encountered by genuine refugees from the oppressive régimes in southern Africa, the Seminar recommends that the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees give urgent attention to the possibilities of providing travel documents to refugees in co-operation with the host Governments. The Seminar appreciates the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in this regard.

(2) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees assist the refugees in obtaining such travel documents.

XX

The Seminar calls upon the specialized agencies of the United Nations, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, and other international financial institutions, to follow a policy in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and not to give aid to racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa until they conform with the decisions of the United Nations.

XXI

The Seminar recommends to the United Nations Development Programme and other international agencies to give urgent consideration to the provision of adequate assistance for the strengthening of the economies of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, so that their dependence on racist and colonial régimes is reduced.

XXII

The Seminar considers that the participation of the representatives of the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, other non-governmental organizations, and experts in its work has proved most beneficial.

XXIII

The Seminar expresses deep regret and grave concern at the absence of participants from the United Kingdom, which bears primary responsibility for the situation in southern Africa; from France, which as a permanent member of the Security Council bears a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; and from certain other States which have substantial economic, financial and other interests in the area. It strongly urges them to change their present negative attitudes and co-operate in effective measures for a solution of the problems in this area.

VII. FINAL DECLARATION OF THE SEMINAR

124. The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in southern Africa, organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Government of the Republic of Zambia, having met in Kitwe, Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967, adopts the following final declaration:

(1) This Seminar, composed of participants from thirty-four Governments and one government observer, as well as observers from African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and

non-governmental organizations and experts, invites the urgent attention of the United Nations and world public opinion to the accumulating dangers of the grave situation in southern Africa. It solemnly affirms that effective international action, so long delayed and obstructed, is imperative if the racial tensions which have accumulated and now rage in the area are not to transform the southern part of Africa into a cockpit of bloodshed, with incalculable perilous consequences for international peace and security.

(2) The present dangers are not confined to the Territories of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, but constitute no less serious a threat to independent African States in the surrounding areas. As President Kenneth Kaunda pointed out in his address to the Seminar, the forces of apartheid are engaged "in the deliberate and calculated attempt at undermining the rightful and lawful Governments in independent Africa". This offensive, President Kaunda added, takes the form not only of psychological warfare, but also "of espionage activities, sabotage and of generally causing and fostering instability within and among free and independent African States ...".

(3) The oppressive régime of South Africa, emboldened by the continuing absence of sufficiently strong international action against it, is playing the primary role in this nefarious activity. It has forged an alliance with the other two white supremacist régimes of southern Africa for the express purpose of resisting at all costs the peaceful transition from minority to majority rule. This "unholy alliance" is locked in an obdurate defiance of the clearly expressed will and decisions of the United Nations, thus presenting an open challenge to the authority of the Organization. If the United Nations was to fail to meet this challenge, by effective action, its authority would be greatly damaged, perhaps even irreparably so.

(4) The Seminar condemns the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa and warns them that they cannot escape responsibility for precipitating a disastrous conflagration. Certain Western Governments, as well as the economic, financial and other forces which collaborate with these régimes and encourage them in their perpetuation of racism and colonialism must also

seriously weigh the consequences of their attitudes and actions. They should realize that their present attitudes and actions are destructive of the right of the millions of people of southern Africa to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and have the most harmful consequences for peace in the area and beyond. The Seminar urges that they should desist from collaboration with the racist minority régimes in southern Africa in the interests of peace and humanity.

(5) The Seminar calls on all the Governments and people dedicated to the ideals of non-racialism, international co-operation and peace enshrined in the United Nations Charter, to redouble their efforts to secure immediate and effective international action in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa so as to prevent the grave dangers of a racial conflagration in the area.

(6) The Seminar notes that the opponents of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa have become increasingly disillusioned with the ability of the United Nations to end these evils by peaceful methods, and the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity are now firmly committed to armed struggle for achieving their legitimate rights as defined in the Charter of the United Nations. In Mozambique and Angola, armed struggles are under way. Guerrillas have already made their appearance in Southern Rhodesia and in the Ovamboland region of South West Africa. The movements of the oppressed people of South Africa have declared their determination to seek their legitimate rights by means including violence. Thus, southern Africa is increasingly poised for an outbreak of violence and military conflict.

(7) The international community must now face the immediate consequences of the violence which past failures to act effectively have made inevitable, recognize the reality of this revolutionary situation, and reassess its role in this context.

(8) The Seminar does not subscribe to the view that the United Nations no longer has a useful role to perform. On the contrary, its responsibility for halting through energetic international action the danger of an escalation of violence has become even more important. The need for the United Nations to exercise its influence in favour of a solution in accordance with its own

decisions is more urgent than at any time in the past two decades since it first turned its attention to the problems of this area.

(9) The Seminar is especially concerned that the enforcement measures adopted by the Security Council to crush the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia have not been made more effective. It believes that the failure to bring down that régime has contributed directly towards strengthening the morale of the members of the racist and colonial alliance in the area, and encouraged them in their belief that they can defy the international community with impunity. The crushing of that régime is, therefore, an immediate priority for the world community.

(10) The Seminar is convinced, however, that even the achievement of this immediate objective cannot be ensured so long as the South African régime feels itself immune from effective international pressure and so long as Portugal can count on the unwillingness of its military allies to join in such pressure against it.

(11) The Seminar recalls that the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for equality and independence has been recognized by the General Assembly as a fully legitimate struggle which should command the support of all those who subscribe to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It recalls, too, that the General Assembly has appealed to all States to provide both moral and material assistance to the African liberation movements in the pursuit of their immediate struggle.

(12) The Seminar notes and endorses the view of the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity that while liberation must be won primarily through the efforts of the oppressed peoples themselves, the international community nevertheless has the duty to support their efforts in all appropriate ways.

(13) The Seminar recognizes that the various resolutions adopted in the past by the General Assembly and the Security Council provide an adequate framework for international action. It deplores the unwillingness, especially of the trading partners of South Africa and Portugal, to co-operate fully with the United Nations in giving effect to its decisions.

(14) The Seminar is convinced that the racist and colonial régimes have been encouraged to defy the United Nations in large measure because of the encouragement they receive through the unwillingness of the major trading partners of South Africa and Portugal, including three permanent members of the Security Council, to support effective international action.

(15) While condemning the short-sighted policies of those nations which are unwilling to forgo their immediate economic and other interests for the sake of implementing the declared objectives of the United Nations in southern Africa, this Seminar attaches great importance to persuading those Member States mainly responsible for preventing international action to change their attitudes in the interests of world peace, justice and legitimacy.

(16) To this end, the Seminar urges active efforts to mobilize world opinion, especially public opinion within the countries unwilling to lend their full support to United Nations policies in favour of effective world action against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa.

(17) The Seminar hopes that its work will facilitate the taking of effective international action to eradicate apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa without any further delay so as to fulfil the purposes of the United Nations and save humanity from the grave consequences of the perpetuation of these evils.

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Annex I

ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF ZAMBIA ON 25 JULY 1967

1. I consider this a very important and historic occasion when a seminar on apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa is held away from United Nations Headquarters and so near to the troubled area. You are holding your meeting not far from the land where apartheid, racial tyranny, oppression and exploitation of the majority of human beings by a few people of foreign origin comprise the way of life. In this same hall the United Nations Committee of Twenty-Four on Decolonization heard petitions from some of the victims of minority rule some six or seven weeks ago.
2. It is with a sense of pride that we in Zambia welcome you on a soil which once experienced this violation of human rights. Copper-belt residents are particularly happy to welcome this United Nations Seminar only a few weeks after enjoying the presence of another. You are in a very important region of our country. Economically, this is the heart of Zambia, the life-blood of this nation.
3. Indeed, the history of this young Republic would have been very different without the economic life of this region. It is my hope that you will discuss the problems before you, freely.
4. We in Zambia regard the United Nations, despite its shortcomings, as a vital instrument for the preservation of peace and security in this world, for the establishment of a decent world order for all human beings.
5. We regard as cardinal to the aims and objectives of the United Nations, the achievement of understanding and co-operation among nations in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, political or humanitarian character and in promoting and fostering respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all human beings without distinction as to race or social groupings, colour, language, religion or station in life.
6. The late 1950's and early 1960's form a period during which progressive forces of decolonization have enabled the United Nations successfully to extend the boundaries of freedom and independence. The realization of these objectives has not only brought respect for human rights in the hitherto unliberated lands, but also unleashed the dynamic forces of development - sweeping down this continent from the north in Algeria to Zambia and now across the Zambezi to Botswana.

7. In Asia, newly independent nations have continued in the meantime to consolidate their independence in defence of their freedom and human rights.
8. Having become independent during this period, we sang praises to the new world of change which had made human rights more meaningful.
9. Indeed, it seemed for a while that the determination of the peoples of the United Nations, and I quote from the Preamble of the United Nations Charter:
"... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small... and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" - had been translated into reality.
10. Today, however, this movement for the extension of freedom and independence, the whole process of decolonization, has come to a grinding halt. New and regrettable features have appeared on the southern African political panorama. Firstly, apartheid once a domestic imperative for the Whites to enable them to maintain in perpetuity their privileges and supremacy over the Black majority in South Africa, has now emerged as a political force to counter the movement for the decolonization of the unliberated lands.
11. Secondly, apartheid has found allies in the colonial policies of Portugal, in Angola and Mozambique, and Britain's failure to deal effectively with the Rhodesian rebellion has added more strength to the defiant régime in Pretoria. The Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury axis has been consolidated to give new props to the South African Government and to strengthen the basis of the minority régimes in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.
12. With this strength, massive campaigns of psychological warfare have been mounted with full force, particularly in Western capitals, not only to defend apartheid, but to undermine the efforts of all men of goodwill the world over who, like you, are trying to bring about a just and lasting solution for all human beings in that area.
13. Thirdly, differences and divisions among Member nations of the United Nations over methods of liberating the rest of southern Africa from the advancing force of apartheid have thrown into disarray the forces of liberation. Hence, today in the United Nations, there are countries which are consistent opposers of and abstainers on any resolution pertaining to the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter on human rights and decolonization.

14. I do not intend to dwell on the cause of these differences and divisions. It is enough to indicate that Member nations have varying interests in this region. Some have sociological interests, others have economic and strategic interests. Whatever these interests are, they have produced an atmosphere of hesitancy and procrastination in giving the United Nations the necessary support for effective action in the implementation of the numerous resolutions passed by the General Assembly, the Security Council and various other agencies of the world body.

15. That your Seminar continues to make every effort to diagnose and understand more accurately this acute problem and that this Seminar makes recommendations as to measures for an early end to this iniquity, are manifestations of the humanitarian value of the United Nations.

16. If the objectives are to be achieved, Member nations of the world body and all those others engaged in the struggle for the right against wrong, for justice in freedom, must sink their differences and eliminate the current divisions which continue to generate suspicion among Member nations of the United Nations and hence make it impossible to attack the real sources from which this malaise of mankind springs. This failure to take effective action in good time, and the concomitant squabbles and filibusters have so far benefited only the advocates of apartheid and their supporters.

17. Mr. Chairman, there is a fourth feature in this tragi-comedy in which racial minorities, while advocating support for democracy, Western values, civilization and Christianity, at the same time oppress in a most outrageous manner the majority who have as much right to life - decent life - as the oppressors. This fourth feature is the deliberate and calculated attempt at undermining the rightful and lawful Governments in independent Africa.

18. Apartheid is on the offensive; this is evident already in what I referred to earlier as the psychological warfare in the West by South African foundations and their supporting institutions to popularize apartheid and indeed extend the boundaries of its influence. But in addition to this, this offensive is taking the form of espionage activities, sabotage and generally causing and fostering instability within and among free and independent African nations to demonstrate to the outside world their immaturity and administrative inexperience.

19. Added to this offensive is the new phenomenon in the name of mercenaries. The role of these notorious soldiers of fortune in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has assumed a new dimension in our struggle for peace and stability. Their recent acts of violence and aggression against the free, sovereign and independent Republic constitute a grave threat to the security of independent Africa. Recently, there have been attempts in some Western capitals to rationalize the whole concept of mercenary forces in justification of their role in the Congo.
20. Indeed, some commentators have related these mercenaries to those of the Middle Ages, the period of the Renaissance, the Hundred Years' War, and the small wars among princedoms in Europe during which bands of adventurer-soldiers were hired for waging wars on behalf of their employers. We, the leaders of this continent are aware that the similarity between the mercenaries of that age and those now committing acts of aggression in the Congo does not go beyond their being professional murderers for money.
21. Those in the Congo fight for more than pay and glory; they are committed to an ideology. They are not indifferent to the directional force behind the development of the Congo and Africa. Unlike the mercenaries of the Middle Ages, when nation states had not yet come into being, these come from sovereign states with specific national interests and policies towards Africa. Their objective is not only pay and glory.
22. Take mercenaries from South Africa, for example. Most of these, if not all, are members of the so-called Nationalist Party, ardent supporters of apartheid. Why must they fight and risk death for a Black man like Tshombe if there is no added urge to make this man the instrument of their Government's national policy? South African supporters of apartheid have no respect for Africans and there can be no reason for their serving an African unless this is in the service of their own interests.
23. Africa is a continent of non-aligned nations. But we, the leaders of independent Africa, have to remember that this mercenary phenomenon poses a great danger not only to our security, but also the movement for African unity to which we are committed.
24. Let it be remembered further that the concept of exercising control over what was once called "the lesser breeds" is not dead; that the old commando spirit in

South Africa is being used to extend the boundaries of the influence of apartheid and its allied doctrines; and that the Boer Trek is still on and is now instrumental to the wider concept of neo-colonialism, the pillar on which the minority régimes in turn find their livelihood and derive their confidence.

25. We stand on the threshold of an era which has ended most of the barriers which for a long time have separated man from man both in time and distance. Prejudice is the enemy of international understanding and co-operation. This prejudice is based on what one might call ethnocentrism, that is, the tendency among nations to view alien cultures with disfavour, resulting in a belief that their culture is superior to those of other nations.

26. Indeed advocates of apartheid have called independent Africa all manner of names. But I regard people who kill to oppress any group of people, who practice outrageous suppression and who violate even the most elementary principles of human rights by any means whether it be by machine-guns, tear-gas, revolvers, bombs, etc., as no less barbaric and savage than those who kill with spears and bows and arrows. For murder is murder whatever missile one uses. Both types of weapons are unfit for decent society.

27. Unless we apply one standard, one moral code of conduct in human relations on this earth, the prospects for international co-operation and lasting peace are dim. We must thus fight prejudice to a successful conclusion.

28. In southern Africa and Asia, the United Nations is meeting the greatest of its challenges. The war in Viet-Nam rages and there are yet no prospects for a satisfactory end to it. Its main source is to be found in the basic prejudice among the combatants which breeds suspicion and leads to a conflict situation. In southern Africa racial prejudice and economic competition have produced a conflict situation which is dangerous to mankind as a whole.

29. Can the United Nations do any more than what is being done so far? My feeling is that this is the time for effective action by those who subscribe to the concepts and principles of the United Nations Charter.

30. For our part, the first stage was to declare our policy of non-racialism immediately after independence. Since then this policy has been followed up with our efforts to humanize the social, economic and political process. Our philosophy of humanism is humanitarian, it is a belief, a way of life, centered upon human interests and values.

31. We reject the trend towards superanaturalism which divides societies and brings with it conflicts within nations at a crucial time when the developing, the newly independent and old nations, the East and the West, are all engaged variously in the search for new levels in their relations, for a new equilibrium in their national interests in the changing international environment.

32. Our philosophy, as I have repeatedly pointed out, regards man as the central object, and asserts the essential dignity and the worth of man and his capacity to achieve self-idealization through the unlimited use of reason, without let or hindrance. Self-fulfilment by man cannot thrive where the process of reason and expression is systematically stifled. We remain convinced that tension will continue to build up in rebel Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and South West Africa.

33. We remain convinced that the world community must have a vital interest in the peace and stability of this area. Zambia, as a Member of the United Nations and as a nation dedicated to the principles of justice and respect for the human person, has given and will continue to give its unqualified support to genuine efforts to fight prejudice and racial tyranny and exploitation and restore the rights of the majority in southern Africa.

34. My Government is deeply concerned in particular with three potentially explosive aspects of the current situation in this region.

35. First, we regret that all the resolutions passed in the General Assembly and other organs of the world body, have failed to produce any positive improvement in the policies of the South African Government; that the minority rebel régime of Ian Smith still remains in power by force and against the will of the majority in Rhodesia; and that Portugal has defied the United Nations in her refusal to grant independence to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

36. Second, we are dismayed and disappointed as the unhelpful and prohibitive attitudes of those Member States of the United Nations who have responsibility for administering parts of southern Africa and those which have the capacity to resolve the problem. We continue to believe that the situation is potentially explosive and the United Nations may live to regret its inaction.

37. Third, we deeply deplore the military assistance and technical knowledge given South Africa by some Western Powers while it is clear that her objective in acquiring greater fire-power is to oppress more effectively the 12 million Africans in the interests of 3 million Whites. This must be clear to them, and they know it. We further deplore the failure of Britain to restore the rights of Africans in Rhodesia, a great number of whom now languish in Smith's concentration camps.

38. Therefore, we condemn unreservedly double standards applied in dealing with colonial problems; and we appeal to all Member nations to rid the United Nations of racial traits which could be prejudicial to the cause of humanity.

39. We are convinced that the cause of peace to which we are committed and have pledged ourselves to serve, cannot be won by paying lip-service to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter, but by action.

40. Your Seminar has a very important and historical role to play in this area and a moral duty to assist in the liberation of millions of human beings for whom freedom is a dim hope, if not a dream.

41. Let us bear high the torch of freedom and let our appeal for realism and justice resound in every corner of the earth; for the cry of millions in South Africa for human rights, for freedom and justice is genuine, and it is desperate. You and your Governments and fellow human beings all over the world can help, provided you, like ourselves, have the will and the desire to do so.

42. Africa, once the victim of oppression and exploitation, will one day emerge as a source of moral inspiration which forms the very basis of true freedom. Respect for human rights is cardinal to any decent society and we must, therefore, continue to uphold these rights in the interests of humanity.

43. You are committed to finding a just and lasting solution to serve humanity. Without truthfulness, honesty and morality, the results of your deliberations cannot but find themselves in the scrap-yard of history. I am, however, fully confident that you will leave Zambia having gone one stage further in the achievement of your cherished goal.

44. I now wish you and distinguished delegates a happy stay in Zambia and great success in your deliberations.

Annex II

STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON 25 JULY 1967^{a/}

1. It is my honour and privilege to welcome all of you who have responded to the invitation to attend the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa. A special debt of gratitude is owed to President Kaunda for having risen to the occasion at such short notice and offered Kitwe as a venue for the Seminar. The promptness with which countries, organizations and delegates responded to the change of site has been most encouraging and a sure indication of the importance which they attach to the subject before us.
2. While there are many causes of tension and unrest, those that have been deliberately imposed upon man by man easily take first place in their seriousness and persistence. Apart from such major disasters as wars and slavery, the history of the world recounts many instances of organized exploitation of man by man. The Spartans had their helots, the feudal lords their serfs, the masters their slaves. I make reference to the historical background because in the struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism one may sometimes wonder whether the poor are not always with us; whether the strong will not always lord it over the weak; whether it is not part of human nature for men to attain success by exploiting their fellow men. These doubts and misgivings assail the best and most resolute of us with varying intensity and at different times. It was such doubts and misgivings that troubled Wilberforce and Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, Lobenguala and Mosheshoe. Several thousand years ago it was said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish".
3. The same is true today. Nations, organizations and individuals have gathered here because in spite of the dark clouds that hang over the horizon they see a future in which the complexion of man's skin will no longer be regarded as the most significant thing about him. They see a brave new world in which there is one race and that is the human race.
4. The United Nations Organization, representing as it does, the morality of the international community has been interested in the question of apartheid, racialism and colonialism from its inception. One of the fundamental aims for the achievement

^{a/} Read by the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Apollo K. Kironde.

of which the founding Members of the Organization resolved to combine their efforts in San Francisco was, "To reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women..."

In its Universal Declaration of Human Rights the United Nations states that "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world".

5. The United Nations Organization has never lost sight of its basic aims and objectives, but has at all times maintained that freedom is the inalienable right of all men, that it is indivisible, that it cannot truly flourish if it is enjoyed by some and denied to others.

6. These principles, so basic to the purposes of the Organization, are not rules of conduct arbitrarily devised by the founding fathers, but are fully justified on moral grounds, because peace and freedom are in the last analysis inter-dependent. Moreover, the founder Members in their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", were fully aware that since wars begin in the minds of men it was not sufficient to lay down rules of conduct as between nations, but that it was imperative to define certain basic rules of behaviour between man and man without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

7. No association or organization can exist without rules and regulations. Throughout its existence the United Nations Organization has without fear or favour stoutly upheld its fundamental principles and passed judgement on those who have violated these rules. The resolutions passed by the General Assembly abound with instances where apartheid, colonialism and racial discrimination have been roundly condemned by the international community as vestiges of a bygone era which should be eradicated thoroughly in the same way as slavery and the slave trade.

8. Confronted as we are by seemingly unyielding systems of apartheid and colonialism in the southern part of the African continent, I suggest that it is opportune to dwell for a few moments on some of the positive gains that have been achieved.

9. Without enumerating the various resolutions that have been passed by the Organization at practically every session condemning the concept and practice of apartheid and the existence of colonialism in any of its forms, I will mention only instances which may be regarded as landmarks in the Organization's struggle to put the welfare and dignity of man above the prejudices and greed of races and nations.

10. The right of peoples to self-determination is enshrined in the Charter as a basic human right. The year 1960 saw the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Declaration provided not only for the exercise of the right of self-determination but also specifically enjoined all States to observe faithfully and strictly both the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In 1961, a Special Committee was established by the General Assembly to watch over the implementation of the Declaration.

11. The General Assembly has been concerned with racial discrimination from the outset. Its efforts culminated in the establishment of the Special Committee on Apartheid. The Security Council's successful imposition of an arms embargo on South Africa in 1963 is of special significance, not so much because of the results that have been achieved but more as an indication of the awareness on the part of the world community of the threat to international peace and security posed by the situation in South Africa and of its readiness to adopt measures designed against South Africa.

12. The establishment of the Special Committee on Apartheid was a recognition by the international community that the struggle for human equality and dignity must continue and that the last vestiges of racialism and discrimination in the national law of Member States must be eradicated.

13. The latest addition to these far-reaching measures designed to end once and for all the myth of the inequality of races and people was passed last year when for the first time in the history of the Organization the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter were invoked against the illegal minority régime of Southern Rhodesia which had seized power to forestall the establishment of democratic institutions.

The imposition of economic sanctions against a régime which had violated the commonly accepted principles of nations was a major step with far-reaching consequences in international relations.

14. The establishment of educational and training programmes for South Africans, South West Africans and persons under the Portuguese administration of Angola and Mozambique is also relevant in this context. The community of interest which has been displayed by the Member States in educating those victims of apartheid, colonialism and racialism so as to enable them to play an effective role in the future of their country is a testimony to the faith in the success of the efforts towards a new world order.

15. In recent years the winds of change have swept right across the continent of Africa from West to East and from North to Central Africa, but they seem to have come up against a stone wall running somewhere across the southern part of the African continent. Not only have the winds produced no change beneficial to the non-white people living in this part of Africa but the attitude of the white minority groups that have settled in these areas seems to have hardened and the attainment of self-determination of the non-white inhabitants of these regions indefinitely deferred.

16. In these circumstances, one may only hope that as often happens in human affairs it is a case of its being darkest just before the dawn. The intensification of racial intolerance and the gradual erosion of the basic human rights is only equalled by the determination of the people of these regions to rid themselves of the shackles of apartheid and colonialism and racial discrimination in all its manifestations, and of the world community to assist them in their struggle.

Annex III

OPENING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN ON 25 JULY 1967

1. Mr. President, on behalf of the members of the Seminar, I wish to thank you for your statement. In you, Mr. President, and in your country, we see a strong determination in the efforts to eradicate the evils of apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa. Mr. President, I know it will not be an over-statement if I say that Africa would have been more blessed if it had had many leaders of your determination. In fact, this would have meant the quick liquidation of these forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism in southern Africa. Your leadership, Mr. President, together with that of the United National Independence Party, saved Zambia from the claws of apartheid - I repeat, saved Zambia from the claws of apartheid, which were almost - I repeat almost - closing in. I know that before independence the social set-up in this country was being slowly geared towards that abominable evil of apartheid. Had it not been for your leadership, this country would have slowly been swallowed into that abominable system.
2. Coming to the substantive question, I would like to say that, for the first time, the problems of apartheid and colonialism in southern Africa are being discussed together, not only by Member States but also by experts who have been kind enough to present papers. And also we have amongst us representatives of non-governmental organizations whose contributions to the Seminar cannot be minimized.
3. The problem in southern Africa is further complicated - and here, Mr. President, I agree with you entirely - by the complicity of certain Member States of this Organization. For example, I was with the Committee of Twenty-Four which sat in this hall nearly three weeks ago and the cries we heard were all that the colonialist Powers are able to do what they are doing simply because of the aid that they receive from their Western allies. It was in this hall that the people from South West Africa gave their cry that if it were not for the complicity of certain Western Powers, the South African Government would not have defied the United Nations the way it does. With their help, with the help of this complicity, the forces of oppression in southern Africa have not only continued but indeed have redoubled their efforts.

4. Your Excellency, I would not like to take much of your time to go into the problems that are yet to be examined by this Seminar. I wish, however, on behalf of this Committee to thank Your Excellency for the most forthright, clear and most sincere statement you have delivered to this Seminar.

5. I am sure members of the Seminar will agree with me that this statement will no doubt form a corner-stone of our deliberations. On behalf of the members of the Seminar, I wish to thank the Government and the gallant people of the Republic of Zambia. Zambia has become and will continue to be a centre for such international activities. It is in this respect that we salute the people of Zambia in their gallant struggle to build Zambia by the sweat of their brows. Once again, Your Excellency, I wish to thank you for your most brilliant statement. I want also to thank all the Ministers of your Government and the members of the public who have come here to honour the opening of our Seminar.

6. Mr. President, colonialism in southern Africa is on the defensive. Mr. President, colonialism in southern Africa is very much on the defensive. Apartheid in South Africa is on the defensive. If it were not for the help that these forces receive from their Western allies, I am sure the people of Africa are capable of getting rid of colonialism and apartheid by their own strength. I take this opportunity, Mr. President, at the opening of this Seminar, to appeal to these Powers to see the plight of the people of South Africa, to see the plight of the people of South West Africa, to see the plight of the people of Angola, to see the plight of the people of Mozambique, to see the plight of the people of Southern Rhodesia. It is only in the international co-operation of adhering to the Charter of the United Nations, it is only in the co-operation of the fulfilment of the resolutions of the United Nations that one day the whole continent of Africa will call the rest of the people their friends; for it is only then that they will realize that because the whole world co-operated in fulfilling the Charter of the United Nations, they were able to come into freedom as independent States. However, if that is not possible, the people of Africa are determined to get rid of apartheid. The people of Africa are determined to get rid of colonialism. They are determined to do this at whatever cost, including the sacrifice of their own lives.

7. As I speak now, Mr. President, I know there are people in the forests fighting. As I speak now, I know there are people in Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia

who are fighting and, indeed, in South Africa. Let us hope that these Powers, the colonialist Powers, together with those who have influence on them, will not make it possible for the people of Africa to shed so much blood as they have shed in the past during the period of "recolonialism", as they have shed during the period of oppression and colonialism. We think it should not be necessary that we should shed blood to free Africa again. However, if it becomes necessary, the people of Africa have accepted the challenge.

8. Once again, Mr. President, I wish to thank you, your Government and your people for the hospitality you are extending to this Seminar.

9. Long live African freedom! Long live President Kaunda! Long live the people of Zambia and long live the Organization of African Unity!

Annex IV

CONCLUDING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SEMINAR
ON 4 AUGUST 1967

1. The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism, organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Government of the Republic of Zambia, is now coming to a close. You have accorded me the great honour of presiding over this Seminar devoted to a subject which is so close to our hearts in Africa and a solution of which is so vital for international peace and for the building of a world in which nations and peoples can co-operate in equality and dignity.
2. Members of the Seminar, it is my pleasant duty, on behalf of the Seminar and on my own behalf, to thank the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Simon Kapwepwe, and through him the President of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, and the Government and the people of the Republic of Zambia, not only for their hospitality to this Seminar and their contribution in ensuring the smooth functioning of the Seminar, but also for their keen interest in the substance of its work. The opening address by the President of the Republic of Zambia has been a source of great inspiration and encouragement to the Seminar, and the address delivered by the Foreign Minister today is a great contribution to our work. Both these addresses will be reproduced in full in the report of the Seminar.
3. I wish also to thank His Excellency Mr. Jethro Mutti and the other members of the delegation of the Republic of Zambia for their great assistance to the Chairman and to all the members of the Seminar. Our thanks also go to Mr. Mnyanta, the liaison officer from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and all his colleagues for their untiring efforts to facilitate the work of the Seminar.
4. I wish to thank Their Worships the Mayors of Kitwe and Ndola for their warm hospitality. I wish to thank the Zambia television and Zambia radio, and the staff of the hotels in Kitwe and Ndola and all those who, in one way or another, have contributed to our work and to the smooth functioning of the Seminar. Our special thanks go to the charming ladies of the Kitwe Community Centre whose hospitality has enabled us to have those very pleasant and very fruitful tea breaks.

5. I must extend our very sincere appreciation to the secretariat of the Seminar for their devoted assistance, which contributed greatly to the success of the Seminar. I wish to thank, first of all, the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Apollo K. Kironde, for all his advice and assistance; and secondly, Mr. Reddy, the Secretary of the Seminar, Mrs. Tsien and Mr. Antipov, Deputy Secretaries, and all their collaborators; and finally, the secretaries, the document officer, the interpreters, the film crew, the information officers and all those, seen and unseen, who have worked so hard to ensure the success of the Seminar. I wish to request the representative of the Secretary-General to convey to the Secretary-General our great appreciation of the services rendered by the Secretariat to this Seminar.

6. It is my pleasant duty, last but not least, to thank the Rapporteur, Mr. Raja Aznam, the Vice-Chairman of the Seminar, and all the participants and observers for their co-operation with the Chair and their great contribution to the success of the Seminar.

7. This Seminar was unique in that it brought together for the first time Government representatives, as well as observers from African liberation movements, interested non-governmental organizations and experts committed to the principles of the United Nations Charter, to discuss a political problem of vital importance to the United Nations and humanity. I am sure members will agree with me that the participation of the observers has proved most useful by adding a new dimension to our discussions and providing us with expert knowledge.

8. I wish to thank the many experts who have come here in their individual capacities or as representatives of organizations because of their great concern with the subject-matter of the Seminar, and helped greatly in the discussions and the consultations. I hope I will not be accused of discrimination if I make a special mention of the two individuals invited to the Seminar - Mr. Colin Legum and Mr. Dennis Brutus - as well as of Mr. Sean McBride and Reverend Michael Scott.

9. Permit me, however, to express my keen disappointment and dismay at the absence of one participant for reasons beyond his control. I refer, of course, to His Excellency Mr. Achkar Marof, Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid since 1964, who has contributed so greatly to the struggle against apartheid and colonialism in the United Nations and also to the organization of this Seminar.

His paper for this Seminar is a valuable historic document which will be annexed to the report of the Seminar. We missed his presence here greatly and I would earnestly hope that he will be available soon to help carry forward the recommendations of the Seminar into concrete action.

10. On this occasion, I want to make another earnest appeal to the President and Government of the Republic of the Ivory Coast to release Ambassador Marof from illegal detention. Ambassador Marof is not only a Guinean diplomat but the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid who has presented the African concern with this problem so ably before the world. I cannot imagine anyone but the most inveterate racists seeking to silence this voice of Africa.

11. Permit me to say a few words about the achievements of this Seminar, not only as the Chairman but also as an African from a country close to the arena of the crisis which is unequivocally committed to do its utmost to help end the oppression of our brothers in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, and restore the dignity and lawful rights of the oppressed people in this area.

12. We recognize that our freedom and independence is not secure so long as the racists and colonialist are allowed to continue their crimes against humanity in southern Africa. We are committed, in the name of our own freedom, to crush the racist and colonial régimes in this area. There can be no compromise with racism and colonialism. We cannot accept a little bit of racism, a little bit of colonialism or a little bit of humiliation.

13. I wish to make it quite clear to all States, particularly to the Western Powers which collaborate with the racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa, and also to that Asian country, Japan, that we cannot but denounce every Government or corporation which gives sustenance to the régimes which trample on the dignity of the African people. We will never accept any manoeuvres which try to avoid fundamental principles and look for fruitless dialogues and compromises.

14. Let me make it clear that the oppressed people of southern Africa, led by their liberation movements, are determined to liberate themselves, whatever the cost in blood and suffering. They can confidently count on the unequivocal support of the two hundred million African people who have declared that the struggle for justice in southern Africa is the cause of the whole of Africa.

...

15. I wish to assure the Governments of the Western Powers that neither the liberation movements of southern Africa nor the African people want them to shed a single drop of blood for the liberation of Africa. At the same time, we demand and we will never cease to demand that they should stop all collaboration with the enemies of the African people and the enemies of humanity. Let them disengage themselves totally from the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa or they may find themselves in confrontation with the liberation movements and all the African peoples.
16. We will never tire of reminding them of and exposing before the whole world the support received by Portugal from certain of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the support which helps this mediaeval colonial régime to perpetuate the oppression of our African brothers and carry on a brutal colonial war in Angola and Mozambique.
17. We will never tire of reminding them of and exposing before the whole world the continued supply of sophisticated weapons to the régime in South Africa, the assistance given to that régime in building up a massive arms industry and the help given to it in resisting sanctions.
18. We will never tire of reminding them of and exposing before the whole world the tactics used by them to obstruct all meaningful action to help end apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa and the sabotage of decisions adopted by international organizations in this respect.
19. This Seminar has been convened not as an academic exercise, but to analyse the weakness of international action so far and to formulate recommendations for more effective action in consultation with the spokesmen and leaders of the oppressed people of southern Africa and their friends. We did not come here to exchange formalities and to agree on meaningless platitudes. We have had more than enough of pious resolutions in the last two decades during which the United Nations has been seized of the problems on southern Africa.
20. We came here to discuss more effective action.
21. It is not surprising that there were some differences in the Seminar. There is always resistance when something new and drastic is proposed. We did not expect that those who obstruct and sabotage even the decisions approved by the United Nations would be enthusiastic about recommendations for more effective action.

22. The final declaration of this Seminar and the conclusions and recommendations are a guide to the world for undertaking more effective and meaningful action to eradicate the continuing crimes against humanity in southern Africa.

23. I am sure I speak for the oppressed people of southern Africa, for the people of Africa, and for the Afro-Asian family, in expressing our appreciation and gratitude to all those States which have lent their support to the documents which have emerged from this Seminar.

24. We appreciate the reservations made by some of the other delegations on the ground that they did not have sufficient opportunity for consulting their Governments and Parliaments and obtaining instructions. I appeal to these delegations to carry these documents home and give them all the consideration that they deserve in the few weeks before the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Let them tell their people, their Parliaments and their Governments that this is the action that the oppressed people of southern Africa, the people of Africa and the Afro-Asian family seek in the name of freedom, in the name of international co-operation, in the name of the principles of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

25. The usefulness and importance of this Seminar will depend very greatly on how soon and how effectively the recommendations approved here will be translated into action. We call on all the States and world public opinion to give the most serious consideration to the proposals so that the documents emerging from this Seminar will represent a new stage in the struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa.

26. For this purpose I wish to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on behalf of this Seminar, to ensure the widest dissemination of the final declaration and the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar all over the world. I wish to suggest that they should be published promptly, not only in the official languages of the United Nations, but also in other languages for instance, the African languages, the Asian languages and the Scandinavian languages, so that all the peoples of the world can study them and so that the Governments can act on the basis of informed public opinion.

27. Members of the Seminar, I wish again to thank you for the honour you have accorded me in electing me as the Chairman of this Seminar and for your co-operation.

Annex V

CONCLUDING STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA ON 4 AUGUST 1967

1. I would like to begin my address by thanking you and the entire Seminar, on behalf of my President and the Government and, indeed, on behalf of the people of Zambia, for the work you have carried on in the last few days you have been in Kitwe. We have enjoyed having you and we hope you have had a happy and enjoyable stay in spite of the hard work you have been obliged to do. We have all followed your deliberations closely. We may not have agreed with all that has been said in this Seminar, but we have found ourselves in agreement with most of the pronouncements that have been made.
2. There seems to be a consensus as regards the fact that apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism should be wiped out of southern Africa. It would appear from the Seminar's deliberations that Member States differ only as regards what methods should be used to achieve this. We certainly differ on the assessment as to the gravity of the crisis. In this connexion, it was with great disappointment that my Government heard one delegate declare during your deliberations that he did not think that the southern Africa situation presented a threat to international peace and security.
3. This sort of indifference has been the cause of the United Nations failure in all its past efforts and cannot and indeed should not be permitted. If distinguished participants would permit me, I would like us to take a quick look at the southern African situation once more. I know this has been done over and over again and therefore I do not intend to go into it at length.
4. We know for a fact that, apart from a political and an economic alliance between South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, there is a military alliance as well. Moreover, this alliance (as if it is not bad enough) has been strengthened by decades of firm support from partners in Western Europe.
5. We are very much aware that some European countries have been selling to South Africa the idea that there exists a political North South Axis and that Europe and Africa (meaning white southern Africa) are very much dependent on each other and

that they can protect each other strategically. This is indeed very disturbing, especially when most of the advocates of these ideas are from an area which is the birth place of nazism.

6. It is quite true we may differ in ideas, perhaps in thinking on this matter. Other nations may differ on this matter, other people may differ on this matter, but not the African people. For the African people this is a grave situation. There is no continent on earth that has suffered like Africa. Starting from 35 B.C. when the Romans got Egypt and made it part of their empire, it has continued. Discrimination has continued. Robbing has continued. Imprisonment has continued. Murdering has continued. Butchering and massacre have continued and, therefore, there would be no difference as far as Africans are concerned. As far as other nations are concerned, yes, they may have some differences but not the African people. The black man has suffered under white man's hands. This is a fact. It has been a fact since 35 B.C. and it has continued. Even today the black man is still suffering. Therefore, there would be no difference of ideas and, indeed, even some of the good people among the white people have realized that we have suffered. Our Seminar has gone through many analyses from the military side, from the economic side, from the racial side and from other aspects.

7. But one thing still stands out, that is, the white man would like to maintain superiority in perpetuity over the black man. They would like to maintain that which they have maintained from far back. It is a shameful case to analyse, it is a shameful case to argue against, it is a shameful case to differ on. Africa should stand like a mirror. The sufferings of Africa should stand like a reflecting glass to all white nations of the world to see how much they have wronged mankind, to see how much they have butchered mankind, to see how much they have been satanic in their actions, to see exactly how much they have been brutal and how much they have been uncivilized.

8. Africa should tell a story where man should start thinking, as a civilized man. Africa should make other people learn a lesson as to how much we have not been civilized as a human race. Africa should tell us that man has not advanced, that man has not become civilized if he can continue to be uncivilized up to this date. I maintain that Africans are being persecuted on their own soil, they have been persecuted even on other soils; wherever the black man has gone he has

been persecuted. He has been subjected to torture, to imprisonment, to murder, to everything that is inhuman and this, I think, should be a lesson for a Seminar to analyse how much Africa has suffered.

9. I hope you have analysed sufficiently to make the world realize how much they have blundered in Africa. There have been conferences in Belgium, in Germany, all over Europe, to see how Africa can be divided, a long time ago and even now. We know it was true then, and it is still true today, that the white race is not prepared to leave Africa free. Africa would have to be directed, Africa would have to be controlled, Africa would have to be shown its own destiny. Now this is obvious. This we have known for years. It is still here. It may continue to be here because as I am speaking, Africa is divided into areas of influence. Some claim West Africa must be under their influence. Some claim North Africa must be under their influence. Some claim Central Africa must be under their influence. Some claim South Africa must be under their influence. We must not shape our own destiny. It must be designed by some people from outside. Mr. Chairman, this should be a lesson how much the white race has disgraced itself in Africa. Time has come, I think, for the white race to start learning. We suffered even before ideologies came. We are suffering even during the time of ideologies. We have continued to suffer after industrialization of Europe and America. In the past, it was the slave trade. It was trade in ivory and gold and silver. Later on, it was land divided, it was building of empire, it was dividing the whole of Africa into pieces like a wedding cake. Now we are told that Africa must not be communist. Africa must not be capitalistic. We are told that Africa must be directed as they will go East or they will go West. We have been suffering at all stages. Before Jesus came we had been suffering; even when Jesus came and went we continued to suffer. Even when ideologies and cold war came, we continued to suffer. Even today we are still suffering. And the plan is that Africa must be maintained under the domination of the white race.

10. It is obvious when you talk about issues like the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) why the British Government cannot act. It is not because the British Government cannot act. It is because there is a plan behind it. There is no reason for us to talk about Rhodesia, to talk about Mozambique or Angola. It is silly as talking of one brick in a condemned house. When the whole house is

condemned, then you start debating about how rotten one brick is. It is one parcel - UDI, Angola, Mozambique. It is southern Africa which white nazism would like to maintain. It is a question of trying to maintain a position in Africa so that Africa should not shape its own destiny. Our problem in Africa is not ideology. It is a question of maintaining the control of Africa. Why? It is because Africa is a good market for industrialized countries. They want to keep Africa as a complete market to the white Powers.

11. We are suffering because of our vegetation and all that is found on top of the soil. We are suffering because of our minerals. We must be the source of raw materials. This is the problem of Africa. It is not because the black skin is inferior, it is not because we cannot think like any human being in the world. Not at all. We are as capable as any other race on earth but the question is that Africa must be maintained as a market for the good life and the good welfare of the Europeans and Americans. Africa has been subjected to this not because the people are inferior in Africa. No. Far from it. It is because we don't like to remain the suppliers of raw materials for the factories across the sea.

12. Some suggestions have been made and perhaps your recommendations will be taken to the United Nations for discussion. But I have been at the United Nations for some time now; it is the graveyard of African subjects and matters. You discuss and you take them there. They all get buried. Again, we come back for the same thing. If you want to see, look at the Security Council: its composition gives no hope to Africa. We have taken our cases to the Security Council, but in the end we come back disappointed, again just like a dog chasing its own tail. Big Powers don't need it. Small nations have no voice: they can speak but they will be ignored. We have no hope. I am not saying that we are not Members. We are Members of the United Nations and we are full Members. But this cannot stop Africa from seeing what is logical, cannot stop Africa from seeing exactly which side its bread is buttered. This does not stop us from thinking when injustice is meted out to us. We see it. We know it. We are quite aware of it.

13. This conference or this Seminar has had only one useful purpose, that is, you have put a page in the record of history and, at least, people from other nations gathered to speak about it, so that when other generations come, they will see that people at this particular point were disappointed in what was being done in

southern Africa. That alone is the purpose perhaps to put on record that some people discussed discrimination in Africa. Otherwise, Africa has been caught in a mass of interests. When we take our cases to the United Nations Security Council, in that forest of nations, interests again come back to control Africa as a market and the source of raw materials. I am not trying to be rough to you, Mr. Chairman, or to the members who have come here to my country. I am trying to be factual and speak exactly like an African who is feeling the pinch, who has not only seen the records of history but has suffered under the same plans of nazism.

14. Indeed, we were told in the 1939-45 war, we were going to fight to be free. Africans everywhere, South Africans, East Africans, West Africans, North Africans, Central Africans, we all went and joined up and cherished this good idea to go and fight for freedom so that we should be free people. When we came back we had more chains on our legs and hands, and there is still more to come.

15. Mr. Chairman, I am not trying to embarrass you or embarrass members here, but I wanted to state the case of Africa, that is, that we have suffered. We have suffered so that even when we were taken years back as slaves - and centuries have passed - we are not called Americans, we are called Negroes. Even the Germans who fought them are called Americans, but we are still called Negroes. So much so that even if you are promoted to be the first judge, they say a Negro has been promoted to be a judge as if a Negro is not a human being. It can only be news if a dog has been promoted to be judge but not a human being. If people like me can be a foreign minister what will stop a Negro or a black man in America from being a judge. He is just as human as any human being and, therefore, my case is that Africa has suffered.

16. But I hope that Africa does not continue to be weak. I think and I pray that Africans are going to get a lesson and start defending themselves. I hope the freedom fighters will realize that this world is cold and cruel. No one will speak for you unless you speak for yourself. No one will fight for you until you fight for yourself. No one will protect you until you protect yourself. Africans must start realizing this and put their own feet on the ground and face this cruel world. It is cruel and cold. It is not a world of angels. It is a world of devils. It is cruel and, therefore, the freedom fighters, wherever they are and whatever they are doing, must get down to earth. Going to the United Nations and making a speech is not the answer to the fight. Making good speeches in Lusaka, Cairo, Dar es Salaam or anywhere else is not the answer to the fight.

17. Some people are surprised about coups. They are part and parcel of the plans for European supremacy to subject Africa to humiliation. Some people are blind - Africans, I mean and think. They have got friends. We have not got friends. I said at the United Nations that the friendship between other nations and Africa is that friendship of a fly when you have a sore on your neck; it will continue pestering you, but immediately after the sore is cured you cannot see it again. This is a fact. Freedom fighters, I hope your bones are not made of sugar cane. They should be made of iron. It is only the Africans themselves who will wipe out the shame of Africa. It is the Africans themselves who will make Africa stand as a continent equal with other continents.

18. Mr. Chairman, you have made recommendations. We have noted them. We hope they will be useful for the rest of the world to study, to get some wisdom out of them and try to work. The time has come for Africa not to make long speeches. The time has come for Africa to act. We have been subjected in all ways. I think that Africa must rediscover itself. We must come back as Africans. We have been colonized in mind, in body and in all manners. I think the time has come to dig up the African personality. Time has come for the African people to stand again. We were long long ago civilized when other nations were eating roots. That must be brought back by the Africans and nobody else.

19. Mr. Chairman, I have no message really to give you except to thank you, to thank the representative of the Secretary-General and all our friends who have come here with all sincerity to study and analyse this problem, to try to expose the evils that have been happening in Africa, to expose the bad intentions that are existing in Africa and to take all that we discussed to the rightful channels, institutions and peoples who are interested in the dignity of man according to the Charter. Your findings should be given to the right people who should help the situation. Sir, I must say that we are very grateful to you all who have come genuinely to see how you can assist the situation and I hope that this Seminar will throw some light on this difficult problem.

20. I am fully aware that the world is moving slowly to a point where we are going to divide ourselves according to colour. Should we reach that point where we will be only in two groups, Blacks and Whites, and hate each other, the result would be disastrous. It would be an unhappy world for us all. It would be a shame to us all.

It would be tragic to us all. But one cannot but see how we are marching slowly and indeed reaching that point. As we have seen in Africa where the Whites in southern Africa are always preparing military operations against the rest of Africa and are being assisted by the Western Powers. This is drawing us slowly to a point where we are going to be Black and White. Should this come, it will not illustrate anything in human society. It will not present a correct picture to the human race. It will be disastrous for the human race. I appeal very strongly to all the leaders of the world that we don't go that far. I appeal to all the leaders of the world that we start learning to be sympathetic, to listen and to analyse as you have done at this Seminar, and to study the situation and where we are going. I think the leaders of the world can help the situation.

21. We have tried here in Zambia to establish a policy where we don't look at the colour of a person and we want to maintain this policy. It is important because an Indian is not inferior to the white man. A white man is not inferior to a black man. A black man is not inferior to an Indian. We believe in Zambia we are all equals and we can enjoy life as equals. And we have done it in three years and nothing wrong has happened. We believe in Zambia that man is the central heart of all our activities and when we say man we mean man not black man, not white man, not brown man, but man. In spite of the difficulties in the southern part of Africa, we believe this policy is good. It is human. It is sensible. It is logical. It is reasonable and it is the real interpretation of the respect of man. We believe that we shall continue this policy as long as we are leaders in Zambia. We believe this is important. We fought discrimination in this country. We found that it was painful to be discriminated against and we do not want to subject the white man to the discrimination to which he subjected us. We know he was wrong and we will put this right because the Indian philosopher said if you feel pinch or pain when you cut yourself, don't cut the next person. Because we felt pinch and pain at being discriminated against, we thought it was wise not to discriminate against anybody and, therefore, we have said that Zambia is going to have a policy which is called a non-racial policy.

22. I have said these things with conviction because I know this is a Seminar where you have to analyse the disease like a doctor. I consider your Seminar has been like a doctor on a table trying to operate on the patient and trying to get the

disease out of his body. Knowing that this has been your work, I went this far to state this case of Africa. I should be cheating myself if I thought I could state the wrong that the world has committed in Africa in forty-five minutes. It is the history that has gone deep and no one will ever write it correctly. Nevertheless, it is right for the African people to realize that this has been a satanic subjugation of Africans.

23. Sir, may I end by thanking you personally, thanking the representative of the Secretary-General and thanking all the members who have come to this Seminar. I submit my apologies to you all if anything has gone wrong during your stay in our country. If you have been disappointed, definitely we had no intention of disappointing you during your stay as our guests. We have tried all we could to make you happy. You should accept that we are still a young nation trying to perfect some of the things and, therefore, if you have met some inconveniences I apologize on behalf of my President, the Government and, indeed, the people of Zambia. We wish you all one thing, that is, a very happy trip back home and we thank you so much for coming here right in the centre of Africa. We hope you have enjoyed your stay. I was reading in a book when I was coming here about when the missionaries started coming to Africa, that once you came to Africa your heart is fixed in Africa. We hope you come back.

Annex VI

CONSULTANT PAPERS CIRCULATED TO THE SEMINAR^{a/}

- (a) "The crisis in southern Africa with special reference to South Africa and measures to be taken by the international community"

by

Mr. Achkar Marof,

Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid
of the Government of the Republic of South Africa

1. The International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in southern Africa is convened by the Secretary-General in pursuance of a General Assembly decision which arose from a recommendation of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It is, therefore, appropriate for me to recall the reasons why the Special Committee proposed such a Seminar.
2. The Special Committee has felt, for some time, that the racial and colonial problems in southern Africa are inextricably interlinked and that the explosive situation in the whole region was assuming more and more serious proportions because of the failure of the international community to take effective action toward the eradication of racism in South Africa. It is convinced that the South African problem which was entrusted to it for consideration, should itself be seen in the wider context of the whole of southern Africa and that the United Nations should attempt to deal with the crucial problems of this region as a whole rather than piecemeal.
3. The conviction of the Special Committee was strengthened by many factors: first, the development and consolidation of the "unholy alliance" of racist-colonialist forces in southern Africa; second, the South African support for the rebellion of the Ian Smith clique in Southern Rhodesia; third, the accession of Botswana and Lesotho to independence under difficult circumstances making their Governments subject to intense pressures from South Africa; fourth, the defiance of the United Nations by the South African régime throughout the region and its

^{a/} Another consultant paper "Basic facts of the Republic of South Africa and the policy of Apartheid", by Mr. Julian R. Friedman, is available separately as document PO 230 SOAF (2-7) (Consultant Paper No. 1).

frantic efforts to extend its influence beyond its borders in order if not to break the great tide of liberation in the African continent at least to counter it and retard it.

4. In July 1966, the Special Committee devoted special meetings to the consideration of the effects of the apartheid policies of the South African régime on adjacent territories in southern Africa.

5. The United Nations Human Rights Seminar on Apartheid, held in Brasilia in August-September 1966 on the recommendation of the Special Committee, also emphasized the need to consider the situation in southern Africa as a whole. The participants in the Seminar pointed out that apartheid had become expansionist and infiltrated beyond the territorial limits of South Africa, encouraged by the failure of the world community to put an end to apartheid in the land in which it had been conceived. They felt that a conference should soon be convened to consider the problems of southern Africa in their totality.

6. The Special Committee on Apartheid took note of the report and recommendations of the Brasilia Seminar in its own report of 21 October 1966 (A/6486-S/7565) to the General Assembly and the Security Council and emphasized "the importance of co-ordination in all United Nations efforts dealing with the problems of racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa".

7. It gave careful consideration to the proposal for an international conference on southern Africa and made the following recommendation:

"The Special Committee feels that an international conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa would be useful in promoting effective United Nations action and recommends that the Secretary-General be requested to organize such a conference or seminar, as soon as possible, in consultation with the two Special Committees of the General Assembly. It further recommends that the report of the proposed conference or seminar should be submitted to the General Assembly for consideration at the twenty-second session."

In deciding to formulate such a proposal, the Special Committee had in mind the need for the holding of such a conference or seminar with the least delay, in view of the rapid aggravation of the situation in southern Africa and the importance of taking urgent and effective international action on this matter in order to safeguard the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

8. The recommendation of the Special Committee was considered by the General Assembly and led to the provision in operative paragraph 6 (a) of resolution 2202 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, requesting the Secretary-General:

"To organize as soon as possible, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, an international conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, and to transmit the report of that conference or seminar to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session."

9. The two committees concerned felt that a Seminar, with the participation of a representative group of Governments, the African liberation movements and other non-governmental organizations concerned, would be most appropriate to ensure a thorough and comprehensive discussion of the problems and the formulation of concrete recommendations for action by the international community.

10. The generous offer of the Government of the Republic of Zambia to act as the host country for the Seminar has enabled it to be organized in this newly independent State, geographically so close to the subject of this Seminar and so devoted to the liberation of the peoples of this unliberated part of the African continent.

The situation in southern Africa

11. I need hardly elaborate on the situation in southern Africa, as it is described in grim detail in numerous documents of the United Nations and will be dealt with in several papers of the Seminar. I will merely draw attention to a few main aspects of this situation.

12. First, the situation in southern Africa today is not only intolerable for the oppressed peoples of that area, but constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. There are already raging deadly wars in Mozambique and Angola where the forces of liberation are confronting colonial armies whose strength and whose equipment, obtained from NATO, are an indication of their intention to crush all resistance. Numerous incidents in southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa point to the determination of the peoples of these countries to secure

their liberation at all cost. If these incidents have not yet developed into large-scale combat, and the massive military forces of the racist régimes seem to be able to maintain control, that should not lead to miscalculations. The rulers of South Africa, who have increased their military budget sixfold since 1960, know and admit by their acts, which are even more eloquent than their words, the existence of an explosive situation. The history of liberation of colonial peoples in the recent decades shows that the people will find ways to overcome reverses, to regroup and resist even the mightiest of the armies of the oppressors and win the battle of liberation.

13. Second, a violent conflict in southern Africa cannot remain local but is bound to have grave international repercussions. It will undermine the efforts of African States to build non-racial societies and will damage prospects of international co-operation, an essential factor for peace and progress in the world. African and other States will inevitably be forced to intervene in various ways according to the needs of the African and Asian masses of South Africa. There is also reason to fear that certain Western Powers and other Powers which have been collaborating with the racist-colonialist forces face strong pressures by vested interests to induce them to intervene in one way or another against the liberation force on the fallaciously humanitarian pretence of protecting their nationals or economic interests.

14. Third, it must be recalled that the responsibility for the constant deterioration of the situation in southern Africa rests largely with the Western Powers which have always resisted all effective international measures which have been suggested to solve the problem. There is no doubt that the consensus which has developed in the United Nations against apartheid and colonialism remains rather hollow so long as meaningful action is not taken. The Western Powers (and Japan) bear a special responsibility for the serious crisis of southern Africa because of the dependence of the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa on continued economic relations with them. The co-operation of these Powers is indispensable for the imposition and implementation of international economic sanctions which remain the only peaceful means for a solution. These Powers, however, have greatly increased their economic involvement in this area. Even

the arms embargo, a very first step which they ostensibly supported, has not had much effect because of contravention by some Powers, such as France, loop-holes in the embargoes by others and open co-operation lent by several Powers toward the development of an arms industry inside South Africa. In these circumstances, it is essential to conclude that the only peaceful solution, which could have been achieved by mandatory economic sanctions, has become increasingly utopian and unrealizable.

15. Fourth, among the forces which play the inglorious role of resisting the liberation of southern Africa, a prominent place is occupied by the numerous international corporations which have become involved in the area in the search for quick and exorbitant profits. They assist the racist and colonial régimes by loans and investments. They help develop arms and strategic industries to enable these régimes to resist sanctions. They help build oil refineries in the area in order to circumvent the oil embargo against the régime in Southern Rhodesia.

16. Beneath the "unholy alliance", there is the giant economic complex, the "Cape to Katanga axis", which dominates the entire area. The big corporations of South Africa play a prominent role in this axis and international corporations participate in it, to a great extent, through subsidiaries and affiliates in South Africa.

17. Fifth, the continuance of the reign of apartheid and terror in South Africa, where the racist régime utilizes the country's immense wealth for military and political efforts to perpetuate racism constitutes the bulwark of reaction in the whole of southern Africa. The Pretoria régime is now openly challenging the United Nations all over southern Africa. It is illusory to expect that there can be substantial progress of liberation in that area so long as the South African régime is not neutralized. As I stated at the last session of the General Assembly:

"The South African régime has been the main source of support for the Ian Smith clique in Southern Rhodesia and the principal obstacle to the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council. It is in open rebellion against the United Nations in South West Africa. It has increasingly collaborated with the Portuguese colonialists who are carrying on colonial wars in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The sovereignty and independence of Lesotho and Botswana are threatened by the existence of this racist régime in South Africa.

"There is a theory in some quarters that, in considering the liberation of southern Africa, South Africa should come last. According to this theory, we should deal first with Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories and give full attention to the problem of South Africa only after these other territories are liberated. This theory, which superficially seems sound on geographical and logistical grounds, is misleading. So long as the régime in South Africa is secure, and feels itself to be secure, it would be idle to expect the liberation of other territories in southern Africa. The Pretoria régime has made it clear that it would sustain the Smith régime, whatever the next step in the United Nations. South Africa has also proclaimed that it will lend its support to the Portuguese colonialists in their war against the liberation movements. And in South West Africa, the United Nations and the liberation movement will face the full might of the Pretoria régime, which has been aided by the Powers of Western Europe and North America. When it threatens war against the United Nations if the United Nations seeks to fulfil its obligations to the people of South West Africa, its threats are backed by the planes, ships and guns supplied by the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Italy.

"Of course, as I said recently, the war for South Africa has started in Angola and Mozambique and will soon move on to Southern Rhodesia, heading irresistibly towards Cape Town. This does not preclude the possibility of an explosion with South Africa itself, making easier the liberation of the whole of southern Africa."

Measures to be taken by the international community

18. The Seminar has been convened in the hope that it will thoroughly examine and reassess the situation in southern Africa, and formulate proposals for further action by the international community.
19. Before dealing with the possible measures, it may be useful to refer briefly to certain general considerations.
20. Some circles abroad, and even a handful of people in Africa, are over-awed by the ostensible military strength of the régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and the military forces that Portugal has been able to mobilize for its colonial wars. They argue that these régimes cannot be overthrown. They consequently propose the search for a solution through the grant of meagre concessions, which are in any case dictated by the economic development needs of these racist bastions and the determination of the racists to have it believed that they have succeeded in breaking the political and diplomatic ostracism to which they are subjected by establishing relations with some African States which are, for various reasons, submissive to them.

21. The Seminar will no doubt take account of the military aspect, but there is little need to try to refute these defeatists. It is quickly forgotten that mightier nations have been defeated by forces of liberation in colonial wars of an unprecedented barbarism in this generation. Moreover, the apparent strength of the racial and colonial régimes is built on insecure foundations of oppression of the great majority: it can make the struggle bloodier but can never achieve the final victory.

22. On the other hand, it should be recalled that the main role in the liberation of southern Africa should rightfully go first to the oppressed people themselves. The international community can assist them and help create the conditions in which they can secure the liberation with the least possible violence and delay, but it cannot aspire to deliver liberation to them. The efforts of the international community should only complement the efforts of the oppressed peoples. As I stated in my address to the European Conference against Apartheid in Paris on 6 May 1967:

"The struggle for freedom in South Africa is certainly the right, the responsibility and the privilege of the people of South Africa. They have not abdicated their struggle or asked for freedom as a gift from the rest of the world. Whatever we do at the international level - whether as governments or in anti-apartheid movements and other popular organizations - we need to recognize in all humility that our role is but secondary. We do not aspire to liberate - which would be tantamount to substituting ourselves to the South African people - but to assist the liberation, as that is our duty if we are loyal to our own convictions. We can discharge this duty only if we avoid any pity or paternalism and remain at all times responsive to the needs and desires of the liberation movement."

23. Frustrated and apathetic, the liberals abroad do not believe any more in the illusion that liberation in southern Africa would be achieved by painless efforts of persuasion of the oppressors and that the international opinion would be decisive. It is essential to recognize that popular revolutions take their time, face reverses and even lose battles but will ultimately succeed. The international community cannot formulate the methods of the liberation struggle or determine its timetable. Perseverance and determination are essential if it is to play a helpful role.

24. Third, while the United Nations can play a significant role in the international field, its role is not exclusive. States individually, as well as

collectively through the Organization of African Unity and other inter-governmental organizations, can make additional contributions. Non-governmental organizations of various sectors of public opinion can also play an important role. It is essential to co-ordinate these efforts in order to promote maximum effectiveness of the totality of international effort. The Special Committee on Apartheid, in proposing an international campaign against apartheid, therefore, suggested a many-sided effort to mobilize all these forces in order to help eradicate apartheid. 25. The efforts in the United Nations on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa have so far been directed on several fronts:

(a) The political isolation of the racist and colonial régimes, and the imposition of universal economic sanctions against them, has been the primary objective of these efforts. These efforts have apparently been effective in terms of overwhelming votes for condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, for a total arms embargo against South Africa, for a limited arms embargo against Portugal and for selective mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. But the progress has been largely illusory, as recommendations for sanctions have not been accepted or implemented by the main trading partners of the racist and colonial régimes which have, in fact, increased their collaboration and more than nullified the effect of boycotts instituted by other States at substantial sacrifice.

(b) Exposure of collaboration by States with the racist and colonial régimes, and of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which support these régimes.

(The activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial territories will be on the agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly in 1967.)

(c) Dissemination of information on the situation in southern Africa in order to counteract the propaganda of the racist and colonial régimes, and encourage world public opinion to support international efforts toward a solution of the problems. Encouragement to anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations to play a more effective role in opposition to racism and colonialism.

(d) Humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid and colonialism.

26. The establishment of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the support to voluntary organizations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund for southern Africa, provision of relief to refugees from South Africa, and colonial territories and special educational and training programmes for inhabitants of these territories fall in this category.

27. The Seminar will no doubt discuss the progress made on all these measures which have been taken, draw up a balance-sheet and consider means by which they can be made more effective.

28. It has become increasingly evident, however, that a reassessment is essential and that the focus of international effort should be reconsidered. While universal economic sanctions remain the most appropriate peaceful measures under the United Nations Charter for a solution of the problems, and pressure for such sanctions should continue, it is unrealistic to ignore the fact that the main trading partners of southern Africa including three permanent members of the Security Council, are unwilling to implement these measures (except to a limited extent in the case of Southern Rhodesia where the measures are ineffective because of the refusal to take any action against violations by South Africa and Portugal).

29. The attitude of these Powers, despite numerous appeals by an overwhelming majority of States, has largely paralysed the United Nations with respect to southern Africa. It leaves violence as the only alternative. The liberation movements, for their part, have decided on a violent struggle as the only means of salvation left to them by their oppressors and a certain international conspiracy.

30. As I stated recently in the Special Committee on Apartheid, there is developing a new trend of thinking about the focus of international effort:

"The future is likely to be difficult as the apartheid regime, taking advantage of the inaction of various Powers concerned, is launching a counter-offensive against African liberation - making use of its economic and military power...

"For the last two decades, the anti-apartheid movements were largely on the humanitarian level, exposing to the public opinion in their countries the inhumanity of apartheid and seeking to mobilize public opinion to exercise its influence on South Africa and on various governments to reverse the trend of increasing racism.

"These efforts have not succeeded for reasons which are well-known to this Committee. Today, the people of South Africa and of southern Africa as a whole are forced to embark on efforts to overthrow the racist regimes by force and establish non-racial societies.

"It is no more sufficient for the world to sympathize with the victims of apartheid. We can no more speak in the United Nations, as was done before, of persuading the South African regime to abandon apartheid or dissuading it from racialism. That has proved to be impossible. We need to encourage world opinion to support democratic changes in South Africa and a reconstruction of its society by a revolutionary process. The role of the United Nations and of world opinion has to become more positive.

"The liberation of South Africa will have to be achieved by the people of South Africa. But they should be able to count on the support and solidarity of the rest of the world."

31. A beginning has already been made in the United Nations. The General Assembly of the United Nations has recognized - in resolutions 2189 (XX) and 2202 (XX), for instance, that the struggle of the peoples under colonial rule, and under the régime of apartheid, to exercise their right to independence and equality is a legitimate struggle and that all States should provide moral and material assistance to the liberation movements. This question of aid to the liberation movements should be thoroughly discussed at the Seminar with a view to the adoption of concrete recommendations.

32. It is to be hoped that the Seminar will bring forth an unequivocal declaration recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle for liberation and the duty of the international community to support that struggle and that it will formulate concrete proposals to encourage and enable the international community to provide the most effective assistance to that struggle.

(b) "Race relations and Portuguese colonial policy, with special reference to Mozambique"

by

Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane

1. The Portuguese have for many years tried to project a picture of themselves as a nation without racial prejudice; their Government at home and overseas as never having tolerated any racial, ethnic or religious bigotries or discriminations. According to Gilberto Freyre, a well-known Brazilian historian and leader of those who support this point of view, Portugal's Roman Catholic tradition, plus her long contact with world cultures and races, uniquely equipped her to cope with peoples of various racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds without conflict. From this Gilberto Freyre goes on to propound a theory of luso-tropicalism by which people of Lusitanian (Portuguese) background were preordained to lead the world towards racial harmony and to build a far-flung empire composed of peoples of various colours, religions and speaking different languages.

2. A few years ago, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal, stated: "These contacts have never involved the slightest idea of superiority or racial discrimination... I think I can say that the distinguishing feature of Portuguese Africa - notwithstanding the concerted efforts made in many quarters to attack it by word as well as by action - is the primacy which we have always attached and will continue to attach to the enhancement of the value and dignity of man without distinction of colour or creed in the light of the principles of the civilization we carried to the populations who were in every way distant to ourselves" (Salazar Says. Portuguese Problems in Africa. SNI, Lisbon, 1962, p. 6). Likewise, the preambles of practically all the frequent Portuguese ground-laws, decrees and statutes or amendments to these, affecting their overseas territories make unctuous references to the "heterogeneous composition of the Portuguese people, their traditional community... the Christian ideal of brotherhood, which was always (sic) at the base of our overseas expansion, early defined our reaction to other societies and cultures, and stamped it, from the beginning, with a marked respect for the manners and customs of the peoples we encountered". (Decreto-Lei No. 43893, 6 September 1961, Boletim de Mozambique, LM, 1961, No. 36, pp. 1098-9).

3. Contrary to this idyllic picture is the actual situation in all the three colonies of Portugal in Africa - Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) - whose clearly defined socio-economic structures run along the racial, religious and linguistic lines typical of all colonial situations. The Portuguese Government, suspecting that the fact of the situation in their African colonies may not conform to their favoured image, has assiduously blocked the efforts of social scientists who have tried to enter Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) with the declared intent of carrying out on-the-spot researches. Therefore, evidence of race relations in Portuguese colonies cannot as yet be expected to derive from objective studies by outside social scientists.

4. However, during the last fifteen years a number of determined British and American scholars have been able to crack through the wall created by the Portuguese Government, and somehow managed to gather sufficient initial information to continue their studies of Portuguese colonial practices to the point where they could publish important monographs. These scholars are: C.R. Boxer, Camoes Professor of Portuguese at the University of London, England; James Duffy, Professor of Romance Languages at Brandeis University, U.S.A.; and Marvin Harris, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, U.S.A. The work of these scholars has helped not only to suggest the existence of a picture of race relations in the Portuguese colonies radically different from that presented by the Portuguese and their apologists, but also to stimulate a great deal of interest and activity among students of human behaviour in probing behind the façade of Portuguese luso-tropicalism.

5. In the following few pages I shall try to combine my role as a student of human behaviour with the advantage which I have as a native-born Mozambican, to present a picture of what I consider to be the true situation regarding race relations in Mozambique.

6. To begin with, I wish to draw your attention to the existence of three social factors which are the most important forces determining relations between individuals and groups in present-day southern African society and on the basis of which all meaningful societal relations can be understood, namely Race (as characterized mainly by a person's skin-colour and general physical characteristics), Politics and Economics.

7. It is only after an objective analysis of the role played by these three factors that we can determine the form and value of any relations between groups in any country in Mozambique, Angola and, for that matter, Rhodesia and South Africa. In colonial Africa, including all of Africa before independence, the power relations between individuals and groups were, since the arrival of the first European settlers, determined first and foremost by the colour of the skin of the individual involved; secondly by the amount of political power which they could wield, and lastly by the material possessions which they had hoarded for themselves.

8. Anyone who tries to describe the relations between Europeans or people with predominant Caucasoid racial characteristics and Africans or people with features tending towards Negroid characteristics will soon find himself describing power and economic relations between them.

9. Therefore, in Mozambique, according to the Junta de Investigacao do Ultramar, a Portuguese government agency, in its monograph Promocao Social em Mocambique (P.S.M., J.I.U., Lisbon 1964), there are three distinct socio-economic strata, distributed in a pyramidal manner; thus,

(a) A minority population quantitatively - about 2.5 per cent of the total population. This group is composed of Europeans (Caucasoids), Asian (Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, etc.), the lighter-complexioned and better-educated Mulattoes, and a very few Africans (including a very small number of comparatively well-educated Africans). In this group we are dealing with a thoroughly Europeanized population, most of whom live in the urban areas or in the modern agricultural and mining areas. Most of them are in either the public service, the business trades or in enterprises from which the State derives a greater proportion of its public revenues.

(b) A numerical minority - 3.5 per cent - composed of elements of various races, but above all Africans, tending to live in the peripheries of the most important cities. Practically all the Africans composing this population are of rural origin, still in the throes of detribalization, i.e., abandoning at least partially the cultural and social habits of their origin. Being wage-earners they represent an incipient proletariat.

(c) The largest group - 94 per cent - is composed of the Africans, we might as well say all of the African population. They are all peasants, living on a basically subsistence economy, supplemented from time to time by some wage-work,

mostly of a migratory nature. Amongst this group one might find a small number who are cash-earning peasant farmers. These are residents of the tribal regions governed by tribal chiefs following traditional law. (A. Lima de Carvalho, Reflexos para uma analise dimensional da estrutura de Moçambique, from Moçambique, Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociais e Politicas Ultramarina, Universidade Tecnica de Lisbon, 1964-65).

10. As can be seen from the above, the Mozambican multi-racial/multicultural population is distributed in about the same way as all populations living in a typically colonial situation in which there is a politically, economically and therefore socially dominant group, usually a minority, who control the means of production and distribution and enjoy the fruits of the labour of the majority. As I mentioned before, all of southern Africa, the Portuguese colonies, South Africa and Rhodesia, is in this kind of situation.

11. The historical process which preceded this racial-socio-economic structure follows the same lines as that of similar situations in southern Africa. Its main features in the special case of Mozambique are as follows:

12. Early in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese decided to build a maritime and commercial empire for the purpose of getting an upper hand in the flow of spices from the East. In the process of carrying out this mission, the Portuguese kings discovered not only new continents and peoples but also new and probably more lucrative sources of wealth: the slaves of West Africa, the ivory and gold of East Africa and the sugar, tobacco and gold of the New World. Because the peoples of the countries in which these sources of wealth were found were not willing to hand them over to the Portuguese intruders, it became necessary to attack the natives and destroy their political machinery, before they could build the empire they meant to establish.

13. In this connexion it might be interesting to note, following Professor Boxer, that "for centuries the most common official term for the Portuguese overseas possession was As Conquistas", meaning The Conquests, regardless of how they were acquired. (Boxer, C.R., Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963, p. 2).

14. Right from the first hours of their arrival in Mozambique in 1498, the Portuguese sought to establish themselves as a power over the various East African

communities which they found. Since their main purpose in coming to East Africa was to find new sources of wealth and control its flow to Europe, it was necessary that they should identify and destroy the military or political power of whoever was in control before them. At that time the people of Mozambique were divided into the following three socio-economic classes: the Arabs, who controlled most of the trade between the hinterland and the outside world; the Swahilis, who were the main traders between the continental Africans and the coastal and insular Arabs, and the Africans, who composed the majority of the population. First the Portuguese clashed with the Arabs. In 1508 a Portuguese official wrote to the king, from the island of Mozambique, advising him to use every means possible to do away with the "respectable Moors" from East Africa, since they were dangerous competitors. The same official found the Swahilis acceptable and thought they could remain without damaging Portuguese interests, since "they are like animals, and satisfied with gaining a handful of maize, nor can they harm us, and they can be used for any kind of work and treated like slaves". (Quoted by Boxer, C.R., op. cit., p. 43).

15. After a number of years the Portuguese had managed to establish control over the East African coast from Malindi to Sofala, using every means then available to them, from being friendly to the African people to using force where peaceful means failed to achieve their purpose.

16. However, after the political and economic influence of the Arabs had been thoroughly eliminated, the Portuguese turned against the Swahilis, whom they had earlier considered harmless. They were now in a position to deal directly with the mainland Africans who brought the gold and ivory from the interior. But they did not succeed, for the Swahilis had been firmly established along the coast for several hundred years, had intermarried with the people from the hinterland, and were therefore far better integrated than the Portuguese. (Boxer, op. cit., p. 42).

17. From time to time even the services of religious missionaries were harnessed to help pacify the native populations through conversion into the Christian religion; failing this an excuse was always found to justify the use of force. General J.J.T. Botelho, an official historian for the Portuguese Government, tells of a sixteenth century military expedition which was sent to East Africa under the

leadership of two famous Portuguese navigators, Pedro Alvares Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil, and Bartholomeu Dias, the first European to round the southern cape of Africa, which he named Cape of Storms and later renamed the Cape of Good Hope. It is interesting to note the composition of the military expedition and its norm of procedure as given by the king. Aside from its two outstanding captains the expedition was accompanied by a Father, who later became Bishop, Henrique, six Franciscan friars, ten chaplains and military forces. Although the expedition's main purpose was to conquer East Africa, the king's orders for its procedure included, inter alia, the following specification: that the regiment of Pedro Alvares Cabral had "to convert the idolatrous (sic) Moors to Catholicism, and if spiritual arms should not succeed, to utilize the material power of the sword". (Stress ours) (Botelho, J.J.T., Historia Militar e Politica dos Portugueses em Moçambique das Descobertas a 1833; Lisbon: Centro Tipografico Colonial, 1934, p. 51).

18. By the middle of the eighteenth century the control of East Africa by the Portuguese, especially of the central part of present-day Mozambique, was so definite, and the real purpose of the "conquest" of the area was so certain, that Alexander Hamilton, a British chronicler of the time, had this to say of the relations between the Africans and the Portuguese:

"They (the Africans) have large, strong bodies and limbs, and are very bold in war. They'll have commerce with none but the Portuguese, who keep a few priests along the sea coasts, that overawe the silly Natives and get their teeth (elephant tusks) and gold for trifles, and send what they get to Moçambique (Island)." (Hamilton, A. A New Account of the East Indies, 1727; Foster, W., editor, London 1930, vol. I, pp. 16-17).

19. Lest someone might distrust the opinion of a Briton such as Hamilton, being a potential competitor with the Portuguese for the same market, let us hear what Joao Baptista de Mountaury, a Portuguese, had to say about the relations between the same people some seventy years later:

"In general, all the Kaffirs of Sena, who are either slaves of the settlers or else tributary vassals of the State, are docile and friendly to the Portuguese, whom they call Muzungos. They dislike anyone who is not a Portuguese... This dislike derives from a superstitious fear that the Portuguese have spread among them, telling them that all the Mafutos (non-Portuguese white foreigners) eat the Negroes, and other absurd tales which they implicitly believe, and this is one of the chief reasons why they are so friendly to us, for they say that only the Muzungos are good and that all others are bad." (Boxer, C.R., op. cit., p. 47).

20. In order to underline the political and economic value of the good relations which existed between the African and the Portuguese, Mountaury goes on to remark:

"It is to be hoped that this conviction will endure in the minds of the said Kaffirs, for in this way we will always be able to dominate them and to live undisturbed. They are most obedient and submissive to their masters and to all the Muzongos in general." (ibid.)

21. The same Portuguese observer, after giving an example of the loyalty of the Africans in foiling an attempt of the Dutch to replace the Portuguese at Quelimane, while the latter were under Spanish control, sounded a warning note, which may serve as another illustration of the master-servant relations then obtaining between the two racial groups, thus:

"On this occasion, the loyalty of the Kaffirs saved that State, because the port of Quelimane did not have then (nor has it now, any fortification whatsoever. Still, who can be certain that this friendship will last forever, and that it will never change, the more so, since these same Kaffirs are treated with excessive harshness by their masters? May not this affection be changed into hatred, owing to the ill treatment they receive? May they not do in future to the Muzungos what they formerly did to the Mafutos? This is worth thinking about, and it is not very sound that we should continue to rely solely on the good faith of these Kaffirs." (Boxer, C.R, op. cit., pp. 47-48).

22. During the years between the beginning of the eighteenth and the end of the nineteenth century the history of the relations between the Portuguese Muzungos and the Africans steadily evolved through the various stages of conquest and control, to the exploitation of everything that could be bought, grabbed by force, plundered and sold, and reached its climax with the actual capture and selling of the vanquished Africans as slaves.

23. For the historical facts which corroborate the point made in the preceding paragraph, we refer the reader to many monographs and texts on the slave trade during the last two centuries. In this connexion, the least that can be said for or against the Portuguese is that they were no better or worse than any other imperialist Power of that time. (For the role of the Portuguese in the slave trade, please read James Duffy, Portuguese Africa, Harvard University Press, 1961 and C.R. Boxer, op. cit.)

24. From the beginning of this century to the present day, Portuguese policy in Africa has been marked by an attempt to soften the unpleasant implications of the master/slave relations which typify the relations between Europeans and Africans in all their colonies by emphasizing the use of such terms in their legal jargon as "contract labour" (contratados), or "voluntary labour" (voluntarios); or by using the following terms: "the dignity of labour", "spiritual assimilation", "cultural evolution" and "black Portuguese citizens", etc., when trying to make their colonial policy palatable to the outside world. In fact, the reality of the situation is, as Professor Duffy succinctly puts it, "pretty much the same today as it has been for four hundred years: the indiscriminate use of the African for Portuguese profit".

25. Concerning this, Duffy goes to to make the following meaningful comment:

"Had this vision of the African shown any marked change in these centuries, beyond the final abolition of slavery and the creation of an ambiguous legal language to define the African's status vis-à-vis the colonial administration, a discussion of slavery and contract labour would be only a historical exercise; but there has been no such change, and a study of this aspect of Angola and Mozambique should contribute to an understanding of present tendencies. Whether the African has been an export commodity, a domestic slave, a liberto, contratado, or voluntario, his fundamental relationship with the Portuguese has remained the same, that of a servant. When the African is supposed to emerge from his centuries-old apprenticeship and tutelage into the role of responsible citizen of Greater Portugal cannot be known... but the idea of an Angola and Mozambique for the African seems to have about as much significance in Portugal's colonial plans as the notion of a United States for the Indian has in American deliberations." (Duffy, James, Portuguese Africa, Harvard University Press, 1961. p. 131)

26. The main features of the Portuguese legal manoeuvres to normalize relations between the two main racial groups in Mozambique included the promulgation of a system the bottom group in the pyramidal socio-economic structure described above, composing the overwhelming majority of the African people, was designated as "indigenas" or "natives". According to the Estatuto Indigena das Provincias de Guiné, Angola e Moçambique, 1954, "natives" (i.e., the members of the lowest stratum) are "persons of the negro race or their descendants who were born or who habitually reside in the said Province and who do not yet possess the learning and the social and individual habits presupposed for the public and private law of Portuguese citizens".

27. On the basis of the above law, a person of the Negro race is an individual without citizenship and without civil rights. Also all the persons falling under

the category indicated above were subjected to a complex of administrative procedures and controls which virtually limited their freedom of movement. For example, while this law existed, no "native" could attend government-controlled schools, except those run by Catholic or Protestant missionaries, which were inferior in every respect; no "native" could join a labour union; no "native" could seek employment anywhere without first obtaining a special permit from the administrator, who was always a European; no "native" could visit another country except South Africa and Rhodesia, and even in these two countries the purpose of the visit had to be to work under contract in the gold or coal mines of the Witwatersrand or in the tobacco farms of Rhodesia. In order to make these controls on the movements of "natives" effective, this law stipulated that all such persons should carry special "passes" wherever they were, including their own villages, and were prohibited from being seen in public places after certain hours of the evening. Native African economic activities were so restricted that in some cases they could not even slaughter their own cattle, sell them or give them away without a special authorization from the Portuguese authorities. They could establish bank accounts, but could not withdraw their money without the permission of the local administrator, etc.

28. Relations between individual Africans and Europeans were regulated by the same rules as prevail in any master/slave society; e.g., it was obligatory for an African to stand up whenever a European appeared or passed by; Africans (including women) were obliged to give the fascist/Roman salute (raising one's right hand up to a 45-degree angle) whenever a car driven by a European passed by; whenever an African addressed a European he had to use the word "senhor" or "senhora", while the white man always said "rapaz" (boy) and "rapariga" (girl or maid); whenever there were a limited number of seats it was the white man who had to be seated first, regardless of the sexes involved. At public stadia, cinemas and theatres African spectators were confined to special sections and restricted to certain cinemas exhibiting especially censored films.

29. In order to make certain that the African, as a labour force, could be made available for the white man to use as cheaply as possible, the Portuguese Government promulgated laws defining the areas of economic activity which were open to Africans, in this way cutting off a large proportion of the traditionally subsistent economic pursuits of the Africans, from the legally approved economic activities.

Furthermore, millions of Africans, men, women, and often children, were forced by local Portuguese administrators, deriving authority from the same laws, to cultivate large tracts of land and to plant cotton, instead of their own traditional subsistence crops, in order to enable some monopolistic concessionary companies to realize unusually high profits.

30. In view of what has been said so far about the Indigenato System, one might conclude, as some students of Portuguese colonial policies have, that it was these laws which produced the extremely unfair conditions of life which still prevail in Mozambique today. I do not share this point of view. I believe, as I have tried to point out earlier in this paper, that the real factors which make for the development of the racial-socio-economic structure typifying the Portuguese colonial society today are, first and foremost, the fact that the African people have lost their political power from the very beginning of their relations with the Portuguese. In other words, Portuguese settlers are on the top of the pyramidal structure principally because their ancestors have wrested political power from the ancestors of the African majority. The rest of the relationships which developed followed like night follows day. Europeans came to this part of the world not to "civilize" or "evangelize" or "make the African Portuguese", as the Portuguese Government and its apologists would like the world to believe. All the Portuguese settlers who, throughout the centuries, have flocked to Africa, came to better themselves materially. And in arriving here they discovered, if they did not know it before leaving Europe, that they belong to the race that possesses the real power in its hand, by dint of conquest made several centuries before them.

31. What are the symbols of the power of the white man in Mozambique? What does a European newcomer, who may not have left Europe with racial prejudice towards the African, see when he first arrives in Mozambique? He sees the following facts which are advantageous to himself:

(a) that on arriving at any port all the administrative authorities with which he had to deal are of his own race,

(b) that all the black people whom he sees are engaged in activities of a servile kind, working as stevedores, on the boats, as carriers and sweepers at the airport terminals, as porters, waiters, cooks, servants, cleaners in the hotels, or auxiliary police (not police officers!),

(c) that all commercial institutions are manned at all administrative levels by persons of his own race,

(d) if he happens to fall ill and has to go to hospital he will discover that all doctors are either Europeans or Asians, and occasionally Mulattoes, but not Africans. That the only Africans working in hospitals are auxiliary nurses, orderlies and ordinary servants,

(e) when he goes to the market he will find that all the nice stalls are manned by either Europeans or Asians, while the African traders are sitting on the ground, selling little mounds of the third or fourth grade of whatever is being sold by Europeans or Asians, and

(f) if he were an economist he might finally discover that no African owns any land on which the city stands, nor any buildings or businesses, etc.

32. It would be an unusual person who would not sooner or later succumb to the temptation of identifying himself with the rest of the minority of Europeans who are enjoying the privileges deriving from this favourable situation.

33. Those Portuguese idealists who dream of the existence of a multi-racial empire in which peoples of all races, cultures, religions and what not live happily in harmonious conviviality, who believe that the Portuguese administration and settlers so love their black subjects (subditos) that they are willing to allow them to share the political, economic and social power which they possess are either fools or cynical liars.

34. During the last fifteen years, or since the early 1950's, there has developed in Portugal a certain interest in the study of the true facts of the situation prevailing in the colonies, stimulated mostly by the evolution towards independence in the rest of Africa. The fact that Portugal is a Member of the United Nations where the question of the status of non-self-governing peoples is constantly being studied and discussed, is slowly shaking some Portuguese into raising some meaningful questions concerning the relations between their fellow-countrymen and the majority of the African people. The best example of this interest is found in some of the studies or analyses published during the last decade or so in the social science series of the Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociais e Politica Ultramarina of the Technical University of Lisbon. (These series began with a compendium on Angola 1963-64 followed by another on Mozambique 1964-65 to be completed by one on Cabo Verde, Guiné e Sao Tomé 1966-67.)

35. The reaction of those wielding political and economic power in Portugal, however, has not been too encouraging so far. Instead of reviewing the whole political structure upon which the socio-economic pyramid is based, they tend to resort to reformist policies, reforms which are typically legal, that is, on paper only (for the English to see, as the traditional Portuguese saying goes). Either they were impossible to apply, or else the Portuguese had no intention of implementing them. Meanwhile, the old traditional colonial practice goes on as before.

36. Since the beginning of this century the history of Portuguese legislation is full of case after case of laws aimed at stamping out practices which had been outlawed many times before but to no avail. Most of these laws relate to the regulation of labour relations affecting the majority of the African people. How can remedies which deal with the symptoms of a disease be expected to cure it? When there is a class system which clearly runs along racial/cultural lines as is the case in Mozambique, and in all Portuguese colonies, you are bound to find sharp conflicts between groups also following the same racial grooves. When finally the explosion takes place it will necessarily be mainly between the members of those communities which have the most extremely antagonistic and contradictory interests. In Mozambique today, the most contradictory interests are those of the settler class, which is a small 2.5 per cent section of the total population and those of the overwhelming majority of the African people.

37. It is on the basis of these incontrovertible facts that one must understand the development of nationalism in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). We can see, in summing up, that the peoples of Mozambique, as those of the rest of southern Africa, have at some point in their history lost political power to the Europeans. As a consequence, they also lost their right to control their land (which represents the Africans' only means of eking out a living), and with it all, control of the natural resources, the means of production, and the right to buy and sell the fruits of their labour. As if all this were not bad enough, they lost even the freedom to sell their labour where it can earn them the best living. Thus, there was no alternative but for the Africans to occupy the lowest social position in the pyramidal scale.

38. The question as to how to get out of the present situation has already been answered: through changing the political machinery imposed by colonialism. Those few Portuguese people who are aware of and have the courage to admit the existence of a racial problem in Mozambique are unfortunately blinded by their historical and material interests; they insist on either continuing to impose and maintain the present socio-economic system or they try to devise palliative and quickly contrived legal measures which do not even begin to touch the surface of the problem (note the invention of such legal monstrosities as the "Indigénate", "Nao-Indígena" (meaning "non-Native"), "assimilado" (assimilating a crushing majority to an insignificant minority!), and of late, the creation of an ambiguous status of a hybrid between an "assimilado" and a "non-civilized Portuguese citizen" whose legal rights are next to zero). (For a detailed analysis of these points, please read Professor Harris' article "Race, Conflict, and Reform in Mozambique", in Diamond and Burke, eds., The Transformation of East Africa. Studies in Political Anthropology, New York/London, Basic Books, 1967, pp. 156-183.)
39. The people of Mozambique, as those of the rest of southern Africa, have found the answer to the problem. The only path open to them for regaining their lost political power is by direct action, involving armed struggle against the whole political/economic/social structure upon which the colonial system is built. The present wars of liberation now being waged in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea are the first step in a long process, which will have to involve the obliteration of not only the political system of colonialism as such, but also those elements in the present economic structures in southern Africa which buttress the social position of the white man, be he Portuguese, British or Boer.

(c) "Consequences of the situation in southern African for international peace and security"

by

Mr. Colin Legum

1. Over the past twenty years - the lifetime of the United Nations Organization - the world community has reached a virtual consensus about the nature of the political systems in southern Africa,* and about their broad implications for the future of world peace. Between 1946 - when the United Nations first took up the questions of South Africa's racial policies and South West Africa - and 1966, the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted a number of decisions, with an increasing measure of unanimity, requiring compliance by the Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian Governments. None of them has been complied with. Thus these twenty years saw the crystallization of world opinion over desirable ends, but without finding agreement over effective means to achieve these ends.

2. A second period opened in 1966/67 when the Security Council authorized action under Chapter VII of the Charter against the Rhodesian régime, and the General Assembly deprived South Africa of its mandate over South West Africa. This new period involves the United Nations in the much more difficult problem of finding international agreement on enforcement of the collective will as to ends. For southern Africa and for the United Nations 1967 marks the crossroads: for the former the question is whether they will continue to defy the world organization; for the latter the question is whether effective action can be found to promote the authority and prestige of organized world opinion. The answers to these questions must profoundly affect relations between Africa and the United Nations, and between the white and coloured peoples of the world, and consequently raise the issue of world peace and stability.

3. Implicit in the present situation are two unmistakable developments. First, there is a growing tendency on the part of southern African Governments to treat the United Nations as a "paper tiger", which can be safely defied or ignored. This has not always been so. In the early 1960's, South Africa in particular showed obvious concern about the dangers to her national interests of open defiance of the United Nations: this found expression in a preference for a deferential official

* Throughout this paper, "southern Africa" refers to Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa.

approach to the international community and deep public apprehension when the United Nations took adverse decisions affecting South Africa.

4. The possibility that agreement over enforcement measures would be found was taken very seriously. This is no longer so. The southern African authorities display a readiness to defy the world Organization, and open contempt for its authority.

5. The second development runs parallel with the first: it is the increasing disillusionment, among United Nations Members who, in the past, have looked to the world Organization as the only effective way of achieving a peaceful transition from the status quo in southern Africa to a more acceptable political order. This erosion of faith in, and respect for, the United Nations is manifested in six ways:

First, in the loss of faith on the part of the active opponents of apartheid, of the Smith régime and of the Portuguese political system in the usefulness of keeping alive constitutional methods of opposition, as part of the hope of the eventual efficacy of international pressures.

Second, in the growing criticisms within the liberation movements of those who advocate United Nations intervention as a useful ally of change, and in an increasing reliance on violence as the principal effective means of change. Their disillusion is strongly fanned by those international forces who are in principle opposed to the United Nations, and who are today in a strong position to point out that their warnings about relying on the world body have been fully justified.

Third, in the acceptance by some - though as yet very few - African Governments of the need to "coexist" with the White Supremacy régimes on the grounds that this constitutes the path of realism; belief in this kind of "realism" naturally strengthens the White Supremacists and divides the ranks of their opponents.

Fourth, in the growing reluctance of members of the Organization of African Unity to continue paying more than lip service to the value of the United Nations in the struggle against the White Supremacy systems: This reluctance both weakens African confidence in the United Nations generally, and carries the further danger either of increasing absolute reliance on violence between Blacks and Whites or of postponing the challenge to White Supremacy for an indefinite period - both of which attitudes increase rather than lessen the dangers inherent in the southern African situation.

Fifth, in the policies of the major trading partners of South Africa and Portugal, who are now more reluctant than ever to consider the urgency of international action to weaken the capacity, and hence the willingness, of the régimes in southern Africa to resist the demands for self-determination and majority rule: not only are South Africa's traditional trading partners continuing their commerce; they are in fact annually increasing it, while other trading nations are making every effort to increase their share of a lucrative trade.

Sixth, in the defiance of even Security Council decisions by member nations, France, notably, by ignoring the arms embargo on South Africa, takes up the lucrative trade eschewed by others. This increases the unwillingness of those who observe the embargo to continue doing so, and gives direct encouragement to the southern African régimes to continue defying the world community. Moreover, it erodes the authority of the United Nations.

6. These developments are direct consequences of the inefficacy of methods thus far attempted in seeking to avert the dangers southern Africa presents to world peace and in seeking to promote the objectives envisaged by United Nations resolutions. Before considering more closely the consequences for world peace, it is necessary to try to establish in as uncontroversial a manner as possible the main elements present in the contemporary situation.

7. The political systems of southern Africa, though varying in several respects, have certain elements in common. Thus, in each system, the status quo depends on power being retained in the hands of a minority. These minorities share the common feature of being exclusively, or almost exclusively, white. Thus the defence of the status quo becomes the defence of white supremacy. Not unnaturally, these White Supremacy régimes look for support to the white nations; they find it largely in the Western countries, where traditional ties of kinship, trade and language find obvious expression. The ambiguous policies of the major Western governments lend credibility to the view that they desire the retention of white - or Western - bastions in prosperous southern Africa. The fact that such a positive desire does not constitute a serious factor in the foreign policies of any of the major Western Powers - that, on the contrary, it is the negative fear of the consequences of the process of ending White Supremacy which inhibits

Western policies - does not undermine the suspicion that Western economic and security interests are closely bound up with the status quo in southern Africa. These suspicions are fed by half-hearted or contradictory Western policies whose effects are frequently of direct benefit to the southern Africa régimes. A serious "credibility gap" has been opened up by the ambiguities of Western policies which makes it difficult to allay genuine suspicions. Difficult as it may be for the Western Powers to accept this judgement on the motivation of their policies, they would be foolish to ignore the fact that these suspicions act as a powerful factor in the thinking of those committed to the overthrow of the White Supremacy régimes. The strength of African suspicions about Western policies and intentions establishes an important international dimension within the southern African situation.

8. Other traits common to the political systems in southern Africa are that the majorities are all African, and that none allows for political change of the present power structure by constitutional means - at least in any time-scale less than the "life-times" of the present occupants of power. The African majorities are therefore left with only two alternatives: to accept the status quo with its exclusive reservation of power to whites; or to oppose it by unconstitutional, probably violent, methods.

9. Since 1960, the confirmed trend in southern Africa has been away from compliance with the status quo and the abandonment of purely non-violent methods of struggle. Only within the last seven years has the "armed struggle" - the phenomenon of the national liberation movement - become an active element in the southern African situation. Nineteen-sixty was the year when the African National Congress of South Africa saw its militant wing - led by Nelson Mandela - abandon its fifty-year-old policy of non-violent struggle. This, too, is the policy of the Pan Africanist Congress. In the following year the Angolan liberation movement opened its armed struggle, to be followed two years later by FRELIMO's military campaign in Mozambique. As a result of the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia in November 1965, both the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union came to accept the need for a guerilla type of struggle. In 1966, the South West Africa People's Organization began its guerilla activities in Ovamboland, while the South West Africa National Union also subscribes to the need for militant struggle.

10. Thus, in a matter of a few years, the phenomenon of liberation movements committed to an armed struggle became an accepted feature of the situation in southern Africa.

11. It reflects the climate of increasing tensions and violence. Itself a reaction to the powerfully reinforced armed strength of the defenders of the status quo, the emergence of active guerrilla cadres produced an escalation in the armed forces of the White Supremacy régimes. The sharpness of this increase in fighting capacity is shown in the sevenfold increase in the defence budget of South Africa in as many years; in the drafting of an estimated 100,000 Portuguese troops to the African colonies; and in the substantially increased expenditure (for which no accurate figures are available) of the Rhodesian security forces.

12. This paper is not concerned with the evaluation of either the desirability of efficacy of national liberation movements committed to an armed struggle. Their activities are here relevant only in so far as they affect international involvement or world peace. Two aspects of the development of the armed struggle touch immediately on the issue of international involvement. The first was the decision of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 to establish a Liberation Committee for the specific purpose of giving material and moral support to the liberation movements in southern Africa. This unanimous decision of the Organization of African Unity represents a commitment of thirty-eight Members of the United Nations to a specific type of activity in southern Africa, which includes armed struggle. It also represents a multi-national, or international, involvement by African States in the struggle to overthrow what their resolutions have termed "the remnants of colonialism". This African commitment establishes a second crucial international dimension in the southern African situation.

13. There is another aspect of this development. The liberation movements are obviously primarily concerned with the achievement of their objectives as speedily as possible; therefore they are ready to accept aid from any quarter which does not involve their movements being nobbled by any external Power. Apart from the assistance they get from the African States, the principal source of military and other aid is from non-Western countries. This does not represent a deliberate choice by the major liberation movements; on the contrary, it is a choice forced on them by the policies of the Western Powers, which look with

disfavour on the growth of armed liberation movements. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its allies, as well as the People's Republic of China, actively encourage their growth. These conflicting international policies determine the sources of arms and the places of military training outside of Africa itself.

These "alliances of interest" establish a third international dimension.

14. All these trends in the southern salient of the continent have in the last few years led to sharpening the contest for power. On the one side, stand the defenders of the status quo; they are virtually all white. On the other side, stand the challengers to the status quo; they are predominantly black, though by no means exclusively so. Because of their policies, the defenders of the existing régimes are limited to seeking support from among those who share their views or have certain common economic interests: these are mainly in the West, although Japan and a few non-Western countries have developed economic ties with South Africa. The opponents of the status quo look for support to the rest of Africa, the Middle East, the Communist countries, as well as to sympathetically minded people and Governments in the West. But, primarily, the struggle is between Whites and non-Whites; and, increasingly, the struggle has been turning towards violence on both sides. It is these two elements - race and violence - which provide the seeds of a race war.

15. How real is this danger? Is it no more than just a convenient weapon of fear in the hands of those who wish to get the world community involved in helping to break the stranglehold of the existing régimes in South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia - or does it represent a more cogent truth? Those who have spoken most urgently about the danger of a race war include many of the foremost leaders of the Western world: they can hardly be accused of wishing to invent such a danger since acceptance of the implications of a potential race war make more compelling the reasons why their policies should accept the need for preventive action. Britain's most recent three Prime Ministers - Mr. Macmillan, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and Mr. Wilson - have all spoken of the dangers of a race war being inherent in the situation in southern Africa. Britain's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Lord Caradon, has written: "When the race struggle gets hot and rough there would be no more 'moderate' leaders in Africa. The goodwill still existing will be thrown away. There will be no neutrals in a colour war." As recently as 10 June 1967, Mr. Iain Macleod - A British

Conservative leader - strongly criticized the Smith régime and the men running Rhodesia, warning that a racial conflict in South Africa could explode into a situation far worse than the crisis in the Middle East. United States leaders, ranging from the late John Foster Dulles and the late President Kennedy to Mr. Dean Rusk, have all added their warnings to the possibility of a conflict between white and black. The United Nations Group of Experts established in pursuance of the Security Council resolution of 4 December 1963, under the chairmanship of Sweden's Mrs. Alva Myrdal, stated in paragraph 31 of its report:

"Violence and counter-violence in South Africa are only the local aspects of a much wider danger. The coming collision must involve the whole of Africa and indeed the world beyond. No African nation can remain aloof. Moreover, a race conflict starting in South Africa must affect race relations elsewhere in the world, and also, in its international repercussions, create a world danger of first magnitude."

16. With this impressive international testimony to the dangers implicit in the existing situation, one should have little difficulty in dismissing the suggestion that the threat of a race war has been invented or magnified to serve special interests. More important, one must accept this testimony as crucial to assessing the possible consequences of the situation in southern Africa.

17. Yet, there are those who see in recent developments in Africa signs that the danger has been alleviated. Three reasons are advanced in support of this more optimistic view. First, that African countries have been awakened by recent events to realize the necessity that each State should seek to mend its own domestic fences without becoming involved in supporting the overthrow of the régimes in southern Africa. Second, that the White Supremacy States have shown both their capacity and their will to survive in a way that will force Africans, however unwilling, to seek modus vivendi for coexistence. Third, that South Africa's more "flexible policy" under its new Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, have proven attractions for African States to adopt policies of "good neighbourliness". According to this view, the heat will gradually go out of the racial conflict as South Africa extends its sphere of friendship to its neighbours, and as the African States come to terms with the "reality" that the "White Redoubt" (especially South Africa) is unvanquishable by the forces available to Africa, or likely to be offered by the world community. How credible is this approach? Undoubtedly,

there is a direct link between the recent difficulties experienced in various African countries and the continent's capacity to sustain an effective campaign for the liberation movements. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the degree of opposition to the established régimes come only from the liberation movements; they are only one element in the situation. And while it is probably true that the immediate thrust of the liberation struggle had weakened in some places, yet it is a clear fact that the sharp thrust of FRELIMO in Mozambique and the reactivated struggle in Angola have both occurred during the period of Africa's more recent troubles. Moreover, it is within comparatively recent months that the South West African People's Organization has shown its capacity at least to initiate a guerilla campaign in Ovamboland. These developments by no means show that the opponents of White Supremacy are yet able to make their challenge effective; their true significance - apart from demonstrating the growth of the commitment to an armed struggle - is that they have shown a capacity to open up new fronts at the same time as the rulers of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa have felt themselves to be sufficiently strong to take new initiatives of their own - the Smith régime by staging its rebellion; the Vorster régime by extending its "good neighbour" policy beyond the circle of their "economically captive" border states.

18. If South Africa should succeed in extending its "good neighbour" policy beyond Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi, it will have added considerably to its capacity to defend itself both along its own frontiers and within the international community. Because this aspect of South Africa's policy offers a direct challenge to the collective viewpoint of the Organization of African Unity (as set forth in its resolutions at its various summit conferences since 1963), its diplomatic probes beyond the Zambesi have created considerable concern and will, predictably, increase the tensions between the Organisation of African Unity and such African States as enter into economic and diplomatic relations with Pretoria, where their circumstances of economic vulnerability do not warrant it. Irrespective of whether it succeeds or fails, South Africa's diplomatic probes into Africa will heighten tensions. This is not only because this policy is divisive within the Organization of African Unity, but also because there is an accompanying fear that South Africa's highly organised intelligence services

will operate within African States in pursuit of its policies. Zambia's President Kaunda has recently spoken of the dangers of this type of activity. The prompt denial from Mr. Vorster appears to have done little to allay African suspicions. These suspicions, which fall not only on whites but also on South African black refugees, are likely to deepen the existing sense of insecurity - especially if, as seems likely - the number of "spy trials" increase. This sense of insecurity felt by African Governments which are implacably hostile to the White Supremacy régimes is a major consequence of existing policies which call for careful consideration - more especially in relation to countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Congo-Kinshasa.

19. The internal policies pursued by South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia vary quite considerably; nevertheless, all share a common interest in defending the area's status quo. This natural "alliance of interests" is a factor of considerable importance to each, notably in the close co-operation between their intelligence and security systems, in their diplomatic and lobbying activities, and in their economic agreements. Even though Dr. Salazar and the late Dr. Verwoerd counselled Mr. Smith against his rebellion (which they saw as jeopardizing their own long-term positions because neither felt the rebellion would be successful in the end); nevertheless, once the deed was committed both felt irresistibly bound to assist the rebels in their act of defiance of Britain, Africa, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the United Nations. The failure, thus far, of economic sanctions in achieving its purpose in Rhodesia can be ascribed entirely to the operation of the "alliance of interests" in southern Africa. The acknowledged fact that the Pretoria régime has worked consistently for a "negotiated settlement" between the Smith rebels and Britain does not diminish the culpability of Pretoria - or, for that matter, of Lisbon - in ensuring the survival of the rebellion. This "alliance of interests" of the white-ruled South is, of course, the natural counterpoise to the alliance of African States. These two alliance systems - with their different allies in the international community - delineate the dangerous cleavage in the African continent and in the wider international community.

20. Fortunately, the alliance of African States is not yet drawn exclusively along lines of colour. The preservation of a multi-national and multi-racial international alliance against the defenders of White Supremacy should be seen as the single, vital safeguard against the dangers of a race war. A special responsibility rests on the world community to ensure prophylactic policies designed to weaken rather than harden the "alliance of colour".

Summing up

21. The essential interests of the defenders of the White Supremacy States in southern Africa and of their challengers are irreconcilable. So long as the defenders of this system insist on retaining power exclusively (as in the case of South Africa), or effectively, (as in the case of Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique) in the hands of a white minority, there is no possibility of a peaceful outcome to the struggles in southern Africa. Dialogues can be meaningful only if there is a willingness by either side to depart from their fundamental positions; this, in effect, postulates a willingness on the part of the defenders of the status quo to alter their position. Yet, for them no compromises are possible: their attitude is logical because, for them, compromise means political defeat. There can be no half-way position between keeping the white minority in a position of power and privilege, and a political system resting on the principle of majority rule. The concept of a transition period is valid only if there is genuine acceptance of the loss of their exclusive privileges by the present holders of power. So long as they are unwilling to face up to the necessity of sharing their privileges by the surrender of power, no meaningful dialogues are possible. Those who look to "economic realities" in South Africa to produce a solvent for the racial crisis confuse two positions: the amelioration of the economic lot of the Coloured majority, and the transfer of power. Since the central issue is over power and not over economic concessions, the operation of economic forces are unlikely to touch the real issue - although they will undoubtedly sharpen the capacities of the Africans to resist while increasing the capacities of the whites to defend their huge privileges. It seems doubtful that dialogues can achieve the purpose of "persuading" the holders of power that it is in their long-term survival interests to enter into effective negotiations.

22. So long as the defenders of the status quo believe they possess sufficient power (backed by enough allies in the international community) to enable them to maintain their present position, they will continue to hold out - even if the result is to produce an increasing climate of political and military violence. In holding this position they are by no means unique. Even if one recognizes - as one should - the legitimate fears of white minorities (largely due to their own mistaken policies through the years), this in no way alters the central reality of this analysis which is that for the defenders of the status quo there is no way of changing their policies without losing their power, and they are understandably unwilling to face this hard necessity. For equally understandable reasons the challengers to the status quo are unwilling to change their position - even if, for the immediate future, they can see only a long and bitterly drawn-out struggle to achieve their objectives.

23. Therefore, the world community faces a situation, which will become increasingly violent the longer it continues. Nor will this situation become negotiable unless one side begins to feel the actual loss of its power, or the other side becomes convinced of its permanent powerlessness. The latter eventuality must be permanently ruled out; the former position can only be reached through effective international pressures or effective internal pressures, or through a combination of both.

24. Hitherto, international pressures have not been sufficient to make an effective impact. Nor will they become effective until the United Nations can find ways of mobilizing its potential power to undertake enforcement action in support of Security Council decisions. The Security Council has already committed the world community to two objectives: the defeat of the Rhodesian rebellion, and the establishment of an independent South West African State freed from the control of South Africa. Failure to pursue these two objectives with any sign of likely success will almost certainly produce two interlocked results. It will encourage those pledged to maintaining White Supremacy to believe that their obduracy will bring them eventual success; and it will cause a further loss of faith in the United Nations among the opponents of the present régimes thereby strengthening their exclusive commitment to an armed struggle and opposition to United Nations interventions. These two results will carry the opposing forces much further and more surely along the collision course on which they have already embarked.

25. For the purposes of this paper, it is not necessary to enter into the realm of prophecy in trying to forecast how far away we are from the eventual collision in South Africa. In Angola and Mozambique the armed struggle is already a fact; in South West Africa the beginnings of the struggle have already been noted; in Rhodesia the forces of counter-violence are striving to make their organisations more effective. The immediate danger is that the spirit of violence - of racial violence - is being implanted by what is happening already. It will be infinitely harder, perhaps even impossible, to reverse the process of racism and violence once it has taken firm root. It is against this immediate danger that the world community should be alerted. It is not within the scope of this paper to suggest lines of action; it is concerned only with examining the consequences of the present situation in southern Africa for international peace and security.

Conclusions

26. These consequences can now be summed up as follows:

(a) Southern Africa is already set on a collision course in which racism and violence have become an increasingly prominent feature in the last seven years.

(b) International intervention is already a feature of the situation, operating on different levels: through the United Nations decisions; through the support given to the liberation movements by thirty-eight United Nations Member States which are also members of the OAU; through the support given by certain world Powers to the liberation movements; and by others - either directly or indirectly - to the existing régimes. International involvement is therefore already a built-in factor of the situation.

(c) The problem of dealing with any one of the five facets of the situation - Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia - is made more difficult by the open "alliance of interests" between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

(d) South Africa's new diplomatic probes into Africa is likely to intensify the tensions and heighten the sense of insecurity felt by the Republic's closer neighbours.

(e) The authority and influence of the United Nations are being seriously eroded among all parties involved in the conflicts of southern Africa. The jibe of "paper tiger" made on all sides robs the United Nations of much of its credibility.

(f) The ambiguities of the policies of the major Western Powers create suspicions and antagonisms which are unhelpful to the great majority of African leaders who are antagonistic to the introduction of world power politics into the situation in southern Africa.

(g) The attempts to establish a system of political order and security within Africa are actively harmed by the tensions and divisions set up by the deepening crisis in southern Africa.

(h) Southern Africa is on an escalator of violence: the pressures of armed struggle in Angola and Mozambique, and the international and local pressures on Rhodesia, are not ends in themselves: each is regarded as essential by African leaders to secure the independence of these territories: but at the same time, each is seen as a stepping-stone towards the hardest encounter of all - South Africa's. Thus, a successful outcome of armed struggle in the Portuguese territories will blaze the trail for Rhodesia and South West Africa and eventually for South Africa. This, then, is the essential dynamic of violence in southern Africa for which the world community has accepted responsibility, but without as yet matching its responsibilities with effective powers of enforcement.

Annex VII

LIST OF DOCUMENTS OF THE SEMINAR

I. Information Papers

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title and other particulars</u>	<u>Agenda item</u>	<u>Languages</u>
Information Paper			
No. 1	Recent resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa	none	E F S R
No. 2	Foreign investment in the Republic of South Africa	2	E F S R
No. 3	Territories under Portuguese administration - Working paper prepared for the Special Committee of Twenty-Four (A/AC.109/L.388 and Add.1-2)	1	E F S R
No. 4	Military installations in the Territories under Portuguese administration - Working paper prepared for Sub-Committee of Special Committee of Twenty-Four	1	E F S R
No. 5	Information on South West Africa - Working paper prepared for Ad Hoc Committee on South West Africa (A/AC.129/L.2)	1	E F S R
No. 6	Question of South West Africa - Working paper prepared for the Special Committee of Twenty-Four (A/AC.109/L.372 and Add.1)	1	E F S R
No. 7	Military activities in South West Africa - Working paper prepared for Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four	1	E F S R
No. 8	Question of Southern Rhodesia - Working paper prepared for the Special Committee of Twenty-Four (A/AC.109/L.393 and Add.1)	1	E F S R
No. 9	Military activities in Southern Rhodesia - Working paper prepared for Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four	1	E F S R

I. Information Papers (continued)

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title and other particulars</u>	<u>Agenda item</u>	<u>Languages</u>
Information Paper			
No. 10	Information on Swaziland - Working paper prepared for the Special Committee of Twenty-Four	1	E F S R
No. 11	Territories under Portuguese administration: Economic activities - selected sectors with special reference to foreign interests - Working paper for Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four	2	E F S R
No. 12	Economic conditions in South West Africa with particular reference to foreign economic interests - Working paper for Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four	2	E F S R
No. 13	Economic conditions in Southern Rhodesia with particular reference to foreign economic interests - Working paper for Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four	2	E F S R
No. 14	Summary of communications from States on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa - document of the Special Committee on Apartheid (A/AC.115/L.143/Rev.1)	4	E F S
No. 15	Implementation of Security Council resolution 236 (1966) on Southern Rhodesia - reports by the Secretary-General (S/7781 and Add.1-2)	4	E F R
No. 16	Note on military forces in the Republic of South Africa (A/AC.115/L.203)	2	E F S
No. 17	Note on the police force in the Republic of South Africa (A/AC.115/L.204)	2	E F S

II. Secretariat Papers

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title and other particulars</u>	<u>Agenda item</u>	<u>Languages</u>
Secretariat Paper			
No. 1	Review of United Nations consideration of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa - <u>unit</u> on apartheid publication - to be published	1	E F S R
No. 2	Measures taken by States in response to relevant resolutions by the General Assembly concerning South West Africa	4	E F S R
No. 3	Implementation of Security Council resolutions on Territories under Portuguese administration	4	E F S R

III. Consultant Papers

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Agenda item</u>	<u>Languages</u>
Consultant Paper			
No. 1	Basic facts on the Republic of South Africa and the policy of apartheid, by Julian R. Friedman	1	E F S R
No. 2	The crisis in Southern Africa, especially in South Africa, and the measures to be taken by the international community, by H.E.M. Achkar Marof	4	E F S R
No. 3	Race relations and Portuguese colonial policy, with special reference to Mozambique, by Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane	1	E F S R
No. 4	Consequences of the situation in southern Africa for international peace and security, by Colin Legum	3	E F S R

IV. Participant/Observer Papers

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Languages</u>
Participant/Observer Paper		
No. 1	Paper submitted by the Africa Bureau, London	E
No. 2	Paper submitted by the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee	E
No. 3	Paper submitted by the American Committee on Africa	E
No. 4	Paper submitted by the Zimbabwe African National Union	E
No. 5	Paper submitted by Mr. Dennis Brutus	E
No. 6	Paper submitted by the African National Congress of South Africa	E
No. 7	Paper submitted by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa)	E
