

**REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST *APARTHEID***

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: FORTIETH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/40/22)



UNITED NATIONS

**REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST *APARTHEID***

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: FORTIETH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/40/22)



UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1986

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

The present report was also submitted to the Security Council under the symbol S/17562.

[14 October 1985]

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL		viii
I. INTRODUCTION	1 - 9	1
II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	10 - 121	3
A. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session on the item "Policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa"	10	3
B. Action against South Africa's aggression against independent African States	11 - 16	3
C. Action to promote a cessation of all military, nuclear and economic collaboration with South Africa	17 - 26	4
D. Special meeting in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Freedom Charter of South Africa	27 - 28	6
E. Action in support of women and children under <u>apartheid</u>	29 - 48	6
1. Mission of the Special Committee to Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania	30 - 38	6
2. International Conference on Women and Children under <u>Apartheid</u>	39 - 48	8
F. Action against <u>apartheid</u> in sports	49 - 59	10
1. International Conference on Sports Boycott against South Africa	49 - 53	10
2. Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, 1 January-30 June 1984	54 - 56	11
3. Other action	57 - 59	11
G. Action against <u>apartheid</u> in the cultural field	60 - 71	12
1. Register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in <u>apartheid</u> South Africa, 1 January-30 June 1984	60 - 62	12

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
2. Special meeting to honour Stevie Wonder	63 - 65	12
3. International Seminar on Racist Ideologies, Attitudes and Organizations Hindering Efforts for the Elimination of <u>Apartheid</u> and Means to Combat Them	66 - 71	13
H. Action concerning assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements ...	72	14
I. Campaign against repression and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa	73 - 87	14
J. Special session in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre	88 - 90	17
K. Encouragement of world-wide action against <u>apartheid</u> ...	91 - 102	18
1. Consultations with the Minister for External Affairs of France	91 - 92	18
2. Consultations with Mr. Walter Fauntroy, delegate of the District of Columbia in the United States House of Representatives	93 - 94	18
3. Consultations with Mr. J. N. Scholten, Chairman of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against <u>Apartheid</u>	95 - 96	19
4. Hearing of student leaders on the review of the grave situation in South Africa and student action against <u>apartheid</u>	97 - 98	19
5. Media Workshop on Countering South African Propaganda	99 - 102	20
L. Missions of the Chairman to Governments	103 - 113	21
1. Mission to Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands (30 October-6 November 1984)	104 - 108	21
2. Mission to New Zealand, Vanuatu and India (19 February-8 March 1985)	109 - 111	22
3. Mission to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France (24-30 May 1985)	112 - 113	23

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
M. Observance of international days	114	23
N. Representation at conferences, meetings and other events	115	23
O. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and other organizations	116 - 121	27
III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE SEPTEMBER 1984	122 - 307	29
A. Introduction	122 - 128	29
B. Repression against opponents of <u>apartheid</u>	129 - 169	30
1. State of emergency	129 - 138	30
2. Killings, assassinations and disappearances	139 - 143	31
3. Arrests, detentions, torture and bannings	144 - 157	32
4. Political trials and prisoners	158 - 169	35
C. Bantustans, forced population removals and influx control	170 - 175	37
D. Resistance against <u>apartheid</u>	176 - 204	37
1. Armed and underground struggle	176 - 181	37
2. Workers' resistance	182 - 190	38
3. Resistance by students, community organizations and religious institutions	191 - 204	40
E. Political manoeuvres of the <u>apartheid</u> régime	205 - 213	42
F. Acts of aggression and destabilization	214 - 227	43
G. Military build-up	228 - 248	46
1. General	228 - 230	46
2. Defence budget	231	46
3. Arms build-up	232 - 233	47
4. Acquisition of military equipment	234 - 239	47

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
5. Nuclear collaboration	240 - 248	49
H. Economic collaboration	249 - 292	50
1. General	249 - 253	50
2. Trade	254 - 261	50
3. Gold and other minerals	262 - 264	52
4. Foreign investments and loans	265 - 276	53
5. International action against economic collaboration with South Africa	277 - 292	55
I. Sports contacts	293 - 302	57
J. Cultural collaboration	303 - 307	58
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	308 - 411	60
A. Conclusions	308 - 360	60
1. Great advance in the struggle against <u>apartheid</u> and the crisis of the <u>apartheid</u> régime	308 - 336	60
2. International solidarity with the struggle against <u>apartheid</u>	337 - 350	63
3. Imperative need for effective action	351 - 360	65
B. Recommendations	361 - 411	67
1. Reaffirmation of the objectives of the United Nations	361 - 372	67
2. Arms embargo and oil embargo	373 - 377	68
3. Economic sanctions against South Africa	378 - 384	69
4. Sports, cultural and other boycotts against South Africa	385 - 387	70
5. Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements	388 - 391	70
6. Co-ordinated action by the United Nations and its agencies	392 - 396	71

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
7. Status of the <u>apartheid</u> régime	397 - 399	71
8. Programme of work of the Special Committee	400 - 404	71
9. Conclusion	405 - 411	72

Annexes

I. List of statements issued by the Special Committee	78
II. List of documents of the Special Committee	81
III. International bank loans to South Africa (July 1984-April 1985)	82

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

7 October 1985

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which was adopted unanimously by the Special Committee on 7 October 1985.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 39/72 A to G of 13 December 1984.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Joseph N. GARBA
Chairman of the
Special Committee against Apartheid

His Excellency
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, New York 10017

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee against Apartheid, established by the General Assembly by resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, is now composed of the following 18 Member States:

Algeria	India	Somalia
German Democratic Republic	Indonesia	Sudan
Ghana	Malaysia	Syrian Arab Republic
Guinea	Nepal	Trinidad and Tobago
Haiti	Nigeria	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Hungary	Peru	
	Philippines	

2. At its 558th meeting, on 19 February 1985, the Special Committee unanimously re-elected Mr. Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria) as its Chairman and elected Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal) and Mr. Serge Elie Charles (Haiti) as its Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Bhaskar Kumar Mitra (India) as Rapporteur.

3. The Special Committee also re-elected Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa and elected Mr. El-Haoues Riache (Algeria) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information, Mr. Raúl Rivera (Peru) as Chairman of its Task Force on Political Prisoners, Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan) as Chairman of its Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid and Mr. Chiedu I. Osakwe (Nigeria) as Chairman of its Task Force on the Legal Aspects of Apartheid.

4. The Sub-Committees and Task Forces of the Special Committee are composed as follows: the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa is composed of Ghana (Chairman), Hungary, India, Peru and the Sudan; the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information is composed of Algeria (Chairman), the German Democratic Republic, Nepal, Somalia and Trinidad and Tobago; the Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid is composed of India, the Philippines, the Sudan (Chairman) and Trinidad and Tobago; the Task Force on Political Prisoners is composed of the German Democratic Republic, India, Malaysia, Peru (Chairman), Somalia and the Syrian Arab Republic; and the Task Force on the Legal Aspects of Apartheid is composed of Hungary, Nigeria (Chairman), Peru and the Syrian Arab Republic.

5. In pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 39/72 C and E of 13 December 1984, the Special Committee submitted on 7 October 1985, for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, a special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa (A/40/22/Add.2) and a special report on further action to intensify efforts to inform world public opinion and encourage wider public action in support of the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa (A/40/22/Add.3).

6. At its 574th meeting, held on 7 October 1985, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report consists of:

- (a) Review of the work of the Special Committee;
- (b) Review of developments in South Africa since September 1984;
- (c) Conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee;
- (d) List of statements issued by the Special Committee (annex I);
- (e) List of documents of the Special Committee (annex II).

7. The Special Committee took note of the interest of the Secretary-General in its work. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the States members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the non-aligned countries, the socialist States, the specialized agencies of the United Nations system, the South African liberation movements, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and numerous non-governmental organizations for their continued support of the work of the Committee. The Special Committee also took note with appreciation of all those other Member States that have taken concrete action against South Africa and in support of the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

8. The Special Committee particularly wishes to place on record its gratitude and deep appreciation to Mr. Enuga S. Reddy, who retired as Assistant Secretary-General for the Centre against Apartheid, for his unswerving commitment and single-minded devotion to the struggle against apartheid. His dedicated work during the past 25 years will always be an inspiration to the Special Committee.

9. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Assistant Secretary-General for the Centre against Apartheid, Mr. Iqbal Akhund, to the secretariat of the Special Committee and to all other members of the Centre against Apartheid for their efficient and devoted service.

II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session on the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa"

10. During its thirty-ninth session, the General Assembly considered the item in 11 plenary meetings between 27 September and 13 December 1984. On 28 September 1984, it adopted resolution 39/2 on the "Situation in South Africa". On 13 December 1984, it adopted the following seven resolutions relating to various aspects of apartheid based mainly on the recommendations of the Special Committee, namely: "Comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid régime and support to the liberation struggle in South Africa" (39/72 A); "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid" (39/72 B); "Relations between Israel and South Africa" (39/72 C); "Apartheid in Sports" (39/72 D); "Public information and public opinion against apartheid" (39/72 E); "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa" (39/72 F); and "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid" (39/72 G).

B. Action against South Africa's aggression against independent African States

11. The Special Committee repeatedly drew the attention of the international community to the serious situation in southern Africa resulting from the aggressive policy of the South African régime. It strongly condemned the brutal aggression by the apartheid régime against neighbouring States. It urged the Security Council to take effective measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to force South Africa to end its criminal acts of aggression and terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia. It noted that the apartheid régime had been encouraged to undertake those illegal acts by the protection afforded by certain major Western Powers.

12. On 11 June 1985, the Chairman of the Special Committee, participating in the Security Council meeting on the question of Namibia, vehemently condemned the aggression by South African troops in Cabinda and the planned attack on vital oil installations.

13. Referring to the apartheid régime's policy of destabilization and occupation, the Chairman stated that South Africa was continuing its campaign to destabilize the Angolan Government, to damage the economy and to disrupt the society of that country. The Chairman added that the question of Cuban troops was irrelevant and extraneous to that of the independence of Namibia and must not be used to obstruct the implementation of the United Nations plan embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, a plan which was and continued to be accepted by all the parties concerned, including - ostensibly - South Africa itself. Seven years of negotiation on Namibia's independence had been a history of evasions and prevarication, intransigence and bad faith on the part of South Africa, a history which ought to shake the confidence of the most credulous or benevolent of its friends in South Africa's intentions. The Chairman pointed out that the Security Council was witnessing the penultimate phase in a repressive process which South Africa had pursued single-mindedly and unswervingly from the beginning, and which was aimed at continuing and consolidating its illegal occupation and exploitation of Namibia behind the facade of an "internal solution".

14. The Chairman called for action on the following lines:

(a) All attempts and efforts to negotiate Namibian independence outside the context of resolutions adopted by the United Nations must be repudiated and frustrated;

(b) A time-frame must be established for the independence of Namibia within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

(c) Because of its disregard and defiance of both the Security Council and the General Assembly, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions should be imposed against South Africa;

(d) The Security Council must declare categorically that linkage had no validity.

15. At the 567th meeting of the Special Committee, on 14 June 1985, the Chairman condemned the terrorist attack by the racist Pretoria régime against Botswana, killing 15 and injuring a number of refugees, among them women and children. The Chairman said that the renewed act of violence proved the aggressive character of apartheid South Africa.

16. During the consideration by the Security Council of South Africa's aggression against Botswana, Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee, made a statement in which he condemned the aggression and called for punitive measures to be adopted to meet the breach of peace and the threat to international peace and security emanating from that wanton act. He stated, on behalf of the Special Committee, that the primary cause of conflict in southern Africa had been and remained the inhuman policy of apartheid pursued by the racist régime of South Africa.

C. Action to promote a cessation of all military, nuclear and economic collaboration with South Africa

17. The Special Committee continued to follow developments concerning military, nuclear, economic and other collaboration with South Africa. It repeatedly emphasized that any assistance to South Africa in its military build-up was a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa and independent African States. It pointed out that the South African régime's policy of destabilizing front-line States, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its repressive actions inside South Africa demonstrated that apartheid continued to be a threat to peace, while the United States policy of constructive engagement continued to strengthen and encourage that régime. It called for the effective monitoring and strengthening of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

18. The Special Committee also repeatedly condemned the continued military, economic and other collaboration of certain Western States and Israel, as well as transnational corporations, with South Africa as an essential cause for the escalation of South Africa's aggression against independent African States and the continuation of its policies of oppression against the people of South Africa and its national liberation movements, as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia. The attitude of those States that had continued and increased their collaboration with South Africa was deplored in meetings of the Special Committee, during missions of the Special Committee, at international conferences and seminars in

which representatives of the Special Committee participated and in other appropriate ways.

19. On 21 September 1984, the Chairman sent a telegram to the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at its twenty-eighth regular session, stating, inter alia:

"On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I wish to reiterate that the nuclear plans of the Pretoria régime constitute a menace to Africa and to international peace and security, especially in the light of the record of aggression of the Pretoria régime and its defiance of the United Nations and the international community." 1/

20. On 6 December 1984, the Special Committee was informed that the Director-General of IAEA, Mr. Hans Blix, had made a statement at the twenty-eighth session of the General Conference of IAEA to the effect that there were no longer any technical groups, sponsored or co-sponsored by the Agency, in which South African experts were participating.

21. On 8 January 1985, the Chairman addressed letters to the Permanent Representatives of France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America expressing concern over reports that representatives of their Governments had attended the inauguration of Mr. Lucas Mangope to a second term in office as so-called "President" of the Bophuthatswana bantustan. In the light of the numerous United Nations resolutions urging Member States to refrain from extending any form of recognition to bantustans, he expressed the hope that neither recognition to nor contacts with bantustans would be initiated.

22. In the replies received by the Special Committee, all three Governments stated that they had had no representation at the celebration.

23. In February 1985, the Chairman commended the action taken by non-governmental organizations in the United States and the Netherlands for divestment from and the prohibition of the sale of krugerrands. 2/ The Special Committee also took note with appreciation that other local organizations and municipalities had taken similar action.

24. In March 1985, the Chairman commended a New York City law prohibiting city deposits in banks providing loan services to the South African Government and the Bank of Boston for its decision to stop loans to South Africa. 3/

25. In connection with the increased international campaign in Western Europe and North America, especially the United States, for divestment, the Special Committee, in a statement issued on 17 April 1985, welcomed steps to further isolate the abhorrent apartheid régime and assist the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle to eradicate the system of apartheid. It considered that the international campaign against the racist régime of South Africa in Western Europe and North America, especially in the United States, had reached a significant stage. Anti-apartheid movements, parliaments, local legislators, trade unions, church groups and other religious institutions, political parties, students, academicians and individuals were in the forefront exposing the evils of the apartheid system to the public. In the United States, concerted action had led to divestment, legislative action and other measures by states, cities and universities, as well as by the United States Congress. In this connection, the Special Committee reiterated its support and encouragement to the ongoing

divestment campaign, especially in the United States. The Special Committee was of the view that the divestment campaign had come in support of the call by the United Nations for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Such sanctions were essential conditions for the eradication of apartheid by peaceful means. The Chairman also expressed appreciation to the Morgan Guaranty Trust on its decision to cease loans to South Africa and commended Columbia University students for their divestment campaign in opposition to apartheid in South Africa. 4/ The Chairman also commended the anti-apartheid groups in the Netherlands for their initiative.

26. In a letter dated 13 May 1985 addressed to the Danish Occupational Therapists Association, the Chairman expressed great appreciation for its refusal to accept delegates from South Africa to the 1986 International Congress of the World Federation of Occupational Therapists to be held at Copenhagen in June 1986.

D. Special meeting in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Freedom Charter of South Africa

27. On 26 June 1985, the Special Committee held a special meeting in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Freedom Charter of South Africa. Statements were made by the representative of the Secretary-General and representatives of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the South African liberation movements.

28. On that occasion, Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, pointed out that the Freedom Charter had served greatly to foster in the international community a better recognition and understanding of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and for their just cause. He stated that the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Charter had taken on particular significance since it coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco on 26 June 1945.

E. Action in support of women and children under apartheid

29. The Special Committee and its Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid continued to devote special attention to the plight of women and children in South Africa.

1. Mission of the Special Committee to Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania

30. The Special Committee decided in its programme of work for 1985 to organize an International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid. It also decided that the Conference would be preceded by a mission of the Special Committee to Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania to consult with Governments and liberation movements and to visit refugee camps. The mission took place from 3 to 16 April 1985. Its purpose was to conduct a concrete evaluation of the needs of assistance to women and children refugees as well as to the front-line States.

31. The mission was led by Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana), Chairman of the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa. The other members of the delegation were Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan), Chairman of the Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid; Ms. Vinnie Burrows, representative of the Women's International Democratic Federation to the United Nations and a United States actress; and Ms. Ingeborg Wick, Executive Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.

32. The mission had an opportunity to visit various projects operated by the national liberation movements in Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. It visited the settlement operated by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) at Kwanza-Sul, the ANC construction site at Viana, near Luanda, the SWAPO transit camps at Viana and Lusaka, the ANC day-care centre, printing shop and farm at Lusaka, the ANC settlement at Morogoro in the United Republic of Tanzania and the PAC temporary work centre at Dar es Salaam.

33. On-the-spot inspection of the settlements, first-hand impressions and information from representatives of the liberation movements who accompanied the delegation gave a clear picture of the extent of suffering and the intolerable conditions under which thousands of women, children and elderly refugees are living in camps as a result of the invasions and repeated acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa and oppression in South Africa and Namibia. The delegation, however, also witnessed the great efforts undertaken by the liberation movements of South Africa to alleviate the pain and hardships of living in exile. The settlements, in particular those of SWAPO and ANC, were efficiently run and well organized.

34. The situation in Angola was particularly difficult. Occupation by the South African forces had resulted in an increased movement of displaced persons towards the north. Among the major problems affecting the settlements of the liberation movements and the displaced persons, in particular children, included very high incidences of malaria, diarrhoea, respiratory infections, burns and malnutrition. Many camps had no infrastructure for pipe-borne water. Satisfactory sanitary facilities were lacking. The health of all refugees, especially the women and children, is thus prejudiced.

35. The mission noted with appreciation measures of assistance to women and children in southern Africa taken so far by the international community. It commended all Governments, in particular those of the Nordic and socialist States, for having provided material support to the suffering people of South Africa and Namibia. The delegation also found clear evidence of the material support rendered by solidarity organizations, church organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations to the various projects of the national liberation movements, especially those designed for women and children.

36. The delegation pointed out that apartheid had been declared by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. It was, therefore, the urgent task and responsibility of Governments, United Nations agencies, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations to intensify their support for the just and legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia for the total elimination of apartheid. Women in South Africa must be provided all necessary assistance to upgrade their skills and acquire new skills that would enable them to participate fully both in the current struggle for national liberation and in national reconstruction in the future. Increased support should

be provided to the national liberation movements for their women's sections or programmes and opportunities made available for the training of women in appropriate fields, in accordance with the needs of the national liberation movements.

37. In its report (A/AC.115/L.621, paras. 92-107), the mission concluded that apartheid was the root cause of the suffering of the women and children refugees. It was the brutality of the racist régime that had forced the women and children to escape into exile. The international community must continue vehemently to condemn apartheid and the Pretoria régime for its repeated acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African States. The international community must denounce the attempts to destabilize the whole of the southern African region as well as the repression and oppression of the majority of the South African and Namibian population. The only way of ending the misery of the women and children refugees or displaced persons would be to eliminate the system of apartheid.

38. The mission urged all States, specialized agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to provide and increase all possible humanitarian, educational, financial and other necessary assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements in their legitimate struggle. Women and children fleeing from the barbaric and appalling persecution of the apartheid system constituted the majority of the refugee population from South Africa and Namibia in the neighbouring countries. They required the granting of durable asylum, food, shelter, medical care and legal protection and a guarantee of fundamental human rights, intensive counselling, education, training and employment. Short-term or emergency assistance should have priority. The findings of the mission on assistance needs elaborated in section IV of its report would, it was hoped, be the basis for renewed efforts by the international community to increase its assistance to women and children who had fled the barbaric system of apartheid.

2. International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid

39. The report of the mission of the Special Committee to the front-line States was the main document of the International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid, which was held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 7 to 10 May 1985. It was organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and OAU. (For the report of the Conference, see A/AC.115/L.623.)

40. The Conference was intended to publicize the plight of women and children under apartheid, to promote moral and material assistance to them in their struggle for liberation and to contribute to the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Nairobi from 15 to 26 July 1985.

41. 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.

42. All participants emphasized the timeliness of the International Conference in view of the forthcoming World Conference. 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 United Nations 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.

43. On 9 May 1985, the International Conference adopted a declaration (A/40/319-S/17197, annex). In the Declaration, the participants pointed out that the Conference coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism. Noting that the racist Pretoria régime had identified itself with Hitler's nazism, the Conference expressed its firm belief that the apartheid régime was doomed to failure.

44. 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 of residents of Crossroads who were demonstrating against plans for their forced removal. It further condemned the forced removals which had driven millions of people - the majority of them women and children - from their ancestral lands and dispossessed them as well as deprived them of South African nationality.

45. The Conference expressed deep concern at the militarization of South Africa, including its possession of a nuclear capability which posed a serious threat to peace in the region and to international peace and security. The Conference reaffirmed 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, which had been declared a crime against humanity. It also called upon the Security Council to consider taking further appropriate action against South Africa, including the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, in particular an oil embargo, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

46. The Conference condemned the policy of "constructive engagement" being pursued by the United States and its active collaboration with the racist régime. The Conference also condemned some Western States and 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 upon those States to abandon forthwith such policies and to join in the concerted international campaign to eliminate apartheid.

47. The Conference was appalled by the fact that the majority of the refugee population in the neighbouring countries consisted 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 a 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 to Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania (see A/AC.115/L.621, paras. 30-38). It further called upon 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 this connection, the Declaration listed concrete action to increase such assistance.

48. The Conference stressed that it was of vital importance that the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women focus special attention on women in South Africa and Namibia in the light of the themes of the Decade: equality, development and peace. The Acting Chairman of the Special Committee therefore transmitted the Declaration to the Secretary-General for the attention of the Nairobi Conference.

F. Action against apartheid in sports

1. International Conference on Sports Boycott against South Africa

49. The International Conference on Sports Boycott against South Africa was organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid, in co-operation with the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) and the South Africa Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC). It was held at UNESCO House, Paris, from 16 to 18 May 1985. (For the report of the Conference, see A/AC.115/L.624 and Corr.1.)

50. The agenda of the Conference was as follows:

1. To review the results of the International Conference on Sanctions against Apartheid in Sports (London, 27-29 June 1983).
2. To encourage action by Governments, sporting organizations, teams and individuals to ensure the total isolation of apartheid in sports.
3. To counter the manoeuvres of the apartheid régime and its collaborators, as well as their propaganda aimed at breaking the isolation of the racist régime of South Africa in international sports.
4. To intensify action to expel the racist régime of South Africa from international sporting federations.
5. To take action against countries refusing to observe the boycott of apartheid sport.
6. To take action against individuals, teams, managers and administrators collaborating with apartheid sport.
7. To strengthen the boycott of apartheid sport by means of involving athletes and teams in support of United Nations efforts totally to isolate the racist régime of South Africa in sports.

51. At the invitation of the Special Committee, SCSA and SAN-ROC, the Conference was attended by representatives of relevant United Nations organs and other intergovernmental organizations, Governments, sports organizations and administrators, sportsmen and sportswomen, and anti-apartheid movements and other organizations active in the campaign for the boycott of apartheid sport. There were more than 200 participants and observers.

52. Many participants in the Conference stressed the role of the national sports bodies in the overall education of athletes and the importance of sports in the promotion of international co-operation. Therefore, it was felt essential that non-governmental organizations and international, regional and national sports

organizations should redouble their efforts to educate sportsmen and sportswomen about the evils of and to prevent contacts with apartheid sport. Furthermore, they should co-ordinate their activities against apartheid sport as well as co-ordinate the dissemination of information on apartheid sport.

53. At the concluding session of the Conference, the Special Committee presented citations to athletes in the struggle against apartheid. The Conference unanimously adopted a declaration (A/40/343-S/17224, annex), in which it noted the progress in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports and made a special appeal to States to bring the Convention into force by speedy ratification, following its adoption by the General Assembly. It solemnly warned that desperate rearguard action by the apartheid régime lay ahead that would test the will of the world community outside and that of the South African majority within. In the struggle for liberation, the efforts of the international community would be crucial in sustaining the morale of those oppressed by apartheid and their resolve to resist. It would be the convergence of international support from outside together with the resolute determination of the oppressed that would bring about an end to apartheid. That convergence was now in sight, and the international campaign must sustain that effort to the final victory. Sport had a vital role to play.

2. Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, 1 January-30 June 1984

54. Pursuant to a decision taken in 1980, the Special Committee against Apartheid has been publishing semi-annual registers of sports contacts with South Africa. The latest register contained sports contacts in the period 1 January to 30 June 1984 and, as the previous ones, included a list of sports exchanges with South Africa arranged by the code of sports and a list of sportsmen and sportswomen who participated in sports events in South Africa, arranged by country. Names of persons who undertook not to engage in further sports events in South Africa were deleted from the register.

55. The register proved that South Africa had lured some sportsmen, sportswomen and national teams with international standing through the payment of large fees and exceptional hospitality.

56. The régime continued its generous funding of apartheid in sports, inter alia, through a series of tax concessions to private sector sponsors and South African and/or transnational companies. However, South Africa continued to have limited access to international sports exchanges. The South African régime and its racist sports bodies, despite their intensified efforts to break their international isolation, have so far failed to achieve any meaningful success. International action against apartheid sport has intensified over the period under review. Furthermore, no international sports body that excluded or suspended South Africa from membership has reversed its decision despite the régime's heavily financed propaganda efforts.

3. Other action

57. In connection with a proposed tour to South Africa of the All Black Rugby Team of New Zealand, the Chairman of the Special Committee, on 17 April 1985, stated that the tour represented once again an utter insensitivity to the feelings of a

great majority of South Africans and an encouragement to the racist sports organizations. The All Black Rugby Team had failed to realize that its decision to tour South Africa would tarnish the purpose and image of international sports contacts and be used by the régime and its collaborators for propaganda purposes to boost their international image.

58. On 24 April 1985, the Chairman addressed a message to the Acting Prime Minister of New Zealand in which he expressed sincere appreciation to him and to Prime Minister David Lange and to the Government of New Zealand for their statements of opposition to and expression of profound regret at the decision of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union Council to tour South Africa.

59. Because of mounting opposition and following an interim injunction granted by the High Court of New Zealand, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union decided to cancel its proposed 1985 tour to South Africa.

G. Action against apartheid in the cultural field

1. Register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa, 1 January-30 June 1984

60. At the request of the Special Committee, the second register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa since the beginning of 1981 was published during the period under review as part of the campaign for a cultural boycott against South Africa called for in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly. The first register was published on 26 October 1983.

61. The circulation of the register encouraged the further development of the campaign for a cultural boycott of South Africa, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States, the home countries of the majority of names on the register. Anti-apartheid groups, trade unions, local authorities, cultural personalities and others have stepped up efforts to persuade those who have performed in South Africa to undertake not to perform again in that country and to encourage others to declare their adherence to the cultural boycott. Hundreds of prominent actors, entertainers and musicians have joined the campaign against apartheid.

62. The Special Committee intends to keep the register up to date and to publish supplements periodically. Names of persons who undertake not to perform in South Africa will be deleted from future lists.

2. Special meeting to honour Stevie Wonder

63. The Chairman issued a statement on 28 March 1985 expressing profound gratitude to Mr. Stevie Wonder for his contribution to the struggle against apartheid. 5/

64. At a special meeting held on 13 May 1985, the Special Committee honoured Mr. Wonder, world-renowned entertainer, whose opposition to racial discrimination and apartheid is well known. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman presented Mr. Wonder with a citation in recognition of his commitment to and work for the uplifting of the oppressed people of South Africa.

65. Mr. Wonder made a statement accepting the citation and sang several songs, including one especially composed for the occasion, entitled "The Bell of Freedom". He was joined by Roberta Flack and two other performers. Also present at the meeting was Harry Belafonte.

3. International Seminar on Racist Ideologies, Attitudes and Organizations Hindering Efforts for the Elimination of Apartheid and Means to Combat Them

66. The International Seminar on Racist Ideologies, Attitudes and Organizations Hindering Efforts for the Elimination of Apartheid and Means to Combat Them was organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid, in co-operation with the Hungarian Solidarity Committee. It was held at Siofok, Hungary, from 9 to 11 September 1985.

67. The agenda of the Seminar was as follows:

1. The impact of racist and fascist propaganda as well as collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa on hindering the struggle against apartheid.
2. Review of the situation in southern Africa in light of the breaches of peace and threat to international security by the Pretoria régime, with particular reference to apartheid as a racist ideology and a crime against humanity.
3. Actions to combat apartheid and other racist ideologies through the dissemination of information and cultural and educational activities.
4. The role of governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to enhance international support for the struggle against apartheid by means of moral and material support to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements.

68. At the invitation of the Special Committee, the Seminar was attended by representatives of concerned United Nations organs and other intergovernmental organizations, Governments, liberation movements, solidarity and other non-governmental organizations and special invitees. More than 50 participants took part in the Seminar.

69. The Seminar was held on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations and the observance of the victory against fascism and Hitler nazism. During its deliberations, the Seminar emphasized that the apartheid régime was following in the footsteps of Hitler nazism. The participants called for intensifying support to the people of South Africa and Namibia to pursue their liberation struggle by all means at their disposal, including armed struggle.

70. The Seminar unanimously adopted a declaration (A/40/660-S/17477, annex), in which it expressed the conviction that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the racist régime of South Africa were one of the most effective and the only peaceful means for the eradication of the evil of apartheid.

71. The Declaration also contained recommendations for action to be taken by Member States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in order to expose and combat the evils of apartheid racism and racial discrimination through joint efforts.

H. Action concerning assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements

72. The Special Committee repeatedly appealed for more assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU. In view of the intensified repression in South Africa, as well as the great advance in resistance by the people, it emphasized the need for all possible political, moral, humanitarian, educational, material and other assistance. It expressed its appreciation to the many Governments, organizations and individuals who had contributed to such assistance, either directly to the liberation movements or through the United Nations and other funds. The Special Committee also maintained contact with other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with assistance to victims of apartheid.

I. Campaign against repression and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa

73. The Special Committee devoted special attention during the period under review to the continuing repression of opponents of apartheid in South Africa and the killing of peaceful demonstrators and to the campaign for the release of political prisoners. It continued its efforts to promote the campaign for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and for an end to all repression against the opponents of apartheid.

74. On 19 November 1984, the Chairman issued an appeal for an end to violence and repression in South Africa. 6/ He stated:

"On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I appeal to all Governments and organizations to condemn the wave of killings and repression by the racist authorities in South Africa in their desperate attempt to control the nation-wide resistance of the people against apartheid.

"The authorities have deployed military forces against African townships. Even according to official accounts, over 165 people, mostly Africans, have been killed, and hundreds, including babies, have been wounded, several at funeral processions, as a result of police violence. Thousands of Africans have been arrested in police swoops."

75. In a statement issued on 20 February 1985, the Chairman expressed alarm and indignation at the serious deterioration of the situation inside South Africa. The racist régime had attempted forcibly to remove thousands of Africans from Crossroads township near Cape Town to the newly created black township, Khayelitsha, situated in sand dunes several miles away. At least 23 people were reported to have been killed and more than 200 injured as the police fought running battles with thousands of demonstrators protesting against the projected removal of the 65,000 inhabitants by force.

76. In the statement, the Chairman called upon the international community to take prompt and effective measures that would oblige the régime to put an immediate stop to the reign of violence in the country and to ensure the immediate release of leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other political prisoners. 7/

77. At the meeting of the Special Committee on 28 March 1985, the Chairman referred to the latest developments in South Africa. He stated that the South African régime had once again resorted to its draconian methods to suppress the nation-wide resistance against its apartheid policies. On 26 March, the apartheid authorities had arrested more than 200 opponents as they marched peacefully to the South African Parliament in Cape Town to present a list of democratic demands.

78. The Chairman pointed out that, despite the intensified repression, the oppressed people of South Africa had not flinched in their legitimate fight to create a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. The peaceful marchers to the Parliament in Cape Town were demanding nothing other than the establishment of democracy in South Africa, the withdrawal of police and troops from the townships and the abolition of institutions created by the régime to perpetuate minority rule. In its resolution 560 (1985) of 12 March 1985, the Security Council recognized the legitimacy of the struggle and called for the withdrawal of the high treason charges and the immediate release of political prisoners. The Chairman said:

"Condemnations of the apartheid régime are no longer enough. A movement of opposition is growing against the régime, not only in South Africa but throughout the world. I hope that this movement will convince Western States to join the vast majority of the Member States in imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the régime. On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I condemn the latest arrests and other repressive measures and urge all Governments and organizations fully to support the united struggle of the people of South Africa for a united, non-racial and democratic society."

79. On 15 May 1985, the Chairman issued a further statement on the death of freedom fighters in South Africa. He urged all Governments, trade unions, student groups and other organizations to take urgent action against the torture of patriots in South Africa and to support all United Nations efforts to eradicate the apartheid régime. 8/

80. On 18 July 1985, the Acting Chairman sent a message of greetings to Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his sixty-seventh birthday and pledged the intensification of the Special Committee's efforts to mobilize the Governments and people of the world for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in South Africa and for full support of the national liberation movements in the struggle for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial society.

81. On 24 July 1985, the Special Committee held a special meeting to consider the situation in South Africa arising from the imposition of the state of emergency imposed on 36 communities by the racist régime. The Special Committee determined that the climate of violence and conflict brought about by the Pretoria régime had intensified in the country, resulting in loss of life of members of the majority population. The Reverend Mr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a patron of UDF in South Africa, addressed the meeting (see

A/AC.115/L.626). The meeting was also addressed by all the members of the Special Committee.

82. In this connection, the Special Committee issued a statement (A/AC.115/L.627) at that meeting, which read, in part, as follows:

"The Special Committee strongly condemns the imposition of a state of emergency in South Africa on 20 July as a desperate act by the apartheid régime, which has been unable to control rising popular resistance against racist oppression despite continuous killings and arrests. It is nothing less than a declaration of war against the oppressed people and other opponents of apartheid, their organizations and leaders.

"...

"The responsibility for the tragic loss of life rests not only on the terrorist régime in Pretoria, but also on those Powers that have continued to hinder and frustrate effective international action to force that régime to abandon apartheid and repression, abrogate the racist constitution and negotiate with the genuine leaders of the people for the establishment of a non-racial democratic State.

"In view of the explosive situation precipitated by the apartheid régime, the United Nations has an inescapable responsibility to take all necessary action under the Charter to avert a wider conflict, to defend the lives of the oppressed people and to promote freedom and justice. ...

"As a first step, the Security Council must consider the matter urgently, determine that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security in terms of Chapter VII of the Charter and decide on effective sanctions against the apartheid régime. It must demand that the Pretoria régime end forthwith the state of emergency, cease its police and military terror, release all detainees, abrogate the Constitution and comply with the resolutions of the United Nations.

"The Special Committee urges all Governments and organizations to exert their influence on those Governments ... that have so far frustrated attempts by the international community to impose sanctions and protected the apartheid régime."

83. On 19 August 1985, the Chairman issued a statement 9/ on the decision taken by the apartheid régime to proceed with the execution of Mr. Malesela Benjamin Moloise, despite demands from the international community and Security Council resolution 547 (1984) for commutation of the death sentence imposed upon him. He requested the Secretary-General and all Governments, institutions and men of goodwill to intervene with the racist régime to desist from the execution.

84. On the same day, the Special Committee issued a statement with regard to a speech made by the racist President P. W. Botha at the Annual Conference of the racist National Party of South Africa. 10/ The Special Committee stated that Mr. Botha's statement stood as a defiant and arrogant testimony to the unrelenting viciousness of the white minority, who had instituted that system of tyranny over the overwhelming indigenous majority of South Africans.

85. On 27 August 1985, the Chairman issued a statement condemning the South African authorities for the arrest of Mr. Allan Boesak, who was to lead a mass protest march on 28 August on Pollsmoor prison in order to present a message of solidarity to Nelson Mandela. He urged the international community and all peace-loving nations to put pressure on the apartheid régime for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Boesak, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

86. On 3 September 1985, the Chairman issued a statement condemning the decision taken by the racist régime in South Africa to ban the Congress of South African Students and calling upon the international community to prevail on the Botha régime to negotiate with the genuine leaders of the indigenous majority rather than confront them with increased violence and repression.

87. On 26 September 1985, the Chairman issued a statement in which he referred to the plan announced by the South African Commission for Co-operation and Development that 42,000 black South Africans would be forcibly removed from white areas to the KwaZulu "homeland" under the scheme of "homelands" consolidation. In the statement, the Special Committee again condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its inhuman and criminal policy of forced population removals which had brought untold suffering and hardship to millions of blacks in the country. It appealed to the international community to take all possible action to isolate and punish the apartheid régime for its continued defiance of the United Nations resolutions that called for an immediate end to apartheid, including such policies as forced removals, the Group Area Act, bantustanization and "pass-laws".

J. Special session in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre

88. On 22 March 1985, the Special Committee against Apartheid held a special session to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre on the theme "Sharpeville, Soweto and Sebokeng: Struggle for Liberation in South Africa and International Response". Representatives of the two liberation movements and prominent international experts analysed the forces against the liberation struggle and the manifestations of support for and solidarity with the freedom struggle.

89. In his opening statement at the special session, the Chairman said that the oppressed people of South Africa had already made their will known. The ongoing school boycott throughout the country, the growth of the non-racial and independent trade union movement and the increasing opposition by churches and communities embodied the determination to resist all apartheid policies. In those circumstances, the international community must mobilize more than ever its efforts to support the struggle for freedom in South Africa. It must commend actions undertaken by parliamentary bodies, municipalities, non-governmental organizations, private citizens' groups and even individuals all over the world in support of the struggle against the racist régime of South Africa. He hoped that the recent developments in South Africa and the surge of moral outrage against apartheid would convince Governments to review their present opposition to taking strong and decisive measures to remedy the situation and to join the vast majority of the Member States in imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime.

90. At the conclusion of its special session, the Special Committee adopted a declaration in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. In the declaration, the Special Committee condemned the massacres, killings and other atrocities against unarmed demonstrators perpetrated by the racist régime, culminating in the brutal attack on mourners at the funeral procession in Uitenhage on 21 March. The Special Committee further emphasized the urgent need for all States to adopt national legislation and take appropriate measures against the apartheid régime of South Africa, such as cessation of all investments in and financial loans to South Africa; an end to all trade with South Africa; full implementation of the arms embargo, including cessation of all forms of military, police or intelligence co-operation with the authorities of South Africa; an immediate end to all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa; and a total boycott of South Africa in the cultural, educational and sports fields. The Special Committee appealed to all States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, trade unions, religious bodies, student and other public organizations and the mass media, as well as city and other local authorities and individuals urgently to provide increased political, economic, educational, legal and other forms of support to the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as humanitarian and all other necessary assistance to the national liberation movements in their just struggle to exercise their right to self-determination by the oppressed people of South Africa. 11/

K. Encouragement of world-wide action against apartheid

1. Consultations with the Minister for External Affairs of France

91. On 9 October 1984, the Special Committee held consultations with His Excellency Mr. Claude Cheysson, then Minister for External Affairs of France (see A/AC.115/SR.552).

92. At the meeting, which was held with the participation of representatives of front-line States, the Chairman invited the Minister for External Affairs of France to make a statement. Statements were also made by Mr. Peter Onu, Secretary-General of OAU and Mr. Toivo ja Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO.

2. Consultations with Mr. Walter Fauntroy, delegate of the District of Columbia in the United States House of Representatives

93. On 30 November 1984, the Special Committee held consultations with Mr. Walter Fauntroy, delegate of the District of Columbia in the United States House of Representatives (see A/AC.115/SR.556).

94. Mr. Fauntroy informed the meeting about action of North American organizations and leaders against apartheid. He referred in particular to the Free South Africa Movement and pointed out that it had four goals: (a) that all the leaders of the non-violent protests arrested in 1984 should be released; (b) that the legitimate leaders of the black people of South Africa who had been detained for decades for their role in the struggle against apartheid should also be freed; (c) that South

Africa should enter into serious negotiations in good faith to resolve the grievances underlying the protests and to settle the question of power-sharing for all the people of South Africa; and (d) that the policy of constructive engagement of the United States administration should be abandoned. He believed that the struggle would be successful, just as Martin Luther King's had been. The final victory would be one that all the people of the world would share. He appealed to all people of goodwill to join in that struggle.

3. Consultations with Mr. J. N. Scholten, Chairman of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid

95. At the same meeting, the Special Committee held consultations with Mr. J. N. Scholten, Chairman of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid.

96. Mr. Scholten welcomed the co-operation that his Association had received from the Special Committee against Apartheid. Combined action must be taken on a world scale in order to realize the dream of a new and democratic society in South Africa. He pointed out that the increased level of action within South Africa must be supported by action from outside, particularly by the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa. He supported the pursuit of the four goals identified by Mr. Fauntroy. The policy of constructive engagement had a negative impact on the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and of South Africa itself. Governments must be convinced that economic support to the South African régime was support for exploitation and suppression. He looked forward to closer ties between United States congressmen and West European parliamentarians for joint action against apartheid.

4. Hearing of student leaders on the review of the grave situation in South Africa and student action against apartheid

97. At its 565th meeting, on 7 May 1985, the Special Committee invited several student leaders in the United States to discuss action against apartheid. Statements were made by the following student leaders:

Mr. Joshua Nessen, American Committee on Africa in New York City;

Mr. Pedro Noguera, Steve Biko Sit-in Committee, University of California at Berkeley;

Mr. Tim Ngubeni, University of California at Los Angeles;

Mr. Steve Swift, University of Wisconsin Students Association, National Students Strike Action against Apartheid, Madison, Wisconsin;

Ms. Tandi Gcabasha, Anti-Apartheid Coalition, Atlanta, Georgia;

Ms. Glenda Krauss, Progressive Students League, Louisville, Kentucky;

Mr. Barron Wallace, Steve Biko Committee at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas;

Mr. Joe Josbaku, Progressive Student Network, University of Iowa;

Ms. Anne Evens, Congress for Divestment at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York;

Ms. Brooke Baldwin, Yale Coalition against Apartheid at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut;

Ms. Marion Pitts, Rutgers Coalition for Total Divestment at Rutgers University, New Jersey;

Mr. Andrew Meyers, Endowment for Divestiture, Princeton, New Jersey;

Mr. Keith Jennings, United States Student Association/National Third World Student Coalition, Washington, D.C.;

Mr. Eric Hirsch, Columbia Coalition for a Free South Africa, and Columbia Faculty against Apartheid, at Columbia University.

98. The Chairman commended the students for their actions in support of and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. He said:

"The movement of youth groups like yours is headed in the right direction. You have seized this time to act and to call for decisive action. The oppressed people of South Africa felt heartened and encouraged by their choice. The actions of student leaders were in unison with organizations and individuals inside South Africa who opposed the apartheid régime."

5. Media Workshop on Countering South African Propaganda

99. The Media Workshop on Countering South African Propaganda was organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid. It was held in London from 20 to 22 May 1985.

100. Participants in the Workshop included representatives of the media, some Commonwealth Governments, national liberation movements, non-governmental organizations and a wide range of people actively concerned with the situation in southern Africa.

101. The Workshop took place against the background of escalating violence in South Africa at a time when balanced and fair reporting of events was especially vital. The participants examined impediments to the effective exposure of apartheid throughout the world, and papers were delivered on how to increase awareness of the scope and intent of South African propaganda, which included the use of misinformation and falsehoods to project an image of stability and reform.

102. Action recommended by the Workshop was designed to counteract the influence on the media of the official Pretoria line in distorting developments in southern Africa.

L. Missions of the Chairman to Governments

103. The Chairman held consultations with a number of Governments during the year to convey to them the concern of the Special Committee over developments in southern Africa and to emphasize the need for intensification of action against apartheid.

1. Mission to Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands (30 October-6 November 1984)

104. The purpose of the mission included discussions with governmental leaders on international action to be taken against apartheid in the light of recent grave developments in South Africa. During the consultations, the Chairman emphasized that apartheid was an international problem and that the Western countries were in a position to make the most significant contribution to the eradication of apartheid (see A/AC.115/SR.556).

105. During his one-day visit to Norway, the Chairman held discussions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and other senior officials, followed by a working lunch hosted by the Director-General for Political Affairs. He had consultations with the Foreign Relations Committee of the Parliament and met with the President of the Parliament. He then addressed a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

106. In Sweden, the Chairman was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and then held discussions with senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and addressed a press conference. After a working luncheon given by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and attended by members of Parliament and of the diplomatic corps, he held fruitful consultations with members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament. The Chairman was then received by the Prime Minister. He also had a very useful meeting with the head of the International Centre of the Swedish Labour Movement, which has been doing excellent work in support of the struggle against apartheid. The following day he met officials of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), who briefed him on Sweden's assistance to the front-line States and the liberation movements.

107. In Denmark, the Chairman was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who gave assurances of his full support for the Special Committee. The Chairman addressed the opening session of the Conference of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid. A symposium on sanctions against South Africa was also held in conjunction with the Conference.

108. In the Netherlands, the Chairman was received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and had very useful discussions with senior officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a luncheon hosted by the Director-General for Political Affairs. He had discussions with a number of the non-governmental organizations most active against apartheid, including detailed discussions with the Holland Committee on Southern Africa. That Committee and other organizations had launched a major national campaign for the boycott of South African gold and krugerrands and had produced a Mandela coin as an alternative to the krugerrand and as a means to raise funds for anti-apartheid work. Representatives of the Shipping Research Bureau in Amsterdam briefed the Chairman on the Bureau's work in support of the oil embargo, and he assured them that the Special Committee would pay

greater attention to that matter and would increase its co-operation with the Bureau. The Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement presented him with an excellent poster on women under apartheid. Lastly, on 6 November 1984 he held a press conference at the Parliament in The Hague.

2. Mission to New Zealand, Vanuatu and India
(19 February-8 March 1985)

109. The Chairman visited New Zealand from 22 to 27 February 1985. He was received by His Excellency Mr. David Lange, Prime Minister of New Zealand. The Chairman informed the Prime Minister of the deep appreciation of the Special Committee for the position that his Government had taken against apartheid and, particularly, for breaking consular relations with South Africa and for its action against the impending tour of the All Black Rugby Team to racist South Africa (see para. 58). The Prime Minister reaffirmed the commitment of the Government and the people of New Zealand to the elimination of apartheid. He also informed the Chairman of the actions his Government was taking in an effort to prevent a pro-tour decision by the New Zealand Rugby Football Union. The Chairman met with many non-governmental organizations involved in the struggle against apartheid. He expressed the deep appreciation of the Special Committee for their opposition to apartheid and for strengthening the international consensus against racist South Africa.

110. From 28 February to 2 March, the Chairman was the guest of the Government and people of Vanuatu. He was received by the President, Ati George Sokomanu, and the Prime Minister, the Honourable Father Walther H. Lini. The Chairman conveyed to them the deep-felt appreciation of the Special Committee for the invaluable support of their Government to the work of the Special Committee. He discussed with them the latest initiatives and actions that the Committee was taking against the apartheid régime. The Chairman was informed that the Government of Vanuatu on its own initiative was mobilizing the support of the States of the South Pacific Forum for further action against apartheid South Africa. The Government of Vanuatu also accorded the Chairman the privilege of addressing the Council of Ministers in session. He briefed the Council on the actions and initiatives of the Special Committee, and discussions followed.

111. At New Delhi, the Chairman was received by His Excellency Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The Chairman conveyed to him the deep condolences of the Special Committee over the tragic death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister. He then expressed deep appreciation for India's pioneering and continuing role in the struggle against apartheid and in promoting justice and freedom in South Africa. Thereafter, he reviewed with the Prime Minister the situation in South Africa, particularly the manoeuvres and the continuing brutality and savagery of racist South Africa. The Prime Minister said that India would continue to play its role and take added initiatives and action in mobilizing the international community towards the objective of the elimination of apartheid. While at New Delhi, the Chairman laid a wreath at the memorial of Indira Gandhi. He also addressed the Indian Federation of the United Nations Association and urged non-governmental organizations to redouble their efforts in support of the liberation movements and to increase moral and material assistance to them.

3. Mission to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France (24-30 May 1985)

112. The Chairman visited the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from 24 to 28 May 1985 where he met with leading Soviet officials, including Mr. Sarvar Asimov, Vice-President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Mr. Victor Stukalin, Deputy Foreign Minister. The Chairman was the guest of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee during his stay in the Soviet Union. His extensive discussions with Messrs. Asimov and Stukalin covered the basic issues of war and peace, actions taken against apartheid and the broader considerations of African liberation. On the question of apartheid, their discussion concerned the following topics: the main obstacles to the elimination of the institutionalized form of racism; the nature of the apartheid State and the support it received from certain Western States; condemnation of the policy of "constructive engagement"; and the economic support provided to the racist Government of South Africa by transnational corporations. Both the Supreme Soviet and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed support for the initiatives of the Special Committee in seeking comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The Chairman paid tribute to the Soviet Union for its support for and solidarity with the aspirations for liberation and development of Africa. The Chairman also met with the Governing Body of Patrice Lumumba Friendship University and with the Bureau of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. On both occasions, the Chairman reviewed the situation in South Africa and the actions the Committee had taken in the promotion of the struggle against apartheid.

113. In France, the Chairman's discussions with His Excellency Mr. Ronald Dumas, Minister for External Relations, focused on the policies and practices of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. They were both of the view that there had been no meaningful change in South Africa. Mr. Dumas pledged the support of his Government for the work of the Special Committee.

M. Observance of international days

114. As in previous years, the Special Committee held solemn meetings in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October 1984), the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1985), the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (16 June 1985) and the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1985). 12/

N. Representation at conferences, meetings and other events

115. The Special Committee was represented at the following conferences, meetings and events:

- (a) African Regional Seminar for the International Year of Peace
Addis Ababa, 8-11 January 1985
Mr. Chiedu Osakwe (Nigeria)
- (b) Conference on Southern Africa and Apartheid: Strategies for Change
Edmonton, Canada, 18-20 January 1985
Mr. Chiedu Osakwe (Nigeria)

- (c) Fourth Congress of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity
Lagos, 21-26 January 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
- (d) International Conference for Disarmament and Detente
Schönbrunn, Vienna, 25-28 January 1985
Mr. Abdallah Baali (Algeria)
- (e) Second Annual Conference on Apartheid and Southern Africa
Toronto, 1 February 1985
Mrs. Cecilia Rebong (Philippines)
- (f) African Regional Seminar of World Federation of United Nations
Associations and Seminar on Apartheid
Freetown, 4-8 February 1985
Mr. Alfred Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. F. W. Y. Ekar (Ghana)
- (g) Seminar in Solidarity with the Trade Union Movement in South Africa
Bermuda, 6 February 1985
Mr. Yusuf Ismail Khalaf (Somalia)
- (h) Conference on Colonialism, Neo-colonialism and Africa's Path to a
Peaceful Future
Humboldt University, Berlin, 6-8 February 1985
Mr. Hocine Djoudi (Algeria)
- (i) Commission on Human Rights
Geneva, 8-13 February 1985
Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan)
- (j) British Anti-Apartheid Movement National Boycott Conference
London, 9 February 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
- (k) Conference of British local authorities to survey action against apartheid
London, 9 February 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
- (l) Forty-first ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU
Addis Ababa, 25 February-5 March 1985
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)
- (m) Conference on Labour and South Africa
New York, 1-2 March 1985
Mr. El-Haoues Riache (Algeria)
- (n) Regional seminar on the implementation of the Declaration of the Granting
of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with respect to the
remaining Territories with which the Special Committee is concerned and
dissemination of information and decolonization
Port Moresby, 4-6 March 1985
Mr. Farouk Adhami (Syrian Arab Republic)

- (o) Seminar entitled "South African Apartheid and the United States: A Collaborator or Mediator?"
Wheeling College, West Virginia, 11-12 March 1985
Mr. Janos Matus (Hungary)
- (p) Meeting of the World Peace Council
Moscow, 22-25 March 1985
Mr. Saliou Coumbassa (Guinea)
- (q) Forum on United States policy in southern Africa
Berkeley, California, 26 March 1985
Mr. Alfred Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic)
- (r) Regional seminar on activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration
Havana, 8-10 April 1985
Ms. Susan Nancy Gordon (Trinidad and Tobago)
- (s) Special session of the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions on South Africa
Washington, D.C., 11-13 April 1985
- (t) Symposium of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the Strengthening of International Solidarity with the Heroic Struggle of the Namibian People Led by Their Sole and Authentic Representative, SWAPO
Sofia, 22-26 April 1985
Mr. Harish Shukla (India)
- (u) Asian Regional Seminar on the Question of Palestine
Beijing, 22-26 April 1985
Ms. Savitri Kunadi (India)
- (v) Symposium of the United Nations Council for Namibia on the Immediate Independence of Namibia - A Common Responsibility
Singapore, 6-10 May 1985
Mr. Bhaskar K. Mitra (India)
- (w) International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid
Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 7-10 May 1985
Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal)
Mr. Tamas Hegyi (Hungary)
Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan)
- (x) First regular session of 1985 of the Economic and Social Council
New York, 9 May 1985
Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

- (y) Extraordinary session of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
Tunis, 13-17 May 1985
Ms. Susan Nancy Gordon (Trinidad and Tobago)
- (z) International Conference on Sports Boycott against South Africa
Paris, 16-18 May 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
Mr. Serge Elie Charles (Haiti)
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)
Mr. Reynaldo Arcilla (Philippines)
Mr. Alfred Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. Chiedu Osakwe (Nigeria)
- (aa) Media Workshop on Countering South African Propaganda
London, 21-22 May 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)
- (bb) Atlantic Seminar on Sanctions against Apartheid
Washington, D.C., 22-23 May 1985
Mr. D. H. N. Alleyne (Trinidad and Tobago)
- (cc) International conference of non-governmental organizations to mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations: "The Struggle against Colonialism and Racism: Forty Years of United Nations Action"
Geneva, 4-5 June 1985
Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
- (dd) Seventy-first session of the International Labour Conference
Geneva, 7-27 June 1985
Mr. Omer Birido (Sudan)
- (ee) Twelfth United Nations North American Regional Seminar on Palestine
New York, 8-9 July 1985
Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
- (ff) Forty-fourth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU
Addis Ababa, 10-16 July 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
- (gg) World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace
Nairobi, 15-26 July 1985
Mr. Serge Elie Charles (Haiti)
Mr. Chiedu Osakwe (Nigeria)
Mrs. Cecilia Rebong (Philippines)
- (hh) Twenty-first ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU
Addis Ababa, 18-21 July 1985
Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)

- (ii) Buenos Aires Symposium
Buenos Aires, 19-23 August 1985
Mr. Raúl Rivera (Peru)

- (jj) International Seminar on Racist Ideologies, Attitudes and Organizations
Hindering Efforts for the Elimination of Apartheid in South Africa and
Means to Combat Them
Siofok, Hungary, 9-11 September 1985
Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
Mr. Bhaskar Kumar Mitra (India)
Mr. Alfred Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. Chiedu J. Osakwe (Nigeria)

- (kk) International Conference on the Intensification of International Action
in Support of the Independence of Namibia
New York, 11-13 September 1985
Mr. Joseph H. Garba (Nigeria)

- (ll) Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against
Apartheid/Special Committee Seminar on Western Measures against South
Africa
Amsterdam, 13-14 September 1985
Mr. Kwesi Buegyam Sarsah Simpson (Ghana)
Mr. Chiedu J. Osakwe (Nigeria)

- (mm) Panel on the issue of the role of transnational corporations in South
Africa and Namibia in a journalist encounter
New York, 12-13 September 1985
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)

- (nn) Public hearing on the Federal Republic of Germany and Namibia
Bonn, 16-17 September 1985
Mr. Kwesi Buegyam Sarsah Simpson (Ghana)
Mr. Chiedu J. Osakwe (Nigeria)

- (oo) Public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations operating
in South Africa and Namibia
New York, 16-20 September 1985
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)

O. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and
other organizations

116. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with other United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa, especially the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. It invited them to several special meetings and conferences of the Special Committee and sent representatives to attend and address their special meetings.

117. The Special Committee continued its active co-operation with the Economic and Social Council. In this connection, a report was issued by the President of the

Council on consultations held with the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (E/1985/114). It was agreed to continue the consultations.

118. The Special Committee also continued to co-operate with the Commission on Human Rights and its Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa.

119. OAU was invited to attend meetings of the Special Committee as an observer. Its representatives addressed several special meetings and conferences of the Special Committee.

120. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

121. The Special Committee maintained a close working relationship with the Centre on Transnational Corporations, with particular regard to the drafting of the guidelines for the public hearings on the activities of transnational corporations operating in South Africa and Namibia, held from 16 to 20 September 1985.

III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE SEPTEMBER 1984

A. Introduction

122. The South African régime's repression of the oppressed people increased dramatically during the year under review. To suppress the growing nation-wide resistance to apartheid, the racist régime resorted to large-scale killings, detained thousands of people, subjected scores of leading opponents to political trials in order to destroy the main opposition organizations, deployed the army in and around African townships and declared a state of emergency on 21 July 1985, giving the police and army unlimited power to act without any civil or criminal responsibility.

123. During the past year, about 700 people were killed and many others injured in clashes with the security forces. Thousands were arrested or detained. Within the first six weeks of the imposition of the state of emergency alone, that is, from 21 July to 31 August, over 140 people were killed, mostly in confrontations with the security forces, and about 2,500 were detained. Deaths in detention and the torture of detainees continued, and assassinations, disappearances and bannings of meetings were intensified. There was hardly a day without a major incident of repression engulfing freedom fighters, students, trade unionists, religious leaders or other opponents of apartheid. Two freedom fighters were sentenced to death, while others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The policies of bantustanization, forced population removals and influx control under the notorious and inhuman "pass laws" continued to be implemented as usual, while black poverty, particularly rural poverty, generated by these policies deepened. The racist minority régime continued its acts of aggression, terrorism and destabilization against neighbouring independent African States.

124. Resistance to apartheid gained further impetus after the imposition of the new constitution, which totally ignored the African majority and created merely advisory and segregated chambers for the so-called "Coloureds" and the people of Indian origin. All segments of the oppressed people heightened the level of their resistance to apartheid in many ways and in greater unity than ever before. The past year was marked by extraordinary sacrifices and militant action by freedom fighters, students, trade unionists and workers, religious leaders, community and civic organizations, teachers and others. The international community strongly condemned the apartheid régime's repression, in greater awareness than ever before of the dimensions of that repression, and demonstrated great sympathy to and solidarity with the oppressed people struggling against apartheid.

125. The state of emergency did not bring peace or restore what the régime calls "law and order". On the contrary, it greatly heightened the country-wide unrest, thus disproving the myth of the invincibility of the régime's military and police power. The oppressed people have given the strongest warning to the régime that the process of fundamental change, that is, the abolition of apartheid, the exercise of the right to self-determination and the establishment of a non-racial society, cannot be delayed and that it is up to the régime to decide whether the change should be peaceful or violent.

126. The apartheid régime's military build-up, acquisition of military equipment and economic and other ties with its main trading partners continued during the year. The régime drew on international financial markets for loans and credits. There were sports contacts between South Africa and some individual sportspersons

and teams. There was also, to a lesser extent, some cultural collaboration with the apartheid régime.

127. The intensity of the struggle against apartheid was manifest in the extensive coverage given to the struggle in world press, which widely condemned the racist régime's repression and, in particular, the state of emergency.

128. Significantly, there was the greatest-ever increase in international action against collaboration with the racist régime, particularly in the Western countries that had been lagging behind in action in the hope that the Pretoria régime might still move to eliminate apartheid. That hope was dashed with the imposition of the state of emergency and President Botha's policy speech on 15 August 1985.

B. Repression against opponents of apartheid

1. State of emergency

129. The apartheid régime's escalating repression against the oppressed people of South Africa culminated in the proclamation of a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts in the country on 21 July 1985, giving unlimited powers to the army and the police to enter homes and search without warrant, detain persons, declare curfews and shoot at will. Under the emergency measures, no one may enter or leave a township proclaimed a "demarcated area". The Commissioner of Police is empowered to impose total press censorship. Police are also allowed to seize property and move people from one location to another. Journalists are barred from areas where security forces are in action under the state of emergency.

130. Within six weeks of the proclamation of the emergency measures, at least 2,500 opponents of apartheid were detained and over 140 were killed under those draconian measures. Among the detainees were religious leaders, lawyers, teachers, students, trade unionists and other political activists who resisted apartheid.

131. Those detained under the emergency regulations are not entitled to have access to relatives or lawyers and may be held in detention indefinitely without charge. The racist authorities do not bear any civil or criminal responsibilities in connection with any action that they take or for any damage claim that may be made against them.

132. The régime has thus resorted to the utmost degree of State violence in an effort to silence anybody capable of organizing anti-apartheid protests, labour strikes or boycotts of white businesses, which it could not otherwise suppress. It not only arrested en masse opponents of apartheid, but even threatened such prominent and leading clerics as Bishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, the Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Reverend Beyers Naudé, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, on the grounds that they had resorted to inflammatory rhetoric and provocative action.

133. The state of emergency was condemned by the overwhelming majority of Governments, with the exception of the die-hard allies of the Pretoria régime.

134. The entire international community, including the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, OAU, the Commonwealth Secretary-General and the Foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC), called for an immediate

end to the state of emergency, the release of imprisoned and detained black leaders and the start of talks with the true leaders of the oppressed people. The Security Council adopted resolution 569 (1985) on similar lines. All these calls met with the obduracy and defiance of the régime, which showed no inclination to chart the proper course for the destiny of the beleaguered country. On the contrary, the repression of opponents of apartheid, including arrests, detentions and killings, continue relentlessly.

135. Reacting negatively to international moves for sanctions against South Africa, President Botha threatened to repatriate about 1.5 million foreign African workers from the neighbouring independent African States.

136. The nervousness of the régime in the face of rising popular protests can be seen from the fact that the régime has now banned all outdoor funerals for victims of black unrest and forbade political speeches at the funerals, the last remaining legal forum for black meetings. Only one person may be buried at a time and only ordained ministers of religion are permitted to address such gatherings. Public address systems and the display of flags or banners are outlawed. Those attending funerals may only travel by vehicle along a route determined in advance by the police. The presiding minister may not make a political speech. 13/

137. At the same time, security forces have imposed new emergency measures in the Eastern Cape to bar children from the streets during school time and have entered homes demanding that children should go to school. 14/

138. On 15 August, a night curfew was imposed on Soweto, extending the area covered by curfews under the emergency measures and providing further proof that the state of emergency had failed in its avowed aim of quelling the unrest. Indeed, the country-wide unrest and resistance gained further momentum after President Botha's policy speech on 15 August, in which he confirmed once more the Pretoria régime's intention of not only perpetuating, but further entrenching the pernicious system of apartheid.

2. Killings, assassinations and disappearances

139. In the growing unrest against apartheid and the state of terror created by the régime, the army and the police sealed off African townships to carry out searches and resorted extensively to the use of weapons to suppress opposition. They attacked demonstrators and protesters with rubber bullets, bird-shot, tear-gas and even rifles and automatic weapons.

140. Over 700 persons were killed by the police and the army during the past year. Even according to official records, from August 1984 to 25 March 1985, 68 civilians were killed and 196 injured in the unrest in the Eastern Cape alone. 15/ In February, 18 people were killed and 230 wounded at Crossroads, Western Cape, while resisting forced removal. On 21 March, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, at least 20 people were killed and 27 injured near Uitenhage, Cape Province. Most of those killed or injured were shot in the back. Soon after the emergency was imposed, security forces opened fire on 400 demonstrators and killed four Africans in Daveyton, near Johannesburg. Within two months of the proclamation of emergency, the number of those killed in police violence under the emergency rose to about 200.

141. In addition to police and army violence, the phenomenon of assassination and disappearance of opponents of apartheid increased in frequency. Three leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, an affiliate of UDF, disappeared on their way to the airport in May. On 26 June, eight young Africans, many of them members of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), were killed in suspicious circumstances in three townships near Johannesburg. On 20 July, Raboroko, a resident of Sharpeville and an active member of PAC, who was shot and wounded during the 1960 anti-Pass Campaign, was stabbed to death under suspicious circumstances.

142. In June, four leading African anti-apartheid activists and members of UDF left Port Elizabeth by car for Cradock but never arrived. Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Silelo Mhlawuli are believed to have been murdered by state agents or right-wing "death squads" who are being used to eliminate militant political opposition. Goniwe and Calata were both teachers and had organized the longest boycott of classes. UDF claims that 27 of its members have disappeared in mysterious circumstances and that 11 others have been assassinated. 16/

143. On 1 August, Mrs. Victoria Mxenge, a UDF lawyer and activist was assassinated by a death squad. She was one of the defence attorneys in the treason trial case of 16 UDF leaders, which was due to resume on 5 August. It will be recalled that her husband, Mr. Griffiths Mxenge, was assassinated in 1981. He was a lawyer and a former Robben Island prisoner who had been imprisoned for being a member of ANC. Mrs. Mxenge's assassination gave rise to widespread unrest in the area which resulted in more deaths and detentions.

3. Arrests, detentions, torture and bannings

144. In the past year, thousands of opponents of apartheid were arrested on various charges under the arbitrary security legislation and the recent state of emergency regulations. Arrests and detentions increased significantly during the period under review.

145. According to official figures, in 1984, 339 persons were detained under Section 29(1) of the Internal Security Act alone. As at 4 March 1985, about 85 of them were still in detention, including the Reverend Tebogo Moselane (aged 39) and Oupa Hlomoka (aged 32) and other community leaders charged with high treason, sabotage and other allegations. 17/ Among the thousands of people arrested in 1984, 11,688 were accused of curfew violations. 18/

146. In the first few months of 1985, hundreds of people were arrested, mainly on charges of public violence and illegal gatherings. Student and community organization leaders and activists were detained under the Internal Security Act. Almost the entire leadership of UDF was arrested on charges of "high treason", while some others went into hiding. 19/

147. In February, police arrested seven prominent black leaders, including Albertina Sisulu, Co-President of UDF and wife of Walter Sisulu; Sam Kikine, a trade union leader; Cassim Salojee, UDF National Treasurer; the Reverend Frank Chikane, UDF Vice-President in the Transvaal; Esmail Mohammed of the Witwatersrand University; and Thozamile Gqweta of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). In March, more than 300 persons were arrested while marching to the Parliament building in Cape Town to protest the Langa/Uitenhage massacre. Among

those arrested were the Reverend Naudé, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the Reverend Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. In April, three more UDF leaders were arrested. The arrests of Patrick Lekota, UDF Publicity Secretary, Popo Molefe, UDF General Secretary, and Moses Chikane, former Secretary of UDF in the Transvaal, were related to the successful workers' and students' strikes in November 1984. In June, hundreds of people were arrested in townships in the Eastern Cape and Orange Free State, many in pre-dawn raids. In the same month, some community leaders of Port Elizabeth were detained under the terms of Section 50 of the Internal Security Act. ^{20/} From July to mid-September about 3,500 people were detained under the emergency measures alone. On 1 August, the Director-General of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) called on South Africa to release all trade unionists and listed 24 unionists in detention as at 29 July.

148. Arrests, detentions and other forms of repression were aimed particularly at the leaders of powerful political and community organizations such as UDF and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), student organizations such as COSAS, the Azanian Students' Organization (AZASO), the Azanian National Youth Union (AZANYU) and the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) and trade unions such as the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and SAAWU. The régime's objective was to crush these organizations and suppress opposition to apartheid. The régime increasingly resorted to the use of Section 50 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for 14 days detention and is renewable.

149. In August, riot police hurled tear-gas grenades into the house of Mrs. Winnie Mandela while she was away and arrested 30 people, including her sister. Later, her house was burned down during the night. Mrs. Mandela said that the destruction was the work of the security forces. On 14 August, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid issued statements condemning the attack and extending sympathy to Mrs. Mandela. Subsequently, Mrs. Mandela declined to accept an offer of \$10,000 from the United States State Department to rebuild her house because, she said, the policies of the Government of the United States did not enable her to accept such an offer.

150. Under the emergency, hundreds of schoolchildren, including 8- to 10-year-olds, were arrested and taken to court on charges of boycotting their schools. When Trevor Tutu (aged 29), the son of Bishop Desmond Tutu, described the treatment of the children as shameful, he was arrested and held in detention to appear before the court. A request for bail was rejected. On 27 August, the eve of a public march to the prison where Nelson Mandela is held, the régime detained the Reverend Boesak, who would have led the huge march. The peaceful marchers, who were demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, were confronted on 28 August with the violence of the security forces, who killed scores of people, injured hundreds and detained many others.

151. Some provisions of the Internal Security Act authorize detention without trial indefinitely, while others authorize periods specified in the order of the Minister of Law and Order, who may, in effect, extend the detention for an unlimited period through a review process that is merely a formality. The review procedures are internal and the detainee has no right to legal representation before the Review Committee. From the standpoint of judicial review, the validity of the Minister's order for detention depends on his giving the requisite information that induced

him to issue the order, or on his assertion that no other information can, in his opinion, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest. He is not required to show evidence justifying the detention order and there is no time limit for the court to try the case.

152. In view of the very rigid restrictions imposed by the régime on the flow of information regarding detainees, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information on detainees and detention conditions. In June, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, an organization established to monitor the conditions of detainees, reported that in the past year nine detainees had died in or as a result of detention. 21/ Among them were Andries Raditsela, a trade unionist who was detained under the Internal Security Act and who died of a subdural haemorrhage a few hours after his release; Sipho Mutsi (aged 20), a branch organizer of COSAS, who died of severe brain haemorrhage; and Mbheki Mvulane (aged 18), who was detained on charges of public violence.

153. Johannes Spogter, a 13-year-old African boy, was detained on 3 July during violent incidents in the township of Steytlerville, Eastern Cape, and was allegedly found dead in his cell two days later. Amnesty International reported on 13 August that it had information that detainees held since the state of emergency was declared were being tortured by the security forces. The tortured detainees included students, trade unionists and clerics. 22/ In September, in an unprecedented decision, a judge granted an order restraining the police from assaulting detainees in several areas after a Port Elizabeth district surgeon, Dr. Wendy Orr, told the court that she had found overwhelming evidence of systematic abuse and assault of detainees. Immediately thereafter, Dr. Orr was transferred to another office where she would have no contact with detainees.

154. Another form of repression in South Africa is the police power to ban persons, organizations or meetings. In March, a three-month ban was imposed on all meetings by any of 28 organizations, including UDF, COSAS, AZASO and AZAPO. In June, the banning was extended to the end of the current year and was expanded to cover more organizations and a larger area. The ban was justified on the grounds that the meetings would "endanger public peace". 23/ On 31 July, the régime banned all outdoor funerals under the emergency measures; subsequently, on 28 August, COSAS was also banned.

155. During the period under review, in addition to bannings, the régime made extensive use of the restrictive legislation curtailing the freedom of the press. Court cases instituted by the régime against the press under the Police Act increased. Thus, the press had no alternative but to rely on police accounts of demonstrations and similar events or incidents. Moreover, the police attempted to force journalists through the courts to disclose the sources of their information.

156. Under the emergency regulations, the security forces have been given drastic powers to censor or prevent press reporting from areas of police violence. Their powers are over and above those which, as noted in previous reports of the Special Committee, existed before the declaration of the emergency, in that the laws which prohibit the press from quoting banned people without special permission from the Minister of Law and Order, as well as more than 100 other laws curbing the freedom of the press on a wide range of matters such as defence and oil, are now considered "strategic". As if the drastic measures were not enough, in August, Police Commissioner John Coetzee appealed to newspaper editors to scale down their coverage of black unrest. On the other hand, the South African Broadcasting

Corporation, which has a monopoly on television broadcasting, has been widely criticized by the South Africa press for having become a machinery of the State and a spokesman of the ruling National Party in so far as its coverage of the unrest is concerned.

157. In June 1985, it was revealed that the police had imported four helicopters and several water cannons from the Federal Republic of Germany for use against demonstrators. 24/ The Chairman of the Special Committee has written to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany expressing concern over the reported sale of the aircraft and requesting information.

4. Political trials and prisoners

158. During the year under review, many opponents of apartheid were tried and sentenced. Some were sentenced on such charges as contravening the Internal Security Act, belonging to an unlawful organization, attempting to leave the country to undergo military training, terrorism, subversion or possessing ANC literature. Others were sentenced for refusing to testify as state witnesses, for playing a role in the two-day strike in November 1984, for attending "illegal" gatherings or for inciting people not to pay their rent and water and electricity tariffs.

159. The number of political trials increased in the past year, as did the number of political detentions. The trials averaged two a week in 1984, compared with four a week in the first half of 1985. The objective was to imprison, intimidate and immobilize opposition to apartheid.

160. In July, five men, namely Jan Shoba of Atteridgeville, Pretoria; Mlandeli Morris Ketye of Mdantsane, East London; Elby July of Kimberley; Michael Mosana Gqamana of New Brighton, Port Elizabeth; and Bonise Nkabinde of Jabulani, Soweto, appeared on charges of furthering the aims of the banned Pan Africanist Congress and faced two counts of contravening the Arms and Ammunition Act. The State also alleged that they unlawfully underwent military training in Botswana and entered South Africa with the intention of carrying out acts of sabotage. Their case was postponed to 21 October. 25/

161. On 26 February, two ANC members, Sipho Bridget Xulu (aged 25) and Clarence Lucky Payi (aged 20) were sentenced to death. Later, they were refused leave to appeal. In the same month, the trial of 14 men continued in the Rand Supreme Court on charges of high treason and terrorism. Three of the men were sentenced, while the trials of the others were postponed. An ANC member, Jabu Ngobese (aged 21), was sentenced to 21 years in prison, and two trade unionists, Mordecai Nduna (aged 24) and Zane Mvula Mapela (aged 25), were each sentenced to five years.

162. About 36 political trials were concluded in March and April. In May, David Hlongwe was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for alleged terrorism. In the same month, Albertina Sisulu and 15 other prominent leaders of UDF appeared in court and were indicted on charges of "high treason". They had been arrested in February during the country-wide raids on the offices of UDF, SAAWU and other organizations. Their trial was expected to resume in August.

163. In June, 22 other people, many of them affiliated with UDF, were charged with high treason. Their trials were postponed to 16 October. In the same month, the

Court rejected the appeal by trade unionist Oscar Mpetha (aged 76) against a five-year sentence for alleged terrorism. In July, an estimated 274 people appeared in court on political charges, 50 of them on treason charges. Among those charged with treason were many prominent leaders of UDF, including Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Popo Molefe.

164. The trial of Albertina Sisulu and 15 other prominent leaders of UDF was resumed on 5 August in Pietermaritzburg. This is one of the most important treason trials since those of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others who were sentenced to life imprisonment for treason in 1964. The trial of the 16 UDF members was adjourned until 2 September. Their arrest and trial was an attempt to destroy UDF, which has grown extremely strong in opposing apartheid and which could not be destroyed by the banning of its meetings and the raids on its offices. Treason is punishable by the death penalty. In all, 48 people were on trial for treason in August.

165. None of the 16 UDF defendants is a known ANC member. The indictment against them claims that the defendants and their organizations had attempted to further the aims of a "revolutionary alliance", that is, an "alliance between ANC, South African Communist Party and SACTU". It alleges that through their membership and activities in UDF, SAAWU, SACTU, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Release Mandela Committee, the defendants were in conspiracy committed to the objectives of the revolutionary alliance - the Freedom Charter.

166. The constitutionality or legality of laws is not subject to judicial review because there is no bill of rights and the Parliament has supremacy. The judicial role in security cases is therefore very limited. The accused has to prove his innocence beyond a reasonable doubt. Of late, political cases have been tried by single judges. Since 1979, "membership in or support for ANC amounts to treason", which also applies to some other organizations. Since then, the régime has often resorted to the use of the common-law charge of treason, and the scope of this offence was expanded in 1982 when, in the case of Barbara Hogan, non-violent activities were construed as treasonable acts and the requisite "hostile intent" was inferred from her alleged connections with ANC.

167. The UDF treason trial is another step forward in the expansion of arbitrariness in the scope of treason. It is based on charges that infer the existence of a treasonable conspiracy from non-violent activities, mainly speeches. 26/ If the State succeeds, it will give the heaviest blow yet to freedom of speech as well as to legal and non-violent political opposition and activities.

168. The United Nations and the international community have repeatedly called for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners in South Africa. However, the offer made by the régime early in 1985 for Nelson Mandela's release was on condition that he renounce violence and accept the citizenship of Transkei. Nelson Mandela promptly rejected the conditional offer, asking that the régime itself renounce violence. PAC leader Zephania Mothopeng, who also was offered conditional amnesty, rejected the offer and opted to serve his entire 15-year sentence. He is 71 years old.

169. Malesela Benjamin Moloise, who was sentenced to death in June 1983, was scheduled to be hanged on 21 August 1985, after President Botha rejected his clemency appeal in mid-August. Earlier, in January 1984, the Security Council had called upon the South African authorities to commute the death sentence imposed on

him (resolution 547 (1984)). In a press release dated 16 August, OAU appealed to the international community to intervene to save Moloise's life. On 19 August, the Special Committee appealed for renewed international efforts to spare the life of Moloise, who was convicted on the basis of a forced confession which he later retracted before the court. On 20 August, the Security Council issued a statement in which it once again urged the South African authorities to rescind the death sentence. Moloise was granted a 21-day stay of execution to allow new evidence to be brought before the court. In the meantime, ANC issued a press statement on 20 August, reiterating that it was the Umkhonto We Sizwe which had responsibility and that Moloise was in no way associated with the act for which he had been convicted.

C. Bantustans, forced population removals and influx control

170. During the period under review, the régime continued to implement its policies for bantustanization, forced population removals and influx control.

171. In February 1985, the residents at Crossroads, while resisting forced removal, were brutalized by the police, who opened fire with rubber bullets, tear-gas and bird-shot, which resulted in at least 18 dead and 230 injured. The residents were resisting forced removal to the new township of Khayelitsha. Despite the use of maximum force by the authorities, the resistance continued and forced the authorities to halt the removals.

172. According to official figures, in 1984 a total of 22,936 Africans were forcibly removed mostly to "homelands", and the 1,078 residents of the "black spot" Swartrand/Haartbeeslagte were removed to Pachsdraai, District of Groot Marico.

173. According to the Black Sash and the Association for Rural Advancement, more than 1 million Africans live in "black spots". About 540,000 of them are in the Natal Province, while 473,000 are in the Transvaal and 31,000 in the Cape. 27/

174. The régime announced in early 1985 that it was reconsidering the whole policy of removals and that while doing so there would be no forced removals. However, the National Committee against Removals said in June that the removals had continued, and it accused the régime of increasing rents and reducing services in order to pressure Africans to leave the cities. Bantustanization continued, as evidenced by the disclosure that the régime intended to incorporate the township of Ekangola in the Eastern Transvaal into the bantustan of KwaNdebele. 28/ In September, the régime announced that 42,000 Africans would be moved to the "homeland" of KwaZulu.

175. The implementation of the obnoxious "pass laws" continued causing enormous hardship. Africans arrested for offences under these laws in 1984 numbered 163,000.

D. Resistance against apartheid

1. Armed and underground struggle

176. The armed and underground struggle continued with greater intensity and effectiveness, despite the régime's terror and acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States in an attempt to immobilize the national liberation movements and freedom fighters. There was greater unity and co-ordination between the armed struggle and other forms of struggle.

177. According to official figures, during the period from 1 January 1984 to 21 March 1985 a total of 58 incidents of sabotage, armed attack or explosions occurred in South Africa. The targets were mainly official premises, petrol depots, power installations, railway lines, police stations, water pipelines and a building of the South African Defence Force (SADF). 29/ Some explosions took place at the premises of companies experiencing labour disputes.

178. From 1 January to 24 June, 55 limpet mine and bomb attacks occurred, as compared with 44 such incidents throughout 1984, according to the Institute for Strategic Studies at Pretoria University. 30/ The 55 incidents were in addition to the almost daily petrol bombings and arson in the townships. In June, ANC held its second national consultative conference in Zambia. It resolved to "sharpen the armed struggle" in order to make "apartheid impracticable and the country ungovernable". 31/ Later, ANC President Oliver Tambo said that ANC had vowed to intensify the struggle at any cost and that that might create the possibility of many more casualties. 32/ Even the police conceded that ANC had a substantial infrastructure in South Africa. 33/

179. On 12 June, grenades were thrown at the homes of two "Coloured" members of Parliament, one of whom was critically injured. Anonymous callers demanded that all "Coloured" and Indian members of Parliament resign since the fraudulent constitution had been rejected by the majority of the people. 34/

180. On 30 June, John Nyati Pokela, the Chairman of PAC, suddenly passed away. He had served 13 years on Robben Island after he was kidnapped by South Africa in Lesotho in 1966 and sentenced. He had been released from Robben Island in February 1981 and assumed the leadership of PAC. He had co-operated with the Special Committee. Upon his death, the Special Committee issued a statement expressing its condolences. The new Chairman of PAC, Johnson Mlambo, had been sentenced to 20 years in 1963. He was released from prison in 1983 and escaped from South Africa in May 1984 to join the external wing of PAC. He testified at the Special Committee's meeting on 11 October 1984 held in commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

181. In March 1985, the Afrikaans newspaper Beeld reported that PAC had accounted for 6 of the 48 insurgents who were said by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to have been involved in sabotage and terror in the Western Transvaal since August 1984. 35/

2. Workers' resistance

182. During the past year, black workers continued to build and strengthen their unions, to co-ordinate their actions with other segments of the black population and to take stronger industrial action despite the régime's repression and the economic recession. There was a determined and advanced effort towards greater unity among major trade union federations, particularly FOSATU, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the General Workers' Union.

183. In November 1984, the largest black trade unions, FOSATU and SACTU, together with other organizations, supported a general strike by African workers who demanded the withdrawal of the police and the army from African townships, the release of detainees held without charge and a freeze on house rents in the townships. The successful two-day strike clearly displayed the potential force of

workers' actions. Black trade unions also increasingly expressed their opposition to new foreign investment that supports apartheid.

184. Black workers' industrial action against apartheid was heightened, particularly in its scope and effect. According to official figures, in 1984 a total of 426 strikes occurred, involving African workers and concerning mainly wage demands, working conditions, disciplinary measures and other trade union matters. Some 167,948 African, 4,697 "Coloured", 1,713 Asian, and 6 white workers were involved in strikes, while 6,949 African, 607 "Coloured" and 12 Asian workers were involved in work stoppages. 36/ From January to the end of March 1985, there were 87 strikes, mainly in the mining, metal, automobile, chemical, service and other industries. From 1 January to mid-May, over 60,000 African miners were involved in strikes and work stoppages. 37/

185. Black workers also went on sympathy strikes and observed boycotts. In May, some African unions stopped work to protest the death in detention of Andries Raditsela, a trade union leader. Together with community and other organizations, trade unions also boycotted white-owned shops in protest against lay-offs, high rents and rates, police violence and other evils of apartheid. Black workers were also prominent at the funerals of victims of the unrest.

186. Despite the imposition of the state of emergency, on 5 August NUM, which has a membership of 230,000 of the country's 550,000 African workers at gold, diamond and coal mines, called for a nation-wide strike on 25 August. The strike was subsequently postponed to 2 September. NUM threatened to boycott white businesses unless the régime lifted the state of emergency within 72 hours. It also threatened to call an immediate strike if the régime repatriated foreign African workers from the neighbouring independent African States in reprisal for international economic sanctions.

187. During the year under review, the display of the potential power of black workers, both as workers and as consumers boycotting white businesses, has left an indelible mark on the history of labour relations in South Africa.

188. International support for the struggle of black workers in South Africa has increased as repressive measures against them have become more intense. In June, the International Labour Conference, at its seventy-first session, adopted the report of its Committee on Apartheid. The report contained a series of conclusions appealing to Governments, workers and employers to adopt stronger economic and other measures to intensify the international campaign against the régime.

189. Workers all over the world have demonstrated their support through actions undertaken by individual trade unions or international labour federations. At a special session held at Washington, D.C. in April, the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions adopted a document entitled "Beating Apartheid" which was an expansion of its Updated Programme of Action in Support of the Independent Black Trade Union Movement in South Africa. The document included four specific suggestions for actions against the régime:

- (a) Escalation of economic sanctions against South Africa;
- (b) Discouragement of white emigration to South Africa;
- (c) Cessation of government collaboration with the South African régime;
- (d) Organization of target campaigns on specific transnational corporations.

190. The World Federation of Trade Unions also reaffirmed on several occasions its support through denunciations of the vicious repression by the régime of black workers and their trade unions. In many countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Australia, individual trade unions or their national bodies showed their solidarity, by means of boycotts, demonstrations and other actions, with black workers in South Africa. In New York City, thousands of trade unionists and others participated on 13 August in a mass anti-apartheid demonstration against the imposition of the state of emergency and the policy of constructive engagement, as well as for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and for disinvestment.

3. Resistance by students, community organizations and religious institutions

191. The level of resistance in South Africa during the period under review was different from that in any other period, including the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the Soweto massacre in 1976. The recent actions of resistance have engulfed almost every corner of the country. As new phenomena, blacks started boycotting white-owned shops and clearly demonstrated their readiness to sacrifice even their lives for the elimination of apartheid.

192. Students, community organizations and religious institutions and leaders intensified their opposition to apartheid.

193. The education system has continued to be separate for black and white students in order to provide inferior education to black students. The racist régime has spent many times more for the education of white students than it has for that of black students. The pupil-teacher ratio between blacks and whites has also been wide. Education for white students is free and compulsory, but not for black students. In other words, black parents have to pay for inferior education while white parents have a better system of education which is both free and compulsory. African students, who are subject to Bantu education, have been most affected, mainly because of inadequate expenditure and facilities, poor conditions of service for their teachers, lack of compulsory education for African students, inadequately qualified African teachers and the apartheid environment which is not conducive to study and education. There is also a wide salary gap between African and white teachers.

194. School boycotts by black students continued into 1985, in a wider range across the country. Students boycotted and protested not only against the discriminatory education system but also against local authorities, administrative boards and other institutions of apartheid. On many occasions, there were clashes between students and police. In many townships, workers stayed away from work in support of the students' struggle.

195. In the latter part of 1984, the school boycotts took place mainly in the African townships. In February 1985, over 6,000 "Coloured" students began boycotting schools in Port Elizabeth in solidarity with African students in Uitenhage. Many black schools in the Eastern Cape, the Vaal Triangle and East Rand were closed indefinitely. In the forefront of the school boycotts were COSAS, a UDF affiliate, AZASO and AZASM. According to official figures, between January and March a total of 41 schools and thousands of students were affected by school boycotts. 38/

196. Students and youths participated in great numbers in the boycotts, mass demonstrations, funerals of victims of police violence, strikes and commemorative services. They participated in anti-apartheid action in solidarity with other segments of the population. Their actions were greatly instrumental in bringing about the collapse of most of the local authorities imposed by the régime in townships against the will of the people.
197. On 25 March 1985, all indoor meetings to discuss school boycotts were banned. In early August, under the state of emergency, both black and white students demonstrated and were attacked by police in Cape Town and Johannesburg.
198. Religious leaders and institutions also increasingly continued to express opposition to apartheid and to call for divestment and civil disobedience in order to dismantle apartheid. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Reverend Boesak and the Reverend Naudé were prominent in this respect. They all expressed, both inside and outside South Africa, their strong opposition to apartheid.
199. In June, the National Conference of the South African Council of Churches resolved in favour of divestment and other economic measures, while the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Grahamstown Synod of the Methodist Church called for an end to military conscription. 39/ The churches also asked for the withdrawal of troops from the townships and accused the police of increasing the flames of resentment.
200. Community and civic organizations have been in the forefront of the resistance against apartheid. Hundreds of such organizations are affiliated with UDF, which has become the strongest national extra-parliamentary opposition group. As already noted, scores of UDF and National Forum leaders have been put on trial for treason and many others detained. UDF was established to oppose apartheid, particularly the new constitution which has been widely and unequivocally rejected both inside and outside South Africa as a pseudo-reform that would, in fact, further entrench apartheid.
201. UDF was very effective in the campaign to boycott the elections to the "Coloured" and Indian Houses of Parliament as well as in the protest campaigns against local councils in African townships. As a result of those and other campaigns, only 17 per cent of the electorate voted in the elections for the two Houses, and the régime-instituted local government system in African townships collapsed after many councillors resigned and several others were killed. According to the Minister of Co-operation, 240 African local councillors resigned between September 1984 and June 1985. 40/
202. Community organizations at all levels participated in anti-apartheid actions. They went on rent and bus-fare strikes, challenged the régime and attended so-called "illegal" gatherings, including funerals of police victims, boycotted white businesses and took other actions against apartheid. In July and August, Bishop Tutu and the Reverend Boesak were in the forefront of the defiance of the emergency measures in attending the funerals of victims of police violence.
203. From September 1984 to May 1985, about 1,500 cases of violent demonstrations took place, according to the police. 41/ These included the violence on the anniversaries of Sharpeville Day and Soweto Day as well as that at the funerals of those shot and killed by the police and the army and of those who died in police detention. The violence was, however, due to police action.

204. The escalating police and army violence and the state of emergency that resulted in thousands of detentions and hundreds of deaths during the period under review shocked and outraged the international community, which expressed sympathy for the intensified resistance to apartheid and took various forms of action against that system. On 26 July, the Security Council urged Member States to adopt various measures against South Africa and demanded, among other things, that the state of emergency be lifted immediately. The international pressure on South Africa continued to mount.

E. Political manoeuvres of the apartheid régime

205. To ease domestic and international pressures for action against apartheid, the Pretoria régime announced its intention to consider further so-called reforms to apartheid, repealed some discriminatory laws of no real import to the black majority and made a defiant policy statement reaffirming its commitment to apartheid.

206. After the opening of the new tricameral Parliament in January 1985, P. W. Botha, the head of the apartheid régime, announced his intention to establish an "informal", "unofficial" and "advisory" forum for Africans who were excluded from the Parliament. The "pass laws" would be reformed and the question of citizenship for Africans in the urban areas would be considered, he said.

207. Later, the racist régime repealed the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, as well as the Improper Political Interference Act, which prohibited political parties from recruiting members of more than one racial group.

208. These changes still left the pillars of apartheid intact. The Group Areas Act, "pass laws", "homelands", forced population removals and other apartheid policies still constitute the cornerstone of the apartheid régime's policies and actions. The repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, for example, will not, in practice, improve the lives of those involved without the repeal of the aforesaid laws, because the place of residence of the spouses and the schooling of the children will still be governed by such apartheid laws as the Group Areas Act.

209. Blacks rejected all these moves and vague promises as cosmetic and of no direct consequence to their legitimate aspirations. The repeal of those Acts and provisions was widely interpreted as an attempt to help justify the participation of those serving in the tricameral Parliament such as the "Coloured" Labour Party, which had claimed that it would participate in the racially segregated Parliament precisely to achieve the repeal of discriminatory laws.

210. The apartheid régime's real intent, however, was made clear in a policy statement made by Mr. Botha at the National Party Congress on 15 August. That policy speech, which was merely a reaffirmation of the Pretoria régime's commitment to apartheid, shocked the world. The so-called manifesto rejected the principle of one man-one vote and political rights for blacks in a non-racial, democratic and unitary State. It also rejected negotiations with the true leaders of the black population, threatened stronger measures against opponents of apartheid and defied urgent international calls, including that for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng. The régime simply reiterated its commitment to apartheid and white supremacy.

211. With regard to the question of citizenship, it turned out that the régime's intention was to consider dual citizenship for Africans in the so-called "independent homelands" and South African citizenship for all other Africans who would, according to President Botha, "be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa." These political institutions were not, however, defined, except for a very general and vague reference to "participation in institutions on a regional and/or group basis". In other words, while Africans are expected to become South African citizens, they are not expected to have full citizenship and political rights. This is yet one more monstrous device to perpetuate apartheid and an empty gesture made solely for propaganda purposes.

212. The régime's policy statement was deplored and criticized even by its trading partners and friends. It was regarded as a blueprint for further violence. Blacks in South Africa vowed to intensify the struggle against apartheid. On 16 August, the Secretary-General issued a statement saying that his concerns had not been allayed by President Botha's speech with regard to the situation in South Africa and that the speech did not address the main issues raised in Security Council resolution 569 (1985). The Special Committee also issued a statement, on 19 August, terming President Botha's speech defiant and an arrogant testimony to the unrelenting viciousness of the white racist minority. The Committee said that it had become abundantly clear that nothing short of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would have the desired impact, and it reaffirmed its solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa.

213. On 21 August, the Security Council issued a statement expressing the belief that a just and lasting solution in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of the system of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in the country. The members of the Council expressed their grave concern at the latest pronouncements of the Pretoria régime, which were devoid of any concrete action towards such a just and lasting solution in South Africa.

F. Acts of aggression and destabilization

214. In its effort to counter the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and to extract the acquiescence of the neighbouring independent African States to its policies, the Pretoria régime, on the one hand, entered into some accords and understandings with some of those States and, on the other hand, committed acts of aggression and destabilization against several of those States, including the very States with whom it had concluded the accords.

215. The apartheid régime claimed that the unrest in South Africa was the work of radical and revolutionary elements who were returning to the country illegally after undergoing military training in neighbouring countries and that it was trying to ensure that the countries concerned deny "bases" to freedom fighters.

216. Angola was one of the countries subjected to acts of aggression and destabilization during the past year. Since gaining independence a decade ago, Angola has been invaded more than 12 times by South Africa. It has also had to cope with forces of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) which are being supported by South Africa. South African aggression and UNITA attacks have cost Angola over \$15 billion, devastated the country's economy and

resulted in the death of tens of thousands of people and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of others.

217. The Lusaka Understanding of February 1984 between Angola and South Africa, which provided for the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola, was almost stillborn. South Africa withdrew its forces after a long delay, and even then it left behind some 60 soldiers. Moreover, it continued to support the UNITA forces, which consequently intensified attacks on the country's infrastructure.

Mr. Jonas Savimbi, the leader of UNITA, was present at the swearing-in ceremony of P. W. Botha as State President in September 1984.

218. In May 1985, South African commandos attempted to sabotage oil installations at Malonga, Cabinda. Angolan troops killed two of the commandos and captured another, Wynand du Toit, who confessed that his unit had carried out several other attacks on strategic installations in Angola. The racist régime had claimed that the commando unit was gathering information about ANC and SWAPO bases. The raid occurred shortly after the Pretoria régime announced the withdrawal of its troops from Angola. As a result, the Angolan Government broke off talks with Pretoria. In the same month, it was reported that the Angolan authorities had intercepted two South African night parachute drops of weapons to UNITA in the northern part of the country. 42/

219. On 20 June 1985, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 567 (1985) condemning South Africa's military incursion into Angola. Speaking at the meeting of the Security Council on 20 June, the Foreign Minister of Angola said that the abortive operation was part of a campaign to destabilize Angola and to suffocate it economically. On previous occasions, the Council had strongly condemned South Africa for its acts of aggression and demanded the immediate cessation of all such acts and its immediate withdrawal from Angola. It had also requested Member States to extend all necessary assistance to Angola and reaffirmed that Angola was entitled to prompt and adequate compensation.

220. On 16 September, the South African army and air force invaded Angola to support the rebel UNITA forces against the effective drive of the Angolan troops. The Pretoria régime finally admitted that it had been providing aid to UNITA, despite the Lusaka Understanding that it signed with Angola in February 1984. On 20 September, the Security Council adopted resolution 571 (1985) in which, inter alia, it strongly condemned the racist régime's premeditated, persistent and sustained armed invasions of Angola as well as its utilization of the international territory of Namibia as a springboard for its acts of aggression and destabilization. It also demanded that South Africa withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its military forces from Angola.

221. During the period under review, the Pretoria régime committed other acts of aggression, terrorism and assassination. In February 1985, two South African refugees were injured in Gaborone, Botswana, when their house was bombed. In May, Vernon Nkadimeng, a member of SACTU and the son of the General Secretary of SACTU, was killed in a car bomb explosion in Gaborone. It is widely believed that these acts of terrorism emanated from the racist régime. On 14 June, South African forces raided Gaborone, allegedly against ANC "bases". Twelve persons were killed, including three women and a five-year-old child, and six others were injured. Extensive damage was caused to property.

222. On 21 June 1985, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 568 (1985), in which it condemned all acts of aggression, provocation and harassment, including murder, blackmail, kidnapping and the destruction of property, committed by South Africa against Botswana. It affirmed Botswana's right to receive and give sanctuary to the victims of apartheid and denounced and rejected South Africa's practice of "hot pursuit" to terrorize and destabilize Botswana and other countries in the region.

223. Earlier, on 19 June, the Security Council had adopted resolution 566 (1985), demanding the immediate implementation of the independence plan for Namibia and warning of additional measures if South Africa did not co-operate. It condemned the racist régime for its installation of a so-called interim government in Windhoek. Thus, within the span of two days, South Africa was condemned three times by the Security Council in connection with its acts of aggression against Angola and Botswana, as well as its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its installation of a so-called interim government in the Territory. South Africa's aggression against Botswana was also condemned on 24 June at an emergency meeting of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa.

224. The Pretoria régime's destabilization efforts also continued against Mozambique, even after it had signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique in March 1984. Mozambique claimed that South African agents continued to supply the National Resistance Movement (MNR) with arms and ammunition. Reports indicated that just before the signing of the Accord, South Africa had resupplied MNR with huge quantities of war matériel. Although the apartheid régime repeatedly denied giving support to MNR after the signing of the accord, on 20 March 1985 it tacitly admitted such aid when it declared its border with Mozambique a restricted airspace with a view to curtailing smuggling and preventing the giving of logistical and other support to the rebels. It also felt constrained to announce that police had uncovered a massive money-counterfeiting operation in Johannesburg which had links with MNR.

225. On 13 June, the Presidents of Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe held a one-day meeting at Harare to highlight their concern over Mozambique's security situation and to explore ways of increasing co-operation with it. 43/

226. In the case of Mozambique, the Pretoria régime publicly admitted in September its continued involvement in the destabilization of that country, despite the Nkomati Accord that it signed in March 1984. The Mozambican forces obtained evidence of such involvement when they destroyed camps of the rebel MNR forces. South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a news conference on 19 September that his country maintained radio links with MNR, constructed a landing strip for them and dropped supplies for them.

227. The Pretoria régime's so-called peace offensive, which led to the Lusaka Understanding and the Nkomati Accord, brought no peace. That régime continued to attack, intimidate, provoke and destabilize its neighbours and did not honour its commitments. There can be no peace in southern Africa unless apartheid is eliminated and Namibia achieves independence.

G. Military build-up

1. General

228. South Africa's military build-up continues to be a cause of great concern to the international community. In what could be termed a show of force, the régime staged its largest conventional military manoeuvres in 1984 since the Second World War. The manoeuvres, code-named "Thunder Chariot", were held from 24 August to 22 September 1984. More than 4,000 vehicles, 11,000 troops and many different aircraft participated. Commenting on the manoeuvres, General Magnus Malan, the South African Minister of Defence, boasted that his country's conventional forces were "the best in Africa", adding that "with what we have witnessed, we could go right through to Cairo". 44/ The military hardware on display included the G5 and the G6 field guns, the Olifant tank and Ratel infantry fighting vehicles. 45/

229. According to a survey by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, South Africa's military forces for 1984/85 were as follows: 46/

Total armed forces	83,400 (53,300 conscripts; total mobilizable strength, 404,500)
Army	67,400 (10,000 white, 5,400 black and "Coloured" regulars, 2,000 women, 50,000 conscripts and 9 territorial commands)
Navy	6,000 (including 900 marines, 2,300 conscripts and 2,000 Citizen Force)
Air Force	10,000 (1,000 conscripts; 304 combat, including 93 with Citizen Force, and 25,000 Citizen Force)

230. Apparently, Active Reservists serve in the Citizen Force for 12 years, during which they spend 720 days in uniform. They then serve five years in the Citizen Force Reserve and may be allocated to the Commando Force, where they serve 12 days a year up to the age of 55. 47/ As part of the régime's continuing process of militarization of its white society, SADF issued new official guidelines in September 1984, for the intake of immigrant national servicemen into the SADF. The guidelines made it increasingly difficult for eligible immigrants to escape military call-up. 48/ As the political unrest in the country escalated, in June 1985 SADF extended the 30-day call-up of the Citizen Force to 60 days in order to cope with the continuing unrest and conflict in the country. 49/ In the same month, General Malan disclosed that a few school cadet officers who were members of Commando Units had been "incorrectly" called up and utilized for internal law and order operations in the Eastern Cape. 50/ The militarization of the country is primarily aimed at South African blacks, whose growing anti-apartheid protests the régime has decided to quell through force.

2. Defence budget

231. Whereas the 1984/85 military spending went up by 21.4 per cent over the 1983/84 figures to a record level of R 4,279 billion, the 1985/86 figures were increased by 8.1 per cent to R 4,722 billion. 51/ According to the Financial Mail, while this may be considered a modest increase compared to that of the previous

year, to some extent this figure was deceptive, since other departments had military-related spending that was difficult to quantify. 52/ For instance, according to a report by the United Nations Council for Namibia, all construction and maintenance of military bases is paid for by the Department of Public Works. All houses for military personnel are provided for by the Department of Community Development, while the Health and Welfare Department provides substantial support to the SADF medical services and the budget of the Department of Finance, through its Secret Service Account, provides funds for military intelligence, channelled through the special defence account. 53/ This suggests that actual military spending far exceeds the Department's stated budget.

3. Arms build-up

232. The Financial Mail reported that the South African armaments corporations (ARMSCOR) had developed an advanced semi-automatic grenade launcher that could be highly effective in close combat situations. 54/ The 40-millimetre (mm) grenade launcher was said to be ideally suited for "counter-insurgency" warfare in relatively dense vegetation such as on South Africa's borders with Mozambique, Zimbabwe and northern Namibia. In addition, ARMSCOR has also developed a simpler 37-mm single-shot launcher from the 40-mm launcher, for use by the police in "riot situations". 55/ The 37-mm launcher, called the "Stopper", is fitted with ordinary sights and can fire rubber bullets, tear-gas, stun charges or flares. The 40-mm launcher fires six shots at a rate of more than one per second. South African infantry units are now being equipped with it.

233. The régime is also going ahead with its plans to build the Overberg Missile Testing Range at De Hoop, the cost of which is estimated at R 238 million in 1983 rand value. 56/ The testing range is expected to be completed in 1990. According to General Malan, the planning, surveying and designing of the testing range was being conducted by a consortium of consulting engineers whose identities could not be revealed, "as some of the firms involved might be prejudiced because of the nature of the project". 57/ The desire for secrecy concerning the identities of the firms suggests that some of the firms involved in the project are foreign.

4. Acquisition of military equipment

234. During the course of the past year, the case of six British men charged with conspiracy to export arms equipment to South Africa dominated the news on the violations of the arms embargo. The conspiracy involved four South Africans who had been arrested in the United Kingdom in 1984 and were to appear in trial in October 1984. The four were released on bail paid for by the South African régime and were allowed to go home, but the South African régime later refused to return the four men to stand trial as promised. 58/ Meanwhile, three of the British men pleaded guilty to the charges. One of the three disclosed that 90 per cent of his firm's business was with South Africa. His firm dealt in high technology electronics parts. 59/ The case was concluded in July with one acquittal, a fine for one of the accused and prison sentences for the other four.

235. In July 1985, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement released a 58-page memorandum on Britain's failure to support the mandatory arms embargo. According to the memorandum, South Africa used "front" companies, fraud and falsehoods in a multimillion-rand sabotage of the arms embargo. 60/ The memorandum stated that

"Britain has been an important centre for such clandestine operations because most of the equipment, components and spares South Africa requires are of British origin". 61/ The memorandum added that since the mandatory United Nations arms embargo had been imposed in 1977, the United Kingdom had continued to supply South Africa with nuclear technology and personnel, radar equipment and computers, codified information from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and aircraft and arms "laundered" through third countries or smuggled out of the United Kingdom. The memorandum also said that South African arms dealers moved in and out of the United Kingdom with impunity and that United Kingdom arms dealers visited South Africa. 62/ It further added that the controls that the United Kingdom Government had enacted to enforce the United Nations mandatory arms embargo had been shown to be weak and ineffective. Among the loopholes cited in the memorandum were:

(a) The United Kingdom definition of "arms and related materials" was fraught with ambiguities resulting in several "related materials" being exempted from the definition;

(b) The interpretation of the provision on "dual purpose" equipment by the United Kingdom was such that only equipment specially designed for military use was embargoed. 63/

236. Because of these and other loopholes, the apartheid régime has been able to circumvent the arms embargo against it.

237. In corroboration of the evidence provided by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, in June 1985 the Government of the United Kingdom decided to allow the sale of the Edgeley Optica, a surveillance aircraft, to South Africa without an export licence. 64/ When the possibility of this deal was first disclosed in February 1985, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations seeking clarification on the matter. He received an acknowledgement from the Mission of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, but the Special Committee has received no further information from the Mission.

238. The United Kingdom is not the only country where violations of the arms embargo are reported to be taking place. According to a report in Africa News (a weekly digest of African affairs), United States strategic exports to South Africa had risen steadily since the Administration lifted the ban on sales of commercial goods to the military and police and relaxed restrictions on sales of computers and aircraft in 1982 and 1983. The report added that the definition of acceptable "commercial" exports had been broadened. It revealed that licences issued in 1984 by the Commerce Department for such sensitive items as aircraft, computers and communications equipment had increased by almost 100 per cent over the average of the three previous years, while licences for military-related equipment on the United States Government's munitions list have risen from \$12 million to \$88 million, mostly from data encryption devices. 65/

239. Besides these two major countries, the Federal Republic of Germany is another country whose nationals or corporations are known to have violated the arms embargo in recent years. In a letter written to the Chairman of the Special Committee on 25 July, Mr. Jochen Hippler, a member of the Green Party in the Federal Republic of Germany, informed the Committee that Ms. Annemarie Borgmann, a member of the

Federal Parliament and of the Foreign Relations Committee, had brought charges against Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, a corporation based in the Federal Republic of Germany, for exporting military helicopters to South Africa.

5. Nuclear collaboration

240. Collaboration with South Africa continued also in the nuclear field.

241. The United States now allows regular licensing of nuclear-related equipment and, for the first time since the United States arms embargo on South Africa was imposed in 1963, of selected items from the Government's index of sensitive military technology, the munitions control list. 66/

242. The Uranium Enrichment Corporation (UCOR) of South Africa has announced that South Africa will expand the number of its nuclear reactors rapidly by the end of the century because the country's coal resources are limited. Because South Africa does not possess the necessary technology to build the reactors that would be needed by the end of the century, technology will be imported. 67/

243. Mr. Leonard Spector, a United States nuclear specialist who helped draft the United States Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978, has stated that South Africa may have built 15 to 25 nuclear weapons over the past few years. 68/

244. In December 1984, the South African media reported that the Nuclear Development Corporation of South Africa (NUCOR) was considering the idea of making certain "remote" areas in South Africa into "international burial sites" for radioactive waste. According to Mr. J. P. Hugo, the Managing Director of NUCOR, such a project would earn billions in foreign exchange because "open spaces and arid conditions" made South Africa ideal for radioactive burial sites. 69/

245. In the same month, it was reported that the official Central Electricity Generating Board and the Atomic Energy Authority, both of the United Kingdom, had bought 157 tons of uranium oxide of South African origin on the spot market. The United Kingdom continues to maintain vital interests in South African and Namibian uranium production, particularly through the London-based Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation's 25 per cent equity holding in the Rössing project in Namibia. Rössing can produce 5,000 tons of low-grade uranium at full capacity. 70/

246. In January, the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) of South Africa disclosed that it had recruited personnel from the United States to operate the nuclear power station in Koeberg. Approximately 20 United States citizens were working directly for ESCOM and an undisclosed number for United States-based companies that had contracted to work for ESCOM. 71/

247. In the same month, the South African Atomic Energy Corporation announced that South Africa would be self-sufficient in enriched uranium by 1987 when its first processing plant would become operative. Until then, South Africa would continue receiving supplies from abroad. 72/

248. In February, South Africa closed down the Koeberg nuclear power station after doubts over the safety of its operations. Koeberg was built by the Société franco-américaine pour les constructions atomiques (Framatome) of France. 73/ Although South Africa has repeatedly denied that it detonated a nuclear device in September 1979, recent evidence collected by the Washington Office on Africa of

Washington, D.C. has confirmed that such a detonation did take place. This information, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, among other things, showed that the United States Naval Research Laboratory had also reached a firm conclusion that detonation did in fact occur. 74/

H. Economic collaboration 75/

1. General

249. South Africa is going through a severe recession, the worst in its recent history, which was expected to continue throughout 1985. Recession, coupled with the ongoing drought in 1984, has in particular increased economic hardship on blacks. Actual unemployment runs into the millions.

250. In 1984, the real gross national product (GNP) increased by 5 per cent owing to an improvement in the terms of trade, and the gross domestic product (GDP) increased by 4.5 per cent. During the first quarter of 1985, real output in the export-oriented mining sector increased significantly. Other sectors showed output declines.

251. South African agricultural output was irregular during 1984. An increase in output was recorded in the beginning of the year and was followed by declines in the second and third quarters, as a result of the drought. An increase in the output of the wheat crop in the third quarter raised the aggregate output. This also helped to increase the GDP.

252. Gold still constitutes approximately 50 per cent of South African exports. However, its value has been declining over the last months, falling below \$300 per ounce although the régime had based its economic projections on an average price of \$360 per ounce. The value of the rand has also fallen. The rand was worth \$US 1.40 in 1981; its value dropped to \$0.80 in late 1983 and finally, as of the beginning of July 1985, to below \$0.50. As a result, the total foreign liabilities of South Africa and the cost of imports in terms of rands have increased. South African gold mining companies, however, have profited from the drop in the value of the rand. While the dollar value per ounce of gold has dropped, its price in rand terms has increased, leading to an increase in their profits.

253. In August, it was reported that many banks in the United States indicated their reluctance to renew their short-term credit lines to South Africa, totalling approximately \$19 billion, which were due to be rescheduled by the end of 1985. Mr. Gerhard de Kock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, visited Western Europe and the United States in order to convince banks to continue to extend their credit lines to South Africa as usual. The negotiations were reported to have been unsuccessful and on 27 August, to prevent the flight of foreign capital, the régime temporarily closed the South African financial markets. Furthermore, on 1 September, it announced the suspension for four months of the repayment of the principal of its short-term international loans. 76/

2. Trade

254. The régime continued to increase its economic ties with its Western European and North American partners during the period under review. As in the past, its major trading partners were Western Europe, Japan and the United States. The main trading partners of South Africa are shown in table 1.

Table 1. South Africa's main trading partners, 1983-1984

(Millions of US dollars)

Country	Imports by South Africa		Exports by South Africa		Total trade	
	1983	1984	1983	1984	1983	1984
United States of America	2 133	2 278	2 144	2 655	4 277	
Japan	1 745	1 850	1 600	1 597	3 345	3 447
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	1 701	1 639	1 319	846	3 020	2 485
Germany, Federal Republic of	1 960	2 359	899	972	2 859	3 331
Italy	485	525	415	523	1 900	1 048
France	509	507	583	660	1 092	1 167
Belgium-Luxembourg	224	252	315	298	539	550
Netherlands	236	274	113	151	349	425
Switzerland	235	239	92	88	327	327
Canada	143	166	150	163	293	327
Sweden	141	194	53	51	194	245

Source: United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics. The figures do not include gold, and they cover the Southern African Customs Union.

255. Although the Government of Japan does not allow direct Japanese investment in South Africa, trade between the two countries has been increasing. In December 1984, for example, Sishen, Safmarine's 162,000-ton bulk carrier, loaded its seven-millionth ton of iron ore for Japan. Sishen was built in Japan in 1977 and since then it has been carrying iron ore from South Africa to Japan. Sishen was built as a result of a 10-year agreement between the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR) and six Japanese steel mills. The agreement will terminate in 1988. 77/

256. In November 1984, the Minister of Trade of the United Kingdom stated that "the development of active trade with South Africa was a very important part of [his] Government's policy" and that his Government "remained firmly opposed to trade sanctions against South Africa". In 1984 alone, 13 United Kingdom trade groups/missions visited South Africa. 78/

257. In 1984, South Africa had a favourable trade balance, with exports totalling R 25.2 billion and imports totalling R 21.7 billion. It had a surplus of R 4.5 billion in 1983, which declined to R 3.519 billion in 1984. In 1984, exports increased by 28 per cent in terms of value and by 12 per cent in terms of volume. 79/

258. During the first five months of 1985, South African exports totalled R 13.7 billion and imports R 9.4 billion, resulting in a favourable trade balance of R 4.3 billion. Trade balance for the comparable period in 1984 was R 1.0 billion. South African exports to Western Europe and North America totalled R 4.8 billion, approximately 35 per cent of its total exports, and imports R 6.0 billion, approximately 65 per cent of its total imports. 80/

259. South African exports to the United States increased to R 1.3 billion, 9 per cent of its total exports, up from R 944 million during the same period in 1984. Imports from the United States totalled R 1.6 billion, 17 per cent of its total imports. 81/

260. "Gold swap" agreements between the South African Reserve Bank and international financial institutions slightly decreased the gold component of the reserves. Under the gold swap agreements, South Africa sold a certain amount of gold for cash and agreed to repurchase the same amount of gold at a future date at market-related prices. Furthermore, in January 1985 the South African Reserve Bank contracted another gold swap agreement, which resulted in a further decline in the gold component of its reserves. The two swaps equalled 900,000 ounces, valued at \$300 per ounce, and totalled R 270 million in cash. 82/

261. At the end of March 1985, South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves totalled R 4.4 billion. 83/

3. Gold and other minerals

262. In 1984, South African mineral sales increased by 17 per cent to R 19.0 billion from R 16.2 billion in 1983. Mineral sales made up 84.4 per cent of the export revenues. Gold was still the dominant component of mineral exports, 60.8 per cent of total mineral earnings and 72.1 per cent of export revenues. Non-gold exports totalled R 4.5 billion. Exports of manganese, iron and chrome ore and vanadium and ferro alloys also increased. Coal exports increased in tonnage by 26.3 per cent in 1984 over the previous year. 84/

263. During the first quarter of 1985, mineral exports totalled R 5.2 billion. Gold exports totalled R 3.6 billion, compared with R 2.7 billion in the same period in 1984. Coal exports totalled R 682 million, up from R 305 million in 1984. 85/

264. In January, the Office of Technology of the United States Congress published a report entitled Strategic Materials: Technologies to Reduce United States Import Vulnerability. The report, inter alia, recommended that the United States Government reduce its dependence on chromium, cobalt, manganese and platinum - four strategic metals - from South Africa. According to 1982 figures, the United States imported 50 per cent of its chromium, 38 per cent of its cobalt, 50 per cent of its manganese and 48 per cent of its platinum group metals from South Africa. 86/

4. Foreign investments and loans

265. South Africa's total foreign liabilities, two thirds of which were in short-term loans repayable within the year, were reportedly around \$60 billion. In 1984 alone, international financial markets provided South Africa with \$195 million in syndicated credits and \$633 million in bonds. 87/

266. Loans by United States banks alone to the South African private sector increased to \$4.2 billion in 1984 from \$1 billion in 1980. 88/

267. In 1984, foreigners continued buying securities on the Johannesburg stock exchange, especially gold shares. The net inflow of long-term capital totalled R 2.7 billion, including R 880 million in net purchases of securities by foreigners. The net outflow of short-term capital totalled R 3.1 billion. 89/

268. During the first quarter of 1985, the net inflow of long-term capital totalled R 366 million, including R 353 million in net purchases of securities by foreigners. The net outflow of short-term capital totalled R 2.8 billion. This was a result of repayments of foreign short-term debts, mostly trade credits, and an increase in foreign and short-term claims as a result of an increase in exports. The régime continued to borrow from the international financial markets. 90/ Details on international bank loans to South Africa are contained in annex III to the present report.

269. It has been reported that United Kingdom interests continued to expand in South Africa despite the international campaign for divestment. United Kingdom investments in South Africa were approximately 7 per cent of the total United Kingdom overseas portfolio. 91/

270. Short-term and medium-term South African stocks were reportedly being marketed in the United Kingdom. South African stocks are exempt from South African taxes for non-residents, making them more attractive in the international markets, in addition to their high yields, which were 17.5 and 23.5 per cent, depending on their maturity. 92/

271. South African business groups and interests were also reported to be expanding their investments in the United Kingdom. In December, it was reported that Altech, a South African electronics group, was planning to spend over R 100 million to acquire shares in telecommunications, high technology and electronics. 93/

272. During the period under review, the United States dollar generally gained strength against all foreign currencies, including the South African rand. A

cheaper rand, coupled with a 15 per cent return on investment, has attracted many United States-based companies, which were either moving some of their operations into South Africa or buying South African companies.

273. It was reported that United States investments in South Africa totalled approximately \$2.3 billion, around 1 per cent of all United States overseas investment. There are about 350 United States companies in South Africa (see table 2) and approximately 6,000 companies are involved in bilateral trade with South Africa. The total value of the economic relations between the two countries was reputed to be R 28 billion, including R 12.2 billion in bank loans. 94/

Table 2. United States companies with large investments
in South Africa

(Millions of US dollars)

Company	South African assets
Mobil Oil Corporation	426.0
Caltex (owned by Texaco, Inc. and Chevron)	334.0
General Motors Corporation	243.0
Ford Motor Company	213.0
Chevron	167.0
Texaco, Inc.	167.0
British Petroleum (parent of Standard Oil of Ohio)	153.3
Phelps Dodge Corporation	130.0
Newmont Mining	127.0
The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company	97.0
General Electric Company	93.0
International Business Machines (IBM)	88.6
Union Carbide Corporation	54.5

Source: The Washington Times, 2 February 1985.

274. United States companies operating in and exporting to South Africa control 70 per cent of the computer industry, 50 per cent of the petroleum industry and approximately 30 per cent of the automobile industry in South Africa. 95/

275. Some United States-based companies have been expanding their economic links with South Africa. For example, United States-based transnational Stauffer Chemical SA announced plans to extend its operations into industrial chemicals. United States Lines contracted with South African Transport Services (SATS) to use South African dry docks regularly. 96/

276. In January 1985, Riggs National Bank of Washington, D.C. appointed Mr. James Symington, a former congressman and currently registered South African lobbyist, to its board of directors. Mr. Symington's law firm has reportedly been paid R 660,000 for services rendered to South Africa since 1980. 97/

5. International action against economic collaboration with South Africa

277. International economic action against apartheid has been gaining ground over the past months in North America and Western Europe. The United States policy on South Africa has become a major issue in its domestic politics and for the international community. Anti-apartheid movements, churches, grassroots organizations and even political parties have been instrumental in bringing pressure to bear for an eventual cessation of all contacts with the apartheid régime. South Africa has become a major issue in legislative bodies, especially in the United States. Several anti-apartheid bills have been introduced in the United States Congress.

278. In January 1985, 25 people involved in the sinking of Salem, a 92,228-ton supertanker which was scuttled off the West African coast after illegally offloading crude oil in Durban in 1979, were brought to trial in Greece. 98/

279. In February, as a result of a four-month campaign, all three major banks in the Netherlands, namely Algemene Bank Nederland NV, Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank NV and Rabobank Nederland, decided to stop the sale of krugerrands. The campaign was actively supported by over 200 anti-apartheid groups, churches, political parties, city councils and other institutions.

280. In May, the Danish Parliament enacted a bill prohibiting new investments in South Africa and Namibia. The law allows existing investments to remain at the status quo, prohibits the use of rental of capital equipment to be used under any condition in South Africa and establishes rules for Danish companies to report to the Government of Denmark on compliance with the law by their subsidiaries in South Africa and Namibia.

281. In the same month, the Swedish Parliament enacted a law further tightening Sweden's earlier legislation, which limits investments by Swedish companies in South Africa. The Act forbids loans to, and bars companies from leasing plant equipment and vehicles in, South Africa and only allows exemptions for investments necessary to maintain existing production capacity. Furthermore, a government order which is to come into force simultaneously with the Act forbids the sale of vehicles and computer equipment to the South African military and police forces. It also requires that Swedish companies in South Africa report to the Government of Sweden on their indirect acquisition of companies and transfer of technology and on the wages, conditions of employment and the social conditions of their employees in their South African and Namibian subsidiaries.

282. The anti-apartheid groups in Switzerland organized a "South Africa boycott week" from 8 to 15 June, calling for a consumer boycott of South African fruit exports and of Swiss banks engaged in loans to South Africa. 99/

283. In July, the Government of Canada announced that it was curtailing trade with South Africa. Measures included an end to export and investment incentives for Canadian companies doing business with South Africa and restrictions on high-technology sales of "sensitive equipment", computers etc. to the South African régime and its agencies and state-owned companies.

284. In the United States, seven states, namely California, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska and New Jersey, and more than 20 cities,

including Boston, Miami, New Orleans, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Wilmington, enacted divestment legislation committing themselves to sell some or all of their holdings in companies operating in South Africa. Similar legislation is pending in many other cities.

285. In New York, many Wall Street analysts reported that an increasing number of small investors and institutional investors were expressing their decision not to invest in South Africa. As a result, the sale of krugerrands, shares of mutual funds investing in South Africa and South African mining shares were reportedly suffering. 100/

286. Universities have also taken various decisions. In February 1985, Harvard University administration, faculty and students reached a decision to sell the University's holdings in the Baker International Corporation for its refusal to give information showing its adherence to "reasonable ethical standards" in South Africa.

287. Furthermore, in March, the Mayor of New York City signed into law a bill prohibiting City deposits in banks that provide services for the South African régime and restricting City purchases from certain companies. It was reported that New York City's decision had yielded some positive results. For example, the Motorola Corporation decided to stop selling two-way communications equipment to the South African police.

288. In August, New Jersey passed into law one of the largest divestment portfolios in the nation - two billion dollars. Governor Kean promised to go even further than the bill required, stating that he would look into the prohibition of South African products in New Jersey. 101/

289. Under strong public pressure to cease all their dealings with South Africa, many banks, inter alia, Morgan Guaranty, Bank of Boston Corporation, Seafirst Corporation, Chase Manhattan, North-West Corporation, Harris Bancorp Inc., Wells Fargo and Company, Mellon Bank Corporation and Security Pacific Corporation have scaled down their loans to South Africa and/or adopted policies prohibiting new loans to the régime and its agencies. 102/

290. The United States Congress began to debate the issue in May. The House of Representatives adopted a bill (HR 1460) that would bar new corporate investment in South Africa, bank loans to the South African Government, krugerrand imports, computer exports to the South African régime or its agencies, and nuclear-related exports to and co-operation with South Africa. The bill was submitted to the Senate as S 635. Its principal sponsors were Senators Edward Kennedy (Democrat, Massachusetts) and Lowell Weicker (Republican, Connecticut). The Senate voted on another bill (S 995) which is weaker than the House bill, calling for the strengthening of the Sullivan Code and making it mandatory. However, a House-Senate conference prepared a compromise bill in early August and the House overwhelmingly approved it. The bill would bar the sale of krugerrands in the United States and bank loans to South Africa. Final action was pending Senate approval in September.

291. On 10 September, President Reagan issued an executive order banning the sale of computers to South African security agencies, barring some type of loans to the régime and terminating krugerrand imports to the United States. As a result, the Senate postponed action on legislation that would have imposed stricter sanctions against South Africa. 103/

292. Public opinion in Western Europe increasingly reflected the urgent demand for sanctions against South Africa. The EEC, under pressure for action, sent a mission to South Africa, from 30 August to 1 September 1985 in order to make its view known to the régime and to discuss with the régime the serious developments that have recently occurred in South Africa. Following the visit, the EEC adopted on 10 September limited sanctions against South Africa which included an embargo on oil, arms and law enforcement equipment; a ban on military and nuclear co-operation; discouragement of cultural and scientific links; and withdrawal of military attachés. 104/

I. Sports contacts

293. During the period under review, under international pressure, apartheid sport was further isolated although sports contacts with South Africa by some individual sportspersons and teams continued. A number of the sportspersons whose names appeared in the registers of sports contacts with South Africa have given written pledges to the Special Committee that they would no longer go to South Africa. Governments and local authorities have also been active in the campaign against sports contacts with South Africa.

294. A significant development in the campaign has been the decision of the Association of the National Olympic Committees in November "to urge the relevant international federations to exclude South Africa from membership, in line with the policy of the International Olympic Committee until that country renounces its policy of apartheid, which is in contravention with the Olympic Charter".

295. In February 1985, the Governments of Australia and Canada informed the South African Women's Bowling Association that its representative would not be given a visa to either country. 105/

296. All Blacks, a New Zealand rugby team, was invited to tour South Africa in 1985. The New Zealand Rugby Football Union considered the invitation at the end of March but deferred a decision to its meeting on 17 April. On 29 March, the New Zealand Parliament passed a resolution urging the Union to reject the invitation. On the same day, Mr. David Lange, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, wrote a letter to Mr. Ces Blazey, Chairman of the Union, informing Mr. Blazey that his Government was "totally opposed to sporting contacts with South Africans" and that the Union "cannot reasonably disclaim responsibility for the consequences that would inevitably flow from the actions" of the Union. The Prime Minister clearly stated that "the tour must not proceed".

297. On 17 April, the Union decided to accept the South African invitation. The Government of New Zealand released a press statement on 17 April stating, inter alia, that the decision had "reduced New Zealand's national sport to a pale shadow of its proud, former self. It has damaged its self respect, its reputation and its future". 106/

298. Some members of the Union decided that the decision of the Union to tour South Africa was illegal and challenged it in the High Court of New Zealand. Finally, following an interim injunction granted by the High Court, the Union decided to cancel its proposed tour of South Africa.

299. In the United Kingdom, the Leicester County Council banned the Leicester Rugby Football Club from using a training ground belonging to the city because some members of the club had participated in a rugby tour of South Africa in 1984. Before the tour took place, the Council asked the Club to prevent its members from going to South Africa. In response, the Club said that although it condemned apartheid, it was up to the members to decide whether to go or not. Subsequently, some Club members participated in the tour. As a result, in August 1984 the Council suspended the Club from using the training ground for 12 months. The Club challenged the decision in court. The decision of the Leicester City Council was based on its commitment to the concept of "racial equality and fairness"; some 35 per cent of the population of Leicester is either of Asian or Afro-Caribbean origin. Although the Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the Leicester County Council, Law Lords - the final judiciary authorities in the country - decided in July in favour of the Leicester Rugby Football Club.

300. In July, the Government of Canada announced guidelines curtailing sports contacts with South Africa.

301. In addition, in the same month, the national rugby team of the Federal Republic of Germany, under strong pressure from the anti-apartheid movements and others, cancelled the planned tour of South Africa in 1986.

302. In August, the Crawshays Rugby Team from Wales, United Kingdom, started a tour of South Africa, despite protests from the international community.

J. Cultural collaboration

303. Owing to increased international action against collaboration with the apartheid régime in the cultural field, there was a significant decline in the number of artists that visited South Africa during the past one year. Of the few that visited that country, the majority came from Europe, in particular the United Kingdom.

304. In December 1984, the Special Committee published the second register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa. Since then, many entertainers and others who appeared on the register wrote to the Special Committee undertaking not to appear in South Africa again. Anti-apartheid organizations and other non-governmental organizations have been very effective in deterring entertainers from visiting South Africa. This has been particularly so in the United States, where most of the organizations have been picketing artists who would not co-operate. In the United Kingdom, some municipal councils have adopted legislation barring such artists from using municipal facilities for their local performances. In Norway, the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa has requested the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation not to transmit records, cassettes or tapes made by individuals whose names appear on the register.

305. Some artists have taken actions that will strengthen the cultural boycott. For instance, in March 1985, Mr. Stevie Wonder, a prominent musician in the United States, accepted his Oscar Award in the name of Mr. Nelson Mandela as an act of solidarity with the suffering black people of South Africa. The apartheid régime reacted to this noble gesture by imposing a ban on Mr. Wonder's music. Mr. Wonder was among those who were arrested in February while demonstrating in front of the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. In May, the Special Committee presented

a citation to Mr. Wonder, expressing its great appreciation for his contribution to the international campaign against apartheid. On 23 July, Mr. Woody Allen, a prominent actor and director from the United States, announced that he would no longer allow his movies to be released in South Africa, as a protest against that régime's policies, and he hoped that other actors would follow his example. Indeed, several other actors and movie directors are reported to be considering adopting this measure. Already, a group of performers from the United States and other countries is planning to cut a record appealing to fellow entertainers to refrain from visiting Sun City, a pleasure resort in the so-called "independent state" of Bophuthatswana, since that city is a product of the apartheid system whose objective is to deceive the world about the realities of apartheid.

306. In another effort to educate the public about the realities of apartheid, Mr. Albert Finney, a British actor, directed and acted in a film called The Biko Inquest, which was shown at United Nations Headquarters on 22 August 1985. The film, produced earlier in 1985, was based on a play about the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko, who died in 1977 from head injuries that he sustained while in the custody of the South African police. The play was highly acclaimed. It was not until July 1985 that the two doctors who had examined Mr. Biko at the time of his death were found guilty despite attempts by the South African Medical Association to cover up. The racist Government as usual took no action against the doctors.

307. On the other hand, there was some collaboration with the apartheid régime in the cultural field. Among those who collaborated was Mr. Wolfgang Wagner, grandson of composer Richard Wagner and artistic director of the Bayreuth Festival in the Federal Republic of Germany, who became the honorary patron of the Richard Wagner Society of South Africa. This Society has relations with other societies affiliated with the International Wagner Verband in, for example, London, Paris, Lyons, Toronto, Linz and Tokyo. 107/ In the same month, Cliff Richard, a singer from the United Kingdom who had visited South Africa 10 times in the previous years, started a 16-day tour of South Africa. 108/ In January, the City of Vienna gave a medal to Mr. Murray Dickie, the Artistic Director for the Nico Malan Opera House in Cape Town, for his efforts in promoting Austro-South African cultural relations. 109/

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

1. Great advance in the struggle against apartheid and the crisis of the apartheid régime

308. The past year has witnessed a new level of nation-wide mobilization and struggle by the oppressed people of South Africa and all opponents of apartheid with a determination - as well as unity, courage and heroism - to secure at last the elimination of the inhuman system of apartheid and establish a non-racial society. Indeed, this struggle - in harmony with the purposes and principles of the United Nations - represents one of the main events on the international scene during the fortieth year of the United Nations. It deserves and demands an urgent and effective response by the United Nations in accordance with its Charter and its solemn commitments.

309. In its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, 110/ the Special Committee described the growth of popular resistance, especially against the proposed new racist constitution designed to divide the black majority and consolidate white domination. It drew attention to the regrettable moves of certain Western Powers to accord respectability and greater co-operation to the apartheid régime as a partner in a so-called "peace process" or as an agent of "reform" and the encouragement accorded by the United States to its racist constitutional manoeuvre as a "step in the right direction". It urged redoubled efforts to isolate the apartheid régime, to support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people and to exert all influence to dissuade the few Powers concerned from continuing their disastrous policies of collaboration with the apartheid régime.

310. The Pretoria régime, ignoring the massive opposition to the new constitution by the black majority and the denunciation by the international community, proceeded to bring the constitution into force on 3 September 1984.

311. It attempted to enforce its strategy by detaining leaders of UDF and other organizations and intimidating the oppressed people. It hoped that its blackmail against neighbouring States would weaken and disrupt the liberation struggle and that the goodwill of the major Western Powers would thwart effective international action to stay its hand.

312. However, the imposition of the so-called constitution sparked a new level of resistance. This unprecedented and widespread opposition and resistance by the indigenous majority was further intensified by the brutal repression and the enormous suffering inflicted upon the black people by the racist régime through the unemployment of millions of people, forced removals, increases in rents and transport fares and shortages of essential commodities.

313. The apartheid régime has tried to suppress the resistance by further escalating the violence and repression, deploying armed forces against African townships, detaining leaders of legal organizations engaged in peaceful actions, including trade union and religious leaders, charging the leaders of the people with treason, employing brute force to break strikes by students, banning meetings of people's organizations and even callously killing mourners in funeral processions.

314. However, it has failed to curb the spirit of resistance and defiance of the people.

315. Many African townships have become fortresses of resistance. The African people forced the withdrawal or resignation of the so-called mayors and members of local councils who had colluded with the racist régime to inflict suffering on the people, and attacked agents and collaborators who had engaged in killing and torturing the people at the bidding of the régime. The police could no longer control those townships and even the deployment of armed forces could not terrorize the people.

316. At the same time, resistance in other forms continued outside these townships. The general strike of 1 million workers in the Transvaal in November 1984 demonstrated the spirit of resistance of the African workers, while the students continued to organize strikes and demonstrations in defiance of all intimidation.

317. Sebokeng and Sharpeville, Uitenhage and Langa and many other locations have become the symbols of resistance of the oppressed people against the obnoxious racist system denounced by the world as a crime against humanity and a serious threat to international peace and security.

318. Unable to control the situation even with escalated violence, the Pretoria régime, in its desperation, declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts on 21 July 1985 and deployed all its repressive forces in an effort to intimidate the people, granting immunity to the police against criminal or civil action.

319. It claimed that the state of emergency had been imposed to protect the people, especially the black people, from violence. But the régime's security forces have in fact resorted to widespread violence against the people. Hundreds of persons have been killed and thousands detained. Many patriots have disappeared and several have been brutally murdered in very suspicious circumstances.

320. Special attention must be drawn to the violence and cruelty against black children during the past year, especially after the imposition of the state of emergency. In an effort to force the students to end the strikes of protest against the inhumanity of the régime, which involved no less than 1 million students, police have resorted to large-scale whippings, beatings and the use of tear-gas against school children. Hundreds of adolescents have been callously and deliberately killed or maimed. These savage acts of the Pretoria régime must particularly outrage the conscience of the world.

321. The Pretoria régime and its friends abroad, as well as some media, have publicized violence by blacks against blacks in a vain attempt to portray the resistance as an internecine conflict among the oppressed people rather than an uprising against the racist régime. They have tried to accuse the militants of violence against the so-called "moderate blacks".

322. To them, agents of the apartheid régime who kill and torture the people and the minions who implement racist repressive laws and help administer the apartheid structures are "moderates", while those who struggle and sacrifice for a just society, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, are "extremists". Those who express horror at the few cases of violence against agents of the régime resulting from popular anger, while ignoring the tremendous restraint

of the black people, are those who have paid no heed to appeals by the United Nations for three decades to avert violence and conflict by effective international action.

323. Moreover, the régime and its supporters appear to have instigated or condoned violence against patriots and innocent people in the hope of causing confusion and sowing discord among the black majority.

324. The police failed to take action when the house in which Mrs. Winnie Mandela was restricted and an adjacent community clinic run by her were attacked and destroyed.

325. There is reason to believe that the brutal murders of Mrs. Victoria Mxenge and several other patriots were committed by agents or supporters of the racist régime.

326. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that the liberation movements have denounced the violence against members of the Indian community instigated by the régime and have called upon the black people to strengthen their unity forged in struggle and sacrifice for a non-racial society. The Committee finds it essential to stress that the actions of the régime and its agents underline the need to secure an end to that illegitimate régime before it commits further crimes in its desperation.

327. Undaunted by the violence and repression, as well as the manoeuvres of the régime to divide the black people, the oppressed people are continuing their struggle. They are more and more defying repressive legislation and undertaking civil disobedience. Many church and other leaders are now openly advocating the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, defying legislation that makes advocacy of such international pressure an offence. The black people and religious leaders have defied the obnoxious restrictions imposed by the régime on funerals.

328. On 28 August 1985, thousands of people, defying bans and threats by the régime, joined a march to the Pollsmoor prison and participated in other demonstrations demanding the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela. Many demonstrators were killed and wounded.

329. The oppressed people have thus taken the initiative to launch a revolutionary national uprising against racist tyranny and for a just society. Their struggle includes a variety of actions, such as strikes by workers and students, acts of civil disobedience, a boycott of white-owned businesses, demonstrations and mass participation at funerals of patriots, as well as armed actions to warn the supporters of the apartheid régime that the oppressed people will fight with arms if necessary.

330. This upsurge of the oppressed people has shattered the plans of the apartheid régime to consolidate white domination and has persuaded some leaders of the white community that its course is suicidal. The racist régime is facing an ever more serious political and economic crisis.

331. The economic crisis became particularly serious when transnational financial institutions felt obliged - because of the resistance in South Africa and the pressure of public opinion in their home countries - to withhold credits to bail out apartheid. The value of the rand has fallen to a record low and the régime has been forced to suspend repayment of its loans.

332. None the less, the régime continues to resist demands by the international community to release political prisoners and negotiate with Nelson Mandela and other genuine leaders of the people on the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial society through the exercise of the right of self-determination by all the people of the country.

333. Instead, it has sought to divert attention and turn the problem in South Africa into a question of its relations with major Western Powers. During the past year, the Foreign Minister of the apartheid régime held consultations with officials of the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany on reforms to be instituted by the régime. The consultations were followed by a policy statement by Prime Minister P. W. Botha that embarrassed even the major Western Powers.

334. Yet a delegation of the EEC visited South Africa a few days later, despite the conditions imposed by the apartheid régime, and reports indicated little cause for hope that the régime was willing to accept the international demands.

335. In this connection, the Special Committee finds it essential to affirm that the destiny of South Africa must be determined by the people of South Africa and that the duty of Member States is to co-operate in action to facilitate consultations by the genuine leaders of the South African people. It may be recalled that independent African States have, after full consideration, rejected the proposals of the apartheid régime for a "dialogue" with them and insisted that the régime should talk to the people of South Africa.

336. Discussions on so-called reforms or changes with the apartheid régime by Governments that collaborate with it cannot therefore be welcomed by the international community.

2. International solidarity with the struggle against apartheid

337. Admiration of the heroic resistance of the South African people and outrage at the brutality of the apartheid régime have led to a great advance in the world-wide movement of solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

338. Of particular significance has been the response of parliamentarians, cities and local authorities, trade unions, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations that have demonstrated their solidarity in action. Demands by public opinion for the disengagement of vested interests from apartheid and for sanctions against South Africa by their Governments have reached an unprecedented level. In the United States, thousands of persons have even courted imprisonment to demand an end to repression in South Africa, the abandonment of the so-called policy of "constructive engagement" espoused by their Government and the imposition of effective sanctions against South Africa.

339. The Special Committee, while pressing for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, has urged, pending the imposition of such sanctions by the Security Council, national action by Western countries against South Africa in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular, resolution 38/39 B on the Programme of Action against Apartheid. For this purpose, it

encouraged the adoption of the resolution on concerted international action against apartheid (resolution 39/72 G) at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which was co-sponsored by several Western States in conjunction with African and other States, and promoted the implementation of its provisions by individual Western States.

340. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that the Security Council, for the first time, urged Member States, in resolution 566 (1985) of 19 June 1985 on Namibia and in resolution 569 (1985) of 26 July 1985 on South Africa, to impose specific economic sanctions against South Africa.

341. In its resolution 566 (1985), the Security Council urged States Members of the United Nations that had not done so to take voluntary measures against South Africa, including:

- (a) The stopping of new investments and application of disincentives to that end;
- (b) The re-examination of maritime and aerial relations with South Africa;
- (c) The prohibition of the sale of krugerrands and all other coins minted in South Africa;
- (d) Restrictions in the field of sports and cultural relations.

342. In its resolution 569 (1985), the Security Council urged States Members of the Organization to adopt measures against South Africa, such as the following:

- (a) Suspension of all new investment in South Africa;
- (b) Prohibition of the sale of krugerrands and all other coins minted in South Africa;
- (c) Restrictions in the field of sports and cultural relations;
- (d) Suspension of guaranteed export loans;
- (e) Prohibition of all new contracts in the nuclear field;
- (f) Prohibition of all sales of computer equipment that might be used by the South African army and police.

343. The Special Committee considers that these resolutions represent a minimum programme of action, especially for Western countries that have so far failed to impose sanctions against South Africa, unlike the African, non-aligned and socialist States.

344. It notes with appreciation that several Western countries have taken significant action, however limited, in the past year. It has followed the developments and is publicizing the actions with a view to encouraging further action by those countries and similar action by other Western countries.

345. The Special Committee must, however, express disappointment that a number of Western Governments have failed to take any significant action despite demands by public opinion in their countries.

346. It must, in particular, express distress that the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, which bear a tremendous responsibility for the situation in South Africa, have failed to take any meaningful measures in response to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council to isolate the apartheid régime and to support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people. The United States and the United Kingdom abstained on the above resolutions of the Security Council.

347. The Special Committee has followed with particular attention the response of the Government of the United States because of the importance of its role as a major trading partner of South Africa and as a leader of the Western alliance.

348. The United States has condemned the policies of apartheid as the cause of tension and conflict in South Africa and the interventions of South African security forces in Angola and Botswana but has continued to commend the Botha régime for its "reforms" and has even accused the black people of being partly responsible for the violence. It has continued to reaffirm its policy of "constructive engagement", ignoring the anguish of the South African people, and has opposed any sanctions against South Africa, thereby protecting the apartheid régime at a time when its crimes have outraged world public opinion. Its policies have been the most serious hindrance to international action against apartheid.

349. On 9 September 1985, the President of the United States issued an Executive Order for certain limited measures such as a qualified prohibition of loans to the South African régime and of supplies of computers to its military and police establishments. This order followed strong opposition by the administration to legislative measures against apartheid under consideration in Congress and was designed to avoid effective pressure on the racist régime of South Africa. Subsequently, the EEC also announced very limited and ineffective measures. The measures appear to be intended only to assuage public opinion, divert attention from the demands for urgent and effective sanctions against the apartheid régime and enable the latter to gain more time to try to stabilize the situation through the announcement of so-called "reforms" and an escalation of repression. The racist régime has therefore continued to defy the demand of the Security Council to end the state of emergency and urgently initiate measures for the elimination of apartheid.

350. The Special Committee therefore considers it essential that the international community should make all appropriate efforts to persuade the Government of the United States, as well as those of the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany, to co-operate with the United Nations in international action against apartheid and desist from fraternizing with the apartheid régime.

3. Imperative need for effective action

351. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that the heroic struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, together with the growing international support of that struggle promoted by the United Nations, now provides an opportunity for decisive action to ensure freedom, justice and peace in southern Africa. Any delay

in such action commensurate with the gravity of the situation, however, is likely to lead to wider conflict, causing incalculable suffering to the people and further aggravating the threat to international peace and security.

352. International action should be taken with a great sense of urgency and must be based on a comprehensive strategy, rather than piecemeal measures. It must be designed to achieve a just and lasting solution, rather than be merely symbolic.

353. The Special Committee suggests that the General Assembly and the Security Council urgently consider the situation in all its aspects in full recognition that the elimination of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa is indispensable not only for the freedom of the people of South Africa but also for the independence of Namibia, the security and development of the independent African States in the region and the maintenance of international peace and security.

354. While the Special Committee is encouraged by the development of international action against apartheid, it considers that voluntary, unilateral and limited sanctions by individual Western Governments are inadequate to deal with the critical situation.

355. It considers it essential that the United Nations should ensure comprehensive and mandatory sanctions without further delay. It urges that special efforts should be made to persuade the major Western Powers to lend their indispensable co-operation for that purpose and trusts that all Member States will exert their influence towards that end.

356. The economic difficulties encountered by the apartheid régime owing to loss of confidence in Western financial circles should in no way cause complacency and retard action for international sanctions. Effective governmental action is essential to ensure continuance of pressure on the apartheid régime and to prevent the foreign economic interests from resuming financial support to apartheid.

357. The Special Committee requests Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, their national liberation movements and the front-line States at this crucial time in order to strengthen their defence and economic capabilities against the acts of repression and aggression of the racist régime.

358. The heroic struggle of the South African people and the growing world public opinion in support of that struggle, as well as the failure of misguided efforts by major Western States to find a solution in co-operation with the apartheid régime, provide a basis for effective action at this time. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, most of which have secured unanimity or overwhelming majorities, provide the framework for such action. The Special Committee attaches particular importance to sanctions against the apartheid régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

359. The Special Committee reaffirms and draws urgent attention to the conclusions and recommendations contained in its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. lII/ The events since that time have confirmed their validity and importance.

360. It wishes, in the present report, to draw special attention to some of its earlier recommendations and to present certain additional recommendations in the light of developments since the publication of its previous report.

B. Recommendations

1. Reaffirmation of the objectives of the United Nations

361. In the course of its consideration of the problem of apartheid, the United Nations has clearly defined its objectives and secured the widest support of the international community.

362. The Special Committee considers it desirable to reaffirm these objectives in the light of the present situation and in view of the attempts by the apartheid régime and its collaborators to cause confusion with a view to perpetuating apartheid in some form or other.

363. In its resolution 34/93 O, entitled "Declaration on South Africa", adopted by a unanimous vote on 12 December 1979, and reiterated in subsequent resolutions, the General Assembly declared that all States should recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people "for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial society guaranteeing the enjoyment of equal rights by all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed". It reaffirmed that "all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, should be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination". It also declared that all States should recognize the "right of the oppressed people of South Africa to choose their means of struggle".

364. The Security Council, in resolution 473 (1980) adopted by a unanimous vote on 13 June 1980, recognized the "legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and for the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will enjoy equal and full political and other rights and participate freely in the determination of their destiny".

365. The General Assembly and the Security Council, in repeatedly calling for the total elimination of apartheid, have specifically stressed the dismantling of all apartheid structures, including the bantustans, and the establishment of majority rule.

366. They have emphasized that the first prerequisite for such a solution is the ending of repression, the abrogation of bans on the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners.

367. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that, in the statement issued on behalf of the Security Council on 21 August 1985, it was stated:

"The members of the Council believe that a just and lasting solution in South Africa must be based on the total eradication of the system of apartheid, and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society in South Africa."

The members also called upon the South African régime "to set free immediately and unconditionally all political prisoners and detainees, first of all Nelson Mandela ...".

368. The Special Committee considers it essential to reaffirm these objectives and denounce the manoeuvres of those who advocate so-called "reforms" by the apartheid

régime or so-called "power sharing" or any other arrangements that do not involve the total eradication of apartheid.

369. The United Nations must affirm that no acceptable solution can be attained unless the national liberation movements and all those actively struggling for the total eradication of apartheid play a crucial role in the determination of the destiny of the country. Any manoeuvres by the régime to consult elements chosen by it, such as those who have colluded with it in the implementation of apartheid or even those who have been equivocal, should be denounced.

370. The Special Committee also recalls that in resolution 39/72 A and a number of others, the General Assembly has not only recognized apartheid as a crime and the armed struggle against it as legitimate but has declared that the apartheid régime is illegitimate and that the national liberation movements are the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of South African people.

371. The international community must, therefore, firmly reject unilateral moves by the apartheid régime for so-called reforms or any approaches by that régime towards such moves.

372. International action must be directed at securing the liberation of all political prisoners and the ending of repression. Any negotiations should be by the South African people on the modalities of the dismantling of apartheid, the replacement of the apartheid régime and the exercise by all the people of South Africa - irrespective of race, colour or creed - of their right to self-determination.

2. Arms embargo and oil embargo

373. The Special Committee has constantly emphasized the importance of an effective and comprehensive embargo on all military co-operation with the apartheid régime, including any co-operation in the nuclear field.

374. The developments in the past year - particularly the extensive use of the armed forces by the apartheid régime for intervention in Angola, the murder of refugees in Botswana and violence and repression against the people of South Africa - underline that any form of assistance to the military, police, intelligence or other forces in South Africa is nothing less than complicity in the crimes of the apartheid régime. The Special Committee considers that Governments that oppose the strengthening and effective monitoring of the mandatory arms embargo, as well as corporations that supply equipment and expertise for military and police use in South Africa, bear a grave responsibility.

375. The Special Committee again condemns the blatant collaboration by the Government of Israel with South Africa, as indicated in its special report (A/40/22/Add.2).

376. It urges that the Security Council take urgent measures to strengthen the arms embargo, prohibit all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field and ensure the effective monitoring of such measures in accordance with the report of the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) 112/ and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In this

connection, it attaches special importance to the prohibition of supply of "dual purpose" equipment, computers and technology for military and police use in South Africa.

377. The Special Committee considers, moreover, that an effective embargo on the supply of petroleum, petroleum products and other strategic supplies should be instituted without any further delay as an essential reinforcement of the mandatory arms embargo.

3. Economic sanctions against South Africa

378. The Special Committee expresses satisfaction at the increasing recognition by public opinion in Western countries of the imperative need for economic sanctions against South Africa as the main component of international action for the elimination of apartheid.

379. The arguments by the apartheid régime and its friends, especially those who profit from the inhuman system of apartheid, against such sanctions have been increasingly recognized by world public opinion as fraudulent. Countering the propaganda that the black people in South Africa do not favour such sanctions, the oppressed people have not only urged the international community, in defiance of the laws of the apartheid régime, to end all collaboration with that régime, but by their heroic struggle have obliged foreign economic interests to reassess their involvement in the apartheid system. The argument that economic sanctions are undesirable since they hurt the oppressed people is now clearly seen as essentially hostile to their legitimate aspirations. The apartheid régime has, therefore, threatened to transfer the burdens of sanctions to the black people and the neighbouring countries. Such fallacious arguments should be firmly countered by the international community.

380. The Special Committee, moreover, rejects the arguments of those who have derived immense profits from apartheid that sanctions would involve great sacrifice by them and the highly exaggerated and misleading assessments of the effect of sanctions on the economies of Western countries. It must point out that these opponents of sanctions also oppose measures that involve little "sacrifice", such as the stopping of loans to and further investments in South Africa and the prohibition of the import of South African krugerrands, diamonds and coal. Moreover, it recalls that some developing countries have made far greater sacrifices because of their attachment to principle.

381. The Special Committee also denounces the use of the "Sullivan Principles" and "codes of conduct" as a means of justifying continued and increasing collaboration with apartheid.

382. While expressing appreciation to Governments that have taken significant unilateral measures, the Special Committee considers that voluntary sanctions alone are inadequate. Sanctions, to be fully effective, must be universally applied.

383. It calls upon Member States to exercise all their influence to persuade the Governments of major Western countries to facilitate the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

384. The Special Committee notes with great concern the stubborn refusal of major Western Powers to recognize the situation in South Africa and southern Africa as a threat to international peace and security - even when the apartheid régime continues to commit acts of genocide and has repeatedly committed acts of aggression against the front-line States. It hopes that these Powers will be persuaded to facilitate action under Chapter VII of the Charter.

4. Sports, cultural and other boycotts against South Africa

385. The Special Committee notes with great satisfaction the significant advances in sports, cultural, consumer and other boycotts against South Africa. It considers that these boycotts should be promoted further and that action must be intensified against those who persist in collaboration with apartheid despite the increasing inhumanity of the apartheid régime.

386. The Special Committee therefore welcomes the actions of local authorities, trade unions, anti-apartheid movements and others against sportsmen and sportswomen, entertainers and others who continue to play or perform in South Africa. It calls for all appropriate measures to demonstrate the revulsion of public opinion against collaborators with apartheid, such as denial of facilities and patronage to them. It also calls for action against sports bodies that not only fail to exclude South Africa but penalize affiliates that boycott South African teams and sportspersons.

387. The Special Committee expresses its satisfaction that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports has prepared a draft convention after extensive consultations. It hopes that the convention will be adopted by the General Assembly and will soon come into force.

5. Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements

388. The Special Committee attaches the utmost importance to the need to increase greatly the present level of assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements at this critical time.

389. There is an urgent need for a great increase in humanitarian and educational assistance in view of the widespread repression and killings by the apartheid régime and its brutality against students.

390. There is an equally urgent need for direct assistance to the national liberation movements, as a demonstration, by action, of support to their legitimate struggle.

391. The Special Committee urges the General Assembly to address an urgent appeal for such assistance to Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other institutions.

6. Co-ordinated action by the United Nations and its agencies

392. The Special Committee stresses that the United Nations and all its agencies should recognize that the United Nations system has an inescapable duty to contribute fully to the total elimination of apartheid.

393. It acknowledges the significant contribution made by several agencies and notes with satisfaction the announcement that the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board has divested from corporations operating in South Africa.

394. It suggests that the General Assembly call upon the Secretary-General and all specialized agencies to end any other deposits or investments in, or any contracts with or the provision of facilities to, any banks or corporations operating in South Africa. It recommends that the International Monetary Fund cease all forms of assistance to the apartheid régime.

395. The Special Committee recommends that the organizations and institutions of the United Nations system be requested to inform the General Assembly on actions taken or planned by them for the elimination of apartheid and co-operate in their implementation. It also suggests that the Secretary-General be requested, in consultation with the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, to report to the General Assembly at its forty-first session on means to ensure further action by the United Nations system of organizations in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

396. In accordance with United Nations resolutions, the Special Committee further recommends that the Secretary-General be requested to take active and effective steps to promote international action against apartheid, including sanctions.

7. Status of the apartheid régime

397. The Special Committee emphasizes the importance of the development of international law against apartheid and draws special attention to the Declaration of the Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against Apartheid, organized by it at Lagos in August 1984 (see A/39/423-S/16709 and Corr.1, annex).

398. No recognition should be accorded to the apartheid régime and its racist constitution which, in accordance with the Lagos Declaration of 16 August 1984 and Security Council resolution 554 (1984) as well as decisions of the General Assembly, has been denounced as null and void. Any attempt to grant legitimacy to the apartheid régime is a hostile act against the majority of the people of South Africa.

399. No pretexts - such as the desire to persuade the apartheid régime to co-operate in the implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia - would justify according respectability to the criminal régime or restraint in implementing United Nations resolutions.

8. Programme of work of the Special Committee

400. The Special Committee intends to intensify its activities in accordance with its mandate and in the light of the present grave situation in South Africa.

401. It intends to give particular attention to consultations with Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in order to promote concerted international action in support of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for a non-racial society, to promote increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements and to increase public awareness of the situation in South Africa and the concerns of the United Nations. It will intensify efforts to publicize and promote action by the public in all countries in the international campaign against apartheid, and also to expose the fallacies of the spurious arguments advanced by the racist régime and its supporters.

402. Towards that end, the Special Committee will send missions away from Headquarters, organize and support conferences and seminars, hold hearings and other events and commission and publicize expert studies. It intends to seek the advice and assistance of leaders of campaigns against apartheid, as well as of publicists and other experts committed to the struggle against apartheid, as special consultants.

403. It has a number of projects under active consideration and recognizes that it will need to keep its programme of work flexible in view of the rapidly changing situation in southern Africa.

404. The Special Committee requests a special allocation of \$500,000 from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1986 for special projects to be decided by it, as well as adequate resources for other activities.

9. Conclusion

405. In conclusion, the Special Committee draws attention to the fact that in 1986 it will be 40 years since the United Nations began consideration of the problem of racism in South Africa. It should be an occasion both for an assessment of the role of the United Nations in meeting the challenge posed by apartheid to an Organization that was born out of a ghastly world war against Nazi racism and for determined and decisive action.

406. The inadequacy of international action thus far to eliminate apartheid has caused immense suffering to the people of South Africa and Namibia and to the independent African States.

407. The Special Committee has been obliged to express its distress at the policies and actions of certain Governments, as well as the activities of certain transnational corporations and other interests, in impeding international action and in enabling the apartheid régime to pose an ever-growing threat to Africa and to international peace. Its purpose, however, has been to promote efforts to persuade those Governments and interests to desist from their disastrous policies so that the international community can act in concert and effectively help destroy apartheid and restore South Africa to its people.

408. The effectiveness of the United Nations has been undermined by the attitudes of a minority of Governments that have failed to harmonize their actions with the overwhelming majority of Member States. They have not only failed to implement United Nations resolutions on sanctions against South Africa but have increased their economic relations with that country. Instead of giving a lead to public

opinion in their countries in support of the United Nations, they have opposed demands by public opinion in support of United Nations resolutions.

409. The Special Committee earnestly hopes that they will reconsider their attitudes in the light of the current situation in South Africa and discussions concerning measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations.

410. The Special Committee recalls that on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, the General Assembly, in resolutions 3411 (XXX) B and C of 28 November 1975, recognized "the contribution of the liberation movements and other opponents of apartheid in South Africa to the purposes of the United Nations" and proclaimed that "the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid". Since then, the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements have, by their heroic struggle, evoked ever greater admiration of the international community.

411. The Special Committee hopes that their struggle and sacrifice, as well as the increasing savagery of the despicable racist régime, will help persuade the few Governments concerned to harmonize their attitudes with those of the overwhelming majority of Member States for effective action under the auspices of the United Nations.

Notes

1/ GA/AP/1563.

2/ A/AC.115/SR.558, GA/AP/1594 and GA/AP/1595.

3/ GA/AP/1604 and GA/AP/1612.

4/ GA/AP/1622, GA/AP/1616 and GA/AP/1618.

5/ GA/AP/1611.

6/ GA/AP/1582.

7/ GA/AP/1597.

8/ GA/AP/1636/Rev.1.

9/ GA/AP/1661.

10/ GA/AP/1660.

11/ A/40/213 and Corr.1.

12/ See A/AC.115/PV.553 and 554 and A/AC.115/L.617; A/AC.115/PV.560 and 561 and A/AC.115/L.620; A/AC.115/PV.567 and 568 and A/AC.115/L.625; and A/AC.115/PV.572 and A/AC.115/L.628 and Add.1.

13/ Christian Science Monitor, 1 August 1985.

14/ Reuter, 1 August 1985.

Notes (continued)

- 15/ Hansard (Cape Town), 9 April 1985.
- 16/ The Times (London), 12 July 1985.
- 17/ Hansard (Cape Town), 4 March 1985.
- 18/ Ibid., 9 April 1985.
- 19/ Focus (International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF)), No. 58 (May-June 1985).
- 20/ Cape Times, 28 June 1985.
- 21/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 7 June 1985.
- 22/ Reuter, 13 August 1985; and New York Times, 14 August 1985.
- 23/ The Star Weekly, 1 April 1985; and Government Gazette, 29 March 1985.
- 24/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 14 June 1985.
- 25/ Sowetan, 12 July 1985.
- 26/ Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, Briefing Paper on the United Democratic Front Treason Trial (Washington, D.C., August 1985).
- 27/ Financial Mail, 7 May 1985.
- 28/ Focus (IDAF), No. 58 (May-June 1985).
- 29/ Hansard (Cape Town), 9 April 1985.
- 30/ The Guardian (London), 24 June 1985.
- 31/ South Africa/Namibia Update, July 1985.
- 32/ The Times (London), 27 June 1985.
- 33/ The Guardian (London), 24 June 1985.
- 34/ Sowetan, 13 June 1985.
- 35/ The Guardian (London), and The Star (Johannesburg), 20 March 1985.
- 36/ Hansard (Cape Town), 13 March 1985.
- 37/ Financial Mail (London), 17 May 1985.
- 38/ Hansard (Cape Town), 19 March 1985.
- 39/ Cape Times, 29 June 1985.
- 40/ ANC News Briefing (London), 30 June 1985.

Notes (continued)

- 41/ Reuter, 23 May 1985.
- 42/ The Guardian (London), 17 May 1985.
- 43/ Ibid., 25 June 1985.
- 44/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 13 September 1984; and The Star (Johannesburg), 17 September 1984.
- 45/ The Star (Johannesburg), 17 September 1984.
- 46/ The Military Balance, 1984-1985 (London, International Institute for Strategic Studies), pp. 82-83.
- 47/ Ibid., p. 82.
- 48/ The Star (Johannesburg), 17 September 1984.
- 49/ ANC Weekly News Briefing (London), No. 26 (week ending 30 June 1985), abridged from Daily News, 25 June 1985.
- 50/ Ibid., abridged from Cape Times, 19 June 1985.
- 51/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 22 March 1985; and New York Times, 18 March 1985.
- 52/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 22 March 1985, p. 65.
- 53/ A/AC.131/179, para. 33.
- 54/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 10 May 1985.
- 55/ Ibid.
- 56/ Daily Report, vol. V, No. 093 (14 May 1985); and The Star (Johannesburg), 14 May 1985.
- 57/ Ibid.
- 58/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 5 June 1985.
- 59/ Ibid., 6 June 1985.
- 60/ The Star (Johannesburg), 15 July 1985.
- 61/ Ibid.
- 62/ Ibid.
- 63/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 27 June 1985.
- 64/ Africa News (Durham, North Carolina), vol. XXIII, Nos. 15-16 (22 October 1984), p. 1.

Notes (continued)

65/ ANC Weekly News Briefing (London), No. 15 (week ending 14 April 1985), abridged from The Citizen (Johannesburg), 10 April 1985.

66/ Africa News (Durham, North Carolina), vol. XVIII, Nos. 15-16 (22 October 1984).

67/ Sub-Saharan Report (Arlington, Virginia), 6 September 1984; and Paris Defense Journal, No. 47 (July 1984).

68/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 1 November 1984.

69/ Star Airmail Weekly Edition (Johannesburg), 3 December 1984.

70/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 22 December 1984.

71/ New York Times, 29 January 1985.

72/ Reuters (Pretoria), 27 February 1985.

73/ The reactors were manufactured under a Westinghouse Electric Corporation licence and were delivered by Framatome which is one-third owned by the French Government. Furthermore, financing was provided by a consortium of French banks, namely, Crédit lyonnais and Banque de l'Indochine.

74/ The Guardian (London), 22 May 1985.

75/ Most of the information in this section was taken from the South African Reserve Bank quarterly reviews.

76/ New York Times, 28 August 1985.

77/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 7 December 1984.

78/ ANC Weekly News Briefing (London), No. 44 (1984).

79/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 1 February 1985.

80/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 29 June 1985.

81/ Ibid.

82/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 3 December 1984 and 7 February 1985.

83/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 7 May 1985.

84/ Ibid., 24 April 1985.

85/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 5 July 1985.

86/ Strategic Materials: Technologies to Reduce U.S. Import Vulnerability (Washington, D.C., Congress of the United States, Office of Technology Assessment).

87/ Africa News, 18 February 1985; The Citizen (Johannesburg), 16 January 1985; and Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 7 December 1984.

Notes (continued)

- 88/ New York Times, 7 June 1985.
- 89/ South African Reserve Bank quarterly bulletin.
- 90/ Ibid.
- 91/ Star Airmail Weekly Edition (Johannesburg), 28 January 1985.
- 92/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 19 October 1984.
- 93/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 12 December 1984.
- 94/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 25 January 1985.
- 95/ Washington Times, 8 February 1985.
- 96/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 10 January 1985; and The Citizen (Johannesburg), 10 December 1984.
- 97/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 29 January 1985.
- 98/ Ibid., 10 January 1985.
- 99/ United Press International (Geneva), 3 June 1985.
- 100/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 19 December 1984.
- 101/ Sowetan, 22 August 1985.
- 102/ New York Times, 3 August 1985.
- 103/ Ibid., 10 September 1985.
- 104/ Ibid., 11 September 1985.
- 105/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 8 February 1985.
- 106/ United Press International (Wellington), 17 April 1985.
- 107/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 7 December 1984.
- 108/ Ibid., 29 December 1984.
- 109/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 18 January 1985.
- 110/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/39/22).
- 111/ Ibid., paras. 284-418.
- 112/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980 (S/14179).

ANNEX I

List of statements issued by the Special Committee

The Special Committee issued the following statements during the period under review:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| GA/AP/1564
(26 September 1984) | Joint statement by the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> and the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa on agreement on joint action against <u>apartheid</u> |
| GA/AP/1574
(16 October 1984) | Statement by the Chairman praising the decision to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu |
| GA/AP/1580
(7 November 1984) | Statement by the President of the General Assembly reiterating concern over violence in South Africa and appealing to the Security Council to act to avert "racial catastrophe" |
| GA/AP/1582
(19 November 1984) | Statement by the Chairman calling for an end to violence and repression by the <u>apartheid</u> régime in South Africa |
| GA/AP/1584
(11 December 1984) | Statement by the Chairman lauding the decision to name a New York City street corner after Nelson and Winnie Mandela |
| GA/AP/1585
(11 December 1984) | Statement by the Chairman calling on the international community to demand freedom for six leaders of the United Democratic Front in South Africa |
| GA/AP/1588
(6 February 1985) | Statement by the Chairman rejecting the proposal of the President of South Africa for an "informal forum" on the African majority's political rights |
| GA/AP/1589
(8 February 1985) | Message by the Chairman to the Mayor of New York City for naming the south-east corner of 42nd Street and 2nd Avenue as Nelson and Winnie Mandela Corner |
| GA/AP/1590
(11 February 1985) | Statement by the Chairman condemning the proposed tour of a New Zealand rugby team to South Africa |
| GA/AP/1593
(14 February 1985) | Statement by the Chairman urging Miami Grand Prix organizers to exclude South Africa |
| GA/AP/1594
(15 February 1985) | Statement by the Chairman commending the decision of Harvard University to sell holdings in companies with business dealings in South Africa |
| GA/AP/1595
(15 February 1985) | Message by the Chairman to anti- <u>apartheid</u> groups in the Netherlands on the decision by banks in the Netherlands to halt sales of South African krugerrands |
| GA/AP/1597
(20 February 1985) | Statement by the Chairman condemning recent violence by the racist régime in South Africa |

GA/AP/1601 (11 March 1985)	Statement by the Chairman appealing for the widest observance of International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
GA/AP/1602 (11 March 1985)	Statement by the Chairman commending the four-day protest by non-governmental organizations against South African racism in Washington, D.C., 19-22 April
GA/AP/1604 (18 March 1985)	Message by the Chairman to the Mayor of New York City commending the New York City law prohibiting city deposits in banks that provide services to the South African Government
GA/AP/1611 (28 March 1985)	Message by the Chairman to Stevie Wonder expressing appreciation for his contribution to the struggle against <u>apartheid</u>
GA/AP/1612 (28 March 1985)	Message by the Chairman to William L. Brown, Chief Executive Officer of the Bank of Boston, for his decision to stop loans to South Africa
GA/AP/1614 (3 April 1985)	Message by the Chairman congratulating the New Zealand House of Representatives for calling on the rugby team to decline a South African invitation
GA/AP/1615 (3 April 1985)	Message by the Chairman congratulating Leicester (United Kingdom) City Council for banning the rugby team that toured South Africa
GA/AP/1616 (3 April 1985)	Message by the Chairman expressing appreciation to Morgan Guaranty Trust on its decision to cease loans to South Africa
GA/AP/1618 (8 April 1985)	Statement by the Chairman commending Columbia University students for their divestment campaign in opposition to <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa
GA/AP/1620 (15 April 1985)	Message of condolence by the Chairman on the occasion of the funeral for persons slain by South African riot police
GA/AP/1621 (17 April 1985)	Statement by the Chairman expressing indignation at the decision of the All Black Rugby Team of New Zealand to tour South Africa
GA/AP/1622 (17 April 1985)	Statement by the Chairman welcoming the international campaign on divestment from South Africa
GA/AP/1624 (24 April 1985)	Message by the Chairman congratulating the New Zealand Government for its statement opposing the rugby football union tour of South Africa
GA/AP/1636/Rev.1 (15 May 1985)	Statement by the Chairman calling for urgent action against torture of opponents of <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa
GA/AP/1642 (13 June 1985)	Statement by the Chairman calling for the widest observance of the Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa

GA/AP/1646 (28 June 1985)	Statement by the Acting Chairman calling for international action to save the lives of freedom fighters in South Africa
GA/AP/1647 (28 June 1985)	Statement by the Acting Chairman commending Sweden, Norway and Denmark for ending Scandinavian Airlines System flights to South Africa at the end of 1985
GA/AP/1648 (3 July 1985)	Message of condolence by the Acting Chairman to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) on the death of John N. Pokela, Chairman of PAC
GA/AP/1650 (11 July 1985)	Message by the Chairman urging the New Zealand rugby team to decline the tour of South Africa while <u>apartheid</u> exists
GA/AP/1652 (18 July 1985)	Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the arson attack on the headquarters of the British Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement
GA/AP/1655 (24 July 1985)	Statement by the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> condemning the imposition of a state of emergency in South Africa
GA/AP/1657 (13 August 1985)	Statement by the Acting Chairman on escalating violence in South Africa
GA/AP/1658 (14 August 1985)	Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning action against Winnie Mandela
GA/AP/1659 (15 August 1985)	Statement by the Acting Chairman expressing dismay at the rugby tour of South Africa
GA/AP/1660 (19 August 1985)	Statement by the Special Committee terming Botha's statement a defiant testimony to the unrelenting viciousness of the white minority
GA/AP/1661 (19 August 1985)	Statement by the Chairman appealing for renewed efforts to spare the life of a supporter of the African National Congress of South Africa facing execution in South Africa
GA/AP/1664 (27 August 1985)	Statement by the Chairman condemning the arrest of Dr. Allan Boesak, anti- <u>apartheid</u> activist, by South African authorities
GA/AP/1665 (3 September 1985)	Statement by the Special Committee calling on the international community to persuade South Africa to negotiate with the indigenous majority and avoid bloodshed
GA/AP/1667 (26 September 1985)	Statement by the Chairman condemning the South African régime for forced population removals
GA/AP/1668 (26 September 1985)	Statement by the Special Committee calling for the widest observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners

ANNEX II

List of documents of the Special Committee

- A/AC.115/L.620 Messages received on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- A/AC.115/L.621 Report of the mission of the Special Committee against Apartheid to Angola, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania (3-16 April 1985)
- A/AC.115/L.622 Action agenda: Conference on "Labour and South Africa", held at District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, Country and Municipal Employees, New York, on 1 and 2 March 1985
- A/AC.115/L.623 Report of the International Conference on Women and Children under Apartheid, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 7-10 May 1985
- A/AC.115/L.624 Report of the International Conference on Sports Boycott and Corr.1 against South Africa, held at UNESCO House, Paris, 16-19 May 1985
- A/AC.115/L.625 Messages received on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa - Soweto Day
- A/AC.115/L.626 Statements by the Reverend Mr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Member of the Executive Committee of the South African Council of Churches, and the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid at the emergency meeting of the Special Committee, held on 24 July 1985
- A/AC.115/L.627 Statement adopted by the Special Committee against Apartheid at its 571st meeting, on 24 July 1985
- A/AC.115/L.628 Messages received on the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1985)

ANNEX III

International bank loans to South Africa (July 1984-April 1985)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount (millions)</u>	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
July 1984	Department of Posts and Telecommunications	\$42	Standard Bank of South Africa
			Swiss Volksbank (CH)
			Oesterreische Landesbank AG (AU)
			Allgemeine Sparkasse (AU)
			Crédit lyonnais (F)
			Banque nationale de Paris (F)
			Société générale (F)
	South African Transport Services (SATS)	£30	Banca Commerciale Italiana (IT)
			Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel Bank (FRG)
			Guinness Mahon and Company (UK)
			Hambros Bank, Ltd. (UK)
	Republic of South Africa	£40	Hill Samuel and Company, Ltd. (UK)
			NM Rothschild and Sons, Ltd. (UK) and other participating banks
August 1984	Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM)	F 100	Crédit suisse (CH)
September 1984	ESCOM	DM 100	Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			Bayerische Vereinbank AG (FRG)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)
			Crédit lyonnais (F)
			Deutsche Bank AG (FRG)
			Kredietbank International Group (B)
			Nedbank International
			Union Bank of Switzerland (CH)
			Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (FRG) and 83 other participating banks
	Rand Water Board	\$10	Paribas (F)
October 1984	City of Cape Town	SF 9.9	...
	Department of Posts and Telecommunications	ECU 40 (European Currency Unit)	Crédit commercial de France (F)
			Banque internationale à Luxembourg SA (LUX)
			Kredietbank International Group (B)
			Banque générale du Luxembourg SA (LUX)
			Banque indosuez (F)
			BBL International, Ltd. (UK)
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)
			Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Creditanstalt- Bankverein (AU)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
			Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			Hill Samuel and Company, Ltd. (UK)
			Société générale (F)
			Société générale de banque SA (B)
			Swiss Bank Corporation International, Ltd. (CH)
			The Trust Bank of Africa, Ltd.
			Union Bank of Switzerland, Ltd. (CH) and 28 other participating banks
November 1984	SATS	SF 90	Union Bank of Switzerland, Ltd. (CH)
		DM 100	Deutsche Bank AG (FRG)
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)
			Bayerische Vereinsbank AG (FRG)
			Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Swiss Bank Corporation International, Ltd. (CH)
			Union Bank of Switzerland, Ltd. (CH) and 74 other participating banks
	Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd.	\$75	Société générale (F)
			Banco de Bilbao SA (SP)
			Banco di Sicilia (IT)
			Banque internationale à Luxembourg SA (LUX)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
			Istituto Bancarao sao Paolo a Torino (IT)
			Oesterreische Landesbank AG (AU)
			Société générale de banque (B)
December 1984	Republic of South Africa	DM 250	Deutsche Bank AG (FRG)
			Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			Union Bank of Switzerland, Ltd. (CH)
			Banque Paribas (F)
			Bayerische Landesbank Girozentrale (FRG)
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)
			Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (FRG)
			Nedbank International and 69 other participating banks
January 1985	Genbel Finance B. V. (Genbel Investment, Ltd.)	DM 100	Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			Bayerische Vereinsbank AG (FRG)
			Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (FRG)
			Banque indosuez (F)
			Banque internationale à Luxembourg SA (LUX)
			Crédit commercial de France (F)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
			Kredietbank International Group (B)
			N. M. Rothschild and Sons, Ltd. (UK)
			Union Bank of Switzerland (Securities), Ltd. (CH) and 57 other participating banks
	Republic of South Africa	SF 55	Union Bank of Switzerland (CH)
February 1985	Department of Posts and Telecommunications	SF 100	Swiss Bank Corporation (CH)
	ESCOM	\$75	Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Union Bank of Switzerland (Securities), Ltd. (CH) and 22 participating banks
	SATS	ECU 50	Crédit commercial de France (F)
			Kredietbank International Group (B)
			Banca Commerciale Italiana (IT)
			Banque générale du Luxembourg SA (LUX)
			Banque indosuez (F)
			Banque internationale à Luxembourg SA (LUX)
			Banque Paribas Capital Markets (F)
			BBL International (UK), Ltd. (...)
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
			Deutsche Bank AG (FRG)
			Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			European Banking Company, Ltd. (international)
			Genossenschaftl. Zentralbank AG Vienna (AU)
			Hambros Bank, Ltd. (UK)
			Hill Samuel and Company Ltd. (UK)
			Société générale de banque SA (B)
			Swiss Bank Corporation International, Ltd. (CH)
			The Trust Bank of Africa, Ltd. (SA)
			Union Bank of Switzerland (Securities), Ltd. and 40 other participating banks
March 1985	Local Authorities Loans Fund Board	DM 75	Bayerische Vereinsbank AG (FRG)
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)
			Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			Vereins- und Westbank AG (FRG)
			Banca della Svizzera Italiana (US)
			Banque populaire suisse SA Luxembourg (CH)

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
			Wirtschafts- und Privatbank (CH)
			The Trust Bank of Africa, Ltd. (SA)
			Volkskas Merchant Bank, Ltd. (SA)
April 1985	ESCOM	DM 200	Dresdner Bank AG (FRG)
			Commerzbank AG (FRG)
			Barclays Merchant Bank (UK)
			Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel Bank AG (FRG)
			Bayerische Vereinsbank AG (FRG)
			Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank (FRG)
			Crédit commercial de France (F)
			Deutsche Bank AG (FRG)
			Kredietbank International Group (B)
			Nedbank International (SA)
			Swiss Bank Corporation International, Ltd. (CH)
			Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (FRG) and 76 other participating banks
	ESCOM	R 50	Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel Bank AG (FRG)
	ESCOM	ECU 50	...

<u>Date</u>	<u>South African borrower</u>	<u>Loan amount</u> (millions)	<u>Identifiable banks</u>
	ESCOM	ECU 50	...
	Industrial Development Corp.	DM 50	Commerzbank AG (FRG)
	Republic of South Africa	\$75	Commerzbank AG (FRG) Union Bank of Switzerland (Securities), Ltd. (CH) and 12 other participating banks

Source: Eva Militz, Bank Loans to South Africa, Mid-1982 to End 1984; notes and documents of the Centre against Apartheid, December 1985 (13/85).

Abbreviations:

AU	Austria	IT	Italy
B	Belgium	LUX	Luxembourg
CH	Switzerland	SA	South Africa
F	France	SP	Spain
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany	UK	United Kingdom
		US	United States

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
