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**CONTENTS**

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 105: Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of the Secretary-General Report of the Fifth Committee (part I) . . . . .	691
Agenda item 52: Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa: (a) Report of the Special Committee against <i>Apartheid</i> ; (b) Report of the Secretary-General . . . . .	692

**President:** Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE  
(Sri Lanka).

**AGENDA ITEM 105**

**Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and the  
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force: report of  
the Secretary-General**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I)  
(A/31/278)**

1. Mr. NASON (Ireland), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to present the Fifth Committee's first report, contained in document A/31/278. In paragraph 5 of the report, representatives will note, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee without objection.

2. Paragraph 1 of the draft resolution would authorize the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] for the period 25 October to 30 November 1976 inclusive and for the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force [UNDOF] for the period 1 November to 30 November 1976 inclusive. This is in order to allow adequate time for consideration by the General Assembly of the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on the financing of the Forces.

3. In paragraph 2 of the draft resolution the Assembly would decide to apportion the relevant expenses among Member States in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3374 B (XXX) and 3374 C (XXX).

4. I hope that the draft resolution will meet with the unanimous approval of the Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.*

5. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the positions of delegations in respect of the draft resolution submitted to

the Assembly were made clear in the Fifth Committee and that those positions are reflected in the relevant summary record of the Committee.

6. Before taking a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of its report [A/31/278], I shall call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

7. Mr. ALKAFF (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Owing to particular circumstances my country's delegation was unable to clarify its position in the Fifth Committee.

8. My delegation's position with regard to the question of the financing of UNEF and UNDOF is well known and sufficiently clear, since it was explained by my delegation at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations both during meetings of the Fifth Committee and in plenary meetings.

9. This position can be summarized as follows. These Forces are of a temporary nature and these expenses should be borne by the aggressor because it is unacceptable that those who are the victims of aggression should participate in defraying the expenses of the occupation of their territories. Furthermore, the obstinacy of the Zionist racist régime and its refusal to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are conferring a permanent character on these international Forces in the Middle East.

10. If my country has so far contributed its share of the financing of these Forces, it is because of its commitment to the Charter. However, this action should in no way be interpreted as meaning that we accept Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Moreover, my country intends to reconsider the question of contributing to the financing of these international Forces starting next year. In order to confirm our position, my delegation will not participate in the voting with respect to the Fifth Committee's draft resolution if it is put to the vote.

11. Mr. KAPLLANI (Albania): The Albanian delegation will vote against draft resolution A/31/278 now before the Assembly. This is in conformity with the well-known position of the People's Republic of Albania, which has not endorsed and will never endorse any financing of UNEF and UNDOF. It was against the creation of these Forces and it is resolutely against their maintenance as they do not serve the purpose of the preservation of peace, as is alleged, but serve the imperialist and hegemonistic interests of the two super-Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union.

12. Mr. EL SHEIBANI (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation does not wish to make

a lengthy statement on this item at the present time because the subject will be taken up later here in the Assembly. Moreover, my delegation has already expressed its views on the matter in the Security Council and the Fifth Committee.

13. My delegation's position on UNEF and UNDOF is very clear. The deployment of those Forces is based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). My delegation does not believe that those two resolutions can serve as a basis for the settlement of the Palestinian problem or the Middle East crisis. I wish that position to be placed on the record. If the draft resolution is put to the vote, my delegation will not participate in the voting.

14. Mr. WU Hsiao-ta (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With regard to UNEF and UNDOF, the Chinese delegation has already repeatedly expounded its position in the Security Council. In accordance with that position, the Chinese delegation opposed the idea of the financing of UNEF and UNDOF as an expenditure of the United Nations, and we will not assume responsibility for the financing. Therefore, we will not participate in the vote on the draft resolution.

15. Mr. HAMZAH (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Syrian Arab Republic has clearly stated its position on the financing of UNEF and UNDOF. My country thinks that the heavy burden of financing those Forces has been imposed on Member States of the United Nations as a result of the aggression launched by Israel on the Arab territories and Israel's occupation by force of the lands of others, in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and many resolutions adopted by this body calling for Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories. My country believes that under all rules and laws the expenses of these Forces should be borne by the Zionist aggressive entity. Hence, it will not participate in the financing of the Forces and will vote against the draft resolution before the Assembly, if it is put to the vote.

16. Mr. KITTANI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Iraq explained in the Fifth Committee its reasons for not participating in the vote in that body on the present draft resolution. We do not think it necessary to repeat those reasons here. We wish merely to state that, for the reasons which we set forth in the Fifth Committee, the delegation of Iraq will not participate in the voting on the draft resolution in the General Assembly.

17. The PRESIDENT: There has been no formal request for a vote on draft resolution A/31/278. I therefore take it that the General Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/5).*

## AGENDA ITEM 52

**Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa:**  
(a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid;  
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

18. The PRESIDENT: At its 4th meeting, held on 24 September 1976, the General Assembly approved the

General Committee's recommendation that this item be considered directly in plenary meetings. In this regard, the question arises of the participation of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and representatives of national liberation movements recognized by OAU in the debates on this item in the Assembly.

19. The Assembly is aware that, in accordance with earlier practice and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, these observers have been enabled to participate in discussions in the Main Committees on this item.

20. I have held consultations on this matter with interested parties and I am satisfied that since, given the exceptional importance of this item, the Assembly has decided to consider it in plenary meetings and not in a Main Committee, it is appropriate in these circumstances to permit the observers directly concerned with the item under discussion to participate in the consideration of the item in the plenary Assembly.

21. I am fortified in the expression of that view by the consideration that this arrangement would be conducive to the smooth, expeditious and constructive conduct of the work of the Assembly which seek the co-operation of these parties in promoting the solution of the serious problems involved here. The arrangement is, in my view, in keeping with the spirit of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

22. I take it that there is no objection to the Assembly's proceeding accordingly.

*It was so decided.*

23. The PRESIDENT: I understand that the representative of the United States and the representative of the Netherlands on behalf of the nine member States of the European Communities wish to make statements at this stage.

24. Mr. HESS (United States of America): The United Nations is an organization comprising Member States soon to number 150. It has always been and will remain principally a forum for discussion among and between the representatives of Member States. Accordingly, the plenary forum, the General Assembly, has been traditionally reserved for the presentation of views by representatives of Members.

25. Mr. President, we appreciate your efforts to accommodate the many points of view in this Assembly and to work towards mutual accommodations that will be in the best interests of the Organization and all Members. The United States is concerned that inviting others to speak at plenary meetings will end in delaying and even obstructing the work of the General Assembly. This will inevitably be the result, unless there is greater restraint than is being shown today and has been shown on other recent occasions.

26. We say this without calling into question the propriety of participation in the debate by OAU, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. We think they should be heard in the discussion of the *apartheid* item, but they could have been

provided a full and fair opportunity to present their views to the entire membership in one of the Main Committees.

27. We regret that agreement on a procedure of this character did not prove possible.

28. Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): I am speaking on behalf of the nine member States of the European Communities. Those States believe it is fitting and necessary that parties having a recognized interest should have an opportunity of making their views known to the United Nations by appropriate means. Procedures and practices exist for this purpose. The nine member States of the European Communities agree that the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress should be heard on the question of *apartheid*, a policy the nine emphatically condemn. At the same time, in the interests of the Organization, they are of the opinion that the established practices and procedures governing the work of the General Assembly should be upheld. In accordance with the decisions and practices of the past few years, the possibility exists for the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to have full and ample hearings before the whole United Nations membership in one of the Main Committees. That is the proper procedure.

29. The Assembly is the forum for Member States and not for observers or other parties.

30. Although the delegations of the nine countries recognize the difficulties with which you, Mr. President, were confronted, they regret that the appropriate procedures have not been followed in this case.

31. I should like to emphasize that this statement is made with the sole intent of upholding established procedures and does not in any way prejudge our respective substantive positions on *apartheid*. Those will be elaborated in the course of this debate.

32. Mr. VALDERRAMA (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22] as well as three special reports submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and resolution 3411 (XXX) of 28 November and 10 December 1975. The three special reports are as follows: "The Soweto massacre and its aftermath" [A/31/22/Add.1], which was adopted by the Committee on 3 August 1976; "Relations between Israel and South Africa" [A/31/22/Add.2], which was adopted on 8 September 1976; and "Information activity against *apartheid* by the United Nations and its specialized agencies" [A/31/22/Add.3].

33. The Special Committee's report, which was adopted on 5 October 1976, outlines the activities of the Special Committee during the past year in pursuance of its mandate and contains a number of conclusions and recommendations on ways and means to intensify concerted and effective international action against *apartheid* in the light of the present grave situation in southern Africa.

34. There have been significant advances in international action against *apartheid* in the past year. On 18 July 1976

the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* came into force, having received 20 ratifications or accessions by 18 June 1976. As of 5 October 1976 the Convention had been ratified or acceded to by 21 countries and signed by 35 countries.

35. A number of Governments, specialized agencies and other international organizations took concrete measures to reduce or prevent collaboration with South Africa, in compliance with United Nations resolutions, thus further isolating the South African racist régime.

36. From 24 to 28 May 1976 the Special Committee, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3411 F (XXX) of 28 November 1975, and in consultation with OAU, held an International Seminar on the Eradication of *Apartheid* and in support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa. The Seminar, held in Havana, from 24 to 28 May 1976, reviewed recent developments in South Africa and considered, in particular, a co-ordinated strategy of action against economic collaboration with South Africa, ways and means of counteracting South African propaganda, and increased assistance to liberation movements.

37. Many proposals and suggestions were made by participants on ways and means of promoting effective international action against *apartheid*. These are embodied in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Seminar, which was submitted to the General Assembly in document A/31/104.

38. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3411 F (XXX), the Special Committee sent missions to a number of Governments and organizations to hold consultations to promote concerted international action against *apartheid*. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation and to hold consultations to promote concerted international action against *apartheid*. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation and to hold consultations with other concerned United Nations organs, specialized agencies of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, OAU and other inter-governmental organizations and the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU. Representatives of the Special Committee also 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.

39. The Special Committee hailed the heroic resistance of the people of South Africa to racist oppression and deplored the vain attempts by the *apartheid* régime to crush their resistance by brutal acts of repression, as the special report on the Soweto massacre indicates. It has noted the *apartheid* régime's attempt to mislead world public opinion with its diplomatic and propaganda manoeuvres and has rejected its vow that it will never abandon its *apartheid* policies and accept majority rule in South Africa. It has repeatedly warned against the policy of bantustanization by which the sham independence of Transkei was proclaimed today.

40. The Special Committee considers that the *apartheid* régime of South Africa bears the primary responsibility for the grave situation in southern Africa and warns that this might lead to a conflict enveloping the whole region, with incalculable repercussions.

41. The Special Committee recommends to the General Assembly that the United Nations adopt a comprehensive programme of action by Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations designed to end all military, diplomatic, economic, cultural and sports collaboration with the South African racist régime, and to give all necessary assistance to the oppressed peoples and their liberation movements to enable them to eradicate *apartheid* and to exercise their right to self-determination.

42. In this connexion, the Special Committee recommends that the Programme of Action adopted at the Havana Seminar, and supported by OAU and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries be endorsed by the General Assembly.

43. The Special Committee also stresses the need for the United Nations to recognize that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to the peace in the context of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It therefore recommends that the General Assembly call on the Security Council to take meaningful action against the *apartheid* régime, including a mandatory arms embargo, under Chapter VII of the Charter.

44. As regards its programme of work, the Special Committee recommends that provision be made to enable it to continue its consultations with Governments, in particular the main trading partners of South Africa, and with specialized agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

45. It recommends that a world conference should be organized in 1977, to consider concrete measures for the implementation of the Programme of Action formulated at the Havana Seminar, as well as the decisions to be taken by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

46. It further recommends that the General Assembly authorize it to convene an international trade union conference against *apartheid* in 1977 with a view to reviewing the implementation of the decisions taken at the first such conference held in Geneva in 1973.

47. The Special Committee emphasizes the need for the widest possible dissemination of information against *apartheid*, and the importance of devoting adequate resources to this purpose. It is submitting a special report on ways and means to strengthen the information activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in this field [A/31/22/Add.3].

48. The Special Committee is gratified that the General Assembly has recognized the urgency of the situation arising from the policies of *apartheid* of the minority racist régime of South Africa by according priority to its consideration in the Assembly's deliberations at this session. The Special Committee hopes that the General Assembly will endorse its recommendations for concerted international action against *apartheid*.

49. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): I have asked to be allowed to speak at this time in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the report of the Committee of Trustees, which is annexed to the report of the Secretary-General on the Trust Fund in document A/31/277.

50. The Trust Fund, as members know, was established a little over 10 years ago to provide legal and humanitarian assistance to victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa. Its terms of reference were subsequently expanded to include Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

51. During this past decade, the Trust Fund has provided one means for the international community to show its concern over the plight of those subjected to harsh repression because of their struggle for freedom and human dignity, and to give them assistance. The Trust Fund has made grants to several voluntary agencies, enabling them to provide legal assistance to those persecuted under unjust laws and to render assistance to their families. It has also made modest grants for assistance to refugees from South Africa.

52. While these grants have helped to defend numerous persons charged under *apartheid* laws, and have helped hundreds of families that were in dire need, the Committee of Trustees has been conscious that the repression has constantly become harsher and that the needs have increased from year to year. The Committee has always stressed that the humanitarian assistance provided through the Fund is meant to meet a pressing need while efforts are being pursued by other bodies and in other forums to secure an end to *apartheid*, racial discrimination and repression.

53. I need hardly remind the Assembly of the events in South Africa since the Soweto massacre on 16 June this year. Hundreds of persons have been killed, and thousands have been wounded. Several thousand persons have been given harsh sentences under arbitrary laws, or detained without trial. These events have developed into a continuing disaster of enormous proportions. The resources of the Trust Fund have been inadequate to cover even a fraction of the needs that have thus arisen.

54. Meanwhile, the situation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia has also led to increased hardship. The Committee of Trustees has, therefore, launched an urgent appeal for additional contributions because of recent events. It trusts that this appeal will get positive response from Member States.

55. The Committee has noted with satisfaction the pledges that several States have made in recent days to increase their contributions to the Trust Fund, or directly to the voluntary agencies that provide assistance to the victims of *apartheid*. The Committee of Trustees has always encouraged direct contributions to the voluntary agencies, in addition to the contributions given to the Trust Fund, and has taken them into account in its own decisions concerning grants.

56. On behalf of the Committee, I wish to commend the work of those voluntary agencies, which have performed

their humanitarian functions despite the great difficulties caused by the hostility of the authorities in the three territories.

57. Finally, I would like to express the warm gratitude of the Committee of Trustees to the Secretary-General for his constant support, and to express appreciation to the Secretariat staff for its assistance.

58. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): I am speaking in my capacity as the representative of the current Chairman of OAU to call attention to the urgent need for action against the criminal *apartheid* régime in South Africa, where millions of people continue to be exploited and oppressed and where an aggressive and dangerous militarism threatens the peace of Africa.

59. The question of *apartheid* has now been on the agenda of this Assembly for 30 years. It was placed there during the 1946 General Assembly session by Madame Pandit, the then head of the Indian delegation. Madame Pandit warned at the time that the world would eventually have to take action against South African racism, for a "gross and continuing outrage against the fundamental principles of the Charter"<sup>1</sup> could not be ignored by the General Assembly without storing trouble for the future. Today we can see the full significance of her prophetic words.

60. Much has changed in the intervening years. Large parts of southern Africa have been liberated from the yoke of colonialism. The non-aligned nations have rallied solidly to the cause of freedom for southern Africa, as have others with a high regard for freedom, equality and democracy. And the struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa—that is, Azania—have been greatly intensified. In all this there is much reason to find satisfaction.

61. Yet, the fact remains that the abhorrent system of *apartheid* continues.

62. Afrikaner power has been consolidated and, although South Africa has been isolated internationally, the un-Christian *apartheid* régime, thanks to its Western allies, has been able to retain a thin veneer of respectability. Indeed, South Africa today seeks increasingly, by brute power, intimidation and aggression, to extend its domination over much of southern Africa. This is a new problem which we face today, a problem which has arisen as a result of our failure to find ways to force change upon the inhuman racist régime of Pretoria.

63. How precisely has this situation arisen? South Africa is a society in which the vast mass of the population has been denied the means to assure its livelihood and in which 70 per cent of the population is required to live upon 13 per cent of the land. This land is poor and ill-suited to cultivation. The result is that the indigenous population, were it all to remain on the land, would be constantly threatened with starvation. The unjust division of the land thus forces many Africans, and especially male Africans, to become migrant labourers and to leave their so-called homelands in search of jobs on the white farms and in the white cities.

64. Africans arrive in the cities as if in a foreign land. They find that they have no rights. They may not remain permanently where they work. They are denied the right to organize trade unions. They have only the most limited access to educational opportunities. Their every movement is controlled by labour bureaux and the police. They are denied the most fundamental political rights. In short, white society attempts to make them into automatons, into beings who exist only for the labour that they can give, and give cheaply, because they have no alternative.

65. This is what South Africa has been and remains, with all the consequent poverty, illness, malnutrition, dashed hopes, pain and misery. It is scarcely surprising that Africa long ago set itself the task of ending *apartheid* and that it has given every support to the liberation movements that seek to free the people of South Africa. And it is scarcely surprising that after many years of struggle the South African *apartheid* régime should find history closing in upon it, for that is what is happening and there should be no mistake about it.

66. South Africa has long been the most powerful State, economically and militarily, in Africa. Its might seemed to ensure the durability of minority rule in the whole of southern Africa. Today, however, South Africa is on the defensive. The glorious and valiant liberation forces have carried the struggle to the very heartland of white supremacy. South Africa is far less confident than it was only a few years ago. Indeed, there are increasing signs of panic among its racist white rulers.

67. Two events have produced this new situation. The first was the victory of the liberation forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. In 1974 these forces defeated a Portuguese expeditionary force of nearly 200,000 men, setting their countries on the road to independence. That achievement represented a remarkable victory in itself, in the face of great hardships and against terrible odds. It also transformed the strategic balance in southern Africa. South Africa and the rebel régime in Zimbabwe suddenly lost the protection that had previously been afforded by Portuguese troops in Angola and Mozambique. The Smith régime found itself facing a hostile border to the east.

68. The victories of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC] proved that the African liberation movements, contrary to the predictions of many so-called experts, were a force to be reckoned with. They proved that the liberation struggle had achieved a momentum that made it possible to confront and to defeat the power of the arrogant racist white régimes. The rulers of South Africa became aware that guerrilla warfare on their own borders was imminent.

69. In the spring of this year another event occurred that confounded all the predictions that the struggle to free South Africa could never succeed. The young people of that country rose against their oppressors in their tens of thousands, first in Soweto and then in townships and cities throughout South Africa. They fought armed police and troops with stones and with their bare hands. The South

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second part of first session, Plenary Meetings, 37th meeting, p. 732.*



African State responded with a ferocity and brutality that took countless lives. Children were shot down in the streets. Young men were tortured in the prisons. Thousands were beaten, wounded and gaoled. Even today the South African police are firing into unarmed crowds with submachine guns.

70. Yet the political uprisings have continued to gather force. They have spread across the breadth of South Africa from the western Cape to the northern Transvaal. It is clear that the myth of African "passivity" has been exploded. The people of South Africa have joined the struggle and their actions threaten to create an unmanageable situation for the country's racist rulers.

71. The criminal and inhuman *apartheid* régime knows now that it cannot escape a confrontation with the liberation forces. It knows that it will find itself increasingly isolated in the world. And it knows that it can no longer expect to avoid a prolonged urban uprising. South Africa's racist and Fascist rulers know that they are now struggling for survival.

72. In these circumstances, reasonable men would accept the meaning of events. They would try to reconcile themselves to obvious necessity. The savage racist régime of Pretoria is apparently incapable of doing so. Racism is a system built on fear, secrecy and repressed violence. South Africa's blind rulers have now become the victims of their own irrationality. They cannot think, even as the clock strikes, of ceding power and privilege in any meaningful way. They would not consider the Freedom Charter<sup>2</sup> as a guideline for a constitutional convention. They would not even consider an extension of the franchise within the limits of the present political system. They continue to cling blindly to what they have and try to rule mercilessly as they have in the past.

73. The Fascist Vorster régime is now trying to survive through a combination of stealth and force. It "grants" so-called independence to Transkei; but that independence is a mockery of the word. South Africa provides the budget, trains the army, provides the senior civil servants. In short, it creates an illusion on a stage. Nothing changes beneath the surface. The Transkei remains poor. Its people will work for so-called local industries created with South African capital; but there will be few jobs. The Transkei will remain, and is intended to remain, a reservoir of cheap labour for the industries and farms and mines of the racist white South Africa.

74. Behind this illusion, however, there is the central fact of a growing armed power. Racist South Africa is arming itself for a future confrontation with Africa. Mirage fighters, Hercules transports, Hotchkiss mortars, Puma helicopters, Willy jeeps and FN and Winchester rifles and ammunition are not needed for negotiations. They are the means by which racist South Africa hopes to achieve a draw, by which it hopes to preserve white racist rule while seemingly helping to promote limited changes beyond its own borders.

75. The danger is that the racist régime of Pretoria will attempt to use its armed might against other nations in Africa, that it will initiate an armed confrontation in the hope of obtaining support from the major Western Powers. The inhuman and shameless régime of Pretoria has always said that the liberation forces were inspired by dedication to communism rather than concern for their own people. This is, as everyone knows, the most transparent non-sense—the big lie. The people of South Africa—the Azanians—seek freedom and independence. The liberation movements will lead the struggle for the achievement of these goals. Their success is assured because those movements represent the aspirations and the interests not only of the vast majority of South Africans but of all self-respecting brown or black Azanians and indeed of all self-respecting human beings.

76. It is disturbing, therefore, to hear Western statesmen speak of the southern African conflict in the terms used by the un-Christian *apartheid* régime. They know perfectly well that the socialist-bloc countries did not become involved on any significant scale in the Angolan war until South Africa invaded that country as Portugal withdrew. They know as well that the liberation armies in Namibia and in Zimbabwe seek independence and that they have shown themselves to be wary of dependence on any foreign Power.

77. Thus, the conflict between the needs and aspirations of the South African people and the system of racist privilege and power has reached a new intensity—and the situation could explode at any moment. The South African racist State could resort to arbitrary, wide-scale violence against the African, Asian and Coloured people of the country in an attempt to break their will to resist. It could launch attacks against neighbouring States. It is seeking even now to subvert and undermine African Governments which support the liberation struggle. Africa is well aware of the activities of the South African Bureau of State Security, known as BOSS.

78. We Africans have come to this Assembly today for precisely the reasons intimated by Mrs. Pandit. South Africa has committed a "gross and continuing outrage against the fundamental principles of the Charter". Those nations with influence over South Africa have on the whole remained indifferent to the fact, except for meaningless lip service. Thus the weight of the *apartheid* system has become heavier for the people of that country. The conditions of life have become intolerable. During this time we have been forced to stand by helplessly, perhaps more than anything because of our own hesitancy and uncertainty. The misery and suffering that the world has tolerated have accumulated and brought us very near to a violent conflict, not to say war, in Africa. Even those who were inclined to turn their backs on the situation are now compelled to seek some solution.

79. I believe the time has come to reassess this Assembly's attitude to the problem of *apartheid*. There is much more at stake today than the question of human rights. It is no longer enough to decry the evils of *apartheid* and to lament the plight of those forced to live under it. We must realize that *apartheid* has become an immediate world problem, that it poses a threat to international peace and security

<sup>2</sup> For the text, see *Objective: Justice*, vol. 2, No. 1 (January 1970), pp. 44 and 45.

now, and we must deal with it in those terms. We must be prepared to take action against those who benefit from *apartheid* indirectly as well as against those who are perpetuating this evil. The younger generations of the world, of whatever race or creed, will not be as patient or as tolerant as we have been. They will give back to democracy in Africa its true meaning. They will not rest until majority rule attains universality. They will remember those of their brothers and sisters who fell and are still falling in Soweto and elsewhere in Africa. They will be inspired by the noble words of Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg address:

“... that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.”

80. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, Mr. Harriman of Nigeria, has asked to speak to introduce a draft resolution on the Transkei and bantustans. In view of the special relevance of this question to the item under discussion and its immediacy, I propose to call on him.

81. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): At this stage of the debate on southern Africa, and in particular South Africa, it is my intention to introduce a draft resolution on the Transkei.

82. This is not new to this Assembly, and in fact last year a resolution was adopted—resolution 3411 D (XXX)—condemning the establishment of bantustans and, in advance, this action by South Africa. This is a dark day, a day of mourning for much of Africa, because of the fact that early this morning puppet chiefs appointed by the South African racist régime met to proclaim the fact of the Transkei's independence.

83. For over 80 years the Government of South Africa has juggled with the destiny of black people, articulated policies to dehumanize them and keep them in slavery in perpetuity. Bruckner de Villiers' report, which many of us may have read, illustrating the dilemma of Pretoria over the bantustans states:

“The tangible establishment of the homelands represents not only the logical culmination of the whole separatist argument but also the *sine qua non* of the whole ideology of separate development. If the homelands experiment were to fail the whole carefully constructed edifice of nationalist reasoning would come tumbling down. For the nationalist Government, therefore, it is a matter of do or die. The homelands project must be proven practicable, otherwise the very cornerstone of the official policy is blasted to smithereens. The present homelands, if they are to prove an effective solution for the country's major problem, will unavoidably have to undergo a drastic metamorphosis. They will have to be incorporated into a body of fully-fledged, self-reliant, semi-independent provinces or States comprising an ultimate South—or even southern—African federation instead of being destined to remain the financially mendicant, economically dependent, though

constitutionally and politically pseudo-independent, ethnic fiefdoms officially envisaged at present.”

84. Evolution has obviously taken place, and today, 26 October, has been declared the day of independence of the bantustan named the Transkei. Tomorrow the Ciskei will come into existence, and in the process 200 locations, enclaves in South Africa, will be said to constitute about 10 separate homeland States, semi-independent but in fact fully dependent on the whims and fancies of the Government of South Africa.

85. I think bantustanization is not only immoral but illogical. People can make laws and effect them by power, but the will of the majority of the people will eventually prevail. For how can one imagine that fewer than 4 million white people in South Africa can keep over 18 million Africans in what someone has described as cocoons, living in destitution, living in poverty and living in a state of perpetual deprivation.

86. Transkei itself is made up of three tracts of land; the Transkei is the most viable of the 10 anticipated homelands. It is the show window of bantustanization and another trick up the sleeve of the racist régime of South Africa to deceive the world before introducing the other nine bantustan States.

87. All the people of South Africa have worked over the years to build up the wealth and economy of that country. The blacks have worked in the lowest echelons of society in order to create South Africa's wealth. Today 3 million people have been moved into the Transkei and have now been deprived of South African citizenship; 6 million to 7 million people have been herded into bantustans and homelands, and they are all to be deprived of South African citizenship. I believe that those permanent reservoirs, called bantustans or homelands, are bound to fail.

88. It is my privilege to introduce a draft resolution which had 25 sponsors even without having been circulated. That is indicative of the spirit of this Assembly which has been reflected in General Assembly resolution 3411 D (XXX) to which I have referred. We shall leave the list open until this afternoon to enable more sponsors to join us.

89. The draft resolution is simple and straightforward and reflects the feeling of this Assembly. It reads:

“The General Assembly,

“Recalling its resolution 3411 D (XXX) condemning the establishment of Bantustans by the racist régime of South Africa,

“Taking note that the racist régime of South Africa declared the sham independence of the Transkei on 26 October 1976 and has thereby sought to deprive millions of South African people of their citizenship,

“Having considered the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*,

“1. Strongly condemns the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of

*apartheid*, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights;

“2. *Rejects* the declaration of ‘independence’ of the Transkei and declares it invalid;

“3. *Calls upon* all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the Transkei and to have no contacts with the authorities of the Transkei or other bantustans;

“4. *Requests* all States to take effective measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the Transkei and other bantustans;

“5. *Declares* that the inhabitants of the Transkei and all others designated as ‘citizens’ of that bantustan remain citizens of South Africa with full rights to participate in deciding the destiny of South Africa as a whole.”

It is my hope that all men of conscience in this Assembly will support this draft resolution.

90. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

91. Mr. TAMBO (African National Congress of South Africa): For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a representative of the majority of the people of South Africa has been allowed and invited to share this prestigious rostrum with the representatives of the independent and sovereign nations and peoples of the world.

92. This is a development of considerable significance, for which I most sincerely thank you, Mr. President, and this august body, in the name of the African National Congress and the entire liberation movement in South Africa, and especially on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa, including their children, the current victims of murderous repression.

93. Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your vast experience and international standing, no less than that of your great country, make you eminently suited to guide the deliberations of this singularly important session. We take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to your country and its esteemed leader, Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike, for its leading role among the non-aligned nations and its unswerving support for just struggles the world over. It is worthy of note that the non-aligned movement and the General Assembly fall under your able guidance at a time when these two powerful instruments of progressive change are called upon to bring their collective weight to bear fully and effectively on the struggles for national liberation in southern Africa and in other parts of the world. The African National Congress wishes you a truly successful term of office.

94. In the course of the past four weeks this session's deliberations have been punctuated by events calling attention to the great victories which have been won in the struggle for national independence and world peace.

95. The peoples of Botswana, Nigeria, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia have been celebrating their independence anniversaries. The United Nations itself has observed its thirty-first anniversary, recording an achievement highlighted by the presence at this session, as full and equal Members, of the representatives of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and other countries who by their sacrifices have enriched the meaning of national liberation and independence. In this context, the idea of bantustan independence is an outrage in Africa. On the other hand, the absence of Viet Nam and Angola from this session diminishes the United Nations.

96. I recall that two years ago the highly commendable act of solidarity by this august body with the brother people of Palestine was crowned by the address from this rostrum of my brother and comrade-in-arms Yasser Arafat,<sup>3</sup> who, true to the Palestinian tradition of solidarity with all oppressed peoples, called for the same opportunity to be accorded to the leaders of other liberation movements. It behoves me, on this occasion, when the struggle he leads and you support has been subjected to concerted attempts at liquidation, to express our unswerving solidarity with their just cause. We are convinced that, as has been the case in the past, the Palestinian cause will emerge from this temporary setback stronger than ever before.

97. The struggle of progressive humanity for the total and final elimination of the evil system of colonial domination in Africa has entered its decisive, penultimate stage. Confidence in the certainty and imminence of victory is moving the colonized peoples from Djibouti on the Somali coast to Cape Agulhas in South Africa to attain unprecedented heights of heroism in the pursuit of that popular outcome. Despite its imminence, our victory will not come easily. In the last four months, the *apartheid* régime has demonstrated to all who were ever in doubt that it is determined to fight to the bitter end, without regard for the numbers of our people it butchers in the process. In spite of that practical experience and, indeed, exactly because of it, our people are demanding freedom now. They do not ask that their masters should restore to them their rights as free men and women. Rather, by their own actions against immense odds, they are restoring to themselves the right to call themselves free. After three and a quarter centuries of the most brutal national oppression suffered by any people on the African continent, our people, the indigenous majority, are asserting their will to be free with breath-taking heroism.

98. There is no vocabulary to describe the nobility and the pathos of the conscious sacrifices that the black youth of South Africa have made over the last four months to free themselves, their people and their country from forces that are determined to keep us forever their chattels. Together with their mothers and their fathers they have seen hundreds of their compatriots pay the supreme sacrifice rather than accept a life of enslavement.

99. Through their own heroic efforts which are, and have been, supported by the whole of progressive mankind, the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are advancing towards

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2282nd meeting.



their own genuine independence. Daily in our South Africa, as in Palestine and in East Timor, ordinary people make extraordinary sacrifices in their quest for freedom.

100. As revolutionaries we are moved to speak out daily, as we must, to salute these extraordinary sacrifices, wherever they occur. Again, as we must, we use extraordinary words to describe these sacrifices. They are heroic, they are selfless, they are noble. But alas, in the end, use and abuse turns even those words upon themselves. Their strength of feeling withers away. What then must we say when thousands of hearts have beaten as one in South Africa and hundreds have perished in their unarmed and unequal yet relentless resistance to the oppressor? Shall we say the black people of South Africa have performed an heroic deed and leave it at that? Or shall we coin new words to describe the temper of the young man of 10 years who marched undaunted on a French-built armoured car in the streets of Soweto, stone in hand, until he was cut down by a torrent of machine-gun bullets?

101. We say "no". No words are necessary at all. The blood that our people have shed calls for action, not for more words. It calls for action to destroy the Fascist régime that continues to massacre the innocent.

102. For months before 16 June the African student youth of South Africa had protested not only against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction but also against the whole system of "Bantu education". Typically, the Fascist tyranny in our country did not bother to listen to the grievances of the students and the people as a whole. "It was at Orlando West," writes the black South African journalist Willie Bokala, "near the Orlando West High School where the law, in its own fashion, gave a hearing to their grievances. Tear-gas bombs and gun bullets were the redress they got." That was on 16 June. Since then, no less than a thousand of the cream of our people have been shot down in cold blood in the streets of our towns and cities and in far-flung villages. Thousands are held in Vorster's prisons. The systematic murder of the patriots of South Africa continues behind the secrecy of those prison walls.

103. It is not the first time, however, that for redress of their grievances our heroic countrymen have received tear gas bombs and bullets and been subjected to cold-blooded assassinations. The African National Congress has repeatedly declared that repression, coercion and mass murder are the very essence of the *apartheid* system.

104. The mass shootings that characterize South Africa today are therefore neither an aberration nor freak incidents. They are the concrete expressions of the policy of the *apartheid* State, whose central features are extreme national oppression, brutal super-exploitation of the oppressed black and maintenance of this system through open fascism.

105. National oppression is in itself a reactionary force directed against the oppressed. Equally, super-exploitation is in itself a reactionary force directed against the producers of wealth. Fascism is rule not merely by force but by terror. *Apartheid* is a reactionary force directed by the white racist minority against the black majority.

106. Inasmuch as the *apartheid* régime is a product of colonial conquest it is itself an imposition on our people. From the earliest days of their arrival the white settlers, as they did elsewhere in Africa, set themselves the task of subjugating the indigenous population politically and economically. The *apartheid* system of today is the outcome of a process of historical development which has led to the entrenchment of white settler colonial domination.

107. The racist régime is chosen by and represents only the white fifth of the population of our country. It exists to advance the sole and exclusive interests of this minority. Everything else in what the forces of reaction are pleased to describe as "the South African way of life" is predicated on this fundamental feature of South Africa.

108. The black people of South Africa are therefore a colonized people. The majority of the representatives present here will understand what we mean by this because their peoples have themselves been at some time colonized and subject peoples.

109. In the eyes of the white colonizers, the black people of South Africa exist merely as beasts of burden. Their life purpose is to serve fully and without question the interests of the white colonial master. All this is written into the South African statute books. Every single white Parliament in South Africa has legislated in favour of extreme national oppression and the brutal super-exploitation of the black people. Each Parliament has further legislated to make sure that we the colonized do not seek to change our condition by thought, by word of mouth or by action. That, in its totality, is what constitutes the criminal system of *apartheid*. As the whole world knows, it is also overlaid and suffused with a virulent and pernicious white racism.

110. To justify the extreme national oppression of the black people, their super-exploitation and their control by Fascist methods, the white colonial régime upholds as State policy a lying racist philosophy which seeks to shroud criminal practices in the cloak of natural law and divine right.

111. The people, however, contemptuously reject this philosophy. Like the rest of the great humanity, never shall we accept the position of slavery. The popular uprising that has dominated South African life over the last four months is a militant and eloquent assertion of these truths.

112. What has distinguished South Africa from the rest of the world is that its rulers have chosen to put themselves outside the bounds of this great humanity. In no country have racial discrimination, national oppression and economic exploitation been elevated to the level of State policy, buttressed by statutes and conventions, sanctioned by force of arms and clothed in a deceitful and perverted version of Calvinism.

113. We speak of those who—to paraphrase the words of the poet Bertold Brecht—because we want to live like human beings slaughter us like savage beasts. We mean those in South Africa who by their daily actions deliberately impose death, even on the unborn, and consciously educate the young to deny their own humanity, those who pay and arm with guns and rubber stamps a whole army of

overseers to sweat and bleed the black majority in order to provide life and comfort solely and exclusively for the white minority.

114. This body advanced the ideals and objectives enshrined in its Charter when it declared the system of *apartheid* a crime against humanity and adopted a convention for its suppression and punishment.

115. It was a fault of the times that in 1945 representatives of the colonial system in South Africa were admitted to this Organization of the world's peoples. It is a gross travesty of justice and an evil tribute to the arrogant power of international imperialism that today those representatives are still allowed to walk freely into this forum and pose as spokesmen of our people.

116. The vast majority of our people—and among them we count some white people who have bravely denounced the criminal régime of *apartheid* and joined the ranks of the revolution—are neither Fascists nor racists. Nor do they oppress or exploit anybody; nor, indeed, do they have plans to oppress and exploit.

117. It is an insult to human reason and to the Charter of this Organization, it is to spit on the graves of the patriots of our country and all those other heroes in other lands who have perished in the struggle for liberation, that our oppressors should have an acknowledged claim to appear in this Assembly as our spokesmen. We do not recognize the legitimacy of the white minority régime inside South Africa. So also do we reject its claim and pretence to represent the people of South Africa internationally.

118. Rulers such as those that occupy positions of power in South Africa today have been warned. They have been warned that good as slaves may be in supplying the comforts of their masters, yet they have a fault in that they can think. Our people also are not lacking in this faculty. That is why today they are in open, mass revolt. They are asserting the age-old right of the slave to rebel, the right and duty of the oppressed to rise against their oppression.

119. Like all other patriots, we love our country and its peoples—all its peoples. It is a varied land of snow-capped mountain peaks, of deserts and subtropical greenery covering vast mineral resources. Its warm seas to the east and cold ones to the west contain also large animal and mineral resources.

120. Our peoples, with their varied cultures which are continuously mingling and interacting to their mutual enrichment, exhibit, despite their conditions, a great love for life and a sensitive joy in the creative and humane endeavours of the peoples of the world, without exception.

121. These ordinary, industrious and peaceful people want to revolutionize themselves and their country.

122. As a colonized people we not only assert our right to rebel against the colonizer; we assert also our right to determine for ourselves the means and methods to use to liberate ourselves and our country as well as our right to determine what to do with our liberation. We have a vision of, and we fight for, a future South Africa in which

national oppression will be abolished once and for all, in which racism in whatever form it rears its ugly head will be suppressed with all the might of popular power. We fight to restore power to the hands of the people.

123. In so doing we shall also liberate the oppressor. We know that many whites in South Africa are ill at ease because they are aware of the immorality of the injustices and cruelties that are being practised in their name and on their behalf to uphold an inhuman social order of which they are the beneficiaries. They already sense that change is coming soon.

124. We realize that all but a small handful of true revolutionaries, and men of conscience among them, will continue to support the minority régime because of training, because of self-interest, because of fear and because of inertia. Yet they, the whites, also need to be liberated from the obscurantism, backwardness and ostracism into which they have thrust themselves. Our national democratic revolution therefore has the task also of liberating even these our oppressors.

125. We fight also for a South Africa whose wealth will be shared by its people equitably. We fight to abolish the system which obtains in our country today and which concentrates almost all productive wealth in the hands of a few, while the vast majority exists and toils to enlarge that wealth.

126. We will create a South Africa in which the doors of learning and of culture shall be open to all. We will have a South Africa in which the young of our country shall have access to the best that mankind has produced, in which they shall be taught to love their people of all races, to defend the equality of the peoples, to honour creative labour, to uphold the oneness of mankind and to hate untruth, obscurantism, immorality and avarice.

127. We will have a South Africa which will live in peace with its neighbours and with the rest of the world. It will base its foreign relations on the principles of non-interference and mutually advantageous assistance among the peoples as well as the continuation of the struggle against the system of imperialist and neo-colonialist domination.

128. With the orchestrated chorus of a coterie of hand-picked placemen, Vorster is today declaring the Transkei independent. Today we have had the spectacle in Umtata, the principal town in the Transkei, of one flag raised and another lowered. Soon after that, in continuation of the charade, the national anthem of the oppressed, sung by liberation fighters since 1925, was played in glorification of national oppression in a new guise.

129. We know from the words of none other than Hendrik Verwoerd, former racist Prime Minister of South Africa, that the bantustan policy represents an attempt to perpetuate the criminal system of *apartheid*. I quote from a statement he made in 1963:

“If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination . . . we say that it can be achieved by separate development”.

The following year Verwoerd stated that before the collapse of colonialism in the greater part of Africa the white minority régime had visualized for the African people "separation . . . that ends at a certain point, self-rule under the care of a guardian". But since the collapse of colonialism, they have had—to use their own words—to "make an adjustment within [the] policy" and not against it, as Verwoerd stressed. This adjustment meant carrying the policy—to quote them again—"further and further to its logical conclusion".

130. There, in the words of its own architect, is spelt out the purpose of the "separate development" programme and its intended logical conclusion: the fraudulent independence of the bantustans.

131. The African National Congress and the vast majority of our people rejected this programme very firmly and unequivocally at its very inception. We, together with the vast majority of our people—including those in the Transkei itself—continue to reject it today.

132. We state now, as we stated then, that an incontrovertible part of the demands of our people is that there shall be one united and democratic South Africa. We will never abandon our birthright to the ownership and control of the whole territory of our country nor countenance any attempt to Balkanize it and to set its peoples one against another in tribal, racial or national conflicts. No African independent country could ever fail to oppose such an attempt, especially when the obvious and declared aim is to perpetuate a colonial system in Africa. No Government, country or nation in the world, genuinely opposed to *apartheid*, racism and colonialism, could at any time lend support to the bantustan programme in general and to the idea of bantustan independence in particular.

133. It is for that reason that we welcome and hail the stand of the vast majority of mankind and the member States of OAU and of the United Nations, as well as the non-aligned countries, which have adopted these positions. We call upon this world body today to declare its unanimous, unequivocal and irrevocable rejection of the so-called independence of the Transkei.

134. We, however, think it proper that we should here call for vigilance. Experience shows that there are forces that will try to break this united stand. Already voices have been raised among United States military circles arguing for the establishment of a United States naval base in the Transkei. Non-recognition of the Transkei does not mean that the forces of imperialism will not give surreptitious support to Vorster's bastard creation. Non-recognition of the bantustans as a whole must also mean their total and complete isolation. Such a collective commitment will serve as a warning also to the racist régime and its black collaborators in South Africa that the international community is determined to abide by the principles of the Charter of this Organization.

135. We have stated before that the right to determine what they shall do with their liberation belongs exclusively to the people of our country. This bears not only on the issue of the Transkei, the "separate development" programme as a whole and any other "solution" that the

Fascist régime may impose on our people; it bears also on new voices that we have heard raised arguing not only that majority rule in South Africa is a long-term aim, but also that non-radical solutions must be found for African issues, among which South Africa naturally features prominently.

136. The Vorster régime continues to exist because of the economic, military and political support that it receives from certain countries of Western Europe, from North America and from Japan. It is clear to us also that another group of countries is being activated to act as conduits and fronts for the big imperialist Powers. We refer to countries such as Israel, Argentina, Taiwan and Iran.

137. Imperialist strategy with regard to South Africa remains unchanged from what it has been over the years. Its aim is still to strengthen the criminal *apartheid* régime to enable it to protect the joint interests of the multinational corporations which have invested in and are trading with South Africa and the super-profits that accrue to these companies.

138. It is timely to commend the United Nations for condemning the *apartheid* régime as constituting a threat to world peace and international security. In doing so we hail the concerted campaign waged by the vast majority of United Nations Member States in favour of the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The position adopted by certain Western countries in repeatedly frustrating this effort is being closely watched by our people, who expect all nations that love justice and peace to go beyond verbal condemnation and to take effective measures against this international pariah. The duplicity of those countries who join us in condemning the system, while buttressing it economically and enhancing its repressive, terrorist and aggressive potential through the supply of the most sophisticated war equipment, is consistent only with their hostility to African aspirations.

139. This military co-operation shows no sign of diminishing. Instead, secret military pacts, including attempts to incorporate the South African régime into the NATO defence arrangement, are concluded. And of late this has taken the form of nuclear collaboration intended to help the régime to fulfil its ambition to produce the atomic bomb. We are convinced that this sharply increases the threat to world peace and international security. After all, the Pretoria régime has now arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries south of the equator. It stubbornly persists in its provocative policy against the international community by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. For 11 years now it has been the major ally of the illegal Smith régime. It recently committed naked aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and in fact pursues a policy of permanent subversion and aggression against neighbouring States such as Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

140. We call on the aforementioned Member States, particularly the United States, France and the United Kingdom, to abandon their short-sighted policy. The young people wantonly killed in Soweto and elsewhere by Vorster's bloodthirsty police using Western arms are survived by hundreds of thousands who are today swelling the ranks of the revolutionary forces in South Africa. Their

determination to lay down their lives for the liberation of their fatherland guarantees the irreversibility of the revolutionary tide that will certainly be crowned with victory over the *apartheid* régime. And since we have not given up our hope of having the entire international community rejoice with us and the African continent over that inevitable victory, we call on the United States, on France and on the United Kingdom to support the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter, which we implore the General Assembly to propose for consideration by the Security Council this year.

141. While imperialism has these interests in South Africa, while it predicates its own survival on the survival of the white minority régime, the confrontation between the African National Congress and the masses of the people of our country, the liberation movement as a whole, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, on the other, cannot but grow sharper, for a strategy for the strengthening of the criminal *apartheid* régime is simultaneously a strategy for the destruction of the forces within South Africa that seek to bring about a genuinely popular change. The same idea is conveyed in statements made by representatives of the United States Government that a non-radical solution for the South African question must, in the long run, be found. We take this to be a very categorical and clear statement by the world's leading imperialist Power on its own behalf and on behalf of its allies in NATO and elsewhere that it is prepared to accept only such a solution as would leave its interests in South Africa intact.

142. Neither the African National Congress nor our people as a whole can ever accept such a solution. The attempt to build up collaborationist forces inside South Africa that will accept such a solution will also meet with a dismal defeat. The only basis on which to judge the acceptability of any solution is whether it accords with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the broad masses of our people.

143. At the present moment the big imperialist Powers and their junior partners such as Israel, are quite clearly ranged solidly together against the liberation of our people. It is they who have consistently defied the call by the peoples of the world to isolate and destroy the criminal *apartheid* régime. It is they who supplied the arms for the butchery of eight-year-olds, which continues to this day, they who have given Vorster the moral strength to defend the South African racist system without regard to the loss of human lives. Their hands are therefore soaked in the blood of our people, which ran in rivulets in Soweto, in Athlone and elsewhere, as are the hands of Vorster himself.

144. Mankind as a whole is, however, still moved by the dread horror of the *apartheid* system. The time to cry out "enough—no more" has come.

145. Thousands of our people, including the very youngest, are held in Vorster's prisons subject to daily torture. Many have already been murdered. This imposes yet another duty on the international community—to press for the immediate and unconditional release of all patriots detained and imprisoned by the racists.

146. Today the attention of our people is focused on this august body. In their view, since the nations gathered here

have denounced the *apartheid* régime as one that constitutes a crime against humanity and a threat to peace, they cannot at the same time give it the material and moral wherewithal to continue its crimes.

147. The victory of our cause is assured. As no force was able to deny the peoples of Viet Nam, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau their right to national self-determination, equally no force will be able to deny us our liberation. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia will be free sooner rather than later, and so will the people of South Africa.

148. We have set ourselves one task and one task only—to seize power from the Fascist régime. To achieve that we have been forced to take up arms. We shall pursue the armed struggle not merely for the abolition of racial discrimination or for amendments to the *apartheid* system of national oppression, exploitation and fascism. We fight to transfer political power into the hands of the people. When, in June and in subsequent months, our people replied to the Fascist Power with the cry "*Amandla ngawethu*", they meant "Power to the people". It is with that power that the people will transform our country into an acceptable member of the international community and create within it a society that upholds civilized and humane standards.

149. The African National Congress, the vanguard organization of the broad liberation forces of our country for many decades, remains unwavering in its determination to carry out its historic mission of heading all these forces to victory. Despite all attempts to suppress them, its ideas find a ready response among the masses of our people. Since its foundation it has, for instance, fought tirelessly to ensure the unity in action of all the oppressed people. Today the fruits of that labour are evident to all.

150. We are in the forefront of a struggle in South Africa whose victorious outcome is demanded not only by our people but also by the imperative of world peace. We have come here and spoken to try to get the rest of humanity that loves freedom and peace to renew its pledge in word and deed to support our people until power is restored into their hands.

151. I am certain that all those assembled here will not fail us. We are strengthened in this conviction by the fact that the General Assembly has affirmed the legitimacy of our armed struggle. We are strengthened in it also by the knowledge that OAU, the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries have continuously demonstrated their resolve to support our struggling people. We are strengthened by the positions consistently taken by the Nordic countries.

152. The Fascist régime in South Africa is in a more precarious position than it dares to admit. Like a wounded beast, it is exacting a terrible toll on our people. That impels all of us to join in a concerted effort to stop the blood-bath by destroying the criminal régime now.

153. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.



154. Mr. SIBEKO (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): The person who should have been addressing this Assembly is not available. For 16 years now he has been a prisoner of the South African white minority régime, in one form or another.

155. In 1960 he masterminded a political campaign which almost toppled the *apartheid* régime; he was arrested, tried and sentenced to three years' hard labour. When he finished his sentence, having served in prisons all around the country, a special law was enacted and he became the first political prisoner in this century to be detained in the notorious former leper colony, the maximum security prison on Robben Island. He was kept there for six years, after which he was removed and placed under house arrest and a maze of other restrictions in Galeshewe Village in the diamond-mining city of Kimberley. He has been there ever since.

156. As you all know, I am talking about Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC] and national leader of our people. I am truly honoured to be standing here in the name of that great son of Africa to address this Assembly on behalf of the struggling African majority in my country.

157. South Africa is today in the grip of the worst political crisis since Sharpeville, the collective reaction to the political campaign Mangaliso Sobukwe masterminded. The world is marvelling at the impassioned and raw courage of Azania's schoolchildren, who are battling against well-armed paramilitary police, many of whom are veterans of anti-guerrilla war campaigns in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

*Mr. Ríos (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

158. The paramilitary police move in armoured cars and are supported by helicopters. Our young patriots move on foot and rely on their youthful dexterity. The Fascist paramilitary police are armed with pistols, rifles and machine-guns. Our young freedom fighters are armed with stones, clubs, petrol bombs and other such primitive weapons.

159. Dating from 16 June, when black anger burst out following the cold-blooded murder of a young schoolboy by the police in Soweto during a peaceful, and indeed jovial demonstration against the imposition of Afrikaans in Soweto schools, the writing on the wall has clearly spelled out that the Azanian masses are joined in a final thrust against the hated white domination. The non-stop demonstrations, defying wanton killings of thousands of schoolchildren and other demonstrators, are sufficient evidence that this struggle will not let up until *apartheid* and colonial rule are completely overthrown.

160. Countless demonstrations leading to violent confrontations with the police have taken and are taking place all over Azania as I speak here. The police are absolutely brutal, and they have killed thousands—not 377, as they claimed yesterday. Tsietsi Mashinini, who personally led several of the demonstrations in Soweto, tells us how, when he visited a mortuary after the first shootings in Soweto, he counted up to 365 bodies. At that time the police were claiming to have killed no more than a few dozen demonstrators.

161. The heightened resolve of the Azanian masses to make every sacrifice necessary in order to attain their freedom makes the national uprising at home a unique event in the annals of African liberation struggles. The white colonial régime in Pretoria desperately tries to put on a business-as-usual facade, but the realities are too stark for anybody to join in this pathetic self-deception.

162. Successive white minority régimes have attempted to insulate the white oligarchy in South Africa from the flowing tide of revolutionary violence which has brought down Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique and is now buffeting the brittle dikes of white domination in Namibia and Zimbabwe. At the same time, the forces of national liberation in Azania, working against the most formidable odds, have laboured steadily to create favourable conditions for popular armed struggle against our mortal enemy: white settler domination.

163. The struggle in Azania has not been favoured with bases along our borders. The rebellion has had to grow from within, PAC has always adopted this approach to the struggle. In the revolutionary message to the nation of September 1967, Acting President Potlako Leballo warned combatants not to heed the fulminations of the reactionary chorus that says, "Guerrilla warfare can't win in South Africa". He stressed that objective conditions for armed revolution are ever present in the South African situation, and went on:

"By 'objective conditions' we mean that the vast majority of the people of Azania have been completely alienated from the Herrenvolk State. They owe it absolutely no loyalty; they consider its police and army as forces of occupation; its industries, commerce and farming as machines of their enslavement; its white-made laws as devoid of all morality, and the philosophy of *apartheid* as absolutely repugnant."

164. In well-substantiated petitions and other submissions condemning the Pretoria régime in this Organization, as well as in news media coverage of South Africa, there is abundant evidence of the colonialist nature of the *apartheid* system, of the use of police and of the army to safeguard white minority interests, of the treatment of African workers as slave labour in principal industries like mining and farming and of laws that render the African an alien in his own land. All of these are time-honoured colonial practices.

165. Since people are the decisive force in the shaping of history—to paraphrase the greatest people's war theoretician of our times, Chairman Mao Tsetung—it is that recourse which PAC depends upon first and foremost for creating favourable conditions for guerrilla warfare in Azania. If humanity has conquered space, we too can overcome the geographic and other material obstacles blocking our way to armed struggle and liberation in Azania.

166. This scientific approach is not new to PAC. In a book published in 1966 entitled *Southern Africa in Transition*, the well-known American political scientist and expert on southern Africa, Professor Gwendolen Carter, testifies to



this. The approach of "Mangaliso Sobukwe", says Professor Carter,

"... has always been political rather than spiritual. ... Sobukwe's objective is to establish an African mass movement that will bind together the peasants, migrant workers, and those living close to or below subsistence in the urban townships."<sup>4</sup>

Professor Carter states:

"Many of the Pan-Africanists are highly educated,"—she points out that Sobukwe was a lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand from 1953 until 1960—"but they have made a deliberate and quite successful attempt to communicate their own aspirations to African migratory workers in their own native languages and through examples and idioms that the workers understand in terms of their own experiences".<sup>5</sup>

The earlier African nationalist movements had concentrated on the urban literate, using English as their medium of communication, and thought in terms of change within the existing structure. Professor Carter continues:

"Such an appeal to rural Africans had been made successfully in the ... Cape during the defiance campaign, and the PAC built on this experience. The Pan Africanists were particularly successful, however, in using this approach to migrant workers in the townships outside Cape Town ... By making understandable to them both the existing political system ... and the PAC's objectives for a future in which Africans would play the major role, the Pan-Africanists developed a closer relation between intellectuals and illiterates, and between urban and rural, than had any earlier African nationalist group. How effective this relationship became was demonstrated on March 30, 1960, after the Sharpeville crisis, when 30,000 Africans made a peaceful and disciplined march from Langa and adjoining townships into Cape Town".<sup>5</sup>

That march against the pass laws, after Sharpeville and Langa, is an important landmark in South African political history.

167. It is against that background of intensive work amongst the broad masses that the PAC leadership pointed out in its revolutionary message of 1967 that:

"The problems connected with making it possible in the initial stages for the guerrillas to survive and thereafter grow are thus of utmost concern to our revolution. The immediate tactical problem therefore clearly demands that we build up the organizational capacity to disperse the enemy from the very outset of the struggle. But while the armed struggle proceeds, we will conduct intensive political education among the peasants and landless labourers about the nature, objectives and tactics of the armed struggle, for the spirit of a people is not easily crushed when they have developed ideological convictions

as to the rightness of the cause for which they and their sons and daughters fight. The cry for land and liberty is very powerful. People are moved by correct slogans, but they will only fight with the ferocity of a lioness protecting her cubs if there is reality to the promise."

168. The foregoing is necessary if what is happening in Azania is to be understood in its proper historical perspective. Our struggle from the turning point of Sharpeville, like the heroic wars of resistance against colonial aggression by our forefathers, has frequently been the subject of gross distortions by instant historians, not to speak of the riff-raff on the fringes. As it is, we have had to wage a bitter struggle with the Western media, which, at the beginning of the national uprising, slandered our young militants as "hooligans" and the Azanian people's answer of revolutionary violence against the enemy's reactionary violence as "riots". Some of this language has even crept into the vocabulary of unsuspecting compatriots and supporters.

169. Beginning with the PAC campaign in 1960, our people abandoned the pursuit of civil rights or changes within the structure. The struggle is for the seizure of political power. The organic link between the approach adopted by the PAC and the present uprising cannot be denied. The initially spontaneous uprising has therefore accelerated the pace towards all-out armed struggle. We salute our brave young kindred who have paid with their valuable lives to advance the cause; their sacrifices are certainly not in vain.

170. PAC reminds us in all solemnity that the African liberation movement has made our people a pledge that should never be made lightly. We have promised to lead the people in armed struggle. Our credibility can be sustained only if we live up to our responsibilities. The mass organizations at home have strikes and demonstrations in hand. Our task is to lead the people in their war.

171. In an interview with *The New York Times* last week, Vorster made it plain that, as far as he was concerned, the black man would never rule in Azania. Against the uprisings he threatened even harsher measures, as if butchering schoolchildren and mass arrests were not the worst. This is vintage Vorster, shorn of the sheepskin of dialogue, détente and shuttle diplomacy.

172. Since the threat of harsher measures was issued, Vorster's police have raided a high school in Soweto and arrested all the students and teachers. Last weekend, in Soweto, the Fascists sank below their own record of degeneracy when they raided two funerals held, respectively, for a high school girl of 16 who was killed by the police and a male student who died in detention. At the girl's funeral they shot and killed one person, injured several and arrested 115 from amongst the 1,000 mourners. Seven more were killed later at the boy's funeral; about 60 were injured.

173. These barbaric acts will, however, not deter our people. As the Founder-President of the South African Students' Organization, Steve Biko, told *The New York Times* before he was detained:

"The outbursts are going to become increasingly frequent, and the white community, which has so far been

<sup>4</sup> See Gwendolen M. Carter, "African Nationalist Movements" in John A. Davis and James K. Baker, eds., *Southern Africa in Transition* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

very protected, is going to realize how thin their security really is. Eventually, blacks are going to move out of the townships into the white suburbs, destroying and burning, and when that happens there will be white panic."

174. On 20 September, June Goodwin reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* that:

"In the past two weeks South African whites have withdrawn into themselves. And blacks have pulled back to prepare their answer. The answer will be tough because, for blacks, the plan is to move into white areas."

On 23 September, three days later, the Johannesburg *Star* reported:

"Violence erupted in central Johannesburg today as hundreds of black youths staged a surprise march down Eloff Street and Joppe Street"—roughly, the equivalent of Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street in New York—"petrol bombs and bricks were thrown, and shooting and stabbing incidents were reported before the riot squad dispersed the mobs."

175. During the past weekend, white police armed with automatic rifles were patrolling downtown Johannesburg, following rumours of a repeat performance of the formidable demonstrations that shook the city centres of Cape Town and of Johannesburg itself last September.

176. It turned out that black urban guerrillas had spread the rumour as a false alarm and diversion because it was in Soweto that the resistance struck.

177. The fight blossomed into classical urban guerrilla warfare when black militants sabotaged a police station and a railway line and blew up the Urban Bantu Council's offices in Soweto. Urban Bantu Councils are like the *zemstvos* of Russia, now the Soviet Union. The attacks on key installations, such as the police station, the railway line and the offices of the white minority régime, are a demonstration that the people will not be cowed by Vorster's bombast and threats.

178. Talk is rife in white political circles about the realignment of opposition forces and the formation of a coalition comprising the United and the Progressive Reform parties, businessmen, retired judges and churchmen. Some prominent whites are even reported to be warming to the outdated call for a multiracial convention to draw up a new constitution for the country. All of this is less than too little, and it comes far too late. Africans are spilling their blood in order to seize political power, and not because they want concessions from their oppressors.

179. Be that as it may, it has to be recognized that the national uprising has shattered the complacency of the whites; even the top brass in the white minority régime's security forces are contemplating alternatives to the present *apartheid* policies. Last week, the United States magazine, *Newsweek*, published an interview with an anonymous top-ranking officer, or a group of officers, of BOSS, the notorious Bureau of State Security, which the interviewer described as the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation rolled into one.

180. In a nutshell, the leaders of BOSS let it be known that they would welcome the scrapping of the so-called separate development policy and its replacement by a multiracial confederation based on the cantonal system that operates in Switzerland. Clearly, these people, who have the supreme responsibility for the *apartheid* régime's security, are flying a kite, to coin a phrase.

181. Against the background of reported anxieties in the officer corps of the South African Army, especially amongst those officers that do not support the National Party of Vorster, about the reliability of a largely conscript army fighting against African nationalist guerrillas with deep convictions, the BOSS move to dump Vorster cannot be taken lightly, especially as shrewd political analysts know full well that there is no white political grouping that can take enough white votes away from the National Party to win elections.

182. The South African economy was already in a bad state before the current national crisis. A leading American banker told the United States Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs in September that the problems of the South African economy were primarily caused by the boom which gave the country a huge balance of payments surplus in 1972. This was followed by an extremely high inflation rate, and the money supply rose by more than 60 per cent in only three years. Intoxicated by the boom in 1972, the racist régime itself aggravated the economic situation by recklessly spending on parastatal projects like the development of harbours and the purchasing of huge war supplies; the military budget rose to \$1.6 billion by 1975, twice what it was in 1973.

183. The slump in the price of gold on the international market from a high of \$168 in July 1975 to around \$112 at the present time dropped South African foreign-exchange levels to the point where, as was pointed out by one of the opposition politicians last month, the country had only three months' worth of imports in hard currencies.

184. This month it has again been confirmed that *apartheid* South Africa is having a difficult time trying to raise loans for imports. The giant American bank, Citibank, has been prominent among United States banks lending to South Africa over the past two years; but it is known that Citibank, like the Euromarkets from which South Africa has been struggling to raise a \$500 million loan, is currently re-evaluating its loans to the *apartheid* régime on a downward trend. South Africa already owes Citibank \$350 million.

185. Naturally, big business finds this situation intolerable and knows full well that in South Africa, with more dramatic confrontations between militant black demonstrators and the police coming up, and with the situation rapidly deteriorating into all-out guerrilla war, its businesses will be dealt fatal blows. That is why earlier this month the National Development and Management Foundation, representing top business and industry, called for an urgent scrapping of residential, business and job *apartheid*. Last week a similar call was echoed at a conference of the Association of South African Chambers of Commerce. This was in defiance of a stern warning from Vorster that businessmen should keep their hands off politics, when he

addressed them at the opening of the conference. These frantic calls by businessmen and moves by BOSS or the army are unrealistic and sadly out of touch with African aspirations. Neither a coalition supporting the calling of a national convention nor a coup replacing Vorster can meet the demand for African majority rule, which is the minimum objective of the Azanian national liberation movement in its entirety.

186. Like Namibia, like Zimbabwe and indeed like every country on African soil, Azania is an African country, and nothing short of the African's taking his rightful place at the helm of the country's political and economic affairs is enough to stop the national liberation struggle. The fighting is going to keep escalating until a full-scale people's war covers all of Azania, and from there it will continue until the enemy is completely annihilated and a people's Azania is born. The present national uprising is living proof that the Azanian people have the resolve and indomitable spirit needed to fight and win a war as great as that which has been fought and won by the Indo-Chinese people recently.

187. At their last summit Conference in Mauritius,<sup>6</sup> the countries of OAU openly stated that they recognized the fight of the Azanian people as a struggle for the seizure of political power. The mood of Africa at this time has been well articulated at this rostrum by speaker after speaker from Africa. Even those countries whose very independence is daily threatened by the South African racist régime—Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland—have boldly reaffirmed their commitment to the national liberation struggle in Azania.

188. Perhaps the mood of Africa can best be judged by the declaration of the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, Brigadier Joseph Garba, which he made in the United Nations during this year's Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners. He said:

"Let us be resolute and determined, like those children, born in the wake of Sharpeville, now in the prime of youth, who are determined and prepared to shed their blood in Soweto, Langa and other South African townships in the hope of making tomorrow a brighter day for their generation and for those to come. Let us, with unequivocal determination like theirs, muster all necessary support within our reach to their liberation movements in the fight for the liberation of political prisoners and all the oppressed people of South Africa."

189. Once more the brotherly people of the Caribbean countries have also come forward and upheld Africa's just stand behind the Azanian people and their national liberation movement, and so have our traditional friends, the socialist countries, whose support dates from the time when there were very few African States that were Members of the United Nations. Foreign Minister Chiao of the People's Republic of China told this Assembly:

"We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and

for national liberation. . . . We warmly hail the powerful mass movements of the people of Azania." [17th meeting, para. 31.]

190. The enlightened policies of the Scandinavian countries towards our just struggle are once more in evidence during this session, and we attach great importance to their support. The countries of Asia truly regard the struggle of the people of Azania as their own, and the militant support pledged by speaker after speaker from the countries of that region augurs well for the strengthening of bonds of solidarity within the non-aligned movement and among third-world countries.

191. From South America, Guyana demonstrated in words and in deeds its unflagging support for the struggle in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe. After making two dynamic speeches here and in the Security Council, Foreign Minister Wills of Guyana proceeded to present a handsome contribution of \$80,000 for the liberation movements of southern Africa. We value the participation of Peru in the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and the solidarity demonstrated by other Latin American countries.

192. With our Arab brothers we are locked in the same struggle, particularly in the wake of closer links between the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine and the neo-Nazi régime in Azania. We were emboldened in our own war of liberation by the great success of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Egypt, Syria and the other Arab armies during the October war. More victories of the same nature would be the greatest contribution to our struggle, because Zionist Israel, after Vorster's visit to Rabin this year, has become an even greater ally of *apartheid* South Africa. All the freedom fighters of the world are our strong allies because the main force sustaining their oppressors, world imperialism, is the main force sustaining our mortal enemy, the white minority régime in Pretoria.

193. We have been critical of members of the European Economic Community because of the very close diplomatic, economic and even military ties that exist between most of them and the white minority régime in South Africa. Indeed the greatest scandal of our time is how France has at most times been completely oblivious of and sometimes devious in violating United Nations sanctions against the supply of arms and the sale of war materials to the South African Fascist régime. This scandal has been exacerbated by the extensively publicized French decision to sell nuclear reactors to South Africa—a dangerous move by any standards.

194. However, we recognize that on an issue of great significance to the Azanian people and to our country's territorial integrity, those countries have pledged in this Assembly, through the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, Mr. Max van der Stoep, that they would not grant recognition to the *apartheid* fraud—the Transkei bantustan.

195. We are as yet uncertain whether Foreign Minister Anthony Crosland of Britain jumped the gun when he told reporters of the decision taken by the European Economic Community last month, and proceeded to say that United States Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, "has absolutely no intention of doing this", in answer to a question

<sup>6</sup> Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2 to 6 July 1976.

as to whether the United States would recognize the Transkei Bantustan.

196. Investments by Japan and Western countries which total more than 80 per cent of all the money invested in South Africa have been and continue to be the main pillar of support for white minority rule in Azania. To date, the Japanese and Western Governments have shown little sensitivity and even less sincere concern over the piling evidence of white-settler brutality against the indigenous African majority. Those countries are satisfied to pay lip service in condemnation of *apartheid* atrocities—atrocities such as the wanton murders in Soweto, Alexandra township, Mananeberg, Ravensmead, Guguletu, Mobopane, Qwaqwa, KwaMashu, KwaZakhele, Mamelodi, Garankuwa, Mafeking, Kagiso, KwaThema, Natalspruit, Thembisa, Langa, Nyanga, Witbank and Middleburg, to mention but a few places where unarmed peaceful demonstrators have been moved down by trigger-happy South African police. To this day they refuse to join the economic boycott against *apartheid* South Africa.

197. We have seen twisted black bodies sprinkled like debris in the dusty streets of black townships all over Azania. Ever since 16 June newspapers the world over have been full of real horror stories about children who have been detained or who have simply disappeared. Police have admitted that six of the people have died in detention—the figure is obviously higher—and there is evidence that they were tortured to death.

198. It long ago ceased to be enough merely to condemn the *apartheid* policies of the South African white minority régime, while proceeding to provide the financial and material support which makes it possible for the Pretoria Fascists to perpetrate those sanguinary crimes. It is sheer hypocrisy to grant an undertaker a licence to kill and then turn around and criticize him for doing a roaring trade.

199. Until Western countries abide by the many United Nations resolutions which call for an embargo on trade, economic relations and the supply of arms and sever diplomatic and cultural relations with South Africa, they can never escape the charge that their insensitivity to the plight of the Azanian people is influenced as much by the fact that the victims of oppression in South Africa are in the main black as by the super-profits they reap from the slave labour that is extracted from the African people.

200. Recent history bears out this contention. When Hitler conducted *pogroms* against Jews and the people of Europe and sent others to gas chambers and concentration camps, the same Powers, particularly Britain and France and later on the United States, declared war against the Nazi tyrant and the Third Reich. Also, they had no qualms about enlisting the support of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Vorster, a dedicated supporter of Hitler during the Second World War was detained for pro-Nazi sabotage activities, is re-enacting Hitler's policies inside South Africa and even creating his own Vichy régimes in the bantustans, while at the same time passing laws empowering South African aggressor troops to attack any African State south of the Sahara. As recently as last week, so the BBC reported, he threatened war against African States' supporting movements.

201. The situation is too similar to that created by Hitler in Europe for anyone to pretend otherwise. But Western European countries and Japan not only remain opposed to our just resort to armed struggle but also support Vorster in many important ways. What is more, they object to socialist countries' aiding freedom fighters by supplying the means to reply to Voster's Hitler-like institutionalized violence. That is the worst form of double standard.

202. The significance of the so-called United States initiative in southern Africa at a time when African national liberation movements are approaching complete victory, in our candid view, lies in the fact that America wants to see the *status quo* in South Africa preserved. The threats against non-Africans interfering, when the United States itself is supplying investments approaching \$2 billion to South Africa, topped with a short-lived certificate of respectability from shuttle diplomacy, simply tell us the United States wants its *apartheid* protégé to retain the monopoly of superior weapons in the battle that is now unfolding.

203. The United States has a growing history of taking the wrong side and following incorrect policies in situations like the one in Azania. Evidently the lessons of Indo-China and Angola have not gone home.

204. We must make this clear once and for all: our freedom is too precious for us to subordinate it to America's, or any other super-Power's, hegemonistic ambitions. PAC, as the vanguard of our people in their life-and-death struggle to win back the fatherland, will take assistance from all people of goodwill. I shall again paraphrase the words of another great leader of the third world, President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania: "Our enemies cannot choose our friends for us."

205. To portray our liberation movements as putty in the hands of foreign manipulators is the ultimate insult. Further, we in PAC have fought long and hard; we have lost some of our finest cadres on the battlefield and at the gallows; in great numbers we have served savage sentences of imprisonment on Robben Island and in other prisons, through bitter winters and scorching summers. As the African idiom says, we will never let false converts feed on our sweat.

206. If it is the resolve of the United States or any of the imperialist Powers to deny us the victory of a free and democratic Azania under indigenous African rule, let them be warned that the awakened Azanian masses will fight with even greater ferocity against foreign devils and their local lackeys.

207. Today was supposed to be a proving day for the South African white minority régime policy of *apartheid*—separate development or whatever nomenclature the racist system now goes under. Billions of dollars have been spent preparing *apartheid's* first showpiece, the Transkei bantustan, for international exhibition. On top of the wild spending, every Fascist precaution has been taken to ensure a colourful debauchery. Last night our office received a cable informing us that scores of patriots suspected of belonging to PAC and of planning to disrupt the obscene jamboree have been detained under Proclamation 400, a

detention-without-trial regulation of the South African emergency laws in force since the time of Sharpeville in Azania's Transkei region.

208. As the whole world knows, those internationally celebrated Azanian authors and actors of the plays *Sizwe Banzi is Dead* and *The Island*, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, have recently been placed in detention by Vorster's flunkey and so-called Prime Minister of the Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima.

209. Not a single country has responded to the invitation and none has extended the much and expensively canvassed recognition to the Transkei. Consequently, the celebrations have landed like a damp squib.

210. A ruse against the Azanian people and their liberation movement has turned into a useful weapon in their crusade against white-settler tyranny in South Africa, because our people have dared to struggle.

211. During this session many representatives who have spoken referred to my country by the name popularly accepted by the broad movement of our people at home—Azania. Representatives will have read in *The New York Times*, in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Washington Post* and in the *Manchester and London Guardian*, to name but a few papers, that that is indeed the name increasingly being used by black militants and the masses at home.

212. It is no accident that PAC was the first to use the name in modern times. Our history is a history of always breaking new ground in the struggle for national liberation in Azania. We thank the many delegations that are moving

with the current of our national liberation struggle. Long live Azania!

213. Before concluding, I wish sincerely to thank the African group at the United Nations for having acceded to PAC's request for the item on South Africa to be brought before the plenary meetings of the United Nations General Assembly this year. In so doing, the OAU member States have once more demonstrated high esteem for Azanian patriots and the thousands who have paved the way to freedom with their precious lives. I also want to thank all of those who supported this motion from the African group. Our thanks also go to the President, Mr. Amerasinghe, for inviting us to address the General Assembly.

214. The world is turning its back on the primitive policies of colonialism, of which South African *apartheid* is a vulgar remnant. We implore all those who pride themselves as custodians of the sacred principles that lie at the foundation of this august body, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to demonstrate their commitment in a living way. It is incongruous for any member of this body to help to deny the 21 million oppressed African people of Azania the inalienable right to self-determination which people of all countries have enjoyed or are about to enjoy.

215. There is much we could have asked for. For now we simply say, let us hope that we have seen the last of negative votes, be they triple, double or single, by permanent members of the Security Council, when it comes to taking correct punitive measures against the outlaw white minority régime in South Africa.

*The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.*