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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 27

- Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:**
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 - (d) Report of the Secretary-General

1. Mr. RAO (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: I have the honour to introduce the annual report of the Special Committee [A/32/11], as well as three special reports [A/32/22/Add.1-3]. These are submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970.

2. The three special reports are: first, one on the Second International Trade Union Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Geneva from 10 to 11 June 1977 [A/32/22/Add.1], which was adopted by the Committee on 21 June 1977; second, one on the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year [A/32/22/Add.2], which was adopted on 28 October 1977, and, third, one on relations between Israel and South Africa [A/32/22/Add.3], which was adopted on 28 October 1977.

3. The Special Committee's annual report, which was adopted on 1 November 1977, outlines its activities during the past year in pursuance of its mandate and contains a number of conclusions and recommendations on ways of intensifying concerted and effective international action against *apartheid* at the present crucial stage in the long struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

4. There have been some significant developments in the international campaign against *apartheid* during the last year. Of major importance among them was the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* organized by the

Special Committee in Lagos, Nigeria, from 22 to 26 August 1977 in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Federal Government of Nigeria. The Conference, which was held in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 31/6 G of 9 November 1976, provided an opportunity for a large number of Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to demonstrate the solemn commitment of the international community to ensure the speedy eradication of *apartheid* and to express its unequivocal support to the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for liberation.

5. The support of the world community has been manifested in a number of other events during the past year, such as the international trade union week of protest against *apartheid* in January 1977, the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May, the Second International Trade Union Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Geneva in June, the World Conference against *Apartheid*, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held in Lisbon in June, and concrete actions taken by many Governments and organizations to isolate the *apartheid* régime and support the national liberation movement.

6. A major step forward that took place after the adoption of the annual report by the Special Committee was the adoption by the Security Council on 4 November 1977 of resolution 418 (1977), which declared that "the policies and acts of the South African Government are fraught with danger to international peace and security". The resolution imposed a mandatory embargo against the provision of military equipment, and spare parts and of licences for their manufacture and called for a review of all existing contracts and licences. Earlier, reacting to the fresh wave of repression and brutality, including the death in detention of Steven Biko, clearly as a result of police torture, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 417 (1977), demanding that the racist régime end *apartheid*, violence and repression and abolish "Bantu education" and the policy of bantustanization. The Special Committee is closely following the situation and will take all necessary action, within its mandate, to promote the implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and to publicize any violations.

7. The Special Committee has noted with satisfaction in its annual report that a number of States ratified or acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)] in the past year and that the Commission on Human Rights has taken initial steps towards the implementation of that Convention.

8. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/6 G of 9 November 1976, the Special Committee sent missions to a number of Governments and organizations for the purpose of holding consultations to promote concerted international action against *apartheid*. The Special Committee also maintained close co-operation with other concerned United Nations organs, specialized agencies of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, the OAU and other intergovernmental organizations and the South African liberation movements recognized by the OAU. Representatives of the Special Committee participated in a number of national and international conferences dealing with the problems of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The Special Committee found these extensive consultations on various levels most useful.

9. The Special Committee considers it essential that, at this crucial stage of the struggle for liberation in South Africa, the international community should reaffirm its commitment to provide all necessary support and assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement for the eradication of *apartheid*, the exercise by all the people of the country of their inalienable right to self-determination, and the establishment of a non-racial society.

10. The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa constitutes an important contribution to the efforts of the international community to build a new world order based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The triumph of their long and heroic struggle would herald a new era in international relations by completing the emancipation of the African continent and bringing nearer the end of racism and racial discrimination all over the world. Their struggle is, therefore, of vital concern to all mankind.

11. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the President of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, Mr. Garba of Nigeria.

12. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria), President of the World Conference for Action Against *Apartheid*: It is a great privilege for me to be able to return here to participate in the General Assembly's consideration of item 27, relating to the policies of *apartheid* of the racist régime of South Africa. We recall that it was during the last session of the General Assembly that this item was considered directly in plenary meetings. This move was dictated by the events of horror which transpired in South Africa last year. Another year has rolled by, and the situation in that part of the African continent has become increasingly grave and explosive. The unfolding events in South Africa, daily escalating in violence and brutalization, clearly indicate to all, even those who had not been convinced in the past, the urgency for effective and all-embracing international action against the racists in South Africa. The time cannot be more appropriate than now to harness all our resources and efforts and canalize these into one concerted drive to eliminate *apartheid* and rid mankind of this very grave problem which is a constant reminder of the indignity and inhumanity to which the black man has been subjected for the greater part of this millenium.

13. It was in this spirit and in the realization of the urgent need for action that men and women of conscience from all

the corners of the world assembled in Lagos, Nigeria, during August of this year to pronounce on the question of *apartheid*. This World Conference for Action Against *Apartheid* brought together peoples of differing races, colour, creed and ideology, all united in one common cause—the struggle against *apartheid*. The Lagos Conference turned out to be the widest consensus ever reached in the history of mankind on any similar issue. It has, little doubt of it, signalled the death knell of *apartheid*.

14. It was for me, an honour and a privilege to have presided over that historic Conference. For my country, for the Government and the people of Nigeria, hosting the World Conference was but another manifestation of our modest but unflinching contribution to the fight against *apartheid*. It is our hope, that the spirit of Lagos will lead to the final international onslaught against *apartheid*. But we have not been too encouraged in the past, for such landmark events soon peter out. This is not usually all. Almost inevitably, the reaction from Pretoria is such that one is confused as to whether this is from panic, disdain of world opinion or the sheer reaction of the sick mind.

15. Having said that, I cannot but reflect on the general situation in South Africa, and a little of its history. The mental aberration of the *apartheid* régime surfaced once before when, following the Sharpeville massacre, the Security Council discussions led to the late Dag Hammarskjöld visiting South Africa in January 1961 to call for a peaceful abandonment of *apartheid* before the problem became even more serious. Rather, the racist régime called for an all-white referendum to set up a so-called republic and a blizzard of oppressive measures were clamped on the black majority.

16. Three years later, an eminent group of experts on South Africa, which was chaired by Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden and of which Lord Caradon was Rapporteur, suggested a national convention of the genuine representatives of all the people of South Africa to set a new course for the future. They warned:

“We believe that the mounting condemnation by world opinion and the growing insistence on positive action should now be directed to the achievement of this purpose. . . . Only thus can all the people of South Africa be saved from catastrophe and the world from a conflagration of incalculable consequences.”¹

They continued:

“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.”²

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964*, document S/5658, annex, para. 8.

² *Ibid.*, para. 31.

17. The situation has rapidly deteriorated. Between the Lagos Conference and today, we have all witnessed more desperate measures taken by the racist régime in South Africa. After the Lagos Conference, the world awoke to the news of the murder of Steven Biko. The international outcry that resulted from this cold-blooded murder was met by more repressive measures of banning, detention and the closure of certain media in South Africa. The history of the racist régime in South Africa has been one of a constant show of repressive and brutal power. Successive peaceful demonstrations against *apartheid* by the black majority have always been met by brute force and the bullet. The killings of African miners during the strike of 1946, the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, and the Soweto massacre of 1976 are examples of escalating violence. The bannings, the life sentences, the hangings and the killings of patriots in detention are the reactions of the racists to the international calls for a change.

18. These facts are well known. But the question is how long will the international community allow this to go on. That is why my Head of State said when declaring open the Lagos Conference:

“We should no longer just be outraged—we must act to discourage the enemies of Africa and humanity, we must act to destroy the system of *apartheid* and remove it from our midst.”³

19. In this connexion, I must state that the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*⁴ contains the necessary and appropriate provisions for meaningful international action against *apartheid*. Countries which for various reasons believe that only peaceful means will bring about change in South Africa have all the necessary ingredients in the Lagos Declaration. For my country, action for a peaceful solution is but one facet of the struggle in South Africa. As for countries which share a contrary view, one implores them to utilize all peaceful means provided in the United Nations Charter in Chapter VII. A half-hearted approach towards a resolution of a situation of grave consequence to mankind is of no use.

20. At this point, I cannot but comment on the outcome of the recent Security Council debate on the question of South Africa. But permit me to refer once more to the Myrdal report to the Security Council. That expert group recalled that the Security Council had already recognized in 1963 that the situation in South Africa was “seriously disturbing international peace and security” and it pointed out that the situation had further deteriorated by the time the report was written in 1964 because of the actions of the racist régime. It said that, if South Africa did not agree within a short time to the proposal for a national convention and to the release of all political prisoners, the Security Council “would be left with no effective peaceful means for assisting to resolve the situation, except to apply economic sanctions”.⁵

³ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.3), annex IV, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964*, document S/5658, annex, para. 121.

21. If Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on a mandatory arms embargo is the answer of the Council to the 15 years during which the oppressed people of South Africa have cried to it, that answer is, I submit, grossly inadequate. If resolution 418 (1977) is an indication of the willingness of some permanent members of the Council to begin now to act, it is but a very limited step in the right direction. While acknowledging this movement, I cannot but register my delegation's disappointment. Over the past 15 years the racists in Pretoria have never taken any half-hearted measures in their iron-handed repression of the majority, or in the murdering of innocent schoolchildren, or in their armed adventurism and acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States and their compulsive urge to develop nuclear weapons. How can resolution 418 (1977) be seen as totally reflecting the much needed and long overdue action to deal with the stark realities of the situation in South Africa?

22. The situation in South Africa is a clear and present threat to international peace and security. And for some members of the Security Council to deny this is incomprehensible and could constitute a negative contribution to the authority of the United Nations and the struggle against *apartheid*. And it helps to maintain the *status quo* in *apartheid* South Africa, for the racist régime can easily see through resolution 418 (1977) and the element of balking entailed therein.

23. The situation in South Africa calls for the immediate dismantling of *apartheid*. The situation in South Africa does not only demand a halt to the sale and supply of arms, ammunition, components and spare parts to the racists, who have nearly attained a level of 100 per cent self-sufficiency in armaments. It calls for the cancellation of existing licences for the manufacture of armaments. Otherwise, the resolution will be just another mere paper declaration. We recall the track records of some Western countries on the question of sanctions. In 1964 the Security Council set up an expert committee to look into the question of sanctions. France boycotted the discussions and other Western members of the Council dismissed the matter as not being really feasible. When in 1963 a call was made for a so-called voluntary arms embargo, which the United States accepted and the then British Labour Party agreed to in 1964, France stepped in to fill in the vacuum by increasing its supply of arms to South Africa.

24. Records indicate that, unless we revoke those licences, we shall not have set out to achieve a credible arms embargo. We are all aware of the important correlation between loans to and investments in South Africa and its arms build-up. These economic activities, with the active participation of some Western interests, have also contributed in no small measure to the military and arms-related industries in South Africa. The financing of this military build-up and the vast and brutal machinery for operating and maintaining *apartheid* and fascism in South Africa comes directly and indirectly from these foreign investors and transnationals.

25. The vast investments in the exploitation of quasi-slave labour made by these investors have kept the *laager* régime in power and given it the economic stability to maintain *apartheid*. To say the least, the investments in *apartheid* by

some Western countries—rising from \$500 million in 1960 to almost \$10 billion today, with 55 per cent, that is, over \$5 billion, from the United Kingdom alone, in spite of all the agitation of the international community since *apartheid* became institutionalized—are a clear indication of support for the policies and practices of *apartheid*. How can the Security Council honestly deal with one aspect and not the other? An all-embracing package of economic sanctions against South Africa is essential if we are to be honest vis-à-vis our consciences and to mankind. Any positive action in the right direction must include the cessation of new loans to and investments in South Africa and the progressive dismantling of existing ones. We must also ask the Western countries why they collaborate with South Africa in the nuclear field when they proclaim that they do not want the racists to develop nuclear weapons. Why do they insist on providing nuclear fuel when South Africa refuses to become party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons or to any effective safeguard system? Only the combination of all that I have proposed can constitute meaningful and positive peaceful action against South Africa. Anything short of that is inadequate.

26. My country will continue to encourage the national liberation movement in South Africa to intensify the armed struggle. We shall continue to give them all the support within our limited resources. Nigeria will do all within its power to deal as it feels appropriate with those interests that collaborate with the racists and help to maintain the *status quo* by profiting from *apartheid*.

27. We are convinced that *apartheid* must be dealt with in the same manner as the racists brutally oppress our brothers and sisters in South Africa. *Apartheid* presents to mankind a unique and repugnant system of neo-slavery. There is no parallel in the history of man. Some friends of the racists have attempted to equate *apartheid* with the violation of human rights or with the ridiculous level of civil rights in other independent countries. I wish to restate what my Government has continually underlined, namely, that in countries where every individual is equal before the law, with his rights guaranteed by the constitution, individuals or despotic leaders have emerged who abuse their instruments of authority. That should not and must not be confused with institutionalized violation of primordial rights and human life by laws—laws enacted by a racial minority to enslave the majority. That of course is the order in South Africa. That is the sad situation in southern Africa generally. Despots arise but they are in time liquidated; however, in South Africa it is a system which continues and must be destroyed.

28. Since racism became institutionalized in South Africa in 1948, there has been a continuing cry to the international community to take up the challenge to destroy the system. *Apartheid* is the scion of colonialism; its precursor was the slave trade conducted by those same Powers that have kept *apartheid* going; for it is the Western colonial Powers that have traditionally opposed every move to make any progress on this matter, putting their vested interests before human values and ignoring Africa because of the inability of African States to redirect and restructure their colonial economic links away from colonial lines.

29. Finally, to us a mandatory arms embargo will be meaningless unless the following steps are taken. First, all

existing contracts and licences must be revoked. From reports reaching us we have learned that France has cancelled some existing contracts with South Africa since the embargo was imposed. We congratulate France. We hope, however, in the interest of the struggling people of South Africa and in the interest of relations between France and Africa, that there will be a further move in the direction of revoking licences. The same applies to all other countries involved. Secondly, a watchdog and policing committee should be set up to ensure that third-party and black-market deliveries are forestalled and thwarted. Thirdly, oil and related materials are key elements in the arms build-up in South Africa. I am happy that last month the Fourth Committee of this Assembly recommended the imposition of oil sanctions against South Africa [see A/32/342, para. 9] and that all the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, without exception, voted in favour of such measures.

30. For some years the OAU has been calling for oil sanctions against South Africa in a number of its resolutions. At the last session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Libreville in July, a seven-nation mission was set up to look into the execution of oil sanctions, and we are at present in contact with major oil-producing countries in an effort to make this a reality. Also, a recent report of a Commonwealth committee contained the recommendation that oil sanctions against Rhodesia be extended to cover South Africa. A move in this direction is essential.

31. Twenty-five years ago, in 1952, the African-Asian States warned that the continuation of the situation in South Africa would lead to a threat to international peace. They implored this Assembly to take action to avert that threat. For 25 years we have had a mass of resolutions—endless requests to the South African régime to solve the problem peacefully by a round-table conference, by a genuine national convention, by consultation with the genuine representatives of the people. The African States and the OAU have offered to help the South African régime to extricate itself from the abyss in which it has fallen. For all these years the great majority of Member States have been imploring the Western Powers to use their influence and the powerful means at their command for the achievement of freedom and human equality in South Africa.

32. The result has been ever more brutal repression in South Africa. Everything done by South Africa under the pretence of favouring peace has been accompanied by more killings of black people. All that we have had from the major Western Powers has been more collaboration with South Africa accompanied by pious and sanctimonious declarations here. Their policies have been guided by the cold war, by greed for profits, by contempt for the black man.

33. Today the problems of southern Africa have converged and we face, as a result of the actions of the Western Powers, a crisis of great magnitude. It is a challenge to Africa, to its dignity and honour, and we hope to all the United Nations.

34. Africa has no choice but to lend its full support to the national liberation movements and to fight with them, by

all means at its command, for the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and for the emancipation of the whole of Africa.

35. We hope that the Lagos Declaration and recent resolutions of the Security Council represent a recognition by the Western countries that they must align themselves with the inevitable. But I want to warn the Assembly that there is no more time for procrastination and endless debates and resolutions. The final and decisive struggle has begun.

36. We have watched with patience the talks for negotiated solutions in Zimbabwe and Namibia. But we can no longer sit by idly while the racist régimes continue to use these talks to consolidate their positions and rush through the implementation of their diabolical plans to divide the African people and balkanize the southern part of Africa. We consider that an early dead-line should be set for the conclusion of talks on Zimbabwe and Namibia, which, they cannot be freed in 1978 by a negotiated settlement, must be freed by other means.

37. The time has come for a total arms embargo against the racist régimes, a total embargo on all strategic materials which oil their war machines, and total economic sanctions. The Western Powers, which have fuelled the crisis by all their past pampering of the racist régimes, must be called upon to act, even at this late stage.

38. On behalf of Nigeria, I should like to call on this Assembly to make a solemn pledge, in the name of all Member States, to take all action necessary for the total emancipation of Africa, in the spirit of the Lagos Declaration.

39. It is high time that we welcomed in this Assembly the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to take their seats amongst us.

40. The PRESIDENT: I now request the Rapporteur of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun of Algeria, to present the report of that Conference.

41. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria), Rapporteur of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my Minister for Foreign Affairs had an opportunity during the general debate to join in the tributes and congratulations expressed to you by all the speakers from this rostrum. I would like only to say that we know that, in addition to your qualities as a statesman and representative of a large non-aligned country, you are a militant fighter for the cause which during the next few days we shall seek to defend within the framework of the debate now opening on the racist policy and system of *apartheid* in South Africa.

42. I am very pleased also to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our deep appreciation for his presence at the Lagos Conference. His remarkable address to the Conference⁶ bore witness to a solidarity of which

the people of South Africa have taken the most careful note, for it symbolized, in a way, the will of the international community as a whole to fight for the elimination of racism and *apartheid*.

43. It is worth while emphasizing the deep significance of this debate. Indeed, until recently this discussion was confined above all to the Special Political Committee, where facts known to all were repeated over and over in a more or less sincere tone or style and where the recent history of the people of South Africa was traced and retraced, without the impression really being given that this discussion was leading to a genuine mobilization of international opinion and concrete and effective action. Today the General Assembly is seized directly of this question, shortly after a discussion in and important decisions by what is usually called the executive organ of the United Nations—that is, the Security Council.

44. If we have achieved such a remarkable and encouraging result, it is first of all because the long and difficult struggle of the South African liberation movements has obviously become an increasingly irresistible tide, expressing the deep aspirations of the South African masses. Those movements, whether spontaneous or organized and structured, are the result of a tradition and experience of political struggle born at the beginning of this century. Through Sharpeville and Soweto the world has obtained a picture of the heroism of these people who must face the most sophisticated and inhuman machinery of war and repression of our times.

45. The significance of this debate should be sought also in the outcome of long-term political action by the African peoples and Governments, particularly since the beginning of the 1960s.

46. I need hardly recall that the very creation of the OAU was due essentially to the will of the Africans to put an end to colonialism and racism on their continent. It might be worth while reminding all those who are banking on the division of our peoples that even before 1963 there already existed contradictions in Africa, which were reflected moreover in really antagonistic groupings. And yet the rallying call, the common platform in May 1963 was none other than an expression of the awareness of the need to overcome our divergences on the methods of emancipation and development and work for the total liberation of our continent and for the elimination of racism and colonialism. If today there still persist certain discordant notes which are regrettable and which hinder the completion of that process of liberation, we remain convinced for our part that in particular circumstances Africa, as in May 1963, will recover its unanimity. The action of the OAU Committee of Liberation and other bodies of that institution has supported the struggle of the liberation movements of South Africa and helped to initiate today an open discussion in this important forum on the ways and means to put an end rapidly to racism and *apartheid*.

47. The significance of this debate is to be seen, lastly, in a vast convergence of the many and generous actions carried out by all the progressive forces of the world; all those groups and individuals which have set for themselves as an ideal the struggle against injustice in southern Africa. This is

⁶ For a summary of this address, see *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), paras. 8-20.

a vast movement and we can retrace its course in detail from the meeting in Oslo in April 1973⁷ to the recent and historic Conference in Lagos of August 1977.

48. I had the privilege of being Rapporteur of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* in Lagos and it is incumbent upon me to say today what its message is. It was the General Assembly, as members may recall, which recommended the holding of that Conference when it adopted resolution 31/6 G of 9 November 1976 on a proposal of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, which emphasized in its annual report that it would be useful to undertake a detailed study of the threat constituted by the intensive militarization programme developed by the Pretoria régime and in particular, the nuclear dimensions of that programme which, as all agreed, could give rise to a major catastrophe. That was a legitimate source of concern which, *inter alia*, explained the success of this Conference, at least in terms of the number and the level of the delegations from all the continents of the world.

49. That historic meeting was the fruit of close co-operation by the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the chairmanship of Mr. Harriman—whose dynamic role we must stress—the OAU, the liberation movements of South Africa and the Federal Government of Nigeria to which—and here I believe I may speak on behalf of those who attended the Conference—I wish to pay special tribute, not only because of the hospitality and leadership it has shown but also because it created the right conditions for awakening an unprecedented response from the Nigerian masses. Perhaps this is something that should give this Assembly food for thought because I can never sufficiently emphasize the importance of the symbolism of the Lagos Conference for us. We felt that behind the people of Lagos was the whole of the population of the most populous country of Africa. Nigeria, whose 80 million people became witnesses at that Conference at which the system of *apartheid* was on trial.

50. Those 80 million Nigerians will remember that their Head of State, Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, in addressing the Conference, made a solemn statement which was at the same time a warning. He announced that Nigeria was ready to mobilize all its resources to put an end to the racist régimes of southern Africa. Lieutenant-General Obasanjo, moreover, warned all Governments, institutions and organizations which were the accomplices of a system which kept under oppression our brothers and sisters in southern Africa to change their policy. He said:

“We cannot continue to co-operate with those who benefit from us while at the same time reaping large profits from the sweat and blood of our brothers and sisters held in slavery. It is our sovereign duty to review our relationship with them and take appropriate action.

“In this regard, we are compiling information on all those Governments who pretend to be Africa’s friends but allow themselves to be used as a weapons laundry for South Africa—all for limited economic advantages. We are

mounting a surveillance on all those enterprises who depend on our raw materials and markets but continue to help our enemies. Such enterprises must decide now to choose between us and our enemies and all that goes with their choice. We have a festering sore on which these flies have landed and are feeding in full glare of the world. And when we move to destroy these flies, no one should complain.”⁸

51. The President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, for his part indicated the broad lines of a programme of action. The points of that programme of action, which were taken up by many speakers in Lagos, should be recalled today, because we consider that they constitute the framework for any action that may prove effective. They are: first, recognition of the legitimacy of the armed struggle; secondly, increased material assistance to the peoples of South Africa and their national liberation movement; thirdly, assistance to South African refugees and in particular to the programmes of training for them; fourthly, total isolation of the *apartheid* régime by means of its exclusion from all political, economic, cultural and diplomatic bodies; fifthly, a total embargo on arms with an explicit invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter; sixthly, the application of economic sanctions and a total embargo on the delivery of oil to South Africa; seventhly, the prohibition of any contact with or recognition of the bantustans; eighthly, a solemn warning to the Pretoria régime that, in the event of an attack against neighbouring African countries, the international community would take the necessary measures against that régime; and ninthly and lastly, the cessation of any sporting links with the régime of *apartheid*.

52. The Conference also heard the Prime Minister of Norway, Mr. Odvar Nordli, who in a very moving fashion called for greater solidarity on the part of the international community with the African peoples and stated that he was ready to apply an arms embargo, to halt investment in South Africa and to suspend export credits while giving active support to the southern African liberation movements and to the neighbouring African countries against the racist and minority régimes.

53. It is clear that under the inspiration of such important contributions the Conference was able to work out a policy and a valid strategy, concerned, as we all were, with achieving unity against South Africa. Under the presidency of Brigadier General Joseph N. Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, the officers of the Conference, after long discussions and consultations, drafted the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*. That Declaration which was adopted by the Conference aroused certain reservations. None the less, despite the limitations imposed by political realism and the desire for efficacy, that Declaration constitutes a pledge whereby the international community, with the vigilant Nigerian people as its witness, committed itself once and for all to a course of action. The Lagos Conference is the result of the long process of the mobilization of all forces which, reacting to the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, have sought to unite in more vigorous and radical action.

⁷ International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973.

⁸ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.3), annex IV, p. 12. Quoted in English by the speaker.

54. The racists of South Africa, who see there is unanimity against them, appear still to understand nothing of history. The end of Portuguese colonialism in April 1974 fundamentally changed the situation in southern Africa. The accession to independence of Mozambique and Angola gave a new impetus to the liberation struggle in the territories still under the yoke of racism and colonialism. In Zimbabwe and in Namibia the struggle has been intensified. The Smith régime recognizes that his administration no longer is in control of the operational zones. He himself describes his policy of "protected villages" and summary executions as a considerable worsening of the situation. Thus it is that with South African assistance he attacked Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. But all those attacks were merely evasions of responsibility, wild ventures, which can only be explained by the disarray of a doomed régime. No assistance Pretoria may wish to give the Smith régime will save it from being speedily swept away. In Namibia, despite the militarization of vast border regions, despite the institution of no-man's lands, despite the military bases equipped with advanced electronic war *matériel*, despite torture, despite attacks carried into the very interior of Angola and Zambia, the struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization is continuing and is gaining strength. Perhaps the initiatives of certain countries will lead, here and there, to an acceleration of the liberation process, to the extent that the vigilance and good faith of Africans are not deceived. In any event, with or without good offices, victory is certain.

55. However, the Pretoria régime does not seem able, either today or in the future, to appreciate the meaning of this revolution in southern Africa. Quite to the contrary, that régime is openly increasing its arsenals; the mass media of the racist régime have stepped up their publicity campaign about South Africa's repressive war machine in order to reassure the white minority population and to blackmail the African peoples. According to the latest figures, the South African armed forces number more than 220,000, to which we must add certain police forces, including units of armed women on the Israeli model. The bantustans have been encouraged to organize their own so-called defence forces, but in April 1977 Defence Minister Botha emphasized that those defence forces should not be allowed to become too strong or they would pose a certain danger. The military budget too has increased at an incredible rate: from 948 million rand in 1975, it has now reached 1,711 million rand for the financial year 1977-1978. Military expenses are by far the largest component of the South African budget, representing approximately 20 per cent of State expenses. Mobilization, training and indoctrination methods are such that it seems that a veritable war psychosis has taken hold of the white population, especially when one thinks of the population figures: 4 million whites are daily aware that they are surrounded by 25 million Africans waiting for justice to be done.

56. This war psychosis is a fundamental aspect of racist philosophy and action. The only response of the racist régime to the demands of the international community and to the growing liberation struggle in southern Africa has been a stepping up of its repression. All the means of more-or-less legal opposition through which a part of the oppressed majority could timidly express itself have in

practice been abolished. The "Black Consciousness" organizations, trade-union and religious leaders, the Christian Institute and many newspapers have had to cease their activities; detentions have followed detentions; Steven Biko; like many others, was assassinated. Several days ago, Pretoria announced the arrest of over 600 children. How can so inhuman a régime be brought to its senses and be made to understand that this is but a tragic preview of the nightmare that will overtake the peoples of South Africa when repression has reached its absolute limit? This is because, while it creates a war psychosis and scorns the appeals of the international community, that régime, strengthened by the military assistance it receives, is deliberately and arbitrarily setting itself up as gaoler of a vast concentration camp in a veritable defence of the argument for violence. It is in those terms that we must measure the full responsibility of those who have allowed this Frankenstein monster, this fascism called *apartheid*, to equip and strengthen itself militarily and economically, to the point where it now defies the rest of mankind.

57. Those who have helped the Pretoria régime to arm will be branded by history as accomplices. The South African war machine is composed essentially of equipment from Western Europe, Japan, Israel and North America. The granting of licences and the transfer of military technology and know-how continues to this day and allows considerable local production of military equipment. South African subcontracting firms are affiliated with Western-based multinational corporations which, through their subsidiaries, give local South African military production every opportunity to develop and improve and to be completely up-to-date on the most advanced military technology.

58. Today, South African troops are being transported in Transall troop-carriers and Super-Hornet helicopters to the borders of the independent African countries they threaten. It is essentially Mirage-type aircraft which violate the air space of African countries; it is submarines and warships manufactured in Western Europe, particularly in France, which cruise the coasts of Mozambique, Angola and the United Republic of Tanzania. All this belies the claim of those who placed this arsenal at the disposal of the South African Fascists that it was intended for some other purpose.

59. Hence, South Africa obstinately pursues a policy of violence because of the aid received by that régime. Under the circumstances, any hesitation or half-hearted action on our part can only be interpreted as a sign of weakness, at the least, and as an inability to act. Massacres will succeed massacres; attempts to reason with an already exacerbated fascism cannot but incite it to expansionism. That is why we believe that only therapy applicable in this specific case is shock therapy. Through effective sanctions the leaders of the racist régime must be made to understand that their policy is leading them directly to disaster. We must therefore take into account the wise proposals made at the Lagos Conference by the Head of the Federal Government of Nigeria and by the President of Zambia and the Prime Minister of Norway, as well as those contained in the historic Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*.