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18 June 1985

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN
UNDER APARTHEID, ARUSHA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA,
7-10 MAY 1985

(Issued in accordance with the decision taken by the
Working Group of the Special Committee against
Apartheid held on Friday, 7 June 1985)

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INTRODUCTION

1. The International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid was organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Organization of African Unity. It was held from 7 to 10 May 1985 at the International Conference Centre in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania.
2. The Conference was intended to publicize the plight of women and children under apartheid, promote moral and material assistance to them in their struggle for liberation and contribute to the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held in Nairobi from 15 to 26 July 1985. The Declaration of the International Conference was transmitted to the World Conference for its consideration.

I. ATTENDANCE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

3. Participants in the Conference included representatives of Governments, United Nations bodies and agencies, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and southern African liberation movements, as well as a number of individual experts and invitees.

4. The Conference elected by acclamation the following officers:

President: Hon. Anna Abdalla (M.P.) Regional Commissioner, Dodoma,
Leader of delegation of United Republic of the United
Republic of Tanzania

Vice-Presidents: H.E. Mr. R. G. Soegantyo Koesoemodigdo, Ambassador of
Indonesia to the United Republic of Tanzania

Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Secretary-General, Committee
against Colonialism and Apartheid, Brussels

Ms. Elena Perez Narbona, Member of National Secretariat,
Federation of Cuban Women, Havana

Ms. Lajosnee Duschek, President, National Council of
Hungarian Women, Budapest

Ms. Sania Andrea Metzger, Co-Chairperson, Women for Racial
and Economic Equality (WREE), United States of America

Rapporteurs: Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan), Chairman, Task Force on
Women and Children under Apartheid

Mr. Tamás Hegyi, representative of Hungary on the Special
Committee

5. The agenda of the Conference was as follows:

1. Review of the situation in southern Africa, with particular reference to the plight of women and children in South Africa and Namibia and their contribution to the struggle for national liberation.
2. Review of international action in support of oppressed women and children in South Africa and Namibia, especially since the International Conference on Women and Apartheid (Brussels, May 1982).
3. Action to promote greater moral and material assistance to the oppressed women of South Africa and Namibia, and the national liberation movements of South Africa, with particular reference to dissemination of information, political action and financial and material assistance.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A. Opening session

6. The International Conference was opened by H.E. Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal), Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee and leader of the delegation to the Conference (see annex III).

7. The Chief Minister of Zanzibar, H.E. Mr. Ndugu Seif Shariff Hamad, delivered the key statement on behalf of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (see annex II).

8. Mr. Vladimir Bruz, representative of the Secretary-General, read out a message from H.E. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations (see annex I).

9. Mr. Luis Echeverría, former President of Mexico, also made a statement.

B. Summary of discussion

10. During its deliberations, the Conference heard more than 40 statements by representatives of Governments, international and national non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations and United Nations specialized agencies and national liberation movements.

11. All participants in the discussion emphasized the timeliness of the International Conference in view of the forthcoming World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. They pointed out that the results of the Conference could provide a useful basis for discussions during the consideration of the relevant agenda items of the World Conference. They stressed the fact that it was necessary to ensure that the International Decade for Women did not end without careful attention being paid to the condition of women and children in South Africa and without a firm commitment of material support for the liberation movements.

12. Most of the participants compared the apartheid system with fascism under which human beings were categorized, inter alia, according to the colour of their skin and to their race. In that connection they pointed out that the Conference was taking place at a time when people all over the world were celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism. In view of the bitter historical experience, the reports on the situation in South Africa were particularly unbearable. The Conference expressed its firm belief that the apartheid régime, which pursued a policy similar to Hitler's nazism, was doomed to failure just as mankind destroyed fascism.

13. Participants expressed grave concern over the plight of black women and children in South Africa and Namibia who suffered discrimination and oppression on grounds of race, class and sex. They pointed out that since the Brussels Conference on Women and Apartheid held from 7 to 19 May 1982, the situation of the black women in South Africa had not only failed to improve but had deteriorated sharply. Never in the history of apartheid had the women been so dehumanized, harassed and impoverished as at present. The migrant labour system and its resultant break-up of families was one of the evils of the apartheid system imposed upon Africans in South Africa by the hated racist régime. Men were torn away from their families to go and work in the mines and industries and to provide essential services for the cities. Their wives were not allowed to join them but were left on the barren pieces of land to eke out what existence they could. It was a well known fact that those areas, inhabited by the old, the sick, the disabled, women and children, were South Africa's worst deathbeds. Women watched helplessly as their children died of malnutrition, kwashiorkor and other deficiency diseases.

14. Many of the participants expressed grave concern over the fact that Pretoria's terrorist activities reached beyond the limits of South Africa. Bands formed and armed by the régime continued to commit atrocities on the soil of Angola and Mozambique; crude pressure was being brought to bear on other front-line States for the purpose of destabilizing the situation in the independent African States. Namibia was still illegally occupied and the Pretoria régime still refused to comply with the decisions of the United Nations and other international fora calling for immediate and unconditional independence for that country.

15. Participants condemned the collaboration of Western and other countries with South Africa. Some of them stressed the increasing collaboration of the apartheid régime in South Africa and Israel in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and military fields. Particular attention was drawn to Israel's contribution to the nuclearization of South Africa. It was stressed that the collaboration impeded the eradication of apartheid and constituted a serious threat to peace and security in Africa and the whole world.

16. Conference participants called on all democratic forces to redouble their efforts to eradicate the inhuman system of apartheid. Internationally, democratic forces continued to deplore and condemn the inhuman system of apartheid colonialism in South Africa and the illegal colonial occupation of Namibia. The people of North America were hitting at the racist régime in their demonstrations around the racist diplomatic and trade offices. They were calling for disinvestment from South Africa and condemning the United States policy of constructive engagement.

17. The Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), H.E. Mr. Hashim M'bita, said that the elimination of apartheid was a preoccupation and priority item on the agenda of the Liberation Committee which constantly and regularly reviewed the developments inside apartheid South Africa and Namibia. Recently the Committee adopted strong resolutions and a comprehensive programme of action. In these documents the Committee stressed the need for an immediate eradication of apartheid. The Committee once again reaffirmed its support for the legitimacy of the armed liberation struggle and all other forms of resistance. He concluded that the international community could not afford at these anxious moments to stand on the fence and watch. This was the time of active solidarity and support for the immediate destruction of that inhuman political system of apartheid.

18. The representative of India, speaking on behalf of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries pointed out that the non-aligned countries believed that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions universally applied would prove a most effective means to assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

19. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania said women had a fundamental role to play in the struggle for peace and human justice, as reflected and outlined in the World Plan of Action drawn up in 1975 which declared the issue of development, peace and equality as the major concern of the Decade for Women. The critical question the Conference needed to address was the question of liberation of South Africa, with special emphasis on the plight of women and children under apartheid. To date, what had been lacking was not an action programme but how to carry out that programme. Ways needed to be found to implement resolutions of the United Nations, OAU, the front-line States and other bodies in order to come up with tangible results. The United Republic of Tanzania on its part had always been vocal in condemning the apartheid system of South Africa. It continued to provide political and moral support to the liberation movements, including granting asylum, educational and other facilities to women and children refugees.

20. The Chairman of the Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid of the Special Committee introduced as the main document of the Conference the report of the mission of the Special Committee to Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania which was organized prior to the Conference with the purpose of assessing the assistance needs of women and children refugees. 1/

20a. The representatives of the liberation movements stressed the urgent and critical need for assistance to the black women of South Africa and Namibia in both the struggle for national liberation as well as in training and assistance to enable them after liberation to play active roles in the reconstruction of their countries. They traced the long history of the anti-colonial struggle of the people of southern Africa (see annexes IV and V).

21. All participants called for concrete action in solidarity with the oppressed women and children of South Africa and Namibia. They called on all States, specialized agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to provide and increase all possible political, humanitarian, educational, financial

and other necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements in their legitimate struggle. In this connection they appealed to the international community to strengthen the ongoing isolation of the apartheid régime in the military, economic, political and diplomatic fields and to promote the imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions; to pressure the transnational corporations to withdraw their investments from South Africa; to intensify the struggle for the unconditional release of all political prisoners; to organize mass educational and information campaigns to expose the evils of apartheid and their effects on women and children; to initiate concrete solidarity campaigns to render material support to the victims of apartheid repression in South Africa and Namibia; and to mobilize women, youth and students internationally to support the people of the front-line States and the liberation movements recognized by OAU.

22. Participants noted with satisfaction the efforts of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and the Special Committee against Apartheid to promote concerted international action to eliminate the scourge of apartheid and racial discrimination.

23. Participants expressed gratitude and appreciation to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for the facilities they had provided for the Conference as well as for the generous hospitality with which they had welcomed the participants.

C. Concluding session

24. At the concluding session on 9 May 1985, the International Conference unanimously adopted a declaration.

25. Statements at the meeting were made by the leader of the delegation of the Special Committee and several representatives of Governments and non-governmental organizations expressing great appreciation to the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania for hosting the important Conference.

26. The President of the Conference made a concluding statement.

III. DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

27. The following is the text of the Declaration of the International Conference:

"1. The International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid, organized by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, met at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 7 to 10 May 1985.

"2. The holding of the Conference coincided with the sharp escalation of the multi-faceted struggle, including armed struggle, of the people of southern Africa for their liberation, characterized by the mass upsurge in the urban

and rural areas of South Africa; the heroic armed struggle of the South West Africa People's Organization against the illegal occupation of Namibia; the unionization and courageous struggle of the black workers with the support of the oppressed masses; the continuing and growing movement of the women and youth, combined with the political-military resistance of all sections of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

"3. The Conference also coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism. Noting that the ruling Nationalist Party identified itself with Hitler's nazism, the Conference expressed its firm belief that the apartheid régime, which pursues a policy similar to Hitler's nazism, is doomed to failure just as the Hitler régime was destroyed by mankind.

"4. The participants included United Nations bodies, Governments, the southern African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the South West Africa People's Organization), representatives of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals.

"5. The Conference considered the plight of women and children in South Africa and Namibia and their struggle for national liberation; measures to promote all necessary international assistance to them; and action to demonstrate solidarity with them in their legitimate struggle.

"6. The Conference reiterated that apartheid is a crime against humanity and an intolerable affront to the conscience of mankind.

"7. The Conference commended the peoples of South Africa and Namibia on the heroic resistance they have consistently demonstrated in the face of great odds.

"8. The Conference condemned the continuing massacres, killings and other atrocities against the oppressed people of South Africa perpetrated by the racist régime at Sharpeville, Soweto, Sebokeng, Langa and other townships in South Africa, including the killings in recent weeks of residents of Crossroads who were demonstrating against plans for their forced removal. It further condemned the forced removals which have driven millions of people - the majority of them women and children - off their ancestral lands and dispossessed them, as well as deprived them of their South African nationality.

"9. The Conference rejected the manoeuvres of the racist régime which was conducting a sustained and well-orchestrated campaign to create the illusion that it was introducing change and reform in South Africa. The so-called "new constitution" rejected as null and void by the General Assembly and the Security Council, is aimed at dividing the oppressed people of South Africa and entrenching apartheid. The massive opposition by the so-called Coloured and people of Asian origin to the creation of separate parliaments under this "new constitution" is a clear reaffirmation of the traditional unity of the oppressed people of South Africa and a decisive rejection of the "new constitution".

"10. The Conference denounced the racist régime's attempts to divide the opposition and deflect external pressures by offering to release Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned African leaders, on the condition that they renounced violence as a means of opposing apartheid. In rejecting this deceitful offer, Nelson Mandela, who has spent 21 years in jail, pointed out that it was the régime itself which was responsible for the violence in the country. The Conference unanimously supported the stand of the imprisoned African leaders and hailed their courage.

"11. The Conference calls for all captured freedom fighters to be accorded prisoner-of-war status in accordance with the relevant Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Protocols thereto.

"12. The Conference also denounced the intention of the racist régime to set up a so-called black forum of hand-picked persons for the purpose of perpetuating apartheid.

"13. The Conference expressed deep concern at the militarization of South Africa, including its possession of nuclear capability which poses a serious threat to peace in the region and to international peace and security. The Conference reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of southern Africa and their liberation movements by all means, including armed struggle, for the elimination of apartheid declared as a crime against humanity. It also calls on the Security Council to consider further appropriate action against South Africa, including adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, in particular the oil embargo, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

"14. The Conference, recalling Security Council resolution 560 (1985), adopted on 12 March 1985, demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of so-called "high treason" charges against 16 members of the United Democratic Front and other opponents of apartheid in their struggle for self-determination and for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

"15. The Conference strongly condemned South Africa's continued occupation of southern Angola while insisting on the unacceptable pre-conditions of its linkage policy and denounced the latest scheme of the racist régime to form in Namibia a so-called "transitional government". The implementation of such schemes constitutes a flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) which, inter alia, reiterated the view that any unilateral measure taken by the illegal occupying régime in Namibia, in contravention of relevant Security Council resolutions, is null and void, and declared that no recognition will be accorded either by the United Nations or any Member State to any representative or organ established by that process.

"16. The Conference expressed its firm commitment to support the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and national independence, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative.

"17. The Conference commended the Organization of African Unity, in particular the front-line States, the Non-Aligned Movement, the League of Arab States and the Socialist countries for the assistance they have given and continue to give to the national liberation movements of southern Africa in order to prosecute their legitimate struggle. The Conference also commended national non-governmental organizations, national solidarity organizations, national women's organizations as well as many anti-apartheid movements for assisting national liberation movements and mobilizing public opinion in their respective countries, as well as the humanitarian assistance rendered to the victims of apartheid by the Scandinavian countries and other international organizations. The Conference also welcomed the growth of divestment campaigns in Western Europe and North America against those companies and institutions collaborating with South Africa.

"18. The Conference condemned the policies of "constructive engagement" and active collaboration with the apartheid régime pursued by the United States. The Conference also condemned some Western States and, in particular Israel, for their active collaboration with the racist régime, as it encouraged the régime to intensify repression against the people's legitimate struggles in South Africa and Namibia, commit aggression against neighbouring States and defy decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. It called on those States to abandon forthwith such policies and join in the concerted international campaign to eliminate apartheid.

"19. The Conference expressed its grave concern about the situation of women and children under the heinous system of apartheid. It condemned the Pretoria régime for subjecting the women and children of South Africa and Namibia to oppression and humiliation, including forced removals and separation of families and for killing, imprisoning, restricting and torturing women and children for opposing apartheid.

"20. The Conference condemned the cynical manipulation of "family planning" by the South African Government through its agent, the Family Planning Association of South Africa. The programme is nothing more than a population control programme directed against the black majority. The Conference called on all national Family Planning Associations and individuals to work for the expulsion of the South African Family Planning Association from the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

"21. The Conference was appalled by the fact that the majority of the refugee population in the neighbouring countries consists of women and children fleeing from the barbaric persecution of the apartheid system. It urged all countries committed to the noble cause of the struggle against apartheid to spare no effort in granting asylum, food, shelter, medical care, legal protection and guarantee of fundamental human rights, intensive counselling, education, training and employment to women and children from southern Africa in accordance with the report of the mission of the Special Committee against Apartheid to Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, undertaken from 3 to 16 April 1985.

"22. The Conference stressed the vital importance that the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held from 15 to 26 July 1985 at Nairobi, should focus special emphasis on women in South Africa and Namibia in the light of the themes of the Decade: Equality, Development and Peace.

"23. The Conference recognized the critical need to effectively assist women in South Africa and Namibia in the struggle for national liberation. It further calls on all Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their support and solidarity with the women and children of South Africa, Namibia and in front-line States, in particular to:

"(a) Give the widest possible dissemination of information about the situation of women and children in South Africa and their struggle for equality and justice;

"(b) Intensify and initiate national campaigns for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in South Africa;

"(c) Provide legal, political, humanitarian and other assistance to women and children who are victims of apartheid and their families in South Africa;

"(d) Hold regional and national meetings on the plight of women and children under apartheid;

"(e) Urge Governments to contribute, and/or increase their contributions, to the various funds established by the United Nations and by regional, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations that support the oppressed people of South Africa;

"(f) Provide financial assistance to women in the national liberation movements in South Africa to enable them to attend major international conferences and seminars and undertake speaking tours to further promote international solidarity with the oppressed women of South Africa;

"(g) Support the projects and activities of the southern African national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, particularly those involving women and children.

"24. The Conference commended the Special Committee against Apartheid for giving special attention to women and children under apartheid and for promoting co-ordinated and intensified action in solidarity with the struggle of women in South Africa and Namibia. It also noted with appreciation the programmes and activities of various United Nations agencies in support of women in South Africa and Namibia and called for more co-ordination between them in this regard.

"25. The Conference encouraged the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia to redouble their efforts to promote

publicity and assistance in close co-operation with the national liberation movements and front-line States. It appealed to all Governments and organizations (particularly women's organizations and organizations concerned with development) to lend their full co-operation to the Special Committee and the International Committee.

"26. The Conference hailed the women and children of South Africa and Namibia for their heroic struggle for liberation and pledged its full solidarity with them.

"27. The Conference also paid tribute to the front-line and neighbouring States for their unflinching support to and sacrifices in assisting the victims of apartheid including women and children."

Notes

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Annex I

MESSAGE FROM H.E. MR. JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR,
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

It is a pleasure for me to send my warm greetings to the International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid and my best wishes for its success.

The Conference is taking place against the background of a great upsurge in the struggle of South Africa's majority for its legitimate rights and for justice and equality for all the people of the country. Regrettably, this has been met with intensified violence and repression sparing neither women nor children. The condemnation by the international community of South Africa's actions was reflected in the resolution adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 12 March 1985.

Apartheid is a crime against humanity and its effects weigh most heavily on women and children. In addition to the oppression and humiliation which is the lot of all black people in South Africa, women and children are made to suffer the inequity and pain of forced deportations and separation of families.

The international community must redouble its efforts in the struggle against apartheid. The International Conference is an occasion to express our solidarity with all women and children under apartheid and to support their legitimate aspirations for freedom and human dignity. I trust that the Conference will adopt practical measures to assist the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia. Towards this end, I assure you of my full support.

Annex II

OPENING SPEECH BY H.E. MR. NDUGU SEIF SHARIFF HAMAD, CHIEF MINISTER
OF ZANZIBAR, MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CCM AND SECRETARY OF
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMY AND PLANNING

First of all, let me express my deep appreciation for the honour bestowed upon me to open this important Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid.

On behalf of Chama cha Mapinduzi, the Government, and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania, I welcome you to Arusha. Please feel at home among friends, brothers and sisters. And for those of you who will have time after the Conference, feel free to relax in the midst of animals in our national parks.

I am well aware that you had to overcome many difficulties, including transport snags from your homes, on your way here for this important assembly. But you have safely managed to overcome these hurdles to come here and present the case of our suffering mothers, sisters and children who are languishing under the notorious apartheid régime in South Africa.

That such an important conference is being held at Arusha is another testimony of the trust and confidence the international community has in the commitment of the people of this region to social and human justice and to the support given to those struggling to dismantle the evil system of apartheid.

This Conference is being held at a very crucial time when the struggle against apartheid is being intensified, both within apartheid South Africa and in countries which are friends and staunch allies of South Africa. All over the world where a society cherishes freedom and dignity, the apartheid system is condemned.

But it is worth noting that some friends of the régime who have of late refused to condone the apartheid system publicly have indirectly increased their support through economic collaboration. It is also unfortunate and very sad that some countries which were strong opponents of the apartheid régime now appear to have relaxed and have turned their backs against the struggling masses and instead they seem to be trying hard to find ingenious, but hideous ways to establish links with the apartheid régime.

It is indeed unfortunate that some Governments not only have failed to condemn apartheid, but have gone further to embrace this evil system.

We, in the United Republic of Tanzania, would like to reiterate our abhorrence of the evil apartheid system that runs against all civilized norms acceptable to the world today. We are very grateful that our country has been given the honour to host this Conference whose goals are very noble, for I have been informed that the purpose of this Conference is to address itself to the all-embracing and critical question of the liberation in South Africa, with special emphasis on the plight of women and children under apartheid.

Few examples would probably remind us of the irrationality of apartheid. First what is the basis of dividing society on the basis of race or colour of

skin? We all believe that one could have been born to any father or mother and in any country for that matter. All these are what we call accidents of history. No man or women had the supernatural powers to determine who was to be his father or mother. Similarly he could not decide the features or colours of his body.

These differences help to identify us from one another. Let us look around this conference hall. We have people of different features, colours and styles. The place is both colourful and romantic. Just imagine how the place would have looked like if all of us looked the same like goods coming out of a production-line. God forbid ...

I have no intention of preaching about the blessings bestowed upon us by the Creator. I was simply trying to briefly point out that there is no justification or rationale for one to insist on, or argue that a particular race or colour is supreme. A man or a woman must be judged by his/her deeds. Therefore, whoever practices racism or support those who cherish this horrible system must be outrightly condemned.

Africans in South Africa have officially been classified by the régime as a group of people not deserving a treatment worthy of a human being because they are black. To them black is evil. Women and children are subjected to acts of harassment and brutality. Torture and mass killings in their homes, in the streets or schools are the order of the day. The blacks in South Africa have no guarantee to life. What is right for a white mother or her child is not so for a black woman and her young one. The colour is the deciding factor. To be born black is condemnation.

The apartheid régime tries to find justification for exercising their inhuman oppression on the African majority. They have resorted to kill, to detain and to torture women and children who dare to protest, even through peaceful demonstrations against apartheid.

Women have been forced to stay away from their husbands while others have not been allowed to get married because their colour does not provide them with passing marks.

Despite numerous resolutions condemning apartheid at the United Nations and other world gatherings, the Pretoria régime has remained intransigent and continues to practise its abhorrent system of racial discrimination ruthlessly. Instead, it tries to justify its rotten behaviour by invoking sham principles of morality. These include pass laws, banning orders, marriage laws, Groups Areas Act, migrant labour and separate education system for blacks, Coloureds and whites, all of which are in contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Apartheid defies and negates all principles and norms of civilized society by denying the majority of its population not only equal rights, but ignoring their rights to live as full citizens in their country of birth. The question of apartheid has indeed become a matter of paramount concern for the entire international community because of its refusal to recognize the most elementary human rights and the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence, as well as for its permanent acts of aggression against destabilization of the independent neighbouring countries.

Sensing massive disapproval within South Africa, the result of which are numerous acts of uprising which have shaken the basis of their horrible system, the Pretoria régime has recently adopted new tactics to hoodwink the people within South Africa and the international community. These include the establishment of bantustans in which they impose their puppets to perpetuate the evils of apartheid.

In South Africa, education is provided on a racial basis in such a way as to make Africans inferior by denying them the basis of equal opportunities to develop their intellectual abilities so as to become useful members of the society. This has led to unrest in schools, involving mainly black pupils, in which police have resorted to the use of clubs and tear-gas and at times to turn the bullets against these harmless young boys and girls whose only crime is their demand for a better educational system.

The effects of racial education is an extremely high rate of black drop-outs, which may lead to the break-up of families. Some of these young boys and girls, unable to withstand these evils and for fear of their lives and those of their parents, have been forced to flee into other countries. The case of the school children of Soweto is a typical example. These evil conditions established by the Pretoria régime to maintain and advance white supremacy have also led to a high infant mortality rate, with almost half of the children dying before attaining the age of five.

In view of such inhuman practices, should we hesitate to condemn such a system when we know that it deserves outright and unequivocal condemnation? Should we be accused of being violent when we advocate armed struggle to eradicate a system which does not hesitate to turn its guns against innocent and harmless children?

This is not acceptable, and I hope your deliberations will come up with concrete proposals and recommendations geared towards implementing resolutions passed by the United Nations and other international forums against the diabolical system of apartheid. The women and children of South Africa have shown the desire and courage to reject the evils of racial discrimination. They have joined hands with their husbands and brothers to fight its eradication. But in order to accomplish this noble task they need both moral and material support of the civilized world.

Fortunately, this Conference is to address itself to the all embracing and critical question of the liberation of South Africa with special emphasis on the plight of women and children under apartheid.

You are aware that the burning issue of development of women and children has recently been given prominence by the international community. For instance, the United Nations has designated decade action programmes for the development of women and children respectively. This amply signifies the appreciation by the international community of the commendable and vital roles of women and children in our societies.

Under these decade action programmes concrete measures have been effected to enhance the development of women and children. In a number of countries, advisory commissions, extra-governmental institutions, women's organizations, trade unions and self-help groups have been established.

But that is not the case within South Africa, as far as black women and children are concerned. Instead, the Pretoria régime has gone to the extent of resorting to new tactics to suppress the mothers and their children.

Under conditions of the evil system of apartheid, black women and children have found themselves in a precarious situation.

But while we are concerned with the inhuman oppression of millions of women and children in South Africa and Namibia, we should also take the opportunity to examine the treatment we give to our women and children in our own countries and other parts of the world.

No doubt efforts have been made to abolish some old customs, traditions and attitudes of chauvinism which tend to place our sisters and the young girls as women and children first and nationals of their countries later.

We must strive to provide them with equal opportunities and act with ruthless efficiency to reject any move to suppress them. We must not, for instance, allow child labour which is unfortunately still prevalent in some of our countries despite official prohibitions. We must treat our nationals equally and fairly. At no time should one's sex or colour be the yardstick to assess his/her capability and commitment. Everyone should be judged by his/her acts. It is not good to raise an accusing finger to the racists in South Africa when we dare not strive to keep our houses in order.

Since you will have the opportunity to rub shoulders with Tanzanian women and children during your stay in Arusha, I earnestly appeal to you to make some observations on their condition, point out weaknesses in our society and suggest how best to improve the situation.

We must also be frank with those who support the racist régime. The fight to liberate women and children in South Africa and Namibia must be fought on all concerns and must take all dimensions - political, social and economical. For political rights must go parallel with economic ability. Neither of the two can work without the other.

We must not be tricked to accept the sham independence of the Bantustans, nor the so-called participation of the Coloureds and Indians in elections, nor the so-called relaxation of marriage laws in South Africa. These are just cosmetic changes which are aimed to safeguard the vicious interests of the white minority.

It is my sincere hope that your deliberations here will come out with concrete proposals and deliberations geared towards implementing resolutions by the United Nations and other international conferences against the diabolical system of apartheid. For what is lacking is not an action programme to combat apartheid, but a commitment and political will on the part of the world community.

The responsibility of eliminating apartheid belongs to all mankind. We in the United Republic of Tanzania are reasserting and rededicating ourselves to the common struggle. Apartheid has to be dismantled, either peacefully or through armed struggle.

While we count on the support and goodwill of all peace loving people the world over, African countries have the moral responsibility to be in the forefront as the vanguard against apartheid. Vigilance against apartheid should not lapse despite the current economic hardships confronting most African countries.

At the same time we should strive to increase support for women and children under apartheid to enable them to make their rightful contribution to the liberation struggle and more important to prepare them for the second phase of their struggle, that is national reconstruction.

Annex III

OPENING STATEMENT BY H.E. MR. UDDHAV DEO BHATT (NEPAL),
VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

I declare open the International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid. I would like to welcome H.E. Mr. Seif Shariff Hamad, and to express appreciation to the Government and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for hosting the Conference in this lovely city of Arusha. I would also like to welcome the distinguished participants from all parts of the world for coming to the Conference to make their contribution in the struggle against apartheid and specially as that abhorrent system affects women and children of South Africa and Namibia.

The Special Committee attaches great importance to the outcome of this Conference specially in light of the grave situation in South Africa.

Apartheid is a system of oppression and exploitation that is only sustained by sheer force, torture and terror. At this very minute while we convene our Conference the racist régime and its trigger-happy policemen are taking away the lives of defenceless men, women and children for simply raising their voices in opposition to apartheid. That is why it is all the more necessary that we raise our voices in unison to say to the régime that the international community cannot be kept indifferent, it cannot stand by and be an observer to your atrocities; your murder and oppression; your crimes against humanity and the evil nature of apartheid. That is why we have to say that three centuries of apartheid is enough, more than enough and that the international community has been patient enough because it wanted to overcome the past and create a glorious future, a future that is truly non-racial society in South Africa. But there is a limit to every confrontation. We are here to say that the international community has reached that limit. We are from Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America, Caribbean, Pacific and from all corners of the world - and we are saying "we have had enough".

In its efforts to deal with this monstrous system of apartheid the Special Committee has drawn particular attention to the plight of women and children under apartheid. It has organized conferences in a number of countries, sent missions to Governments, set up a special "Task Force" in the Committee on the problem, which very recently visited the front-line States and whose report has been circulated to all participants.

The racist régime must realize that the Special Committee with the full support of the international community cannot sit back and watch the women of South Africa and Namibia humiliated, separated from their husbands and children and manhandled in prison cells.

At the same time and again in unison we must hail the determination, courage and heroism of the women of South Africa and Namibia. We must also clearly recognize the sacrifice and solidarity of the front-line States. They shoulder the international responsibility that all nations committed themselves to, which is the elimination of apartheid.

We have entertained no illusions that the struggle for liberation in South Africa and Namibia will be easy. But there is no doubt that if the liberation movements and all Governments and organizations around the world redouble their efforts to the cause there will be a breakthrough sooner or later, more sooner than later.

The Special Committee has called for sanctions against South Africa as the only non-violent means of ending the inhuman policy of apartheid. But time and again we are told that sanctions will not work; sanctions cannot be applied. We say to those countries, "Sanctions have been applied and can be applied."

We should therefore spare no effort in putting pressure on these Governments because there can be no two views on apartheid. They cannot on the one hand, say that they are opposed to apartheid and the atrocities of the racist régime but yet refuse to take any action or initiative to end the atrocities and the monstrous system of apartheid.

It is the hope of the Special Committee that our deliberations in this Conference will be a success and that we will come out with even stronger determination to fight that evil system on all fronts.

Before concluding I would like once again to thank the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Director of the Arusha International Conference Centre and his staff for making the facilities available for the Conference and to welcome you all.

Annex IV

ADDRESS BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

On behalf of the African National Congress Women's Section and the oppressed people of South Africa, allow me and my delegation to express warm greetings to the participants to this International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid. We would also like to thank the Government and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for their hospitality and for creating favourable conditions to facilitate our work. Our special gratitude and appreciation goes to the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid which has been internationally in the forefront of the struggle against the obnoxious apartheid régime.

Since the Brussels Conference on Women and Apartheid held from 17 to 19 May 1982, the situation of the black women in South Africa has not only failed to improve but has deteriorated sharply. Never in the history of apartheid have the women been dehumanized, harrassed and impoverished as at present.

The migrant labour system and its resultant break-up of families and suffering, is one of the evils of the apartheid system visited upon our people by the hated racist régime. Men are torn away from their families to go and work in the mines and industries and to provide essential services for the cities. Their wives are not allowed to join them but are left on the barren pieces of land to eke out what existence they can. It is a well known fact that these areas, inhabited by the old, the sick, the disabled, women and children, are South Africa's worst deathbeds. Women watch helplessly as their children die of malnutrition, kwashiorkor and other deficiency diseases. It is a scandal deserving international condemnation that South Africa dumps citrus fruit and milk while children are dying of deficiency diseases in that country. Because of the hardships in the bantustans, women are compelled to leave the areas with their children to join their husbands. If these women go to the cities and towns without permission, they are arrested under the numerous influx control regulation, charged and deported back to the bantustans. The women and children of Crossroads and other squatter camps are a case in point. The instances of people charged under the influx control regulations increased by 31 per cent between 1981 and 1982. Most of the people charged under these regulations are fined and this is another immoral way in which the régime raises money. Worst of all is the unhappiness and suffering caused people who are trying to do what is so natural in other parts of the world that is taken for granted. One of the worst crimes of apartheid is the insecurity it instils in people by uprooting them from places where they have lived for generations. These are the people who find themselves in what is called "black spots in white areas".

In spite of the protest against Bantu Education, which resulted in the Soweto uprising of 1976 which claimed hundreds of young lives, education for blacks in South Africa has not changed for the better, in fact, it has worsened. The changing of the name of the department from the Department of Bantu Education to the Department of Education and Training is a stunt to deceive the international community. The expenditure per capita for the pupils in 1982/83 is, for whites: R 11,211.00 and for Africans: 146.44. The pupil-teacher ratio for the whites is

18.3 to 1 and for the Africans 42.7 to 1. Of the school-going population, it was shown that 82.7 per cent was at primary school while only 17.3 per cent was at secondary school. Fewer still go to institutions of higher learning, and of those who do manage to go that far, women form a very small minority because the conditions all combine to discourage their further education.

The plight of women workers also cries out for attention. Most of them are employed as domestic and farm workers. In those areas, there are no contracts, the working hours are long and the wages below the breadline. Some domestic workers' organizations such as the Domestic Workers' Educational Project and the Domestic Workers' Association have been pushing in vain for a livable basic salary, extra payment for overtime and the reduction of working hours each day. The attempts to win these rights for the domestic workers have been compounded by the workers' conditions of service and their circumstances. Most of them go to the cities from rural areas through the labour bureau. The black women in the professional field are mostly in the nursing and teaching fields. They form less than 4 per cent of the professional personnel.

Since the Brussels conference, more women have been harrassed, detained and tortured for their political beliefs. For instance, Barbara Hogan is now serving 10 years imprisonment, members of the South African Women's Federation were detained in 1984 and in the same year we welcomed Dorothy Nyembe who had served 15 years in prison.

Recently we have witnessed the unprecedented militarization of South Africa. The military budget of South Africa increased from 1.65 million rand in 1977/78 to nearly 4 billion rand in 1984, and South Africa's armaments corporation now owns assets totalling nearly 2 billion rand, with 15 factories and a workforce of over 100,000. The régime has also militarized schools by staffing them with armed, uniformed, white soldiers. South Africa's nuclear capability is due to the support and encouragement by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel. This poses a threat to peace in Africa as clearly demonstrated by the fact that South Africa held its biggest military manoeuvres since the Second World War in September 1984, after which the racist defence minister was quoted as saying

"With this we could go right through to Cairo."

The United States' policy of constructive engagement has brought more problems than solutions to southern Africa. The peoples of southern Africa are facing a threat of war because the apartheid régime, in spite of attempts to pose as a peace-maker, continues its aggressive acts against the front-line States, bringing suffering to the women and children of those areas. No solution has been reached on the Namibian question of independence because the racists refuse to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The introduction of the so-called constitutional dispensation, which embraces the Indians and the Coloureds in the tricameral parliament to the exclusion of the African majority resulted in the country-wide demonstrations and protests. This led to the massacre of many of our people and many more were wounded. The United Democratic Front organized a two-day stay-at-home. By this time special units of

the racist army had been brought to the black areas and the townships put under seige. The UDF leaders were arrested and charged with high treason. Mrs. Albertine Sisulu, a tested and experienced stalwart of the South African liberation struggle, is one the arrested leaders.

Women have had a profound impact on the struggle for the education of apartheid and have participated in increasing numbers and at ever-increasing risks. There has been a great amount of repression from the régime. None the less, this repression has not deterred them from making their contribution to the liberation struggle. Our women are encouraged in the resistance by the knowledge that they are not alone in the struggle but enjoy the support and solidarity of the international community.

We would, at this juncture, like to express our profound gratitude to the support your Organization gave to the initiative of ANC, which declared 1984 the Year of the Women of South Africa. Our thanks go to all our sisters in Africa, in particular, those who through their support for our liberation struggle have made sacrifices and have been targets of the South African war of aggression. These are women from Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia.

We would like to express our deepest appreciation for the moral, political and material support and solidarity given us by our Tanzanian sisters under the leadership of their organization Umoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania.

We thank our sisters in the Socialist countries, our sisters in anti-apartheid movements and the peace-loving forces in the Western countries and in the Nordic countries who continue to give us unwavering support and solidarity in the struggle to liberate our country and eradicate the apartheid monster so that we can build on its ruins a non-racial democratic South Africa.

We greet our sisters in SWAPO, PLO and the Lebanese women who are victims of the Zionist Israeli massacre. We would like to express our unflinching support for their struggles.

Our support and solidarity also goes to our sisters in Nicaragua who are fighting to defend the gains of their revolution against military intervention from outside forces, to the women of Chile who are fighting against the dictatorship of the Pinochet régime and also our sisters in El Salvador.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that the eradication of apartheid is the task for all of us because it is a threat to world peace. Therefore, once more, we appeal to this august body to take appropriate action in its elimination by:

(a) The intensification of sanctions against the apartheid régime, especially the oil embargo, which would render it vulnerable;

(b) Pressing the transnational corporations to withdraw their investments from South Africa;

(c) Intensifying the struggle for the unconditional release of all political prisoners;

(d) Strengthening the ongoing isolation of the apartheid régime in the military, economic, political and diplomatic fields,

and to increase further the material assistance to women and children under apartheid.

Annex V

ADDRESS BY THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

At the outset allow me to most sincerely congratulate you on your unanimous election as Chairperson of this important Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid. We are confident that, under your wise guidance, this Conference will achieve the desired results. May we also be allowed to extend similar felicitations to the other bureau members.

Before proceeding we would like formally to propose that the excellent and thought-provoking statement made by the Chief Minister of Zanzibar, Ndugu Seif Shariff Hamad, be adopted as a working paper of this Conference.

I have been delegated by the Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Comrade John Nyati Pokela, to address this august gathering on his behalf. The representative of the Women's Wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania will also formally address the Conference.

In September 1983, a day-old baby was found abandoned outside a church. The priest who found the baby did what any sane person would do, namely take the child to the nearest hospital for immediate medical attention. The hospital, however, refused to admit or attend to the child before the child could be racially classified. Consequently a forensic "expert" was called from the police department. The "expert" plucked a single hair from the innocent baby's head, carried out what he termed a scientific test and classified the child "Coloured". Scientifically speaking there are only three types of hair, oriental, negroid or caucasian. There is no such thing as "Coloured" hair unless one dyes, bleaches or paints one's hair!

This classification, however, would then decide the entire future of this innocent baby. She would not be entitled to free education as free and compulsory education is for those classified as whites in apartheid South Africa. This classification will also determine the ghetto she must live in and what work she can do when she enters the labour market.

The basic question that must be answered and clearly understood is what is apartheid? Is it simply racial discrimination? Is it separate development as propagated by the racists? Moreover, the word apartheid was only coined in 1948 when the Fascist Nationalist Party came to power in South Africa. Can we say that there was no struggle by the Azanian masses before the advent of the Nationalist Party? To the oppressed, exploited, discriminated against and dispossessed people of Azania apartheid is the history of dispossession. The struggle against apartheid, therefore, is not merely for civil rights, but for national liberation and self-determination.

The most elementary and fundamental right is the right of every people or nation to self-determination. The African people of Azania are still to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination and this entails the repossession of the usurped land. In Azania, according to the Declaration adopted at the Lagos

Seminar on the Legal Aspects of the Apartheid Régime, the dispossessed people were and are denied their alienable right to self-determination. Whilst we of PAC of Azania commend the Lagos Declaration on the Legal Aspects of the Apartheid Régime, we must point out that the African population took the correct decision that the struggle in South Africa was for self-determination and this was unequivocally stated in the 1949 Programme of Action. PAC, the custodian of the 1949 Programme of Action, has consistently maintained that the struggle in apartheid South Africa, first and foremost, is for self-determination by the African people.

However, because of the influence of Western liberation there exists a tendency which advocates the following line. If someone drives you out of your house and you legitimately demand that the usurper return the house to the rightful owner, one is immediately branded as being "unreasonable", "rigid" or some would go as far as to say "adopting an uncivilized approach". Moreover, if the dispossessed resorted to force to evict the usurper, they would be branded "terrorists". The role of the liberals is to suggest a more "civilized" approach. Some liberals would even claim theirs is a "democratic" approach. And what is the approach? That the usurped should request for a convention with the usurper and work out a formula for sharing the stolen property! Those who do not, or refuse to recognize, that the struggle in occupied Azania is for self-determination and national liberation are, consciously or unconsciously, guilty of this sinister liberal approach!

The issue of southern Africa must be viewed from certain basic facts. First, what is the root cause of all the problems in southern Africa? It is the policies and practices of the minority, racial colonial Pretoria régime. Moreover, apartheid cannot be reformed. If these basic facts are clearly understood and appreciated only then can one draw up a viable strategy to destroy the root cause of all the problems in southern Africa. Apartheid must be totally destroyed and its total destruction will come only when the oppressed, exploited, discriminated against and dispossessed people of Azania fully exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

The other fundamental question is who, in the final analysis, can destroy the racial-colonial system? Who can constitute the vehicle for change in apartheid South Africa. Is it the white minority or the dispossessed African people? It is true that the first heart transplant was carried out in South Africa, but to hope or believe that the present fascist rulers of South Africa can introduce change is to display political naivety! It is only the dispossessed African majority in occupied Azania that can bring the desired changes and, thereby, restore genuine peace in the area. This truism must be acknowledged.

It is clear to all that the racist régime has been intensifying repression internally and its acts of aggression and destabilization against front-line and neighbouring States. The racist régime has pursued this line of action because of the support the régime continues to receive from the Reagan Administration and other Western countries. The so-called "constructive engagement" policy of the Reagan Administration is, in reality, a constructive encouragement policy and we of PAC have vehemently condemned the policy of "constructive engagement".

It will be recalled that during mid-1984 Pieter Botha and his racist entourage visited several West European countries and the Holy See. Some of them claim that the visit was unofficial. However, everyone of them stated that they would use the opportunity to tell racist Botha of their opposition or abhorrence to apartheid. PAC of Azania condemned the visits and pointed out that there was no need simply to call a political skunk just to tell it that it stinks.

Equally we have protested to the Holy See for granting an audience to racist Botha and his entourage. Pieter Botha and his Fascist clique deny one of the basic tenets of the Bible, namely that we are all God's children and therefore equal before him. We of PAC cannot accept that the doors of the Holy See be open to all just as the doors of Heaven are not open to all.

God is not all-forgiving, for He would have long dismantled Hell!

When dealing with apartheid one cannot avoid also condemning zionism as apartheid and zionism are two sides of the same coin. It is a well known fact that there exists close military, economic, political and cultural relations between the racist occupiers of Azania and the Zionist occupiers of Palestine. Both have dispossessed the indigenous population and terrorize neighbouring independent States. One has only to understand the creation of a Saad Haddad in southern Lebanon to appreciate fully the creation of an MNR in Mozambique!

In March 1960, as a result of the campaign launched by PAC, the oppressed Azania masses lost the fear of being imprisoned. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, was the first African leader to tell the racist court that African people did not recognize the illegal régime and its oppressive institutions. The events of 21 March 1960 changed the course of history in our country - they ushered in the era of armed struggle.

The 1976 Soweto uprising was another milestone in the history of our just struggle. During this uprising our people lost the fear of the enemy's guns. However, it is important to remind this august assembly that Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, the veteran PAC leader, was accused number one in the Bethal 18 secret trial. He was accused of "predicting and organizing" the 1976 Soweto uprising and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment at the age of 67.

No régime resorts to the gun unless it is compelled to do so. The gun is always the last resort. The racist régime has already resorted to its last weapon and therefore in apartheid South Africa the swords have been drawn and conflict is inevitable.

The People of Azania have constantly maintained that we are our own liberators. Liberation cannot be given, it must be unrested through sustained and principled struggle. However, if the international community would like to see a relatively peaceful solution to the problem, then it must, as a matter of priority, impose comprehensive and mandatory economic and military sanctions against the régime.

In conclusion we would like to point out to support groups that if they are genuine in supporting the struggle of our people, they must rid themselves of neo-colonial tendencies of wanting to dictate to our people who should fight and who should not. We are tired of external patronage and imposed divide-and-rule policy of some self-styled support and solidarity groups.

We of PAC have declared the 1980s as the decade of the Azanian revolution and this important appointment with history we are determined to keep!

Annex VI

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

UNITED NATIONS

Special Committee against Apartheid

H.E. Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal)
Vice-Chairman

Mr. Tamás Hegyi, representative of
Hungary

Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan)
Chairman of the Task Force on Women
and Children under Apartheid

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES

International Labour Organisation

Ms. Eugenia Datebah, Senior
Programme Officer, Addis Ababa

Ms. Judica D. K. Amri, Associate
Expert

Mr. Kaetil Nilsen, Associate Expert

United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization

Mr. Arthur Bagunywa, Education
Adviser

United Nations High Commissioner for
Refugees

Mr. Olusey Bajulaiye, Legal
Protection Officer

World Health Organization

Dr. E. A. Duale, representative for
the United Republic of Tanzania and
Seychelles

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Organization of African Unity

Mr. Hashim I. M'Bita, Executive
Secretary of the OAU Liberation
Committee

GOVERNMENTS

German Democratic Republic

Mr. Dietrich Wendlandt, Chargé
d'affaires, Embassy in Dar es Salaam

Hungary

Mr. Tamás Hegyi, Counsellor,
Permanent Mission to the United
Nations

India (also representing the
Chairman of the Non-Aligned
Countries)

Mr. E. Dasgupta, High Commissioner
to the United Republic of Tanzania

Indonesia

H.E. Mr. R. G. Soegantyo Koesoemodigdo
Ambassador to the United Republic of
Tanzania

Mr. Kemas Fachruddin, Secretary,
Embassy in Dar es Salaam

Lesotho

Ms. Bonang Ntsaba, Commissioner for
Women's Affairs

Nepal

H.E. Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt, Permanent
Representative to the United Nations

Sudan

Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed,
Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the
United Nations

Syrian Arab Republic

Mr. Mowaffak Nassar, Chargé
d'affaires, Embassy in Dar es Salaam

United Republic of Tanzania
(also representing the Chairman
of the Organization of African Unity)

Hon. Anna Abdallah (M.P.) Regional
Commissioner, Dodoma, Leader of the
Tanzanian delegation

Mrs. Dorah Bantu, Director, Europe
and Americas, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Dar es Salaam

Wilfred Mwabulambo, Deputy Principal
Secretary, Prime Minister's Office,
Dar es Salaam

Anastazia Mmuni, Administrative
Officer, Kilimanjaro Region

Halima Ali Malyakora, Director,
ARESCO, Arusha

Lillian Kileo, Teacher

Bertha Redding, Headmistress,
Arusha School

Leticia Mukuras, Personnel Manager,
Fibre Board, Arusha

Doreen Mtemu, Research Officer,
Tropical Pesticide Research
Institute, Arusha

Advisers:

Miss Thecla Clara Gumbo, United Nations Decade secretariat, Prime Minister's Office

Miss Anna Luiwana, United Nations Decade secretariat, Prime Minister's Office

Mr. Joseph Chuma, Head of Section, Africa and Middle East, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. William M. C. Mbatia, Desk Officer, Africa and Middle East, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mrs. Theddy Kitambi, Secretary to the Minister of State (PMO)

Zambia

Mr. N. H. B. Chime, Defence Attaché, Zambian High Commission in Dar es Salaam

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

African National Congress of South Africa

Ms. Mary Ngozi, Administrative Co-ordinator

Ms. Pearl Serote, Member

Palestine Liberation Organization

Mr. Shawki Armali, Chief-representative to Belgium

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Mr. Gora Ebrahim, Representative of the Chairman of the PAC

Ms. Elizabeth Sibeko, Women's Co-ordinator and Labor Liaison Officer

Ms. Maud Jackson, Chief Co-ordinator of Women's Affairs

Ms. Joyce Sifuba, Deputy Co-ordinator of Women's Affairs

South West Africa People's Organization

Ms. Ellen Musialela, Assistant Secretary for Finance

Ms. Susan Nghidinwa, representative of Women's Council of SWAPO in Zambia

VI. INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Cairo	Ms. Laila El-Jebaly, Member of the Permanent Secretariat
International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Brussels	Ms. Hawa Sinare Ms. Rose Ntengeti
International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia	Ms. Lajosnee Duschek, President National Council of Hungarian Women Mrs. Anne-Marie Lizin, Member of European Parliament
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Brussels	Mr. Kele Zidana Ms. Alice Ranthimo
International Council of Social Welfare, Vienna	Ms. Martha Bulengo, Consultant
International Union of Students, Prague	Mr. Mohamed Shakir, Secretary
Latin American and Caribbean Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> , Mexico	Mr. Jesus Contreras Granguillhome
Women's International Democratic Federation, Berlin	Ms. Mittah Seperepere, Secretary
World Federation of Democratic Youth	Ms. Yvette Manzini Mavivi
World Federation of Trade Unions	Ms. Iva Mackay
World Peace Council, Helsinki	Ms. Andriamanjato Rahantavololova R.
World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations	Ms. Betty Muoluli, National Chairperson of the Catholic Women's Organization of the United Republic of Tanzania

VII. NATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Belgium

Committee against Colonialism and <u>Apartheid</u> , Brussels	Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Secretary-General
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China

All China Women's Federation, Beijing

Ms. Ni Ruzhu, Member of International
Activity Committee

Cuba

Federation of Cuban Women, Havana

Ms. Aracely Careaga, Member of
National Secretariat

Ms. Elena Perez Narbona, Member of
National Secretariat

Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovak Union of Women

Ms. Eva Michkova, Member of Central
Committee

Egypt

Egypt Women's Association, Cairo

Ms. Soad Khaled

Hungary

National Council of Hungarian Women,
Budapest

Ms. Lajosnee Duschek, President

Ms. Erika Pollak, Member of
International Section

Japan

Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee,
Yokohama

Ms. Junko Satake, Member

Lesotho

Lesotho Congress of Free Trade Unions

Ms. Mamolefi Alice Ranthimo, Deputy
Secretary-General

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Soviet Women's Committee

Ms. Roza Ismagilova, Vice-President,
Professor in the Institute for
African Studies (also representing
Soviet Association of Friendship
with African Peoples, Moscow)

United Kingdom

British Anti-Apartheid Movement,
London

Ms. Rachel Jewkes, Executive Member

United States of America

National Alliance against Racist and
Political Repression, New York

Ms. Josephine Wyatt

National Conference of Black Lawyers,
New York

Mr. Gerald Horne

Revolution in African Action Committee

Ms. Judy Jensen, Co-ordinator

Women for Racial and Economic Equality
(WREE)

Ms. Sania Andrea Metzger

VIII. UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

Representative of the United Nations
Secretary-General

Mr. Vladimir S. Bruz

Centre against Apartheid

Mr. Ibrahim Noor, Secretary of the
Conference

Mr. Rachid Gafez, Political Affairs
Officer

Mr. Matthias Zachmann, Political
Affairs Officer

Mr. K. N. Srivastava, Professional
Assistant

Department of Public Information

Mr. Athmani Magoma, Director, UNIC,
Harare

Mrs. Ceciwa Khonje, Information
Officer (Radio)

Centre for Social Development and
Humanitarian Affairs

Ms. Philomena Kintu, Social Affairs
Officer

Office of the Commissioner for
Namibia

Ms. Lucia Hamutenya, Associate
Political Affairs Officer

Administrative and Finance

Mr. K. Dagnatchew, Administrative
and Finance Officer