

The whites have, in fact, consolidated their claim to ownership and rulership of the country and do NOT intend to share it with blacks. All talk about reforming apartheid assuming that such a travesty were indeed possible, must now be seen as totally at variance with the real situation on the ground as at Soweto Day 1987!

9.3.0 The Military Dimension

9.3.1 The white Republic of South Africa has been able to buy time to build up its military machine, including apparently a nuclear capability.

It has thus been able to:

- (i) continue its illegal occupation of Namibia;
- (ii) invade Angola and despoil the territory of that African country in flagrant violation of African and international opinion;
- (iii) give military assistance and training to bandit forces in Angola (UNITA) and Mozambique (MNR) which it thus enables to fight against the legitimate governments of those countries;
- (iv) deploy commandos that operate as strike forces against alleged ANC targets in the Frontline States, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe as well as Lesotho and Swaziland and even in Cabinda in Angola's far north;

6.3.2 The responsibilities of the independent, non-frontline African states to their countries and to Africa should now be clear. It is the twin task of consolidating their own independence as well as ensuring the defeat of apartheid aggression directed against the geographical frontline states and, by implication, against the entire continent.

7.0 THE DIASPORA

7.1.0 A significant sector of the Afro-world is the black diaspora, a historical reality that derives mainly from the trans-Atlantic slave trade that not only depopulated the continent but dehumanized its citizens and diminished the status of the black man in the international community. In the far flung Caribbean/West Indian islands, in the United States of America and in Latin America, the African slave produced the wealth that built modern nations, but in virtually all these localities he was a victim of racism. Even after that scourge became illegal, he was reduced to second class citizenship. Furthermore, with the accession to independence of the Caribbean/West Indies and Latin American countries, the socio-economic status of the black man in those localities has, with the notable exception of Cuba and Brazil, continued to be unsatisfactory. There is need to redress this picture. The diaspora naturally looks up to Africa for psychocultural and geopolitical leadership and there is dire need for a reinforced

Nations resolutions.

9.5.2 Today we see a strong backing of South Africa diplomatically by the USA, Britain and Israel. The voting pattern in the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council reveals that these countries always vote against resolutions on sanctions, arms embargo and moves aimed at the dismantling of apartheid. For instance, in the year 1986, the UN General Assembly deliberated over eight resolutions on apartheid. With the exception of one of those resolutions, the U.S.A., U.K., and Israel consistently voted against the interests of the oppressed blacks of South Africa (see Annexure IV).

9.5.3 A significant development on the diplomatic front is the linkage between the racist regime and dissident elements in neighbouring countries. Thus the racist regime is wooing such unpatriotic elements into its orbit with supply of arms and training facilities aimed at destabilizing the legitimate governments of the Frontline states and even overthrowing such popularly elected regimes and replacing them with regimes that will collaborate with Pretoria. This is a most dangerous trend for Africa since it represents an attempt at recolonizing the continent employing black renegades. The events in Lesotho are a pointer to the prospects ahead if this trend unfolds.

It is opportune in this context, to recall the recent visit (June 1987) of traitor Jonas Savimbi of UNITA to Johannesburg

independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and thus completely stalled action on the Security Council resolution for the implementation of Namibian independence, a decision to which it was party in 1978! To crown it all, the Reagan administration of the USA, the proponent of the theory of "constructive engagement" in South Africa and opponent of mandatory sanctions, now openly recognizes James Savimbi and his UNITA bandit group who are in military collaboration with racist South Africa against Angola.

4.1.3 The foregoing notwithstanding, the just struggle of the Namibian people cannot be aborted even by a super-power. Apparently Reagan is trying to forget even the history of his own country and its shameful record in Vietnam which ensured for it ultimate defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. Similarly under the leadership of our brother Comrade Sam Nujoma, the Namibian people will be free. As President (of SWAPO) Nujoma himself has put it

"No amount of military repression, police brutality and intimidation will force the people to stop fighting for justice, freedom and national independence". "Our struggle has never been against individual white settlers It is against a system of oppression, exploitation, illegal occupation and foreign domination".⁷

in their struggle for self-determination while South Africa has delayed. In 1960, the Namibian people founded the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to co-ordinate their independence movement. By 1966, as their efforts for a diplomatic solution were being ignored, SWAPO undertook the gigantic task of armed struggle against South Africa in order to gain Namibia's independence. To have engaged one of the world's most powerful and modern military machines for so long and to force that power along with its allies to come to the negotiating table represents a major military and diplomatic victory for a liberation movement. SWAPO has followed the pattern of other liberation movements for self-determination, such as Algeria, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe.

Annexure I Chronicles important events of Namibian history and the struggle for independence

4.1.2 Namibian independence was very much in sight in 1978 when the Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) called, inter alia, for UN supervised elections to determine a government for an independent Namibia (see Annexure III). Pretoria defied this Resolution by deciding to hold unilateral elections in Namibia in December 1978, an act that was condemned by the Security Council Resolution 439 (1977). Further to its defiance of UN Security Council Resolution 435, South Africa invaded Angola and has ever since intensified that aggressive act. Most distressingly, the United States of America introduced its linkage of Namibia's

by expressing my profound appreciation of the singular honour accorded to me by the organizers of this lecture. I feel particularly reassured by the fact that this gathering is one of several hundreds of similar manifestations across the globe demonstrative of the ever growing international solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. It is a measure of the justness of the cause of the black people of South Africa that the number of those committed to eradicating apartheid is on the increase. Indeed the days of apartheid are numbered. What is needed is action in the spirit of Soweto.

2.0 SOWETO

2.1.0 Like the other African townships which situate contiguous to the 'whites-only' cities of South Africa, Soweto, the two million strong South West Township just outside Johannesburg and indeed the largest of the South African black townships is a vivid manifestation of the separate and unequal social system of apartheid South Africa. This system, was introduced as official state policy by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party when it first came to power in 1948. In these townships blacks live under intolerable, sub-standard ghetto conditions characterized by overcrowding, unacceptable level of social hygiene, lack of recreational facilities, inadequate health care units, ill-equipped, poorly staffed and hence

attention even more sharply on apartheid and further underscored the immensity of the struggle involved in its eradication in the face of stiff and even fierier opposition to peaceful dismantling of the system by its operators.

2.3.0 Soweto therefore represents a symbol of struggle for social justice, self-determination, and human freedom which constitute indispensable pre-conditions for peace and stability not only in South Africa but indeed in Africa as a whole. It is in this context that the decision by the international community to commemorate June 16 of each year as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, otherwise known as Soweto Day and our gathering here in observance of that important United Nations decision in concert with all peace-loving humankind assume unique significance.

2.3.1 It should be observed that the Soweto uprising represents not only a re-affirmation of the rejection of Bantu Education and indeed apartheid in its entirety by black South African youths but, even more importantly, an unequivocal resolve by the young people not to allow the forces of state violence to go unchallenged. For, while the young people of South Africa no doubt must fully recognize the overwhelming disparity against them in the availability of weapons to the combatants in this historic

S/No	ITEM	AFRICAN	WHITE	COLOURED	ASIAN
(vii)	Doctors available per 100,000 persons	2.2	266	2.2	2.2
(viii)	Per capita expenditure on education (Rands) for 1980-81 fiscal year	175	11,200	280	530
(ix)	Pupil/Teacher Ratio (at Primary tier)	47 to 1	20 to 1	n.a.	n.a.
(x)	% of school children in secondary school	14	27	17	n.a.
(xi)	Number of University Students (%) (1980)	10,500 (7)	121,500 (75)	12,000 (8)	16,000 (10)

3. BANTUSTANS

There are currently ten Bantustans, (see list below), the so-called homelands into which Africans are supposed to move and of which they are to become citizens! These bantustans make up 13% of the land area of South Africa. Most of the other 87% of the land with a miniscule portion reserved for the coloured and Asians belong to whites (14% of the population). Africans living outside the bantustans are restricted to the black townships clustered around the whites only cities of South Africa, e.g. Soweto.

Although the bantustans are supposed to be independent countries, none of them has been accorded diplomatic recognition. The only country that carries on official business with the puppet regimes of the bantustans is Israel.

The South African Government continues to move people forcibly to the bantustans and such forced movement has

- 21 October 1978. The secretary-general indicated administrative arrangements for UNTAG were being established, but that the foreign ministers of the five Western governments, after meeting with South African officials in Pretoria, were unable to reconcile the decision of the government of South Africa to hold unilateral elections in December with the settlement proposal introduced by the Western governments, endorsed by the United Nations, and agreed to by South Africa.
- 13 November 1978. The SC condemned South Africa's decision to hold unilateral elections in Namibia from 4-8 December in defiance of the United Nations. Resolution 439.
- 21 December 1978. The GA also condemned South Africa's actions in defiance of SC resolutions and proclaimed 1979 the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia.
- 31 May 1979. The GA determined that South Africa had "acted deceitfully through unilateral measures and sinister schemes" during discussions for a negotiated settlement of Namibia's independence.
- 2 November 1979. In reaction to South Africa's air and ground attacks against Angola on 28 October, the SC passed a resolution calling upon South Africa to withdraw its armed forces from Angola and demanding it to desist from using Namibia to launch attacks against Angola and other neighbouring states.
- 30 April 1981. Four SC draft resolutions that would have imposed comprehensive and mandatory political, economic, and military sanctions against South Africa, including an oil and arms embargo are vetoed by three of its permanent members (France, U.K., U.S.), but supported by a majority of SC members.
- 31 August 1981. The U.S. vetoed a SC draft resolution condemning South Africa for its "premeditated unprovoked and persistent armed invasion perpetrated against Angola and its utilization of the illegally occupied territory of Namibia as a springboard for armed invasions and destabilization of Angola."
- 3-14 September 1981. An eighth emergency special session of the GA reaffirmed SC resolution 435 (1978) as the only basis for peaceful settlement and firmly rejected the recent efforts of certain members of the Contact Group to undermine the international consensus for 435 and demanded its immediate implementation.

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1981</u>
Total Number Under arms at any time (est)	39,000	90,000	150,000	255,000
Military Expenditure (excluding Police)	R72m	R707m	R1,940m	R3,000m

Source: The Apartheid War Machine, The Strength and Deployment of the South African Armed Forces
Fact Paper No.8, IDAF, London 1980

7. ARMED FORCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - 1982

<u>Country</u>	<u>Armed Forces</u>	<u>Combat Aircraft</u>	<u>Armoured Vehicles</u>	<u>Armoured Personnel Carriers</u>
Angola	37,500	68	575	150
Botswana	3,000	-	n.a.	30
Mozambique	21,600	25	235	200
Zambia	14,300	51	164	13
Zimbabwe	60,000	17	56	20
Total	136,400	171	1,030	413
South Africa	404,500	274	1,650	1,200

Source: The Military Balance 1982-3 prepared by the
International Institute of Strategic Studies, London

to flex that muscle rather ruthlessly, such assistance cannot and will not dismantle apartheid. Financial and material assistance is at best a manifestation of concern and solidarity but it does not constitute a valid solution to the key problem of Southern Africa i.e. denial of self-determination to the South African blacks and the Namibian people by an intransigent and highly militarized white racist rulership.

9.6.2 Indeed, the situation on the ground in Southern Africa compels the inescapable conclusion that the only real answer is a multi-faceted African military response to South Africa's armed incursions into the rest of Africa - its occupation of Namibia, its invasion of Angola, its arrogant commando strikes in the Frontline States and its open backing of the subversive and destabilizing operation of bandit and dissident elements in those sovereign neighbouring African States.

Accordingly we prescribe as follows:-

I: Military Response

1. Independent Africa should send troops to the Frontline States to:
 - (a) stop the violation of the territorial integrity of the Frontline States in keeping with a long standing OAU Resolution that regards an attack on any member state as an attack on all;

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4.0 NAMIBIA

4.1.0 This former German colony (1884-1918) became a responsibility of the League of Nations after the so-called World War I. The League mandated the territory to South Africa in 1920 on the express understanding that South Africa would "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory."⁵ South Africa not only did not carry out this mandate but rather sought to annex the territory into the Union and indeed refused to transfer the territory to the United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1945. The International Court of Justice in 1950 ruled against South Africa and reaffirmed the international trusteeship status of the territory and in 1971 the Court ruled against what had become South Africa's occupation of Namibia, its extension to Namibia of its obnoxious system of apartheid and its treatment of the inhabitants of that country as citizens of South Africa!

4.1.1 The sad story of Namibia is aptly epitomized by Singham and Shirley Hune:⁶

For over one hundred years the people of Namibia have been the victims of the politics of postponement. Their occupation, their colonization, and their exploitation have been duly documented and widely publicized. Yet while nearly all the colonies of the world have won their independence, Namibia remains a colony, with its future intertwined in the vicissitudes of global and regional power politics. The people of Namibia have persevered

And in the words of Alfred Moleah:

"The Reagan Administration's policy has failed to move South Africa toward a settlement; all it has managed to do is prolong the misery and agony of the Namibian people. South Africa will never on its own see reason and accommodate the inevitable future; it will resist, futilely but brutally. As long as they are illegally occupied, ruthlessly exploited and brutally oppressed, the Namibian people will continue and intensify their resistance. In the end there shall be a free and independent Namibia; there shall be a SWAPO Government. This will be, because of Africans are wont to say, 'nobody can stop the rain'".⁸

5.0 THE FRONTLINE STATES

5.1.0 In the mid 1970's, barely a decade ago, Southern African sociopolitical history recorded events of momentous dimensions and far-reaching consequences. Centuries-old Portuguese colonialism in Africa collapsed after the prolonged and heroic armed struggle of the long brutalized African peoples in Angola, Mozambique and other former Portuguese colonies in spite of the massive support accorded/imperial Portugal by the NATO alliance and their surrogates, notably South Africa and Israel.

5.1.1 Indeed, the decolonization of Mozambique and Angola fractured the notorious Lisbon-Pretoria axis and terminated the insulation of South Africa on two of its flanks (North-Eastern

during which Botha not only described him as an African leader but indeed as the best of such leaders! Apparently the South African racists feel so confident of their recent success that they are already conferring on Savimbi the mantle of the Head of State of Angola which, of course, they hope to enable him to become by strengthening him militarily. Let it also be recalled that Savimbi now enjoys official recognition by the present U.S. Government. Only a few days ago the U.S. Government approved another grant of \$15 million for UNITA for purchase of military hardware.

9.6.9 AFRICA'S RESPONSE?

9.6.1 What is Africa's response to the aforelisted sombre situational realities in embattled Southern Africa?

9.6.1.1 Firstly, recalling the unfruitful record of the Western Contact Group, the post-Nassau mission impossible of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and similar cul de sac's and the voting record of the Western Powers and their surrogates at the United Nations on sanctions and other proposals aimed at eradicating apartheid, it seems justified to assert that, in all honesty, diplomatic initiatives to dismantle apartheid have reached a dead end.

9.6.1.2 Secondly, while acknowledging and urging that financial and material assistance to Southern African freedom fighters should continue, it must be recognized that, in view of South Africa's military muscle and the apparent resolve of the racists

significantly, the lack of a political will have adversely affected the OAU especially with regard to the need for the non-Frontline states, which we identify as the REAR, to take resolute concerted action to protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Frontline states and thus accelerate the process of liberating Namibia and South Africa.

6.3.0 It seems opportune at this juncture to elaborate on our concept of the REAR. We have already defined the REAR as the non-Frontline States. What does the appellation frontline connote in terms of the liberation struggle?

6.3.1 It must be appreciated that the white minority racist government in South Africa, in resorting to the use of force, has propelled the struggle in Southern Africa into a virtual state of war. Geographical propinquity to the "war zone" qualifies African countries so situated vis-a-vis South Africa to be referred to and addressed as frontline. (Nigeria's well deserved honorific description as a frontline state may be logically ignored in this context). Such frontline states represent the forward trenches in the on-going battle against racism, settler colonialism and arrested liberation of all of Africa. The logic of war therefore clearly suggests that all other non-frontline African states constitute the rear whose duty, if we accept the concept of United African action against foreign domination, is clearly the provision of the necessary back-up as dictated by the situation on the ground in the frontline of the battle.

- (v) intimidate and interfere with the governance of the enclave territories of Lesotho and Swaziland.

9.4.0 Economic Front

Because of the historic inter-dependence of the economies of South Africa and the neighbouring Frontline States, the racist republic has, in the wake of world-wide demands for the use of sanctions and trade embargo as weapons to dismantle apartheid, threatened to repatriate the migrant labour in South Africa from those neighbouring states. Racist South Africa has also mounted a campaign of sabotage against the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which represents a repudiation of and challenge to South Africa's ambitious plan of a consternation of states which would be under its economic dominance.

9.5.0 Diplomatic Front

9.5.1 In the second half of the decade of the seventies South Africa suffered a set back and was experiencing a considerable measure of isolation and indeed a sagging economy. But as we have deposed earlier, as a result of U.S. policy shift under Reagan South Africa received a formidable international succour and indeed was enabled to rebound economically, militarily and, most importantly, diplomatically. The issue of Namibian independence receded; the linkage theory was evolved, and South Africa became totally defiant of all United

withstand subversion and aggression from the
reactionary forces of racism and oppression".

Secondly, from Nelson Mandela, the symbol of a free
South Africa:

" Let Botha show that he is different from
Malan, Strijdom, and Verwoerd. Let him renounce
violence. Let him say that he will dismantle
apartheid. Let him unban the People's Organization,
the African National Congress. Let him free all
who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for
their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee
free political activity so that people may decide
who will govern them "I cannot and will not
give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the
people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot
be separated. I will return".

Yes, Mandela shall return!

African freedom shall return!

Africa's dignity shall return!

ONWARD WITH THE UNFINISHED TASK OF AFRICA'S LIBERATION!

LONG LIVE AFRICA - FREE, INDEPENDENT, UNITED AND STRONG!

Thank you.

Nsukka

June 1987

- (b) guard vital installations against commando raids;
 - (c) perform garrison duties and thus enable release of the soldiers of the Frontline States for combat action at their fronts.
2. Independent African countries should send air-force detachments to the Frontline States to step up aerial surveillance in order to ensure a reduction in the incidence of surprise commando attacks by the enemy.
 3. Sovereign African States should undertake massive training of South African and Namibian contingents in proper military formations. Such personnel, whose training should be undertaken in the Frontline States, could then move into Namibia and subsequently South Africa as regular troops to engage the racist occupation forces.
 4. Implementation and co-ordination of 1 to 3 above presumes the emergence of a functional African High Command comprising the Frontline States and those African countries that contribute troops and airforce detachments.

II. Diplomatic Response

5. There should be a systematic and sustained exposure of the duplicity of the Western powers and Israel with regard to apartheid.

ANNEXURE II

THE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE: CHRONICLE OF SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS (1961-1985)

- October 1961. UN General Assembly's Committee on South West Africa recommended the termination of South Africa's League of Nations mandate to administer the territory and an immediate UN presence.
- 27 October 1966. The General Assembly (GA) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination, freedom and independence; terminated South Africa's mandate; and placed the territory under the direct responsibility of the UN. Resolution 2145.
- 19 May 1967. The GA created the UN Council for South West Africa to administer the territory with the active and full participation of its inhabitants until independence.
- 11 June 1963. The GA declared South West Africa to be known henceforth as Namibia in accordance with the wishes of its people; condemned the South African government for refusing to comply with UN resolutions and for its non co-operation with the Council for Namibia (formerly the Council for South West Africa), and condemned those states who continued to collaborate politically, economically, and militarily with South Africa thus contributing to its persistent defiance of the international community. Resolution 2372.
- 20 March 1969. The Security Council (SC) proclaimed that South Africa is in illegal occupation of Namibia and called for its immediate withdrawal from administration of the territory (with the U.K. and France abstaining). Resolution 264.
- 21 June 1971. At the request of the SC for an advisory opinion, the International Court of Justice declared South Africa in illegal occupation of Namibia and requested it to withdraw immediately.
- 4 February 1972. The SC asked the secretary-general to visit the region, meet with various parties concerned, and for the South African government to participate. In a report, 30 April 1973, the secretary-general concluded that the government of South Africa gave no indication that there was a serious intent on its part to proceed with the independence of Namibia in the very near future.
- 14 June 1973. The Lusaka Declaration adopted by the UN Council for Namibia concluded that South Africa's continued illegal

DIGEST OF BASIC DATA ON SOUTH AFRICA

NOTE: Except where stated otherwise the information assembled below has been extracted from two main sources:

- (a) International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) for South Africa (1983): Apartheid: The Facts, London
- (b) United Nations (1982): A Crime Against Humanity; Questions and Answers on Apartheid in South Africa

11. MINERAL RESOURCES

South Africa has substantial deposits of many minerals (including (including strategic minerals). She is a major world producer of gold, diamonds, uranium, coal, iron ore, chromium, manganese, vanadium, platinum.

2. COMPAPATJVE STATISTICS FOR RACIAL GROUPS

<u>S/No</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>AFRICAN</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>COLOURED</u>	<u>ASIAN</u>
(i)	Population 1980 (millions)	22.5	4.4	3.0	0.9
(ii)	Labour Force (millions) (millions)	6.4	1.9	0.8	0.2
(iii)	Composition of Work Force (%)				
	(a) Mining industry	38	10	2.0	-
	(b) Manufacturing industries	58	20	16	2.0
(iv)	% Distribution of Agricultural land (outside the Bantustans)	-	97.53	0.79	0.00
(v)	Infant Mortality per 1000 of the population				
	(a) Urban Areas	69	12	n.a.	n.a.
	(b) Rural Areas	282	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
(vi)	Life Expectancy (years)	55	68	52	62

presence in Namibia seriously endangered global peace and security and called for the termination of the economic exploitation of Namibia by transnational corporations and of all support to South Africa whether it be political, economic, military, or financial.

12 December 1973. SWAPO is recognized by the GA as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Resolution 3111.

17 December 1974. The SC unanimously condemned South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the maintenance of its apartheid system in the territory, including its bantustans policy and detention of political prisoners. The SC also demanded that South Africa should begin transferring power to the Namibian people through the auspices of the UN. Resolution 366.

26 August 1976. The UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, Zambia was formally opened. It was established under a plan by the Council for Namibia to provide education, training, and research opportunities for Namibians in preparation for independence.

4 November 1977. The GA recognized Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia and condemned South Africa's decision to annex the bay as illegal and an act of colonial expansion. It also called for a special session on Namibia in 1978.

4 November 1977. For the first time ever, the SC unanimously passed a resolution to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, including material that might be related to nuclear collaboration.

29 August 1978. The secretary-general presented a report to the SC based on the findings of the UN commissioner for Namibia that the Western settlement proposal required the establishment of a United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia and would have to be implemented in stages.

29 September 1978. The SC approved the secretary-general's report on the implementation of the Contact Group's proposal for settling the Namibian question. It decided to establish UNTAG and welcomed SWAPO's efforts to co-operate and called upon South Africa to co-operate with the Secretary-general in the implementation of the resolution. Resolution 435.

authorities. The death toll after several days of the unequal clash was 176. The Soweto imbroglio spread to other townships outside Johannesburg and indeed to other parts of South Africa such as Empangeni in Natal and Langa near Cape Town.

2.2.1 The Soweto resistance of black students and youths re-echoed in adult circles and was soon manifest among black workers whose record of struggle, in spite of misrepresentations in the white-controlled media, is replete with resistance to the oppressive economic system in South Africa¹ culminating in the general strike of July 20. The ensuing unrest claimed fifty lives with the white security forces again playing the role of murderers while the Justice and Police Minister at that time, Jimmy Kruger, in typical manner, extended the Preventive Detention Provision of his country's notorious Internal Security Act to the entire country. The Cilie Commission set up by the racist government to investigate the Soweto disturbances and their aftermath and whose report was published in 1980 put the death toll at 574, mainly black. Most significantly, the Commission while hypocritically criticizing some of the behaviour of the police, exonerated them of any responsibility for the deaths:

2.2.2 The Soweto eruption, drew condemnatory comments world wide. Most importantly, it focussed international

inferior schools, economic deprivation, and, above all regimentation and constant police harrassment. In short, Soweto is a veritable social volcano and its eruption in June 1976 was historically yet another nodal point in the chain of events that chronicle the rejection by the blacks of the obnoxious oppressive and unjust system forcibly foisted on them by the white minority in South Africa.

2.2.0 The Soweto episode of 1976 was sparked by the imposition by the Minister of Bantu Education of Afrikaans as a compulsory language in black schools which resulted in pupils boycotting classes, backed by student demonstrations. A peaceful march by three thousand pupils on one school on June 16, 1976 led to a clash with the police who used guns, helicopters, and other sophisticated riot control gadgets of which South Africa is notorious to suppress the student demonstrations. It should be noted that the pupils were unarmed and their age spread included some as young as ten years. Most importantly, however, the students remained undaunted in spite of the overwhelming armed superiority of the police and special para-military squads who were simultaneously deployed against them by the racist

6. The Frontline States, in view of their geography, historical experience and comprehensive knowledge of the facts and complexities of the liberation struggle should be constituted into an ACTION COMMITTEE of the OAU in all diplomatic issues connected with Southern Africa. Such a move ensures for the Action Committee an OAU-backed legal status and insulates the continental organization from ineffectual action often deriving from the lethargy and less-than-adequate commitment of some of the states in the rear.
7. The OAU must demand regular contribution by member states to the funds of its Liberation Committee. Any defaulters should face sanctions which should include possible expulsion from the Organization.

2.6.3 III Nigeria's Response

In addition to the above-mentioned responses prescribed for the continent and our expectation that Nigeria will play a leading role therein, we perceive for this country an additional action programme as underlisted:

1. Unabated and indeed increased tempo in the important exercise of disseminating accurate information on apartheid and the heroic struggle being waged against it by our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa. This will have the effect of mobilizing Nigerian public opinion and strengthening the resolve of the Nigerian

possible recolonization of the continent by racists and their mentors, our conceptual posture must be in the best tradition of Pan Africanism as espoused and practised by, among others, such departed heroes and heroines as W.E.B. Du Bois, Shirley Graham, Paul and Eslanda Goodge Robeson and Alphaeus Hunton (of the U.S. based Council on African Affairs), Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, King Mohammed V, Gamel Abdel Nasser, Patrice Lumumba, Amilcar Cabral, Augustinho Neto, Frantz Fanon, Samora Machel and Malcolm X (of the Organization of Afro-American Unity - OAAU), and Deolinda Almeida Rodriguez as well as such living legends and standard bearers of Pan Africanism as Julius Nyerere and Nelson Mandela among others.

9.6.4 Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, compatriots and fellow fighters for human freedom:

May I now conclude by quoting the words of two leaders. First, our own President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, whose commitment to African freedom is well known to those of us who have been active in anti-apartheid work:

"We therefore fully intend to lend all possible support, moral and material, to any policy which seeks to diversify the base and approach to the struggle within South Africa until the racist regime in South Africa crumbles as others before it have done in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Algeria. We shall continue to provide as appropriate support to the Frontline states to Frontline states to

ANNEXURE IV

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTING RECORD ON THE RESOLUTIONS ON APARTHEID

SERIAL NUMBER OF RESOLUTION	SUBJECT MATTER OF RESOLUTION	SUMMARY OF MAJOR ACTION SOUGHT	(PATTERN OF VOTING WITH SPECIFICATIONS OF POSITION OF SOME OF THE MEMBER STATES)		
			<u>In favour</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>Absten- tions</u>
41/35 A	Situation in South Africa and assistance to the liberation movements	Demanding lifting of state of emergency and withdrawal of racist troops from and accord the black townships	130	8 UK, USA	18 Israel
41/35 B	Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa	Self explanatory	126	16 UK, USA, Israel	13
41/35/C	Relations between Israel and South Africa	Demanding that Israel desists from and terminates forthwith all forms of collaboration with South Africa, particularly in the economic, military and nuclear fields	102	29 UK, USA, Israel	26
41/35 D	Programme of work of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>	Decided to make Special Allocation of US \$375,000 to the Special Committee and requested Governments and organizations to make voluntary contribution for the special projects of Special Committee	145	2 UK, USA	10 Israel
41/35 E	Status of the International Convention against <u>Apartheid</u> in Sports	Reaffirmed that the racist regime of South Africa must be isolated in all fields, including that of sports	131	0	24 UK, USA
41/35 F	Oil embargo against South Africa	Self explanatory	136	5 UK, USA, France FRG, Israel	15

ANNEXURE III

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435
(September 29, 1978)

The Security Council

Recalling its resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 431 (1978) and 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 431 (1978) and his explanatory statement made in the Security Council on 29 September 1978 (S/12859),

Taking note of the relevant communications from the Government of South Africa to the Secretary-General.

Taking note also of the letter dated 8 September 1978, from the President of the South West Africa People's Organization to the Secretary-General, Reaffirming the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation and his explanatory statement,
2. Reiterates that its objective is the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976);
3. Decides to establish under its authority a United Nations Transition Assistance Group in accordance with the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General for a period of up to 12 months in order to assist his Special Representative to carry out the mandate conferred upon him by the Security Council in paragraph 1 of its resolution 431 (1978), namely, to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations;
4. Welcomes the preparedness of the South West Africa People's Organization to co-operate in the implementation of the Secretary-General's report, including its expressed readiness to sign and observe the cease fire provisions as manifested in the letter from its President of 8 September 1978;

involved 2.1 million blacks since the bantustan policy was introduced by the National Party in 1948. It is noteworthy that the figure of 2.1 million has been referred to in a United Nations publication as "the largest forced movement of people in peacetime history."

List of the Bantustans

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Basotho-Qwaqwa | 6. Lebowa |
| 2. Boputhatswana | 7. Ndebele |
| 3. Ciskei | 8. Swazi |
| 4. Gazankulu | 9. Transkei |
| 5. Kwazulu | 10. Venda |

4. ENFORCEMENT OF PASS LAWS

Number of Africans arrested or prosecuted under the pass laws:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1974-75	373,570
1975-76	381,858
1976-77	297,374
1977-78	279,957
1978-79	162,054
1980	158,335
1981	162,024
1982	206,022

5. FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

There has been a steady increase in the volume of foreign investment in South Africa over the years, to wit:

1970	5.8 billion rands
1977	21.3 " "
1979	22.8 " "

South Africa. The whites who constitute 18% of the work force earn 64% of the total income.

3.2.0 The capital investment in South African mines and factories are mostly by transnational companies (TNC's) whose super profits derive from the fact that they pay slave wages to the African workers who toil to produce the wealth of South Africa under conditions of restricted and denied trade union rights, a situation made possible by the political control of the white racist government. There is therefore a functional partnership between the TNC's, their countries of origin (USA and Western Europe) and the government of RSA that accords protection to Western investments. This is the basis for the non-support by the Western countries of the United Nations prescribed mandatory sanctions to end apartheid. Indeed because of the strategic minerals that abound in South Africa and are currently accessed by the USA and Western Europe, these countries have developed the decidedly erroneous view, essentially imperialist and incompatible with the concept of a free and non-aligned Africa, that South Africa is part of a Western global security system and must be ruled by a government acceptable to, and operating in consonance with, the NATO alliance. As a corollary to the foregoing the West has supported South Africa in its bid to develop a nuclear capability which has enabled that country to attempt a nuclear whitemail of independent Africa which it hopes to threaten with its nuclear arsenal just as it is currently

and as we shall see in the course of this discourse, the continued existence of the minority racist regime in South Africa poses a major threat not only to the sovereignty of contiguous African countries (i.e. the Frontline States) but also to the security of the rest of independent Africa, and hence to the peace, stability and orderly development of the continent. We shall return to this theme later.

2.4.0 For now it will be instructive to attempt a panoramic overview of the geo-political co-ordinates that characterize Africa and the Afro-world as background to our discourse and basis for our analysis.

3.0 SOUTH AFRICA

3.1.0 This country of thirty-one million people blessed with enormous wealth (see Appendix B for data on South Africa) is dominated politically by a minority of white settlers (15.5 per cent of the population) who have dispossessed the real owners of the land, the black Africans, of their land. Consequently these white settlers are operating a domestic colonialism that excludes the majority African population (73%) from ownership of, and economic benefit from, the natural resources (land, mineral wealth etc.) of the nation and any form of participation in its politics and government.

and North Western). The independence of Zimbabwe, also midwifed by the armed struggle of the determined people of that country with the total fraternal support of the people of Mozambique under the leadership of Fretilim and the now immortalized Comrade Samara Machel, completed the locational isolation of South Africa by ensuring its near encirclement, especially in view of the prior accession to independence of Zambia and Botswana. With these truly historic developments, the grand design of the racist rulers of South Africa of ensuring that the front-line states abutting on the RSA on the north should constitute a cordon sanitaire of vassal states with the RSA as the power pivot and controller of a regional constellation of states collapsed.

South Africa reacted to this collapse of its plans by seeking to intimidate neighbouring Frontline States with hypocritical non-aggression pacts accords a la Nkomati, while mounting commando attacks on those countries in purported pursuit of ANC guerillas.

5.2.0 Most regrettably, with the ascendancy to power in the USA of Ronald Reagan, whose backers include the military-industrial complex, the ultra-conservatives and inter-ventionists and the reactionary foreign policy ideologues whose position on racism and Africa is generally at best apologetic, the concept of "constructive engagement" in South Africa was enunciated and indeed implemented. Thus the Carter Administration's initiative of setting up and using the Western Contact Group as a mediating

Hitler's fascist Germany (which incidentally they accomplished in alliance with the USSR) as a shining example of their devotion to human freedom. It is therefore particularly important, especially for black Africa, to take special note of the role of Israel in the South African drama. The Zionist State was created mainly as a result of Western support and as a lasting solution to fascist Germany's outrageous treatment of European Jews. Now, Jewish experience under Hitler bears great semblance to the current atrocities of the racist minority regime in South Africa who incidentally openly supported fascist Germany during the so-called World War II. But alas there is today an unholy alliance between Israel and South Africa and a collaboration by those two states directed against self-determination for blacks in South Africa and the Palestinian people in the Middle East.^{3,4}

3.5.0 We may conclude this South African scenario by referring to the historic fact that all peaceful attempts to reform apartheid failed and that in response to the total collapse of such peaceful attempts the blacks had no alternative but to resort to armed struggle in pursuit of their justified demands for human rights, self-determination and participation in a democratically run South Africa based on the universally valid and accepted democratic principle of one man one vote. This is the significance of the emergence of Umkhonto We Sizwe Pogo and other armed wings of the South African Liberation Movements.

5.3.0 The net result of the foregoing is a Southern African scenario of instability born of harassment of sovereign (Frontline) states by a colonial South African state whose independence must thus be seen as a pre-condition for the consolidation of the independence of the Frontline states.

6.0 THE INDEPENDENT (NON-FRONTLINE) AFRICAN STATES - THE REAR

6.1.0 In the wake of the defeat of facism in the mid-forties, a struggle in which Asian and African soldiers featured heroically, the concept of total human freedom pervaded and virtually transformed men's thinking world wide. With the added reality of the weakening of the Western imperial countries, the rising tide of nationalism and the irresistible demand for self determination by their erstwhile colonies backed by the active struggle of their peoples led to the decolonization of the Indian sub-continent, Indonesia, and the Magreb in the forties and early fifties, followed by the accession to independence of most of the countries of Africa in the late fifties and early sixties. Africa was thereby transformed to a continent with a significant number of independent Arab and black states the need for whose unity was underscored by Pan-African visionaries. This resulted in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. The OAU had among its several lofty objectives, the liberation of those African countries that had not yet been released from political bondage by the "revolution of the 1960's".

changed with time. It is crucial the specific details of the regional as well as global realities that define the titanic and historic struggle must be clearly delineated. There is also need to reassess the current strategies of the enemy and his mentors well as to evaluate the interplay of forces and how best to relate to them, exploiting those that are favourable to our struggle and attempting to neutralize those that impede the African Revolution.

9.2.0 The internal Political Situation in South Africa

9.2.1 The sad story of the internal political situation in South Africa encompasses outright usurpation by the whites of the land of the original African owners by sheer force of arms, total disregard of the economic and social well-being of the African bantustanization and restriction of the Africans to areas outside the white domains, disfranchisement as epitomized in the tricameral Parliament from which the African majority is totally excluded, the recent whites only election (which incidentally abbreviates aptly as WOE!).

9.2.2 The results of these elections have further marginalized the most liberal of the white parties, the Progressive Federal Party, strengthened the Conservative Party which is to the right of the National Party and indeed falsely cast Botha's National Party in the mould of a moderate majority party. All this farce is, of course, the outcome of apartheid which excludes the African majority from participation in the political

8.1.1 What emerges is the historically untenable situation of abridged freedom of the peoples of Africa and the urgent need to address and redress that situation by recognizing the task of ushering in an era of unimpeded self-determination and total freedom in the political, economic, social and psychological domains. Hence the title of this paper.

8.1.2 Since the eradication of apartheid and the independence of South Africa and Namibia are the immediate tasks of the struggle for the total liberation of Africa, we shall in the sequel examine, albeit briefly, the situation in Southern Africa, with special focus on the following:

- (i) the unfolding strategy of the white minority racist regime of South Africa in the new circumstances of intensified liberation struggle;
- (ii) what Africa's response should be to the racist regime's strategy as well as requisite African action to wrest the initiative from the illegal white minority government.

9.0 THE NEW SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NEED FOR A NEW AFRICAN STRATEGY

9.1.0 In designing its strategy for the liberation of South Africa and Namibia in the new condition of intensified liberation struggle, independent Africa must have a clear perception of the dominant features of the struggle and how these features have

struggle, they have nonetheless made the most important decision, which is to fight for their freedom. The next historic step, the acquisition of the weapons for the fight, can now follow logically.

2.3.2 It is indeed noteworthy that the African National Congress, as part of its commemoration of its 75th anniversary, has declared June 16, 1987 as South African Youth Day and has further appealed to the international community to use the occasion to

"highlight the heroic role of our youth in our struggle ..." and organize "demonstrations and other activities against the occupation of the townships by the fascist army, against the dumping of our children in concentration camps, the the issuing of identity cards to black pupils and students, and the suppression of youth and students' organisations".²

2.3.3 Soweto is not only a symbol of struggle it is also a reminder of the abridged and at best partial freedom of Africa. In terms of formal decolonization, South Africa and Namibia are yet to attain the freedom. admittedly rather nominal, enjoyed by the other nations of independent Africa. Furthermore, it must be admitted that even independent African countries are severely handicapped in the exercise of their sovereignty. Most importantly,

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AFRICA'S LIBERATION: AN UNFINISHED TASK

By

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Paper presented at a Public Lecture organized by the National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) in commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day) held at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos on Tuesday, June 16, 1987

Mr. Chairman

The Secretary to the Federal Military Government
and Guest of Honour

Your Excellencies

My Lords

Director-General of the Nigerian Institute
of International Affairs

Comrades Representatives of the Liberation Movements

Compatriots and Committed Fighters for Unabridged
African Freedom

Gentlemen of the Press

Distinguished Guests

Ladies and Gentlemen:

1.0 INTRODUCTION

I consider it a rare privilege to be invited to deliver a public lecture on the important national platform of NACAP to mark Soweto Day, 1987. I wish, therefore, to start

3.1.1 The white settler colonialists adopt racism, officially christened apartheid (separateness) as the conceptual framework of minority rule. The ideologies of white minority rule and more specifically the establishment religious formation in South Africa i.e. the Dutch Reformed Church, have even resorted to the misuse and abuse of the Holy Bible in support of apartheid and the concept of racial superiority which has been proven to be false by a mass of incontrovertible and impeccable scientific evidence. It would seem more appropriate, therefore, to refer to the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa as the Dutch Deformed Church.

3.1.2 The Africans have been assigned only thirteen per cent of the land mass of South Africa which is apportioned to the notorious and unacceptable Bantustans. Blacks are excluded from citizenship rights in the rest of the country (outside these Bantustans) which represent the vibrant economic zones of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and in which are situated the arable land, the mines and the manufacturing industries of the Republic. The farms, mines and industries of the Republic can only be sustained by African labour recruited internally and from the neighbouring states (migrant workers). Although African constitute 70 per cent of the labour force, their total earnings make up only 26 per cent of all income in

The countries of origin of the investments shed much light on the politics of delayed disengagement from apartheid.

Of the R22.8 billion for 1979, direct investment amounted to R10.2 billion of which R6.4 billion (66%) was subscribed by EEC countries with the UK in the lead, and R2.5 billion by countries in North and South America (notably USA).

The Table below shows the number of companies in South Africa in 1980 and their base countries.

<u>Country</u>	<u>No. of Companies</u>
United Kingdom	1,200
Federal Republic of Germany	350
USA	340
France	50
Netherlands	50
Australia	35
Belgium	20
Italy	20
Switzerland	12
Sweden	10
Spain	8
Canada	<u>5</u>
Total	<u>2,100</u>

6. GROWTH OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND PERSONNEL

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1981</u>
South African Police (SAP)	27,000	59,000	72,000	77,000
South African Defence Force (SADF) (including all active reservists)	79,000	269,000	367,000	515,000
Total Armed Forces	106,000	328,000	439,000	592,000

19 May 1983. The secretary-general expressed his concern to the SC for the delay in the implementation of resolution 435 and the emergence of factors outside the scope of 435 which "hamper" its implementation.

20-28 October 1983. The SC debated the question of Namibia and with the exception of the United States, which abstained, the Contact Group countries rejected the linkage doctrine and adopted resolution 539.

29 December 1983. The secretary-general reported to the SC that South Africa had not responded in a definitive manner with regard to relevant decisions of the Security Council in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978)

1 January 1985. The SC approved resolution 546 condemning South Africa for its unprovoked attack on Angola. The United States and the U.K. abstained.

3 May 1985. The SC condemned and rejected South Africa's unilateral action to form an "interim government" in Namibia.

leaders of the African struggle to Nigerian school children as part of the process of making them aware of the legacy of resistance to foreign domination by their forebears.

4. In furtherance of its support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and Nelson Mandela's acknowledged premier leadership role in that truly historic struggle for black emancipation, the Nigerian Government should confer a special national honour on brother Nelson thus simultaneously declaring him an honorary citizen of Nigeria.
5. Nigeria's diplomatic action on the issue of apartheid and the struggle for total African freedom should undergo a thorough review. Such a review should aim at evolving an independent Afro-world view as the conceptual frame for our diplomatic action. Not only should the country reject the teleguidance which the Western countries that prop up apartheid often seek to provide for us, our own guiding idea should derive from, focus on, and articulate the twin goals of self-determination without preconditions and total and unabridged freedom for all peoples of Africa and the diaspora. Nigeria should insist that Africa's freedom is indivisible. Indeed, in view of our historical experience and the necessity and legitimacy of our survival in the era of neo-colonialism and the manifest threat of a

5. Calls upon South Africa forthwith to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;
6. Decides that all unilateral measures taken by the illegal administration in Namibia in relation to the electoral process, including unilateral registration of voters, or transfer of power, in contravention of resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and the present resolution, are null and void;
7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council not later than 23 October 1978 on the implementation of the present resolution.

people to make the necessary sacrifices without which the responses prescribed above cannot be implemented by Government. The commendable role of the National Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) in this regard is well known and I would like, at this juncture, Mr. Chairman, to salute the Chairman and Members of the current Committee and the energetic Secretary of NACAP properly known as "Madam Anti-Apartheid" for their commitment in the discharge of the responsibility entrusted to them by the Federal Government whose commitment to the struggle against apartheid is inspiring and irrevocable.

2. To ensure widest possible dissemination of information on apartheid and attendant mobilization of the Nigerian people, I further suggest that more Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) should be formed. I recall, with modesty and great satisfaction, the role of the National Committee on Southern Africa (NACSA), an NGO in which I served as Vice-Chairman with the patriot Malam Aminu Kano of blessed memory as Chairman. The NGO's being suggested should, of course, co-operate fully with NACAP which should in the first instance, obtain and make available to such NGO's the Programme of Action Against Apartheid¹⁰ adopted by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.
3. Nigerian NGO's should organize material assistance for South African and Namibian refugees and should include, among their efforts, the teaching of the biographies of

and harmonized effort by the entire Afro-World to ensure full emancipation for all peoples of African decent wherever they may be domiciled.

8.0 AFRICAN FREEDOM MUST BE INDIVISIBLE

8.1.0 We have sketched the foregoing albeit unflattering picture of Africa and its diaspora so as to focus clearly on those contemporary realities that define or should define the historic responsibilities of Africa's leadership and peoples. The picture is one of less than total freedom not only because of the situation in South Africa where apartheid, white settler colonialism and naked fascism prevail or beleaguered Namibia where self-determination and independence have been frustrated and delayed by apartheid South Africa with the backing of Western Countries, but also as a result of the conditions prevailing elsewhere. In the Frontline States of Southern Africa post-independence development has been made impossible by racist South Africa's intervention and harassment, while in the rest of Africa independence has proved largely nominal and at best frustrated by economic problems complicated by the lack of a political will to articulate a people-based programme that would release and galvanize the energy of the people to dismantle neo-colonialism. The rest of the Afro-world presents the problem of people of African descent still trying to realize the full status of free men.

affairs of the racist republic.

9.2.3 Shortly after the success of his National Party at the official guiding theory of his political formation and issued a stiff warning to the opposition, the media and academia to stop encouraging anti-apartheid groups. Even more ominously Botha made no mention whatsoever of his dubious plan for reforming apartheid. Only last week Botha's government further extended the state of emergency in South Africa.

9.2.4 Thus we can see clearly that, internally, the Republic of South Africa today is, more than ever before, being consolidated as a white state that rigorously excludes the African who is supposed to be a citizen of a bantustan and is denied any legal status as a citizen of the white republic. It is instructive to recall that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa in their Report (1986) on their historical but futile mission to South Africa had observed, inter alia, as follows:

"We have examined the Government's 'programme of reform' and have been forced to conclude that at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the South African Government to dismantle apartheid.

"The cycle of violence and counter-violence has spiralled and there is no present prospect of a non-racial and representative government".⁹

ANNEXURE IV (Contd.)

SERIAL NUMBER OF RESOLUTION	SUBJECT MATTER OF RESOLUTION	SUMMARY OF MAJOR ACTION SOUGHT	(PATTERN OF VOTING WITH SPECIFICATIONS OF POSITION OF SOME OF THE MEMBER STATES)
			<div data-bbox="1685 320 1804 389">In favour</div> <div data-bbox="1934 335 2077 374">Against</div> <div data-bbox="2161 320 2291 389">Abstention- tions</div>
41/35 G	United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa	Self explanatory	Adopted without a vote
41/35 H	Concerted international action for the elimination of <u>Apartheid</u>	Demanded. <u>inter alia</u> : release of Mandela and other political prisoners lifting of state of emergency political dialogue with majority population to eradicate apartheid withdrawal of South Africa troops from Angola	<div data-bbox="1696 759 1768 790">149</div> <div data-bbox="1982 759 2006 790">2</div> <div data-bbox="2172 759 2244 790">5</div> <div data-bbox="1863 790 2053 828">UK, UKY, USA</div> <div data-bbox="2172 790 2291 828">Israel</div>

6.2.0 But alas the decolonization of the '60's has not ushered in the great expectations of the African people! The newly independent countries of Africa, in spite of their flag independence, are indeed beset with numerous constraints to the consumation of their regained freedom. The co-ordinates that define contemporary Africa include economic dependence (with satellite economies under the control and manipulation of their erstwhile colonial masters operating through their transnational companies and financial institutions); faulty and false national developmental strategies predicated on over reliance on foreign models; technological backwardness; low level of the productive forces; depressed prices for major agricultural and mineral exports; the debt burden; major natural disasters (flood, drought, desertification, erosion); inability to cope with these disasters with resultant famine, hunger, death and despair; inadequate provision of social services (education, health, environmental hygiene); unemployment, crime, ethnic and religious antagonisms. All the foregoing have induced political instability.

6.2.1 Political instability has produced many undesirable features one of which is a lower level of patriotism than existed in the early sixties with consequent inhibition of the development of that requisite psychological disposition that makes independence real and meaningful through the manifestation of the self confidence and political will required to tackle resolutely the problems listed above. The afore-listed disabilities and, most

attempting to intimidate the Frontline States with its presumed invincible military machine.

3.3.0 As should be expected the history of South Africa ever since the European settlers occupied the land of the original denizens of that country and unleashed an anti-people governance has been one of resistance by the blacks to white minority rule. In response to the legitimate demands and liberation activities of the oppressed blacks the racist regime has employed state violence and terror to enforce its minority rule which is characterized by obnoxious laws that seek to enforce on the blacks social inequality, economic strangulation and political disfranchisement. The liberation movements in South Africa have been banned and their leaders hounded, jailed, tortured and murdered. Repeated appeals by the African and international community for an end to apartheid which the United Nations has declared a crime against humanity (Resolution 2922(XXVII) of November 15, 1972) have been contemptuously ignored by racist South Africa. Attempts through other United Nations Resolutions to enforce arms embargo and mandatory sanctions on South Africa have not only been vetoed by the Western imperial members of the United Nations Security Council but rendered totally impossible of implementation by the non-cooperation and/or outright sabotage of these same countries, who, incidentally, in other circumstances pose vociferously as defenders of human rights.

2.4.0 These western countries which self-righteously refer to themselves as the free world, usually cite their routing of

force to enforce U.N. Resolution 435 and thus resolve the Namibian question has been replaced with a Reaganite policy that has introduced into the Southern African conflict the totally irrelevant issue of the cold war and is seeking solutions within the framework of East-West global confrontation.

5.2.1 The Reaganite view, embraced by his supporters of which Margaret Thatcher of Britain ranks foremost, is that movements for social and political change in Southern Africa do not have an indigenous basis but derive from external influences (Soviet, Chinese or their surrogates) and are ipso facto, a threat to U.S. and Western European security. This view of Africa's search and action for freedom as externally inspired is really yet another manifestation of racism since it refuses to acknowledge the African's capability to determine his own destiny and to opt for such self-determination without prodding. Thus national liberation movements are described as "terrorist" organisations. The logical consequence of this is the totally illogical characterisation of SWAPO, ANC, etc. as bodies not acceptable to the West. Consequently, the racist government of South Africa which such freedom fighting formations rightly oppose is, ironically and callously adjudged legitimate and indeed regarded as an ally of the West, worthy of support and against which there should be no sanctions or arms embargo!