

## AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA\*

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### **Introduction:**

In flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *apartheid* continues as an institutionalized racist domination and exploitation, resting on the plunder of the African majority since 1652 by colonial settlers and their descendants. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity under the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973. It is well-known that United Nations' concern with the racist policies of the *apartheid* régime is of long standing. But since 1960, with the first wave of the newly-independent states of Africa joining the U.N., response of this international organization to the gross violations of human rights has undergone quantitative changes. The U.N. has moved from general to specific resolutions requesting member states to take actions against the white minority dictatorship. The General Assembly, at its thirty-third session in 1979, adopted fifteen resolutions, unanimously or by overwhelming majorities. The resolutions deal with a variety of topics, from relations between South Africa and Israel or oil embargo to political prisoners or *apartheid* in sports.

In the meantime, the forces of liberation in South Africa have intensified the political and armed struggle against the hateful *apartheid* régime, which is resorting to the most brutal repression using criminal methods to destroy the unity of the black

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people. The white colonial system is suffering serious reversals, the last one being in Zimbabwe. The speed of developments, generated by the revolts of the African people against the racist rulers, reveals a clear perspective for fundamental transformations in this area. The white-power system is fighting for its very survival. The crisis of South Africa also represents a crisis for imperialist policy.

#### **Some Basic Facts:**

In terms of its population, South Africa (excluding Namibia) ranks fourth in Africa, after Nigeria, Egypt and Ethiopia. The non-Europeans living in the racist state outnumber the Europeans five and one-half to one. The whites are in the minority in all the provinces. Although so small in number, the Europeans nevertheless possess over 80% of the land. In spite of the drive to congregate the blacks in the so-called "Bantu homelands", more Africans live outside them. Not only in the rural, but also in the urban areas, the Africans constitute the majority. South Africa is overwhelmingly non-European, irrespective of vigorous campaign to attract whites to the Republic.

The "homelands" policy for the blacks means 65,000 square miles for 18.5 million blacks and 406,000 square miles for 4.2 million whites, or 27 times more land (with all its mineral wealth) for each white South African than for each black. Racists try to justify this unjust division by a historical fraud. But many historians refute the claim that this division is "decreed by history". The blacks settled half of South Africa up to 1,000 years before the initial white settlements in late Seventeenth Century.

"Homelands" consist of nine areas, specifically for African occupation. They are Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Basotho Qua Qua, Ciskei, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Swazi and Venda. By law, the Bantustans are subsidiary units of the Republic of South Africa. Although Transkei, the first chosen to be a "homeland", attained independence on 26 October 1976, only the Government of South Africa extended diplomatic recognition to it. And the same day, the U.N. General Assembly adopted (by a vote of 134 in favour, none against, with one abstention) resolution 31/6A, whereby the G.A. condemned the establish-

ment of bantustans as designed to perpetuate white minority domination and called upon all governments to deny any form of recognition to Transkei. One may remember at this point that even in the Transkei, land was not exclusively for the blacks. The Blyde River Canyon, with high touristic potential, and Phalaborwa, with copper and phosphate deposits, later became white areas. Consequently, the people of Transkei are suffering from unemployment, land shortage, low agricultural production and inadequate public services, including housing.

All this is not surprising since South Africa is a state adapted to secure the supremacy of the white minority. Its parliament is bicameral with all seats reserved for whites. The elections take place under a party system from which Africans, Coloureds and Asians are excluded. *Apartheid* operates as racial discrimination, economic exploitation and police terror.

Racial discrimination does not only connote an attitude; it is an act which denies equality and sharpens stratification. It relies on several instruments such as the Land Act of 1912 (denying Africans right of ownership of land), the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1927 (reserving employment for whites), the Native Act of 1952 (requiring persons to carry reference books), the Native Labour Act of 1953 (prohibiting trade unions among African workers and denying them the right to strike), the Group Areas Act of 1950 (assigning separate areas to different races), the Population Registration Act of 1950 (compelling persons to obtain a racial classification and be registered as such), the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act of 1949 (making marriage between persons of different races a criminal act), the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 (removing all rights of Africans in areas outside the "homelands"), the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 (denying the use of public buildings and facilities in white areas to Africans, Coloureds and Asians) and the like.

Economic exploitation of natural and human resources serves *apartheid* in terms of increasing the wealth of the white minority, capitalizing on cheap African labour and attracting foreign investment to maintain racial supremacy. The instruments of these objectives are the Bantu Labour Regulations Act of 1911

(compelling Africans to accept employment), the Bantu Labour Act of 1953 (prohibiting strikes by Africans), the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 (prohibiting mixed trade unions) and the like.

Police terror is inseparable from *apartheid*. Among its instruments are the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (suppressing in fact all opposition), the Public Safety Act of 1953 (authorizing the government to declare emergency), the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 (penalizing political protest), the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 (permitting detention for 180 days without delay), the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (broadening the range of "sabotage") and the Terrorism Act of 1967 (defining "terrorism" very loosely).

The Africans, Coloureds and Asians are of course the major targets of *apartheid*. But the freedoms of the whites are also diminished. They are not free to choose an area of residence, to travel throughout South Africa and abroad, to read publications of their choice, to express opinions, to assemble as they wish, to marry a person of their choice or to enjoy a speedy trial. However, *apartheid* mainly rests on the shoulders of the Africans - and especially on the African workers.

#### **The African Worker:**

It should always be borne in mind that *apartheid* essentially exists to control African labour, which is the key to South Africa's economic development. Racism is, after all, the political institution of an economic mechanism of extracting huge profits from the labour of the black man. To this end, all black workers (African, Coloured and Asian) are denied political rights, but the latter two may establish trade unions. The African workers, on the other hand, have no political or trade union rights whatsoever.

Central to the exploitation of the African workers are the pass laws, first introduced in 1809 and consolidated through the Natives Act of 1952. The pass laws strip the African workers of any residential rights at all. 13% of the South African land has been "reserved" for 72% of the country's population. The African workers require permission to work, to travel and to stay

in urban areas more than three days. The government may remove from the urban areas those it regards as "superfluous appendages" (that is, women, children and the aged) as well as the "undesirable Bantu", convicted of certain crimes. The latter power was utilized against a number of dockworkers who struck in 1969.

The pass laws also curtail the freedom to organize. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, amended in 1956, denied the Africans the right to form legally-recognized trade unions. The Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 made strikes by Africans a criminal offence. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was used to strip the Africans of many fine activists. The so-called "concessions" (following the massive strikes in Durban in 1972-73) of the Bantu Labour Relations Act of 1973 gives the Africans the "right" to strike, but brings along so many procedures that it is virtually impossible to make a legal strike.

And in dealing with workers, the South African Government does not rely on laws only. The African workers are subjected to police brutality. During the Bombata Rebellion in 1906, which followed the hanging of 12 Africans, 3-4,000 Africans were shot dead. Many more killings took place between this event and the death of about 1,000 during the Soweto and Cape Town uprisings in 1976.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which struggles for open trade unions for the blacks, has always emphasized the taking up of political and economic issues together. The Preamble of the SACTU Constitution states that the future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of its workers and that a united trade union movement is needed, open to the Europeans and the non-Europeans.

International trade union action to support the black workers in South Africa has been an important aspect of the campaign against *apartheid*. In 1973 and in 1977, some two-hundred trade unions representing hundreds of millions of workers all over the world agreed on a program of action. South Africa's approach to trade unionism has naturally "changed" under the pressure of such developments. But the modification only marks

another phase of racial domination, through the scheme of accepting a few select blacks. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, chaired by Prof. Nicholas Wiehahn, is not "revolutionary", as the Western press labeled it to be. Careful consideration shows that it is a new effort to control the black trade union movement, by providing the means to co-opt the small skilled minority of the blacks while tightening the restrictions on most Africans.

Health problems of the African worker have reached an acute stage. The report by the World Health Organization on "*Apartheid and Mental Health Care*" is a shocking indictment of *apartheid*. In 1976, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* received reports about the so-called mental institutions. WHO undertook a full inquiry into relevant legislation and its implementation. The study reveals the inhumanity of the régime, which refuses to treat the African as a human being. Mental ill health is mainly on account of the migrant labour system. Several members of black families, forced to live in ethnic "homelands", are denied the fulfillment provided by the presence of the father and the husband, restricted to urban hostels, where they are driven to alcoholism and illicit sex.

At a conference especially devoted to the problem of *apartheid* and health, held in London on February, 3, 1979, Dr. A. Jablensky, a Senior Medical Officer of WHO, underlined that the existence of discriminatory practices in the provision and organization of health care was a violation of the fundamental principles underlying the Constitution of WHO, that *apartheid* was a threat to the principle of universality and indivisibility of world health and that the same was the root cause of health problems among blacks. Anne Fullerton from the University of Michigan stated in the same conference that when the young surgeon Dr. Christian Barnard had just completed the first successful human heart transplant at Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town in 1967, a white man, critically injured on Umlazi Bridge near Durban, died because the first ambulance sent to his aid was for non-whites.

This system, which metes out an inferior status to blacks, is also responsible for the low life expectancy and the high incidence of diseases that the Africans experience. Malnutrition

assumes serious proportions amongst blacks. Malnutrition is of course due to poverty, and there is poverty for the blacks - in the wealthiest country in Africa. Communicable diseases are prevalent among the underprivileged blacks. For instance, more black children die from measles in South Africa in three days than in the United States in one year.

### **Police Brutality:**

Violence by the Government of South Africa is a permanent and necessary feature of *apartheid*. Brute force necessarily extends beyond its borders, and such vehemence can only be eliminated by the total dismantling of the *apartheid* system and its replacement by a new, non-racial democratic society. The racist régime of Pretoria continues repressions, arrests, massacres and executions of the patriots and the population of South Africa and Namibia and commits acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent states, creating a constant state of tension and threat to peace in Africa and all over the world.

The brutal massacre in 1960 at Sharpeville, of unarmed Africans demonstrating against the oppressive pass laws had shaken the conscience of mankind. And the Soweto massacre aroused, later in 1976, the horror of the entire world. The Special Committee against *Apartheid* launched a solemn appeal to all governments and organizations to observe the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1977, to express full solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

The freedom of patriots involved in political activity directed against the injustices of *apartheid* is restricted in terms of four main "security" laws: the Internal Security Act of 1976 (recodified from the Suppression of Communism Act and outlawing activity directed against the "security" of the state), the Unlawful Organization Act of 1960 (according to which the African National Congress and other organizations are proscribed), the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (which brings a minimum sentence of five years for those convicted of an act of damage or obstruction in a political sense) and the Terrorism Act of 1967 (which in fact outlaws all acts in favour of political

and social change). It is presumed that, under these Acts, there are several hundred political prisoners, an overwhelming majority of whom are black males held on Robben Island while black females are in Kroonstad Prison and white males in Pretoria Local.

Since the 1976 uprising, many youngsters were killed for participation in demonstrations. Within a year's time, more than 20,000 were prosecuted and more than 13,000 convicted for offences such as "inciting racial unrest" or unlawful assembly. Those thousands of offenders are *de facto* political prisoners although they are not officially classified as such. The freedom of individuals subjected to banning, banishment or house arrest is restricted on political grounds but without legal process. Such restrictions are carried out usually of two-to-five years duration, and some orders are renewed.

Indefinite *incommunicado* detention involves intensive interrogation, accompanied by torture and solitary confinement. Detainees risk injury and death. Although the terms of detention appear in Section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967, persons may also be detained for 14 days under the General Laws Amendment Act or (as potential witnesses) under the Criminal Procedure Act or Internal Security Act. But since 1976, people may be held for up to 12 months in jail, even if not suspected of any crime under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act.

Detentions and interrogations frequently end in death. Among many victims was Steve Bantu Biko, Honorary President of the Black People's Convention and founder of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, who died in police detention in Pretoria on 12 September 1977. Apart from hundreds sentenced to several years, there are political prisoners serving life sentences. Nelson Mandela among them, who had joined the ANC in 1964 and became the leader of *Umkonto we Sizwe*, the military wing of the ANC, made the following statement at the trial:

"During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society. . . It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."



The South African Defence Force and the South African Police are instruments of brutal oppression. The *apartheid* régime increasingly needs to conscript all young white males for ever-increasing periods of service. Hence, many young South Africans are refusing to take arms in support of the racist régime. Some of them attempt to escape and search for political asylum. Those who remain are arrested and convicted, under Section 126A of the Defence Act, for a maximum of two years (or a R2,000 fine). Those objectors, having served the sentence, are once again conscripted, and the ones who stand by their principles face what amounts in practice to a life sentence.

The U.N. General Assembly, noting with grave concern the escalating repression in South Africa, including indiscriminate killings of peaceful demonstrators, arbitrary detentions, torture and killing of detainees and the institution of numerous trials under arbitrary laws providing for death sentences, took a resolution on January 24, 1979, in which it demanded that the racist régime end violence against the black people and opponents of *apartheid*, release all persons imprisoned or restricted under arbitrary laws and abrogate the bans on organizations.

#### **Threat to Peace:**

It was solemnly declared at Nuremberg after the Second World War that racism constituted a crime against humanity. *Apartheid* is equally a crime and constitutes a threat to world peace. The system of white domination has created an explosive situation which may set aflame many adjacent areas. South Africa's rapid militarization presents a grave threat to peace. Its invasion of Angola and attacks at Zambia are breaches of the peace and an act of aggression, within Article 39 of the U.N. Charter. More importantly, South Africa possesses nuclear bombs as well as the means of delivery. It continues to occupy Namibia illegally, defying U.N. authority. In short, South Africa presents a great threat to world peace and security.

Only a few months ago, on 22 September 1979, an Israeli nuclear test was carried out, in the Atlantic south of the Cape of Good Hope, in cooperation with South Africa. The collaboration in nuclear research between the two racist régimes can be explained by the fact that neither is in a position to manufacture

nuclear weapons independently. Israel has the skilled personnel and technology, but lacks the raw material. South Africa is rich in the latter. The world is following this cooperation with growing anxiety, because development of nuclear potential by racists is a danger not only to African states. Atomic weapons in the hands of racist governments have grave consequences for world peace and security. To bar South Africa from creating nuclear bombs is the urgent task of all states. There must be an urgent international campaign to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa by prohibiting transfer of technology, supply of military equipment, involvement in arms manufacture and nuclear collaboration.

#### **The Role of the TNC:**

The Western Powers (led by the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan, assisted by Israel) do not conceal that their policies and those of the transnational corporations (TNC) are not directed to the destruction of the *apartheid* state. They are primarily concerned in preserving the *status quo*. They refuse to implement economic, social and sporting sanctions, and they make use of their veto privilege to impede Security Council action. Not only they have trading links with South Africa, but they assist in the military and nuclear build-up of that state.

For over a century, foreign capital investment has played a prominent role in creating and maintaining the institution of *apartheid* and cheap labour. Today, about two-thousand TNC operate in South Africa with a \$ 15 billion estimated capital. And a hundred years after the discovery of the first diamonds at Kimberley, mining, in which foreign and domestic capital uses cheap black labour, still occupies a crucial role in the South African economy and in the survival of *apartheid*.

The role of South Africa's links with the TNC is drawing the attention of the researchers more and more. The South African state is now the largest investor in the country. Its investments are financed by international capital, involved in the fascist-type economic reorganization, to help the régime withstand external pressures and also to convert South Africa into a base for their operations.

The TNC provide financial support in three ways: direct investment, short-term credits and term lending to South African bodies. The ability of South Africa to withstand sanctions derives largely from the comfort it receives from the same TNC. These facts expose not only the links between the TNC and South Africa, but also the dependence of Western governments on the TNC.

These corporations play a crucial role in strengthening the military capability of the South African régime. Thanks to them, South Africa has now reached the capacity to produce 75% of its own requirements. In addition, the TNC sell to South Africa the 25% of the military machinery which the domestic industry cannot produce.

Transnational investments increased beginning with the 1960's, following the Sharpeville massacre. The ARMSCOR Company, set up in 1969, has started domestic military production. The South African Government began to manufacture small arms, napalm bombs, guided missiles, aircraft and ammunition. Now, the South African military-industrial complex consists of several para-state corporations such as the ARMSCOR (military), ESCOM (electricity and nuclear), ISCOR (iron and steel), IDC (state development corporation), SASOL (oil from coal), NATREF (state oil refinery), SAH and RR (harbours and railways) and SENTRACHEM (chemicals) as well as private firms.

The transnationals sold licences to local firms for the production of military equipment. For example, South Africa started to build the F-1 Mirage fighter planes under license from Dassault (French). After the U.N. Security Council decision in 1977 to impose the mandatory arms embargo, South Africa announced that it would take over the TNC which refuse to provide the racist régime with strategic materials.

The Anglo-American, South Africa's most powerful corporation, has itself become a transnational. It has close links with other international corporations. American-based TNC have also expanded their investments. In addition, considerable investment is made through companies based in other countries in which U.S. firms hold important shares. Transnationals of the

Federal Republic of Germany have increased the manufacturing investments since the late 1960's. Some Japanese firms invest through U.S. firms.

The decision of the Iranian Government, on the other hand, to cut off oil supplies to South Africa is an important new development. South Africa had been extremely dependent on Iranian oil. The final shipment of Iranian oil left Gulf terminals on 28 December 1978, because strikes against the Shah's rule had brought oil production to a halt. But even when Iran resumed oil exports on 5 February 1979, no direct sales have been made to South Africa. Hence, there is now no OPEC country which openly sells oil to the racist régime.

There are five international oil companies marketing about 85% of South Africa's oil: Shell (British-Dutch), BP (British), Mobil (American), Caltex (American) and Total (French). These companies are playing a crucial role in helping the racist régime to defy the OPEC embargo. Martin Bailey, the British writer who has done extensive research on the economics of Southern Africa and has co-authored a study on oil sanctions against South Africa, has inquired from where the racist régime is obtaining its oil. The only country known openly as selling crude oil to South Africa is Brunei, which is domestically self-governing, the United Kingdom being responsible for its external affairs. South Africa apparently obtains its requirements from the "spot" market, the main center of which is Rotterdam (Netherlands). South Africa, then, faces two problems: to obtain oil and to purchase it at a reasonable cost. That country is paying an extra cost of about \$ 12 a barrel over the OPEC price. The doubling of oil import costs will have a serious impact on the South African economy. The international community should take advantage on the opportunity to bring renewed pressure on South Africa. For instance, the Nigerian Government announced in the middle of 1979 that it will take retaliatory action against any oil tanker "in contact" with South Africa.

An important point that needs to be mentioned here is that the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) are seeking to frustrate effective international action against the *apartheid* régime. The investigations of an international conference

on the EEC and *apartheid*, organized in Dublin on 27–28 January 1979 by the Irish Anti-*apartheid* movement, showed that the EEC countries provided 43% of South Africa's total imports, that they buy 39% of South Africa's total exports, that 57% of South Africa's foreign liabilities are to the EEC, that the EEC countries account for 64% of direct foreign investment in South Africa, that the EEC-based transnational corporations were actively involved in the militarization of South Africa, that the EEC-based banking corporations provided South Africa with huge loans and that the EEC nationals continue to commit the crime of mercenarism by enlisting for gain in the armed forces of South Africa. No EEC member has ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, adopted in 1973. And the two EEC member states with the "veto" have used it to block effective action by the U.N. Security Council against the racist régime.

#### **End Loans to South Africa:**

In resolution 33/183H of 24 January 1979, the U.N. General Assembly called for an end to all financial loans to and new investments in South Africa. The press conference of Leslie O. Harriman (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* on 2 April 1979, announced the release of a very important report on *Bank Loans to South Africa: 1972–1978*, which is a complete and well-documented evidence of the continued economic collaboration of certain banks with the racist régime in contemptuous defiance of the international community and of the United Nations. The results of this report are shocking. At a time when the international community has repeatedly condemned economic collaboration with South Africa, more than \$ 5.4 billion has been loaned by 382 banks in six years to a régime responsible for some of the most heinous crimes ever committed against humanity.

The report cited above indicates that the financial institutions of five countries (the U.S., the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Switzerland) are responsible for a large portion of those loans. However, the figures quoted do not reveal the full extent of the complicity. If trade financing through the Export-Import of the U.S. and loans

previously cited in the *United States Bank Loans to South Africa* (1978) are added, the total loaned through the institutions in the U.S. reaches \$ 2,810.4 million. These facts contrast sharply with the recent publicity by some of the same financial institutions that they no longer loan money to South Africa.

For several years now, various action groups have been seeking ways to put an end to enormous amounts of money lent to the *apartheid* system. The campaign began in 1973 with the publication of the "Frankfurt Documents", listing loans by European American Banking Corporations (EABC). Since then, information on such loans grew. In the U.S., the information campaign was led by the American Committee on Africa (AC-OA), in England by the "End Loans to South Africa", in Netherlands by Group "Prepaid Reply" - all supported by the World Council of Churches (WCC), which withdrew all shares and accounts it held in the six banks involved in the loans. With the second stage of the campaign, which began in late 1976, the Action Committee on South Africa (AKZA), the Justice and Peace Commission in Belgium, the Solidarity Committee on Africa, Asia and Latin America (SKAAL) in Switzerland, the Campaign Outspan in France and the Institute for Study on South Africa (ISSA) in the Federal Republic of Germany have produced information on banking lists. Later in the U.S., the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBESA) was formed. Several organizations have also activated their responsibilities as share-holders to urge banks to stop loans to the South African Government.

Persistent publicity and share-holder action irritate the banks, forcing some to make statements that they will no longer lend to South Africa. However, share-holder action has not been successful in countries like France where banks are largely government-owned. But in such cases, the trade unions may be strongly behind the campaign. For instance, the "Confédération française démocratique du travail" (CFDT) called on workers to take direct action in the French state-owned banks, unless assurances were forthcoming to end bank loans to South Africa.

In short, the campaigns to end loans have been considerable but inadequate. The biggest American banks have been put on the defensive by this campaign. But no major bank in interna-

tional transactions has yet announced a policy of no loans to South Africa. Chemical Bank, which has the only branch at the U.N. Headquarters, is one of them. It must be the target of bank campaign to the extent of its financing *apartheid* through trade and correspondent deposits. A world-wide campaign against Barclays and Standard Charter (as the two largest banks in southern Africa) ought to be carried out.

The Swedish Government announced in early 1979 that it was introducing legislation in Parliament to prohibit expansion of Swedish investment in South Africa. The Foreign and Trade Ministers explained the new legislation at an International Symposium on "Strategies in the Struggle against *Apartheid*", organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in Stockholm on 13 March 1979. The purpose of the Swedish legislation is to increase the pressure on the racial régime of South Africa. Its economic effects are, doubtless, limited. But it has political and psychological effects. Such initiatives are not only ways to underline one's solidarity with those who struggle against *apartheid*, but will also inspire others to re-examine their commercial relations with South Africa.

#### **Boycott Apartheid Sport:**

The practice of racial sports in South Africa is another field with which the world public is acquainting itself. Black sportsmen and administrators defy state policy and try to bring non-racialism to South African sportsfields. The official policy in sports is to force the races apart. But some blacks are taken to the olympics for window dressing. And some governments, like the British, are initiating a massive campaign to prevent athletes from participating in the Moscow Olympic Games, although there is no international agreement on that issue. But on sporting links with South Africa, where there is international declaration for boycotting *apartheid* sport, the same are extremely lenient towards South Africa, which still insists on retaining its troops in Namibia despite United Nations resolutions demanding their withdrawal and the decision of the International Court of Justice that South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia.

The South African authorities have recently announced certain "changes". However, they are verbal or procedural, devoid of the real content. For instance, the word "permit" is replaced by the more acceptable words "consultation" and "cooperation". But word substitution falls far short of deceiving world public opinion that "permits" are no longer needed to participate in sports. Non-racialism in sport means the total rejection of any restriction on membership in any organization or club of any person on the basis of race. Every member of such an organization or club should be free to participate in all activities and to utilize all facilities, without any permission or "consultation" on account of one's race. And no spectator should be refused admission to public facilities at any sports event. The above-mentioned are not possible in racist South Africa.

#### **In Lieu of Suggestions:**

The burning question on our agenda is the final liquidation of *apartheid*. We join in the calls upon states, which have not yet done so, to accede to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. The racist régime will not voluntarily agree to the liquidation of this disgraceful system. The high-ranking officials of the South African Government have been saying recently that the obscene features of *apartheid* (such as the denial of the rights to eat in certain restaurants or to sit in parks) have been eliminated. But such measures do not change the *apartheid* philosophy. The blacks want their chains to be removed, not made more comfortable. There is no change in South Africa to slow down our struggle against racism and racial discrimination. We condemn the racist program of bantustanization and all schemes to divide the black majority. Only the total elimination of the colonial and *apartheid* régimes, through the final victory of the liberation forces, will bring freedom and peace to South Africa and Namibia.

We reiterate the importance of the mandatory arms embargo imposed on South Africa by the U.N. Security Council resolution 418 (1977). It indeed represents a historic milestone in the evolution of international policy regarding South Africa. But it is necessarily weak to secure the votes of the Western per-



manent members of this U.N. body, and their implementation is half-hearted. The terms of the embargo ought to be expanded to cover the exchange of nuclear and military information and cooperation.

We are conscious of the need for more campaigns to isolate the racist régime. A special duty rests on the organizations and movements which explain the nature of the racist tyranny in South Africa. It is common knowledge that a number of Western countries maintain political, diplomatic, military, economic, nuclear and other forms of collaboration with the Pretoria régime. The attempts by the reactionary governments in Latin America to have closer links with the *apartheid* régime must also be combatted. There are countries which shudder publicly at the loss of black lives, but privately finance *apartheid*.

It follows logically that campaigns ought to be launched against key transnational corporations which assist South Africa. They are the following: *in nuclear engineering electronics* - IBM, ICL, General Electric, Siemens, Steag, Sulzer Brothers, Creusot-Loire, Rio Tinto Zinc and Spie-Batignolles; *in oil* - BP, Caltex, Mobil, Shell; *in oil-from-coal projects* - L'Air Liquide, Fluor, Linde, Metall-Gesellschaft, Raytheon; *in automobile industry* - General Motors, Leyland, Volkswagen; *in steel industry* - British Steel Corporation, Klockner, Koor, U.S. Steel; *in chemical industry* - Bayer, Ciba-Gelgy, Hoffmann-La Roche, Hoechst, ICI; and *in banking and finance* - Barclays, Citicorp, Crédit Suisse, la Compagnie financière de Suez, Deutsche Bank, Société Générale de Belgique, Standard Bank, Swiss Bank Corporation, Union Bank of Switzerland.

The European Economic Community must be compelled to declare that the South African régime is illegitimate, to close the South African mission to the EEC (severing all links between the EEC and South Africa and terminating all agreements), to end all economic and financial collaboration with South Africa (including measures to stop the transfer of capital and loans to South Africa), to terminate all forms of military and nuclear collaboration (including an end to all Euratom links with South Africa, the expulsion of South African military attachés from EEC capitals and an embargo on all strategic commodities), to

recognize the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and to provide concrete material assistance to it.

We learn with regret the recent long-term contract concluded between the Belgian company "Synatom" and the South African Harmony Gold Mining Company concerning the supply of 2,000 tons of uranium to the Belgian firm between 1980 and 1991. Together with the contract a loan has been granted by the Belgian company to the South African one so as to help it develop its production capacities. "Ducroize", a public body in which four Belgian ministerial departments are represented (including the Departments of Foreign and Economic Affairs), has granted a guarantee covering risks of this transaction. Since such a guarantee represents political support of the *apartheid* régime, one wishes that the Belgian Government reconsider this official guarantee.

The U.N. must lose no time in taking action to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and calling on South Africa and Israel to strictly observe the relevant U.N. decisions. Organizations and experts should launch campaigns and seminars for an effective oil embargo against South Africa. The campaign to end the flow of finance to South Africa should include the drive to expel that régime from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade as well as to terminate IMF credits to South Africa. One should also bear in mind in this connection that if the price of gold continues to increase in the future, gold sales may free South Africa of its dependence on foreign investment.

We stress the need to provide all assistance to the South African black patriots. We pay homage to the heroic sacrifices of the people who face most brutal repression in their struggle to achieve a new society based on equality, freedom and respect for human dignity. We demand the release of all the leaders of South Africa from detention and imprisonment. We appeal for contributions to the Trust Fund and to the voluntary agencies concerned, to provide legal assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation. One expects the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) to break its silence to safeguarding the health of the whole community,

including that of the blacks. Programs should be devised to assist the black children of South Africa beyond the International Year of the Child (1979).

On 26 July 1977, the City of Reggio Emilia in Italy signed a "Pact of Solidarity" with the African National Congress. The City undertook mobilization of public opinion and assistance to the liberation movement, in support of non-racial society in South Africa. This act is an example which deserves to be commended to all cities in the world.

It only follows that the attempts to treat South Africa as a party to the negotiations concerning the future of the Namibian people must be rejected. SWAPO is the authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

We reiterate our strong condemnation of all countries and international organizations that still maintain sporting links with South Africa. We support the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), which is committed to the ideology of non-racial sport society and appeal to the world for a total and complete severing of sport links with South Africa. Many international sports federations will be holding elections in the Summer of 1980. Collaborators of *apartheid* sport should not be supported in any candidacy at international sports congresses. There should be a boycott list of all those who compete in South Africa. That country ought to be expelled from the various international sports federations, such as fencing, gymnastics, hockey, rowing and shooting. The work on the drafting of an International Convention Against *Apartheid* in Sports should be completed in 1980.

In short, we believe that peace, freedom and progress can be achieved in South Africa only if the system of institutionalized racial discrimination and oppression is replaced by a democratic state.