

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

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

OFFICIAL RECORDS: FORTY-FIRST SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/41/22)



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**New York, 1986**

#### **NOTE**

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The present document was also submitted to the Security Council under the symbol S/18360.

[22 September 1986]

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

16 September 1986

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 15 September 1986.

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 40/64 A to I of 10 December 1985.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

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

His Excellency  
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar  
Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York, N.Y. 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 585th meeting, on 10 February 1986, 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. Jai Pratap Rana (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 the United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa, 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 Osakwe (Nigeria) as Chairman of its Task Force on the Legal Aspects of Apartheid.

4. The Sub-Committee 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 Political Prisoners is composed of the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, India, Malaysia, Peru (Chairman), Somalia and the Syrian Arab Republic; the Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid is composed of India, the Philippines, the Sudan (Chairman) and Trinidad and Tobago; 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 40/64 A and E of 10 December 1985, the Special Committee submitted on 22 September 1986, 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/41/22/Add.1-S/18360/Add.1). The Special Committee undertook direct action to support the Secretary-General's reports to the General Assembly as requested in resolutions 40/64 A, C and I of 10 December 1985.

6. At its 594th meeting, held on 15 September 1986, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council.



## II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

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

7. During its fortieth session, the General Assembly considered the item in seven plenary meetings between 28 October and 10 December 1985. On 10 December 1985, it adopted the following nine resolutions relating to various aspects of apartheid based mainly on the recommendations of the Special Committee, namely:

- "Comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa" (40/64 A);
- "Situation in South Africa and assistance to the liberation movements" (40/64 B);
- "World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa" (40/64 C);
- "Public information and public action against apartheid" (40/64 D);
- "Relations between Israel and South Africa" (40/64 E);
- "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid" (40/64 F);
- "International Convention against Apartheid in Sports" (40/64 G);
- "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa" (40/64 H); and
- "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid" (40/64 I).

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

8. 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 racist régime. During the consideration by the Security Council of the grave situation in southern Africa on 6 February 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee expressed deep concern at the support being given by the United States of America to UNITA and called upon the United States to refrain from supporting insurgencies assisted by the racist régime. Against the background of the repeal in 1985 of the Clark Amendment, which prohibited aid and assistance to UNITA, the move indicated a shift in United States policy in southern Africa, which had to be viewed with the utmost gravity by the international community.

9. On 22 May 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee, participating in the Security Council meeting on South Africa's aggression against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, said that the purpose of those acts of aggression had been to intimidate and crush the growing movement against apartheid and that they had demonstrated the hypocrisy of its talk about meaningful change; the Security Council should seriously consider the adoption of mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

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

10. The Special Committee 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 (see annex I for a list of statements issued by the Special Committee).

11. On 18 October 1985, the Chairman of the Special Committee, in a statement, condemned the racist white minority régime in the strongest terms for its brutal murder of the South African poet Benjamin M. Moloise, whose only "crime" had been to oppose the abhorrent system of apartheid.

12. On 20 December 1985, and again on 30 April 1986, the Special Committee strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for sentencing to death six South African patriots for allegedly killing the so-called deputy mayor of the Sharpeville township. Mojalefa R. Sefatsa (aged 30), Oupa M. Diniso (aged 10), Reid M. Mokoena (aged 22), Theresa Ramashamula (aged 24), Duma J. Khumale (aged 26) and Francis Don Mokgesi (aged 28) are awaiting their fate.

13. On 22 January 1986, the Special Committee condemned in the strongest terms the trial of 22 opponents of the apartheid system, including leading members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and community-based organizations. It emphasized that, in undertaking this travesty of justice, the apartheid régime stood in defiance of the United Nations and the international community, which had repeatedly called upon the racist régime to cease repression, to release all political prisoners unconditionally and to enter into negotiations with the legitimate leaders of the majority of South Africa.

14. On 2 May 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee called upon the international community to condemn the new Public Safety Amendment Bill. He underlined that it was by no means clear that the proposed new arrangements concerning the "pass laws" would lead to the free movement of blacks in their own country. He condemned the "homelands" system, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and other such laws that provided the racist régime with the so-called legal machinery through which white minority rule and domination were maintained. Apartheid would begin to be dismantled when all those laws were abrogated. The international community had to strengthen and reinforce its pressure on the apartheid régime, he said.

15. On 16 May 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement condemning the acts of violence and repression in the KwaNdebele "homeland" against black anti-apartheid protestors. Demonstrating against the racist régime's decision to give so-called independence to KwaNdebele, seven Africans had been killed and scores injured by the police forces. The policy of "homelands" and the granting to them of fictitious independence had been repeatedly and firmly rejected by the United Nations, he said, and once more condemned the continued policy by South Africa to create "independent homelands".

16. On 12 June 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee expressed shock and outrage at the newly declared state of emergency in South Africa giving absolute power to the security forces to arrest people without warrant and without trial and with indemnity against any criminal or other responsibility. He strongly condemned the declaration of the state of emergency and the mass detentions and warned the Pretoria régime that unless it entered into a dialogue with the true representatives of the oppressed people for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa, there would be no peace and stability in South Africa. He appealed to the international community to take concrete measures to isolate the apartheid régime and to compel it to heed the United Nations resolutions on apartheid and Namibia.

17. On 18 July 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the entry into force of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (General Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex). He appealed to all signatory States of the Convention to strengthen their action against apartheid along its provisions and called upon those States that had not yet done so to sign and ratify the Convention as soon as possible.

18. On 29 July 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee expressed shock at attacks on the Reverend Mr. Allan Boesak, which demonstrated the arbitrary powers and brutality of South African police forces. He condemned in the strongest manner the attacks on Mr. Boesak and the Holy Cross Catholic Church and called upon the international community to adopt urgent measures to dissuade the apartheid régime from such actions.

19. On 15 August 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement congratulating the people of the KwaNdebele "homeland" for opposing so-called independence offered by the apartheid régime. He called upon the international community to take measures to compel South Africa to abandon forthwith the "homelands" policy and other pillars of apartheid.

20. On 29 August 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement declaring shock and horror at the massacre perpetrated by the apartheid régime in Soweto Township on the night of 26 and 27 August 1986, when the police forces had attacked residents protesting the attempts by the racist authorities to evict tenants because of their rent boycott against apartheid and had killed 21. He expressed the Committee's solidarity with the people of South Africa and assured them once more of the international community's support and continued efforts in assistance of their struggle to end apartheid.

21. On 8 September 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement expressing shock and dismay about the death sentences imposed on innocent patriots and members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), Sipho Xulu and Clarence Payi. He strongly condemned the régime's decision to carry out the execution. The Chairman once more demanded that the racist régime end the repression and release all political prisoners and detainees immediately and unconditionally. However, in spite of the world-wide appeal, the racist régime carried out the execution of these patriots on 9 September 1986. In addition, it had also executed Mr. Sibusiso Zondo on the same day.

22. On 10 September 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message to Zephania Mothopeng on the occasion of his recent election as President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) while remaining incarcerated by the racist régime. He saluted the courage and determination in his resistance against the abhorrent system of apartheid.

#### D. Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid

23. The Special Committee sponsored and participated in a number of meetings to mobilize action against the apartheid régime, which are discussed below.

1. International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa

24. The International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa was organized in co-operation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa and was held in London from 28 to 30 May 1986. It was attended by representatives of United Nations bodies, Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, national liberation movements, anti-apartheid groups, members of parliament and experts on the matter. Recognizing the need for urgent and effective action to strengthen and ensure the strict implementation of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo, the Seminar adopted by consensus a set of important recommendations, which are contained in its Final Declaration (see A/41/388-S/18121, annex). (For the report of the Seminar, see document A/AC.115/L.637.)

2. United Nations Seminar on Oil Embargo against South Africa

25. The United Nations Seminar on Oil Embargo against South Africa was organized in co-operation with the Government of Norway and was held at Oslo from 4 to 6 June 1986. Its aim was to strengthen the voluntary oil embargo or comparable policies adopted by representatives of most oil-producing and oil-exporting States against South Africa. The Seminar was attended by oil-producing and oil-exporting countries, shipping States, front-line States, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. At the conclusion, the Seminar adopted by consensus a Declaration containing recommendations for a strict implementation of the oil embargo (see A/41/404-S/18141, annex). (For the report of the Seminar, see document A/AC.115/L.636.)

3. World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa

26. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa was organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/64 C of 10 December 1985 and was held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986. A Preparatory Committee for the Conference was established under the chairmanship of Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee. The Conference was the major meeting organized by the Special Committee during the year to mobilize international action against apartheid. It was preceded by the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa and the United Nations Seminar on Oil Embargo against South Africa, as preparatory meetings to the Conference (see paras. 24 and 25).

27. The World Conference conducted its work in plenary meetings and in one commission. The Conference was opened by the Secretary-General and adopted a message on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day). The Conference was attended by representatives of 132 Governments, 4 national liberation movements, 6 intergovernmental organizations, 23 international non-governmental organizations and 44 national non-governmental organizations, and a number of members of parliament and special guests invited by the Preparatory Committee. The

Conference adopted by acclamation its Declaration (A/41/434-S/18135, annex) and decided to include the report of the Commission as an annex to its report (see A/CONF.137/5).

28. Meeting at a most critical time in the history of South Africa and southern Africa, the Conference emphasized the need for urgent effective international action against South Africa. It recalled the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in 1981, and expressed its disappointment that in the period since then the Security Council had been unable to take the requisite mandatory action recommended by that Conference, owing to the negative votes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States.

29. The Conference aimed basically at assisting the South African people in eliminating apartheid, securing the independence of Namibia without further delay, and restoring peace in the region and thus ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security. It condemned any attempt to interpret the current conflict in southern Africa as an "East-West" conflict.

30. The Conference concluded that the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid was to enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime. Accordingly, it recommended a comprehensive programme of action, the central element of which was mandatory sanctions to be adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Such sanctions would, among other things, extend the arms embargo, end all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, and include oil and petroleum products as well as investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

#### 4. Summit meetings of the Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity

31. The Special Committee participated in the eight conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare in August and September 1986, as well as in the twenty-second Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Addis Ababa in July 1986. Both summits adopted very important declarations. In particular, the summit meeting in Harare "condemned the Pretoria régime for conducting State terrorism against the front-line and other neighbouring independent States" and called for the immediate elimination of apartheid. It further called upon the international community to "impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist Pretoria régime" immediately as well as to urge "the Security Council of the United Nations to proceed to adopt and impose such sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, without delay". The meeting also made recommendations for strengthening and supporting the front-line and other neighbouring States against South Africa's aggression, subversion and destabilization, as well as calling for immediate action for the independence of Namibia.

#### E. Encouragement of world-wide action against apartheid

##### 1. Consultations with prime ministers and other eminent persons

32. On 11 October 1985, the Special Committee held a special meeting, at was addressed by Father Walter H. Lini, Prime Minister of Vanuatu (see A/AC.115/PV.575).

33. On 15 October 1985, the Special Committee held a special meeting that was addressed by Nathaniel R. Jones, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (see A/AC.115/SR.577).

34. On 22 October 1985, the Special Committee held a special meeting that was addressed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India (see A/AC.115/SR.578).

35. On 23 October 1985, the Special Committee held a special meeting that was addressed by Mr. David Lange, Prime Minister of New Zealand (see A/AC.115/SR.579).

## 2. Consultations with non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations (strategy session)

36. On 25 and 26 November 1985, the Special Committee invited several non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations to discuss the future programme of action against apartheid. Representatives of national liberation movements, non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations and some individuals actively concerned with the situation in southern Africa participated in the strategy session, which took place against the background of unprecedented developments in southern Africa and the international campaign against apartheid (see A/AC.115/SR.580-583).

37. The session adopted a document setting out recommendations for action to be taken by non-governmental organizations to mobilize action against apartheid (see A/AC.115/L.633).

## 3. Consultations with the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa

38. At a meeting of the Special Committee and of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa, held in New York on 2 and 3 December 1985, both reviewed their programme of activities within their respective mandate and resources and considered ways and means to strengthen the joint programme of action against apartheid in South Africa. They agreed on specific measures to generate and request increased television and radio coverage of resistance in apartheid South Africa and to counter South African propaganda. They decided to co-sponsor events designed to promote media coverage of developments in southern Africa and concerted international action against apartheid.

## 4. Hearings on the situation in South Africa and action in the United States against apartheid

39. On 27 June 1986, the Special Committee held hearings to review the grave situation in South Africa and student action in the United States against apartheid. The hearings focused on strategies and actions by student groups to increase general awareness of the South African system of apartheid and to achieve divestment from South Africa and the Committee heard statements of representatives from 29 universities. The hearings were also attended and addressed by representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa.

## 5. Missions of the Chairman of the Special Committee

40. The Chairman of the Special Committee undertook two missions to hold discussions with governmental leaders on international action to be taken against apartheid in the light of the rapidly deteriorating situation in South Africa. Missions were undertaken from 4 to 12 November 1985 to the Republic of Korea, Japan and China, and from 19 February to 1 March 1986 to Western European countries.
41. The Chairman visited the Republic of Korea from 4 to 7 November 1985. He held discussions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea. After consultations with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Won-Kyung Lee, he addressed a public rally at the University of Foreign Studies at Seoul. On another occasion, he called for the establishment of an anti-apartheid movement in the Republic of Korea.
42. The Chairman visited Japan from 7 to 10 November 1985. He held consultations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and gave four interviews to major Japanese media networks. He also met with five anti-apartheid organizations and reviewed in detail their programmes of work and strategies for the enlightenment of and action by the public against apartheid.
43. The Chairman visited China from 10 to 12 November 1985. He held consultations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He emphasized the importance of the further mobilization of international public opinion to put enough pressure on Governments still collaborating with South Africa so that they might take stronger action against apartheid. The Chinese officials gave assurances that their country would stand by the struggling people of South Africa until apartheid was eliminated and would continue to support the work of the Special Committee towards that end. The Chairman also addressed the Chinese People's Institute for Foreign Affairs under the sponsorship of the China United Nations Association, and was received by the acting Prime Minister, Mr. Wan Li.
44. During his mission to Western European countries, the Chairman held consultations with heads of State and Government, non-governmental organizations and anti-apartheid groups in Spain, Sweden, France, Portugal, Belgium and the United Kingdom. His consultations focused on the international mobilization against South Africa as well as the preparation for the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa. He observed that the principle of sanctions had become universally accepted as necessary for eliminating apartheid and underscored that the United States and the United Kingdom had repeatedly refused to join the rest of the international community in applying comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.
45. In Spain, the Chairman held extensive consultations with King Juan Carlos, who condemned the practice of apartheid as intolerable, and with Mr. Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez, the Foreign Minister, on 19 February 1986.
46. During his visit to Sweden to address an anti-apartheid event at the Swedish People's Parliament, on 21 February 1986, the Chairman held an extensive exchange of views on, inter alia, Afro-Nordic co-operation and General Assembly resolution 40/64 D with Mr. Sten Andersson, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.
47. The Chairman then visited France, where he met with Mr. Guy Penne, Special Adviser to President François Mitterand. Mr. Penne assured the Chairman that France would not relent in its forward-line opposition to the intolerable situation in South Africa. Furthermore, the Chairman paid a second visit to France in June

to consult with the new Government of France. On 2 June 1986, he met with Mr. Jean Raymond, the Minister for External Affairs of France, who assured him that the Government's policy towards South Africa had not changed.

48. On 25 February 1986, the Chairman held extensive consultations with, inter alia, Mr. Eduardo Avezedo Suarez, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Portugal. Mr. Suarez reaffirmed his Government's opposition to apartheid.

49. After his visit to Portugal, the Chairman went to Brussels for consultations with key committees and officials of the European Parliament and with non-governmental organizations based in Brussels.

50. During his visit to the United Kingdom in April, the Chairman met with, inter alia, Mrs. Lynda Chalker, M.P., Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Sir Timothy Bevan, Chairman of the Barclays Bank, and some members of Parliament. Mrs. Chalker reiterated her Government's negative position on sanctions and lack of interest in attending the meetings of the Special Committee. Sir Timothy stated that Barclays Bank would neither commit new money to South Africa nor be party to any formal debt rescheduling until there was an end to the bankrupt policy of institutionalized racial discrimination.

#### 6. Other action

51. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman issued statements and sent messages to Governments, organizations, universities, anti-apartheid groups and other institutions as well as individuals as appropriate (see annex I for a list of statements issued by the Special Committee).

52. On 21 October 1985, representatives of the Nordic countries delivered to the Special Committee the Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa adopted at the meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers held at Oslo on 17 and 18 October 1985. The Chairman acknowledged the positive contribution being made by those countries to the struggle against apartheid and expressed the hope that the initiative would be followed by similar action by other Western countries to break off relations with South Africa.

53. On 22 October 1985, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message to Mr. Fritz Leutwiler, the mediator of the banks negotiating to reschedule or restructure South Africa's repayment of debts. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman urged the banks to refuse to accommodate the racist régime's request for an extension of its loans. He appealed for the withdrawal of existing loans and an end to new loans to South Africa.

54. That appeal was ignored, however. On 24 February 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement condemning the agreement between South Africa and its creditor banks to ease the debt crisis of the racist régime. The Committee expressed the view that any move to ease South Africa's debt crisis constituted indirect support of its policies and its intransigent refusal to take measures to start dismantling apartheid.

55. In April 1986, the Chairman sent letters to the chief executive officers of the following banks in the United States: Citibank, J. P. Morgan, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Bank of America, Irving Trust, Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, Bank



of Boston, Mellon Bank, Bankers Trust and Wells Fargo, urging them, inter alia, not to make any further loans to South Africa.

56. On 31 July 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement expressing the dismay that the United States Administration had recently signed an agreement with the racist régime of South Africa to increase textile imports from that country, claiming that it would help jobs and producers in the United States. He urged the Administration to pay heed to the wishes of the majority of South Africans and the international community and to impose sanctions against the racist régime.

57. On 7 August 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement welcoming the sanctions package against South Africa adopted by the heads of Governments of Australia, the Bahamas, Canada, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe at a Commonwealth meeting in London on 4 August 1986. He expressed the hope that the Commonwealth sanctions package would soon pave the way for the international community, through the Security Council, to adopt comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

58. In a statement issued on 28 August 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee expressed his satisfaction that the California Senate and Assembly had adopted legislation on divestment of state funds invested in companies doing business in South Africa. He stated that the measure was a significant step in advancing the divestment campaign in the United States, and in furthering the cause worldwide of combating apartheid.

59. On 4 September 1986, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement expressing its grave surprise that the Foreign Minister of racist South Africa had arrived in Japan for an unofficial visit. He stated that such a visit only served to encourage the apartheid régime in its attempts to gain international acceptance and respectability while the international community was searching for the cessation of all contacts with the racist régime. The Special Committee, he said, reiterated its unqualified opposition to and condemnation of all contacts with the apartheid régime. Responding to his statement, the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations sent a letter to the Chairman explaining that the purpose of the meeting of the Foreign Minister of Japan with the Foreign Minister of South Africa was to indicate Japan's position that unless things changed for the better in South Africa, it would have no choice but to take additional steps against Pretoria.

#### F. Action against apartheid in sports

##### 1. Special meeting marking the opening for signature of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports

60. On 16 May 1986, the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1985 (resolution 40/64 G), was opened for signature and was signed by representatives of 43 Member States at a ceremonial meeting of the Special Committee. Opening the meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee declared that the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports was an important part in international action against apartheid. As long as there was apartheid, there could be no free sport, he said. The idea of racial segregation ran counter to the most basic and fundamental principles of sport. He underlined that those who broke the sports boycott and took part in sports in South Africa or with its teams must realize that they were playing the game of the

apartheid régime. He expressed his hope that the Convention would be signed and ratified speedily by all countries. As at 21 August 1986, 64 States had signed the Convention.

## 2. Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa (1 July-31 December 1985)

61. Pursuant to a decision taken in 1980, the Special Committee has published semi-annually the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa. The latest Register contained sports contacts in the period 1 July-31 December 1985 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. It continues to publish a consolidated list of sports contacts. The names of persons who undertook not to engage in further sports events in South Africa were deleted from the register.

## 3. Other action

62. In connection with participation in the South African Grand Prix automobile race, scheduled for 19 October 1985, the Chairman of the Special Committee stated on 2 October 1985 that to participate in sports exchanges with South Africa was contrary to the international sports boycott, and appealed to all Governments of States Members of the United Nations to take the necessary steps to prevent drivers, as well as cars manufactured in their countries, from participating in the Grand Prix.

63. In a statement issued on 17 April 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee deplored a planned rugby tour of South Africa by a rebel New Zealand team. While the Special Committee was aware that an overwhelming majority of the people of New Zealand was not in agreement with the action of the individuals concerned, he expressed the view that a visit to South Africa at that critical juncture of the liberation struggle represented total insensitivity on the part of those individuals to the moral issues raised by the evil system of apartheid.

## G. Action against apartheid in the cultural field

### 1. Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa

64. At the request of the Special Committee, the third Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa 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. The Register is kept up to date and supplements are published periodically. The names of persons who undertake not to perform again in South Africa are deleted.

65. 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 persons 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.

## 2. Other action

66. In a ceremony on 10 October 1985, "Artists United against Apartheid" presented the first pressing of the record "Sun City" to the United Nations and the Special Committee. It was produced in co-operation with the Special Committee and its message was that South Africa should be boycotted as long as apartheid prevailed.

67. On 7 November 1985, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee condemned the heavy restrictions imposed by the South African authorities to curb the reporting of unrest and of the repressive and brutal character of apartheid. He called upon all journalists, academicians, liberation movements, Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and people who were actively concerned with the situation in South Africa to combat all attempts by the apartheid régime to curb the mass media and to keep the truth from the world.

68. On 28 April 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee commended the decision of Equity, the British Actors' Union, to instruct its members not to perform in South Africa and to ban exports of all sound and recorded material to South Africa. That decision came in support of General Assembly resolutions calling for the cultural boycott of South Africa.

69. On 26 August 1986, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement appealing to all Governments and organizations concerned to take concerted action to boycott a conference on "Latest Techniques on High-Speed Photography and Videography and their Mining, Industrial, Biomedical, Research and Military Applications" scheduled to take place at Pretoria from 1 to 5 September 1986 organized by the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

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

70. The Special Committee has 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 unprecedented escalation of resistance by the people, it has emphasized the need for all possible political, moral, humanitarian, educational, material and other assistance. It has expressed its appreciation to the many Governments, organizations and individuals who have given such assistance, either directly to the liberation movements or through the United Nations and special funds. The Special Committee had also maintained contact with other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with assistance to victims of apartheid.

71. On 30 October 1985, Mr. Serge Elie Charles (Haiti, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee, presented to the Secretary-General contributions totalling \$116,450 for Mrs. Winnie Mandela, whose house had been set on fire and destroyed by unidentified persons under suspicious circumstances, pointing to the racist Pretoria régime's complicity. Member States and individuals, in solidarity with the struggle in South Africa, had pledged this financial assistance to rebuild the house.

## I. Observance of international days

72. The Special Committee held solemn meetings in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October 1985), the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1986), the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (16 June 1986) and the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1986).

## J. Special meeting in tribute to Mr. Olof Palme, the late Prime Minister of Sweden

73. On 6 March 1986, the Special Committee met to pay tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister of Sweden. The contribution of Olof Palme to the struggle against apartheid and for the independence of Namibia was recalled. The Chairman of the Special Committee underlined that Mr. Palme's sincere and long-standing commitment to the liberation of South Africa's oppressed majority was an inspiration to, and a reflection of, the world-wide people's movement against apartheid. He commended Sweden and other Nordic countries for their assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

## K. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and with other organizations

74. 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 of its special meetings and conferences and sent representatives to attend and address their special meetings.

75. 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/1986/114). 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.

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

77. The Special Committee closely co-operated with other intergovernmental, non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations and sent representatives to attend and address conferences, meetings and other events organized by them.

### III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

78. In the past year, South Africa's crisis has deepened. Having lost its ability to rule, the apartheid régime in desperation has intensified its repression. It has been ruling with states of emergency and police state methods. The escalating State violence has led to increased popular resistance and intensified struggle for liberation. Despite extreme State repression, the oppressed people have emphatically reiterated their indomitable determination to uproot apartheid as soon as possible and at any cost. In a vain attempt to stem the growing liberation struggle, Pretoria has also committed acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against neighbouring States.

79. The racist régime's intensified brutality and aggression in and around South Africa have caused great concern and even repugnance in the world. The international community has, in stronger terms than ever, been calling for effective action against apartheid. Such calls have become stronger since it has become clear that the régime is not prepared to negotiate with the authentic representatives of the whole population with a view to dismantling apartheid. The international community has reiterated its conviction that the question is not one of reform of the system of apartheid but the eradication of it, and has emphasized the need for effective international action to that end. Certain Governments, however, have continued to collaborate with the apartheid régime in various fields, while at the same time deploring apartheid.

#### A. Repression against opponents of apartheid

##### 1. States of emergency

80. During the greater part of the past year, South Africa has been under a state of emergency, imposed twice by the apartheid régime, partially from 21 July 1985 to 6 March 1986 and nation-wide from 12 June 1986 to the present time. During the first emergency, over 500 people were killed in police violence and nearly 7,800 were detained, including more than 2,000 children under 16 years of age. Many were assaulted and others tortured during interrogation. The security forces were given sweeping powers to act as they wished, without any criminal or civil responsibility.

81. The second state of emergency was even harsher than the first one. As part of it, the apartheid régime introduced a series of curbs on the local and foreign press. The press cannot publish what the régime termed "subversive" reporting, a term that is very wide and vague. It is an offence to publish reports that promote the objectives of liberation or incite the public or any person to strike, support boycotts or take part in demonstrations or processions. The news media are banned from areas of unrest, cannot publish the names of political detainees, cannot give live television transmissions out of the country and cannot publish information on the movements and actions of the racist security forces. In June, curfews were imposed under the emergency in 24 areas. Several foreign journalists were expelled.

82. The régime has thus tried to prevent news of increased resistance to apartheid from reaching the outside world. Since the imposition of the second state of emergency, it was estimated that, during the period from 12 June to 29 August, 12,000 to 16,000 opponents of apartheid, including church and trade union leaders, journalists, youth and student leaders, women and leaders of community organizations, had been detained without trial and about 250 people were killed,

mostly in State terror. To prevent the people from commemorating Soweto Day (16 June), the régime imposed a sweeping nation-wide ban on all indoor and outdoor meetings and cut off telephones to black townships. It issued gagging orders on 118 organizations in the Western Cape, including UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Release Mandela Committee, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the National Forum and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

83. Despite the reimposition of emergency, violence in South Africa has continued and even increased. The new and harsher repressive measures adopted in June, the heavy censorship, the isolation of black townships from world view, mass arrests without habeas corpus, and the continued and increased police violence and killings represent a tacit acknowledgement by the régime that it can no longer govern except by military means and police state methods.

## 2. Arrests, detentions, torture, bannings and deaths in detention

84. Arrests, detentions, torture, bannings and deaths in detention have been rampant in the past year. In 1985, over 11,000 people were detained without charge or trial in the unrest. In addition to people detained under the emergency measures, many were detained under the Internal Security Act. Some of the detainees were ultimately charged, but few of them were convicted. Many were tortured in detention. Twelve persons, including three children, died in detention in 1985. In April and May 1986 alone, seven detainees died in police custody. 1/

85. In April, the so-called Minister of Law and Order disclosed in Parliament the capture of several PAC fighters, including Enoch Zulu, the second in command of PAC's armed wing, who was wanted by police since 1962. 2/

86. In March 1986, the Rev. George Daniel, Pretoria's Catholic Archbishop, and others submitted an affidavit to the Supreme Court in Mbabatho concerning more than 50 incidents of torture and assault by the police of the Bophuthatswana "homeland". Victims, they said, included members of the Roman Catholic Church, trade unionists, youths and school-children.

87. In February 1986, about 65 persons were placed under effective bans. Many of them were those who had been released from detention under the emergency measures. They cannot leave their magisterial districts, participate in the activities of prescribed organizations, enter the premises of any school or educational institution, publish or disseminate certain publications, attend any meeting of students or any other meeting where the policies of the régime or of any local community are discussed, criticized or attacked. 3/

88. The Internal Security Act was amended to permit a 180-day detention, while the Public Safety Act was amended to authorize the so-called Minister of Law and Order to declare "unrest areas" if he thought that extraordinary measures were necessary in any area. Therefore, even after the present state of emergency is lifted, the authorities will retain the powers of a police state. Such authorization is a new and ominous development in the escalation of State repression.

### 3. Killings and violence by the security forces

89. Hardly a day has passed in South Africa during the past year without blacks being killed in police violence. Security forces continue to shoot and kill black demonstrators and protestors. The security forces utilize dogs, whips, tear-gas, bird-shot, rubber bullets and live ammunition in their attempt to suppress or disperse demonstrators and even funeral gatherings. In October 1985, in a deliberate act of provocation, police hid in containers on the back of a decoy truck and shot dead three youths in the Athlone Township, Cape Town. On 21 November, they killed 19 people, including a baby, in the Mamelodi Township of Pretoria, when they fired on a crowd of thousands of women. On 2 January 1986, at least 16 people died in the Moutse area, near Johannesburg, over the issue of forced removal. Later in the same month, police killed seven Africans while trying to break up a meeting of 500 miners in Bekkersdal, near Pretoria. Between 15 and 18 February, 23 people died in Johannesburg's black township of Alexandra in police violence against protesting Africans. These are only a few examples.

90. In the tragic violence at Crossroads and the Khay-Elitsha Township Council (KTC) squatter camp in May and June, about 50 people lost their lives and about 70,000 became homeless. It was widely stated in affidavits by religious leaders, physicians and others that the police had sided with the régime-sponsored vigilantes in order to displace the people and force them to move.

91. Ultra-right-wing whites, notably the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB), headed by Mr. Terre Blanche, repeatedly attacked and killed black township residents and also supported and supplied the régime-sponsored vigilantes. 4/

92. News reports widely referred to "death squads" that had been organized by the régime and were responsible for assassinations and disappearances of black political activists.

93. From September 1984 up to 25 August 1986, about 2,600 people lost their lives, mostly as a result of indiscriminate police and military violence against the indigenous population.

### 4. Political trials

94. Most political trials have been based on false charges of treason, arson, subversion, murder, public violence and furthering the aims of a banned organization, which included stay-aways from work, boycotts and other normal and peaceful community action. They have been directed mainly at leaders and activists of trade unions and student and community organizations. Most unrest-related charges have been withdrawn without explanation, after the accused have endured long periods of detention.

95. On 18 October 1985, Benjamin Maloise, 30 years of age, was executed, after having been convicted on a charge of killing a policeman, an act that he had persistently denied. ANC had claimed responsibility for the act and repeatedly stated that Mr. Maloise was in no way involved. International calls for clemency, including those of the Security Council, went unheeded.

96. In December 1985, six Sharpeville residents were sentenced to death in connection with the murder of the so-called Deputy Mayor of Sharpeville, while five PAC members were sentenced to a total of 33 years imprisonment for "furthering the

aims and objects of PAC and supplying weapons and equipment to the people". In January and February 1986, nine new trials began, which involved 134 defendants accused of killing policemen, a community councillor and a member of the "legislative assembly" of the KwaZulu "homeland". In April, ANC member Andrew S. Zondo was sentenced to death in connection with a bomb explosion and was refused leave to appeal. A number of other opponents of apartheid were sentenced to long prison terms.

97. Many trade union and UDF leaders were charged in the Pietermaritzburg and the Delmas trials. In the former, the 16 accused were charged with high treason, terrorism and furthering the aims of ANC. The charges against 12 of them were dropped in December 1985 and against the other 4 in July 1986, mainly because of discredited evidence against them. The Delmas trial, involving 22 persons, leading members of UDF, AZAPO and other community organizations on similar charges continued as did many other political trials.

#### 5. "Homelands" and forced population removals

98. The apartheid régime has continued with the implementation of its "homelands" policy, which has been condemned unanimously by the whole world. Its actions and pronouncements have made it clear that it does not intend to give up the policies of "homelands". Recently, despite the strong opposition of the residents, the régime incorporated the area known as Moutse into the "homeland" of KwaNdebele, which is to be declared "independent" in December 1986. On 12 August 1986, the "legislative assembly" of the KwaNdebele "homeland" rejected the status of "independence" offered by the apartheid régime. The régime's attempts to thrust "independence" upon the KwaNdebele "homeland" have been strongly resisted by the people, who suffered 160 fatalities in that resistance from May to August 1986.

99. By Proclamation 38 of 1986, the "homelands" were given new powers to support the repression of the racist régime. "Homelands" authorities may now ban organizations, speeches or publications and restrict the movement of people. They may also remove people from one area to another within the "homeland" and prohibit the entry of people from other areas. 5/

100. Over 3 million Africans have been forcibly resettled in the "homelands" since the early 1960s. As a result, the areas suffer from severe over-crowding, hunger, malnutrition and lack of health care. The average household income is much below the minimum needed for a decent life. Health conditions are very poor. Over 40 per cent of the population are malnourished. About 55 per cent of deaths are those of children under the age of five. Less than 20 per cent of the children have something to eat before going to school. 2/

#### B. Resistance against apartheid

##### 1. Armed and underground struggle

101. The period under review witnessed broadening and deepening of the armed struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa. A first priority was the strengthening of the political network of national liberation movements in order to bring it into even closer contact with all the various centres of resistance in the



country. Steps were taken to help develop the capacity to lend fire power and paramilitary clout to popular actions in the townships and workplaces in any confrontation with the South African army and police. It should be mentioned that as a result of this development Africans in the townships are beginning to shoot back and that the resistance movement is extending the struggle to the white areas.

102. Despite the two states of emergency and other repressive measures and contrary to the Pretoria régime's predictions that the liberation movements would be dealt a blow, especially after the Nkomati Accord, the national liberation movements in South Africa have intensified their armed and underground struggle. A merger of their struggle with popular resistance was reflected in the increased armed attacks. The military occupation of townships and joint military and police operations failed to curtail the rising level of resistance.

103. While it continues to intensify, the armed struggle has firmly rooted itself among the people and is thus escalating into a peoples war, even in the face of the severest of the régime's reign of state terror. This development is evidenced by the creation of the People's Defense Committees in the townships, as well as the participation of a growing number of white youth. There have been a number of reports proving that the armed struggle continues to escalate at an accelerating pace, a fact even acknowledged by the racist régime.

## 2. Mass united actions by workers

104. Black workers have further strengthened their unions and have taken stronger actions against apartheid. They have co-ordinated their actions with other sectors of the black population and demonstrated their power when, for example, millions of them have stayed away from work on the anniversaries of important days. Black trade union leaders and activists have been particular targets under South Africa's states of emergency and have received increased international support and solidarity.

105. The black labour movement is playing a greater role than ever before in the struggle against apartheid. The establishment of COSATU in December 1985, with a membership of over 500,000, increased the ability of the black labour movement for political action. COSATU is based on the principle of non-racialism and includes the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the affiliates of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), which it succeeded. It has called for the abolition of apartheid and supports disinvestment. It called for a strike, which was very successful, on 1 May. Many of its leaders and members have been detained under the second emergency.

106. The increase in industrial action during the first months of 1986 was dramatic. Work-days lost in industrial action in January 1986 were twice as many as in January 1984. It was estimated that 500,000 working days were lost in the first three months of 1986. The mining and the manufacturing sectors were the worst hit. The stay-away on 16 June, Soweto Day, was even larger than the general strike on 1 May, when an estimated 1.5 million blacks stayed away from work. According to the Director-General of the racist régime's Department of Manpower, more people were involved in strikes than ever before and there was a marked increase in the membership of trade unions. 6/

### 3. Mass united actions by students, churches, community organizations and others

107. Popular resistance against apartheid has intensified across the country during the period under review. It has become wider in scope and better co-ordinated than before, with broader sections of the population now involved. New civic, youth and student groups were established for better mobilization and greater political action. Opposition to apartheid was strongly expressed at funerals for victims of police violence, at commemorative ceremonies and with open displays of symbols of the national liberation movements. School, rent, bus and consumer boycotts for the first time compelled white businessmen and local authorities to negotiate with the militant local groups in the townships. As the campaign for making the apartheid system unworkable grew, alternative structures were established for the popular administration of the townships.

108. At the beginning of August school boycotts and other actions by black students in opposition to apartheid were met with harsher measures imposed by the racist régime. Police and army personnel were installed at some schools, where teachers taught virtually at gun point, and fences were erected around other schools. Students who had not yet applied for re-admission were not admitted during the rest of year. Also, students were required to carry identity cards. The National Education Crisis Committee was created by the people to further intensify the struggle against "bantu education" and for a genuine education consonant with the people's aspirations.

109. The church continued to play an active role in the movement against apartheid. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Allan Boesak and Dr. Beyers Naude called for sanctions against South Africa with a view to forcing the abolition of apartheid. Churches also condemned the role of the military and police in maintaining apartheid, and were supported by such white democratic organizations as the End Conscription Campaign, the Black Sash and NUSAS. 7/ Moreover, church leaders, alongside South African white businessmen and opposition politicians, as well as trade union and student leaders, met with ANC to discuss the future of the country. Representatives of PAC met with South African church leaders at the meeting of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Harare. Some South African whites called upon the régime to release Nelson Mandela and rescind the ban on the national liberation movements.

#### C. So-called reforms

110. The apartheid régime's so-called reforms are devoid of any substance. They are tactical changes to entrench apartheid. The racist régime has ignored the international opinion to the effect that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally uprooted.

111. The régime has announced that apartheid is dying and has made some changes in the apartheid legislation. It has abolished the notorious "pass laws", revised the segregationist legislation concerning certain public places and announced its intention to establish a non-elective and advisory national council to work towards a new constitutional dispensation.

112. The black population of South Africa has rejected these changes, as they do not address their legitimate aspirations. They have called upon the régime to dismantle apartheid and to accept the principle of one man, one vote.

113. At the same time as the régime was making these cosmetic changes, it was announcing that, in the future, "citizens" of the "independent homelands" would need permission for employment in South Africa, in effect creating another "pass system". It is feared, moreover, that the objectives of the "pass laws" may be achieved by the régime through other legislation such as the anti-squatter laws, public health regulations, slum-clearance laws, Group Areas Act, the non-availability of housing and the envisaged "orderly urbanization".

114. On 12 August 1986, the ruling National Party convened a federal Congress. In a major policy statement at that Congress, no hope was given for peaceful change in South Africa. In fact, he used the occasion to reaffirm the apartheid policy.

#### D. Acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization

115. The apartheid régime has continued to commit acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization against neighbouring independent African States. From July 1985 to August 1986, the Security Council held over 30 meetings and adopted seven resolutions on South Africa's repression in South Africa and acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization in the region. This is a reflection of the gravity of the situation, which has been brought about by apartheid, the root cause of the crisis in southern Africa.

116. South Africa's acts of aggression against Angola in October and December 1985 were condemned by the Security Council in resolutions 574 (1985) of 7 October 1985 and 577 (1985) of 6 December 1985. Its aggression against the port city of Namibe in Angola in June 1986 was considered by the Security Council, which, however, failed to adopt a resolution, owing to the negative votes of the United Kingdom and the United States. Angola was the target of South Africa's acts of aggression again on 10 August. Part of Angola's territory is still under the occupation of South Arrica, which, along with the United States, continues to support the renegade UNITA.

117. In October 1985, Lesotho was shelled from South African soil. In December, South African soldiers killed six recently exiled members of ANC and three Lesotho citizens in an attack against Maseru, Lesotho. At the beginning of 1986, the Pretoria régime imposed a total economic blockade against Lesotho, restricting normal traffic in and out of that country. South Africa continues to support the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army.

118. On 19 May 1986, South Africa carried out simultaneous attacks against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Security Council failed to adopt a resolution that would have imposed mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, owing to the negative votes of the United Kingdom and the United States.

119. In June, South African soldiers raided a house at Gaborone, Botswana, killing three persons. In the same month, South African death squads assassinated two ANC members and kidnapped another in Swaziland. On 19 August, Swaziland police authorities announced at a news conference that a South African command group of 10 persons had launched a raid against the homes of ANC sympathizers in Swaziland the previous weekend.

120. South Africa also continued to undermine Mozambique's economy and to support the renegades of the so-called Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR)

against the legitimate Government of the country. In mid-August, Mozambican authorities said that South Africa was airlifting military supplies to renegades in Mozambique to disrupt one of land-locked Zimbabwe's routes to the sea, that is, the Beira corridor.

121. On 5 August, in reprisal for the Commonwealth sanctions, Pretoria began to implement vindictive measures against Zambia and Zimbabwe. It imposed stricter border controls, import licences and a levy on all goods in transit through South Africa on whose ports and rail links Zambia and Zimbabwe are heavily dependent for their imports and exports because of South Africa's sabotage against the other routes. Despite these measures, Zambia and Zimbabwe have maintained their principled positions on sanctions.

#### E. Military build-up and collaboration

122. South Africa's military build-up, its nuclear capability and its military and nuclear collaboration continue to be areas of major concern to the international community. This concern was reiterated at the recent World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa where testimony was presented on how the apartheid régime had been increasingly using its massive military machinery to suppress growing domestic opposition and defiance, as well as to commit acts of aggression against independent African States.

123. In line with this belief, the régime's 1986/87 defence budget increased more than three-fold over the 1984/85 budget in percentage terms. Whereas the 1985/86 defence budget increased by 8.1 per cent over the 1984/85 figures, the 1986/87 budget shows an increase of 27.5 per cent over the 1985/86 figures. At R 5,123.3 million, this year's defence budget accounts for 13.7 per cent of the national budget. The Armaments Development and Production Co-operation (ARMSCOR) alone accounts for R 249 million, as compared with R 136 million in 1985. 8/

124. This defence figure does not include:

- (a) The Police budget of R 1,071.2 million (R 954.7 million in 1985);
- (b) The amount spent on defence buildings and property (which falls under the Department of Public Works vote);
- (c) The amount spent on the South West Africa Territorial Force (which falls under the finance vote);
- (d) Foreign exchange received from the overseas sale of arms, which is channeled into defence spending;
- (e) Defence and police expenditure in the "homelands" and the "independent states";
- (f) The amount already in the Special Defence Account. 8/

This suggests that the régime's real defence expenditure is far higher than the disclosed figures. (For South Africa's budget (1985/86-1986/87), see annex III.)

125. In order to enhance its militaristic hegemony in southern Africa and to render the United Nations arms embargo against it ineffective, the régime has been desperately trying to portray itself as having achieved self-sufficiency in its armaments requirements. For instance, during the first half of 1986 alone, it has claimed the development of four advanced military items, namely:

(a) The "Alpha-XH1", a combat helicopter unveiled in March and exhibited at the FIDA International Air Show, held at Santiago, Chile, from 10 to 16 March 1986; 9/

(b) The "Minister Class Strike Craft", a missile-carrying strike craft launched in April; 10/

(c) The "Eyrie", a drone or pilotless aircraft used for both reconnaissance and attack purposes; 11/

(d) The "Cheetah", a jet fighter based on the French Mirage III. 12/

126. However, testimony presented at the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa, held in London from 28 to 30 May 1986, refuted the self-sufficiency claims, stating that very often what the apartheid régime claimed to have developed was based on designs originating from other countries. This conclusion has been corroborated by recent reports on foreign involvement in South Africa's armaments industry. For instance, the "Alpha-XH1", like the "Cheetah", was developed with French co-operation. According to an article published in November 1985 in Le Quotidien de Paris, South Africa was said to be setting up a helicopter industry with French co-operation. Five Aerospatiale engineers are said to have gone to South Africa for this purpose at the beginning of September 1985. 13/

127. The régime has also received assistance from a British company in the development of an explosive detector called the "Bloodhound". The detector is said to be highly sensitive to vapours given off by both commercial and military explosives. The "Bloodhound", which was developed with the backing of the British Government, is now being manufactured in South Africa with the co-operation of a British company known as Analytical Instruments Security. 14/ Meanwhile, another British company, Plessey, reportedly exported to South Africa a military air defence system code-named "Rodent", reportedly with the blessing of the British Government. 15/

128. Another British company, Milcom Electronics, is said to have been licensed by one of South Africa's largest defence electronics corporations, Grinaker Electronics, as a marketing front for South Africa's military communication products. The deal was concluded with the knowledge of the British Department of Trade and Industry. 16/ Besides these developments which are in flagrant violation of the United Nations arms embargo, the British Government has reportedly permitted the training of South African army officers in Britain. 17/

129. Intelligence exchanges between the apartheid régime and other countries continue to be another subject of great concern to the international community. On 23 and 24 July, The New York Times reported that according to current and former government officials the United States and the United Kingdom forwarded sensitive information on ANC including political intelligence and specific warnings of planned guerrilla attacks. The same accusations were aired on CBS television network on 5 August 1986. 18/ The United States Congress is reported to be

investigating these reports with a view to including such co-operation in the sanctions package that Congress is working on.

130. Foreign assistance to South Africa's military machinery was intensively debated at the recent International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa. The Seminar adopted a declaration, which, among other things, called upon all States to end all forms of military collaboration with South Africa, including the exchange of military attachés, the holding of joint exercises, the exchange of military intelligence, participation in conferences on military matters in South Africa or admitting South Africans to their military and technical academies, as well as any military exchanges with South Africa. 19/ This Declaration was endorsed by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa.

## F. Economic collaboration

### 1. General

131. While the severe recession that South Africa was going through in 1984 appeared to be levelling off during the first quarter of 1985, the deterioration in the country's political environment sparked a new spiral of economic downturn beginning mid-1985.

132. That new round of the decline in the country's economic performance could be attributed to several factors, chief among them the growing challenge and defiance by the country's increasing black trade union movement and the régime's failure to contain the determined and decisive opposition against all its State institutions and repressive machinery, as evidenced by its decision to resort to imposing two states of emergency within the course of one year.

133. Its imposition of the state of emergency, first in mid-1985 and then in mid-1986, led to the loss of international confidence in the South African economy and heightened the international campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime.

134. The loss of confidence in the economy, along with increased public pressure in countries whose transnational corporations have been cushioning the apartheid régime, sparked the worst financial crisis that the régime had experienced since its establishment in 1948.

135. Because of this international public pressure and the political uncertainty in South Africa itself, in mid-1985, major international banks that had been extending credit to the apartheid régime decided not to renew their short-term lines of credit to the régime. That decision led to the worst decline ever in the value of the rand and prompted the régime to declare a moratorium on debt servicing.

136. Even before this happened, there were signs that the country's financial system was under serious pressure and in danger of crumbling. For instance, as early as May 1985, foreigners sold South African securities worth \$US 40 million, with another \$US 70 million worth being sold in July of the same year. Considered the highest since the beginning of apartheid, the recent capital flight has been estimated to be running between \$US 2 billion and \$US 3 billion. 20/

137. While acknowledging that estimates of capital flight varied enormously since none of the figures included the possible smuggling of diamonds abroad, Mr. Gerhard de Kock, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of South Africa, added that 5.6 billion more rand had left South Africa between September 1984 and July 1985 than had entered it. 20/

138. The capital flight has had its own effects on the economy, among which is the substantial decline in South Africa's foreign-exchange reserves and the rise in the inflation rate. To curb the capital flight and to attract more foreign investment by January 1986, the régime gradually reduced the prime rate from an all-time high of 25 per cent to 15.5 per cent. The results of this strategy remain to be seen.

## 2. Trade

139. South Africa's exports to Western Europe increased from R 6.57 billion in 1984 to R 9.21 billion in 1985. Imports increased from R 9.68 billion to R 10.87 billion. Second in line was the United States. South African exports to the United States totalled R 3.5 billion in 1985, an increase of R 1.04 billion from 1984. Imports from the United States totalled R 3.86 billion, an increase of R 26 million from 1984. 21/ South Africa's trade continued with the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, and increased with Israel. (For information on South Africa's main trading partners, see annex IV.)

140. Despite a surplus on the current account of the balance of payments, during the first three months of 1986 the gross domestic product decreased by 2 per cent, compared with the 3.5 per cent increase during the first six months of 1985. During the first three months of 1986, the balance of payments showed a surplus of R 1.8 billion, whereas during the last three months of 1985 it had shown a surplus of R 11.9 billion.

141. During the first five months of 1986, imports totalled R 10.84 billion and exports totalled R 15.76 billion, R 4.32 billion higher than the same period in 1985. 22/ (For South Africa's 1985 balance of payments, see annex V.)

## 3. Minerals and metals

142. Despite fluctuations in its price, gold remains the most important export item of South Africa. In 1985, it constituted 75 per cent of the aggregate exports. However, even at very high rates, gold exports will not be able to pay for all of South Africa's imports. Therefore, the régime will continue to rely on international financing.

143. In addition to gold, platinum is another metal whose price has been surging in recent months. Following fears that platinum supplies from South Africa might be disrupted because of increased political uncertainty in that country, platinum prices have been rising, which in turn has boosted gold prices. According to some analysts, investors have been buying platinum because they fear that South Africa, which supplies 85 per cent of the Western world's platinum, might restrict exports in reaction to any severe economic sanctions Western countries might impose on it. 23/

144. As regards other major sources of South Africa's export earnings, namely coal and iron ore, their future as major export earners seems uncertain. While both

performed very well in 1984 and 1985, recent developments in South Africa have affected both their medium-term and long-term export projections. For instance, in the case of coal, there is a move within the European Community, the largest buyer of South Africa's coal, to curtail coal imports from South Africa. To this end, the Danish Parliament decided in December 1985, that Denmark should terminate importation of coal from South Africa by the end of 1986.

#### 4. Foreign investments and loans

145. Foreign investments in South Africa represent approximately 10 per cent of all investments, totalling R 43 billion. Over 40 per cent represents British investments and 1,400 companies. British investments in South Africa total approximately 10 per cent of all British overseas direct investments. The second largest investor is the Federal Republic of Germany, with 20 per cent and 350 companies. The United States is the third largest investor, representing 17 per cent and 375 companies. Furthermore, about 100 of the largest corporations in the United States have South African subsidiaries or affiliates. In addition, approximately 6,000 United States companies have business connections with South Africa. 24/

146. According to reports, however, the profitability of investments in South Africa declined from 31 per cent after tax in 1980 to 7 per cent in 1982 and 1983 and to a loss of 9 per cent in 1985. 25/

147. An important development in 1985 was the decision of the United States banks not to renew their short-term credit lines to South Africa amounting to approximately \$US 14 billion. 26/ The largest creditors were British banks with a \$US 5.5 billion exposure, the United States banks with \$US 4.5 billion exposure and a group of banks from the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Switzerland with an aggregate short-term exposure of \$US 4 billion to the South African private and public sector. 27/ The British banks, following the example of United States banks, also refused to renew their short-term credit lines to South Africa. As a result, other Western European banks followed suit. It was reported that the decision not to renew short-term credit was a result of Chase Manhattan Bank's decision that it no longer considered economic or other conditions in South Africa stable enough to continue with its credit lines.

148. In September 1985, the régime picked Mr. Fritz Leutwiler, a former head of the Central Bank of Switzerland and Chairman of Brown, Boveri et Compagnie, a Swiss tool manufacturing company, as mediator between South Africa and the international banks.

149. In October and November 1985, South Africa met with representatives of 30 major banks. It tried to negotiate to reschedule all short-term payments for five years and to start repayment of capital in 1990. Negotiations continued well into March 1986.

150. Initially, the banks called upon the South African régime to introduce political changes before any debt agreement could be considered. In March, however, South Africa and its creditor banks reached an agreement on a refinancing package, drawn up by Mr. Leutwiler, to extend repayments on \$US 14 billion in short-term debts that were due at the end of 1985. South Africa, according to the agreed plan, was to make a 5 per cent repayment of its \$US 8.6 billion foreign debt that would mature at the end of March 1986. This date also corresponded with the



end of the moratorium introduced in September 1985 and further extended to the end of March 1986. Furthermore, maturities of debts frozen the previous September, some of which were due in March 1987, were extended to June 1987 and an interim review would take place in September 1986, provided that South Africa's balance of payments showed an improvement by then. Between R 3 billion and R 5 billion left South Africa during the financial crisis that started in mid-1985, compared with R 234 million during the first quarter of 1986. 28/

151. Following the debt accord, the South African Reserve Bank announced in March that it had swapped an "undisclosed amount" of gold as collateral for the foreign exchange needed to meet a \$US 430 million foreign debt repayment due on 15 April 1986. 29/

#### 5. International action against economic collaboration with South Africa

##### General

152. As a result of the régime's increased brutality and oppression against its opponents, the international community has heightened its campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime. During the period under review, several Governments have taken punitive measures against the apartheid régime. (For details of action taken by various Governments, see the report of the Secretary-General, A/41/506.)

##### Nordic countries

153. As a group of Western countries, the Nordic Governments have adopted some of the toughest measures against the apartheid régime. In January 1986, a new law went into effect in Finland, marking almost all links between Finland and South Africa illegal. In the same month, the Norwegian Government adopted measures prohibiting the importation of fresh and processed South African fruits and vegetables, and requiring shipowners to report to the Government all calls made to South African ports by Norwegian tankers. Meanwhile, the Danish Government adopted new measures against South Africa, which went into effect on 15 June 1986.

154. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General, the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations informed the Secretary-General that at their meeting in Copenhagen on 13 and 14 August 1986, the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries had agreed that their countries would redouble their efforts to eradicate the apartheid system. In addition, they had agreed to do their best to persuade the Security Council to adopt effective sanctions against the apartheid régime and to persuade other countries to exert effective international pressure on the régime. The Ministers also instructed the Nordic Working Group on South Africa to consider the question of further Nordic action against South Africa, including a united Nordic trade boycott of South Africa. (For details, see A/40/784.)

##### Commonwealth

155. The Commonwealth Summit held at Nassau, Bahamas, in October 1985 established a seven-member group and charged it with the task of examining the situation in South Africa with the view of fostering a process of negotiations between the régime and its opponents. The group, called the Eminent Persons Group, comprised of former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser of Australia; Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados,

President of the World Council of Churches; Archbishop Edward Scott, Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada; Mr. Sardar Swaran Singh, a former Minister in the Indian Government; General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Head of State of Nigeria; Lord Barber of the United Kingdom; and Mr. John Malecela, a former Minister in the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania.

156. In March and May 1986, the Group visited South Africa, where it had meetings with régime officials and black leaders including Mr. Nelson Mandela. 30/ It proposed negotiations between the régime and black leaders after the release of Mr. Mandela and other political leaders and rescinding the ban on the liberation movements, which would suspend violence during the negotiations.

157. While the Group was carrying on consultations in South Africa, on 19 May, South African forces attacked Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, ostensibly to destroy ANC strongholds. As a result, the Group cut short its consultations and left South Africa immediately. In its report, which it published in June, it concluded, inter alia, that "at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the South African Government to dismantle apartheid". It recommended sanctions against South Africa. 31/

158. At a mini-summit meeting held in London in August 1986, the Commonwealth adopted, with the only exception being the United Kingdom, a number of measures against South Africa, subject to approval by other Commonwealth members. The British Government basically said that it would decide later in the light of the expected decision of the European Economic Community (EEC) on the subject of sanctions. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has repeatedly expressed her opposition to sanctions against South Africa, and has even described them as "immoral".

#### EEC

159. The Ministerial Meeting of the Ten, Spain and Portugal on political co-operation, held in Luxembourg on 10 September 1985, adopted a statement on the situation in South Africa, which included restrictive measures against the apartheid régime. The Government of the United Kingdom made reservations on the measures and then opted to interpret them as mildly as possible in order to lessen their impact. Other meetings followed and the Government of the United Kingdom, along with the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and Portugal, indicated their reservations on effective punitive measures against South Africa. The Government of the United Kingdom, faced with increasing demands within the Commonwealth, now indicates that it will be willing to co-ordinate further for effective sanctions against South Africa during the Ministerial Meeting of the European Community, which is scheduled to be held soon.

#### United States

160. Although the United States Administration is reluctant to take any decisive action against the apartheid régime, there is growing pressure from the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States Congress and, in particular, the United States public for the Administration to reconsider its policy towards the apartheid régime.

161. While both houses of Congress have centred their campaign against apartheid around the imposition of economic sanctions, the United States public, in addition

to demonstrating support for such action, has focused its attention on the divestment campaign, which has picked up momentum since November 1984.

162. The divestment campaign has indeed made a significant difference in the United States action against apartheid. A significant number of states, cities and universities have divested their holdings from companies doing business in/with South Africa. To date, at least 19 states, 68 cities and 119 universities have passed binding measures restricting public fund investment and/or purchasing goods from corporations with investments in South Africa. 32/

163. In the largest divestment move in the United States, the California Senate passed legislation on 25 August 1986 that would require state pension and university funds to sell more than \$US 11 billion worth of securities in companies doing business with South Africa. California's decision is more than triple the \$US 3 billion in securities scheduled for sale by New Jersey in what has been the largest divestment action so far. This move is expected to increase calls for similar action in other states and to increase the pressure for federal sanctions against South Africa. 32/

164. In the first such step by a Roman Catholic diocese in the United States, the Archdiocese of Baltimore announced on 27 August that it would divest itself of all its holdings in companies that do business with South Africa. Until then, the strongest action on divestment by a Catholic diocese had been taken by the Milwaukee Archdiocese, which announced that it would divest itself of holdings from companies that did not abide in South Africa with the so-called Sullivan Principles. 33/

165. Student organizations and other non-governmental organizations have been largely responsible for spearheading the divestment campaign. In July, presidents of 95 colleges sent a letter to all members of the United States Congress, urging them to adopt strong sanctions against South Africa.

166. As mentioned earlier, both houses of Congress have been striving for tougher economic sanctions against the apartheid régime. Thus, in June 1986, the House of Representatives approved legislation that would place a total trade embargo on South Africa and require United States companies to withdraw their investments. 34/ A somewhat milder bill was later adopted by the Senate. It is expected that, later in 1986, a Conference Committee will iron out differences and enact legislation on further sanctions against South Africa, despite the strong objection of the United States Administration.

#### Non-governmental and other organizations and groups

167. Non-governmental organizations and, in particular, anti-apartheid movements and solidarity groups have intensified their activities in support of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The deteriorating situation resulting from the oppressive policies of the apartheid régime has broadened public awareness on the situation in South Africa.

168. The stepped-up action in Western countries has come as a result of action by anti-apartheid organizations, student groups, trade unions, women's organizations, churches and other religious institutions, as well as individuals concerned with the situation in South Africa.

169. Anti-apartheid groups in North America and Western Europe have assisted in revealing violations of the arms embargo, contributed to the widespread consumer boycott campaign and the cessation of the importation of South African goods, spearheaded the divestment campaign in universities and public institutions and helped to strengthen the cultural and sports boycott by influencing athletes, sports officials, artists and entertainers not to engage in sports or cultural exchanges with South Africa and in the case of those who have collaborated with South Africa in the past, to pledge not to do so in the future.

170. The boycott of the Shell Oil Company in the United States is one example where anti-apartheid organizations, trade unions and student groups have co-operated actively to ensure that the Shell Oil Company be exposed to a great pressure to reconsider its relation with the apartheid régime.

171. The action taken by anti-apartheid groups within shareholders meetings of banks, financial institutions and other corporations to achieve the cessation of loans to and investments in South Africa represents a good beginning in the efforts to terminate loans to and investment in South Africa. Despite these successes, a lot of work is needed in the years ahead.

172. The régime and its collaborators are aware of the widespread campaign to isolate South Africa and will devise methods to circumvent the measures already taken. It is essential that further steps be taken to ensure the strengthening of the campaign for sanctions against and the isolation of South Africa.

#### G. Sports contacts

173. The deteriorating situation and continuing oppression in South Africa has caused many Governments, local authorities and sports organizations to intensify action against apartheid sports. South Africa is a member of only a very few international sports organizations affiliated with the International Olympic Committee.

174. A significant development during the period under review was the withdrawal of over 30 Commonwealth countries from the Commonwealth Games, held at Edinburgh, United Kingdom, from 24 July to 7 August 1986. The withdrawals were to protest the British Government's refusal to impose economic sanctions against South Africa as recommended by the Eminent Persons Group.

175. Some contacts, especially in cricket and rugby, continued. It was conservatively estimated that the cricket and rugby tours cost the South Africans millions of rand. Significant amounts were donated by sponsors and most of the rest came from television rights. Approximately 90 per cent of the sponsorship money can be refunded by the régime in the form of tax rebates. Since television in South Africa is State-owned, one can say that over 75 per cent of the funding for the tour originated from the apartheid régime's funds.

176. Details of South Africa's international sports contacts continue to be published by the Special Committee in its biannual Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa and in a consolidated list of such contacts.

#### H. Cultural collaboration

177. While there has been a significant decline in the number of prominent entertainers, actors and others who have visited South Africa during the course of the past year, some musicians, particularly classical musicians, visited South Africa during that period. In January 1986, for instance, several international pianists and singers from Brazil, Chile, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, the Republic of Korea, the United Kingdom and the United States participated in the International Music Competition and the Third International Pianoforte Competition held at Pretoria. 35/

178. Other countries whose nationals are known to have taken part in other musical (theatre) events in South Africa are Australia, Japan, Spain and the United Kingdom (Wales). 36/ While the anti-apartheid groups abroad have focused their attention on preventing foreign artists from visiting South Africa, a growing number of South African artists are making inroads in Western countries.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

##### A. Conclusions

##### 1. Situation in South Africa

179. During the past year, the situation in South Africa was marked by an unparalleled campaign of terror and virtual genocide unleashed by the apartheid régime against the black population. Despite the escalation of apartheid violence, the resistance of the oppressed people has been heightened and strengthened. This has led to deepening the crisis of the apartheid régime.

180. The Pretoria régime twice imposed emergency measures, giving sweeping powers to its security forces in an attempt to suppress the freedom struggle.

181. The repressive apparatus of the State has been further militarized, and in townships the indigenous majority population has been subjected to increased savage application of the state of emergency. Troops not only occupy and patrol black townships but are also deployed in schools, which have recently been encircled with wire fences. Thousands of opponents of apartheid have been detained and many, including even infants and children, have been shot on the streets, tortured, tried, banned or otherwise persecuted.

182. Death squads, secret assassins and arsonists have been used to terrorize people and to eliminate opponents of apartheid. In line with its policy of divide and rule, the racist authority uses régime-sponsored vigilantes against the struggling people of South Africa in what it has propagated as "black-on-black violence" in order to create the false impression that there are vast ethnic and other divisions among blacks.

183. Contrary to rhetorical statements by the Pretoria régime, the economic crisis in South Africa continues to deepen; stagnation of industry, increasing foreign debt, rampant inflation, the declining value of the rand, mounting budget deficits and the flight of capital are all manifestations of the deepening crisis.

184. Recognizing the deepening crisis of the apartheid economy, the Special Committee remains gravely concerned at the continuing connivance of certain major Powers and transnational corporations with South Africa in the exploitation of that country's natural resources, such as gold, uranium and diamonds. This exploitation, which is in defiance of United Nations resolutions on the boycott of South Africa, has had the effect of slowing down the deepening crisis of the South African economy and hindering the struggle of the oppressed people for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa.

185. The racist régime has continued to commit numerous acts of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against independent African States. It has instigated and supported subversive groups engaged in terrorism in those States. Acts of aggression against Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola reflect a serious threat to international peace and security and underline the imperative need for resolute and urgent international action for the speedy elimination of apartheid.

186. The resistance has spread all over the nation and has become more resolute and better organized.

187. The growing power of trade unions has been demonstrated by the general strike on 16 June and the pre-eminent role played by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other democratic organizations.

188. The resistance has been felt not only in direct confrontation with the forces of repression but also in various corners of the country, including the work-place and the market-place, schools and churches, factories and mines, and everywhere that the injustice and iniquity of apartheid touch the lives of men, women and children. The régime's violence against the people has only steeled their fighting will.

189. In the face of the régime's intransigence and mounting reign of State terror against the indigenous majority, the oppressed people have had no choice but to resort to self-defence and to intensify further the armed resistance as a legitimate response to the violence of the régime.

190. The Special Committee reaffirms that the South African people and their liberation movements have the right to utilize all necessary means at their disposal, including armed struggle, for the dismantlement of racism and apartheid.

191. Despite militarization, many black townships are now virtually outside the control of the racist régime. The local councils set up by the régime to administer the townships on its behalf have ceased to operate in many places. They have been replaced by the popularly chosen street and area committees along with peoples' courts, which are genuinely attending to the needs of the people. The only way in which the régime is able to manifest its presence in many townships is to send its security forces in armoured personnel carriers to patrol the townships.

192. In their resistance to apartheid, the oppressed and exploited people are also utilizing their labour and consumer power through consumer boycotts and industrial action. As a result, many white businessmen have felt the need to take the initiative to start a dialogue with the blacks.

193. The Pretoria régime's so-called reforms have been rejected by the oppressed people. Policy statements by the apartheid régime have served only as a futile attempt to divert domestic and international public opinion from the crisis of that régime and to entrench apartheid further. The so-called repeal of the "pass laws", which the régime has replaced with other forms of "orderly urbanization", is a typical example of the régime's contradiction and bad faith.

194. Despite the apartheid régime's declaration on 31 January 1986 that apartheid is outdated, the régime remains committed to maintaining the pillars of apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the "homelands" policy, "bantu education" and segregated health and other public facilities and services. It has categorically rejected even the principle of a democratic system based on one man, one vote.

195. The destiny of South Africa must be decided by all the people of the country exercising their right to self-determination - irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed - on the basis of complete equality.

196. The rejection by the blacks of the régime's "offer" to give them an advisory role in its unilaterally determined national or statutory council should be seen in this light.

197. Reality proves more and more that apartheid cannot be reformed and no encouragement should be given to any so-called reform. It must be totally dismantled and destroyed.

## 2. Illegal occupation of Namibia

198. The Special Committee deplores the continued imposition by the South African régime of its policy and practice of apartheid on the people of Namibia and reaffirms its support for the struggle of those people for self-determination and independence, waged under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative.

199. The Special Committee condemns the use of the illegally occupied Territory of Namibia as a launching pad by the Pretoria régime for its acts of aggression, destabilization and subversion against neighbouring African States.

200. It stresses that the international community has a sacred obligation to ensure the independence of the people of Namibia, who have grievously suffered under, and heroically fought against, ruthless oppression and virtual genocide. On the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the decision of the United Nations to assume direct responsibility for the Territory and people of Namibia (General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 21 October 1966), it makes a solemn appeal for all necessary international action to discharge this sacred obligation.

## 3. International response

201. The international community, in firm solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa, has accelerated its efforts to bring maximum pressure to bear on the racist régime and on those collaborating with it. Countries that have taken far-reaching measures towards the total isolation and boycott of the apartheid régime include the members of the Movement of the Non-aligned Countries, OAU, the Socialist States, the Commonwealth, the members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the Nordic States and some other countries. State and local authorities, trade unions, religious institutions and other organizations and institutions have stepped up their actions against apartheid.

202. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa noted with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of States and world public opinion were now in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid régime (see A/41/434-S/18185, annex).

203. The anti-apartheid movement has continued to gain adherents and to expand activities, not least in the major Western countries, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, which have the closest political and economic relations with South Africa. The movement is gathering strength and is deeply rooted in moral repugnance for the apartheid system. It is a grassroots movement, promoted and sustained by the selfless work of people in all walks of life.

204. The Special Committee strongly denounces the misrepresentation of the struggle for freedom and independence in Namibia and South Africa as terrorist activities and also strongly denounces the labelling of the national liberation movements as



terrorist organizations by South Africa, certain Western and other Governments and certain Western mass media. It condemns any attempt to interpret the present conflict in southern Africa as an "East-West" conflict.

205. The Special Committee commends recent efforts by those mass media in Western and other countries that, despite press restrictions, continue to highlight the brutalities of the Pretoria régime against the oppressed indigenous majority. This commendable press coverage has had the effect of sustaining the current irreversible momentum of international public opinion against apartheid in those countries.

206. South Africa's economy, which is closely linked with other industrialized economies, is dependent on foreign capital and foreign markets for growth and even sustenance. It is therefore vulnerable to sanctions; hence the extreme sensitivity of the apartheid régime to the threat and/or imposition of sanctions. Even the limited sanctions applied so far have begun to take their toll on the South African economy, further deepening its crisis.

207. There now exists a very large degree of international consensus on the need to impose economic and other sanctions against South Africa in order to compel the Pretoria régime to dismantle apartheid. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa attached particular importance and urgency to the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Even those countries that have long resisted any sort of punitive action against South Africa and that continue to oppose comprehensive Security Council sanctions, notably the United Kingdom and the United States, have been compelled to take minimal measures against the apartheid régime because of strong domestic and other sentiment.

208. Thus, the need for external pressures on South Africa has been established almost universally and arguments about the effectiveness of sanctions have become outdated. Sanctions against the apartheid régime are demanded by South Africa's oppressed majority and by the front-line States in order to eradicate the evils of apartheid even though this may entail short-term suffering. As long as apartheid exists, those countries remain vulnerable to acts of aggression and destabilization.

209. Regrettably, certain Western countries, Israel and some transnational corporations, by their continuing collaboration with the racist régime, encourage that régime in its policy. This continues to be a major obstacle to the efforts of the oppressed people and the international community for the elimination of apartheid, the independence of Namibia and the restoration of peace and security in southern Africa.

210. The recent initiative taken by the Commonwealth proves that the apartheid régime is not prepared to negotiate in any genuine way with the liberation movements for the establishment of a non-racial and representative Government in South Africa. The failure of the recent initiative of the EEC underlines the validity, as well as the urgency, of the recommendation of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group for sanctions against South Africa.

211. It is quite evident that the régime has no intention of negotiating with anyone except its puppets and on the conditions of its own choosing. This same intransigence of the racist Pretoria régime, which frustrated both Commonwealth and EEC initiatives, foreshadowed the failure of the bankrupt policy of "constructive

engagement", a policy that has had the effect of stiffening the obdurate resolve of the Botha régime to entrench apartheid further and to escalate its acts of aggression against, and destabilization of, neighbouring States.

212. Thus, sanctions remain the most effective peaceful means for transition from apartheid to a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. If the international community fails at this time to take effective measures against the apartheid régime, the prospect is for spiralling violence, bloodshed on an unprecedented scale and even more far-reaching breaches of peace and security in the region.

213. It is the firm conviction of the Special Committee that such an outcome can still be averted and that the international community must act decisively and immediately to that end. The situation in South Africa is now so critical that a more direct and immediate response by the international community is an urgent necessity.

## B. Recommendations

### 1. General recommendations

214. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly;

(a) Endorse the Declaration adopted by acclamation by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986; 37/

(b) Urge the Security Council to consider without delay all appropriate action under the Charter of the United Nations, taking into account the appeals by the oppressed people of South Africa supported by the overwhelming majority of States and by world public opinion for sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. The General Assembly should suggest that, as a first step, the Security Council determine that the policies and actions of the racist régime of South Africa have caused and constitute a grave threat to the maintenance of international peace and security in southern Africa and that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are imperative;

(c) Urge the few Western Powers that continue to oppose sanctions against South Africa - especially the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which have prevented the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council through the exercise of the veto - to reassess their position and co-operate in, rather than hinder, international action. By so doing, they can make a great contribution to peace and freedom in southern Africa, and they have a responsibility to do so, as do the other main trading partners of South Africa;

(d) Urge the Governments concerned to abandon policies based on collaboration with the racist régime, as such policies have led to disastrous consequences, and call upon the Governments, transnational corporations and others concerned to cease forthwith collaboration with and support of the racist régime of South Africa;

(e) Recognize that the policy of "constructive engagement" and similar policies of appeasement have not contributed to the abolition of the system of apartheid. On the contrary, the apartheid régime has continued its reign of terror

against the indigenous majority and is maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of aggression, State terrorism, subversion and destabilization against the front-line and other neighbouring States;

(f) Strongly condemn actions and any future attempt by South Africa and its supporters to destabilize independent States in southern Africa and, in particular, to assist renegade groups instigated and supported by the racist régime of South Africa and appeal to all States not to render any assistance to UNITA and other criminal bandits;

(g) Note that Governments and peoples of the world now recognize more widely than ever that comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa are the most appropriate and effective peaceful means available to the international community for the elimination of apartheid, the liberation of Namibia and the restoration of peace in southern Africa.

## 2. Recommendations on the arms embargo against South Africa

215. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Note with deep concern the massive military machine and repressive apparatus accumulated by the racist régime, as well as its acquisition of nuclear-weapons capability. Considering the record of violence and aggression of the régime, which poses an enormous menace to peace and security in southern Africa, the General Assembly should attach the utmost importance to the immediate and complete cessation of all military and nuclear collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa as a significant step towards undermining the ability of that régime to resort to massive violence against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and to commit acts of aggression against independent African States;

(b) Condemn the continued military, nuclear and intelligence collaboration between South Africa and certain Western countries, Israel and others, which has led to the growing militarization of the racist Pretoria régime and the increase in its nuclear capability and which constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

(c) Call upon the Security Council to require all Member States to revoke or terminate all licences with South Africa to manufacture arms and related matériel of all types, including licences for equipment for the manufacture of such items. Member States that have not already done so should prohibit the granting of licences for the manufacture in South Africa or Namibia of any item falling within the scope of the arms embargo;

(d) Call upon those States that have not yet done so to end all forms of military collaboration with South Africa, including the exchange of military attachés, the holding of joint exercises, the exchange of military intelligence, participation in conferences on military and paramilitary matters in South Africa or the admission of South Africans to their military and technical academies, as well as any military exchanges with South Africa;

(e) Call upon all States to prohibit investment in South Africa in corporations or other institutions involved in the manufacture or supply of arms and related matériel of all types.

### 3. Recommendations on the oil embargo against South Africa

216. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Emphasize that oil is a commodity of the utmost strategic importance to the apartheid régime, being a crucial factor in its reign of terror and repression of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, its illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of aggression against the front-line and neighbouring States. Given, as well, the inability of the apartheid régime to meet its oil needs from domestic sources, the General Assembly should consider an oil embargo as an essential component of international action against the racist régime;

(b) Affirm the urgent need for the Security Council to adopt a mandatory oil embargo under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/93 F of 12 December 1979, as well as subsequent resolutions on the subject. Furthermore, the General Assembly should urge the Security Council, in consultation with oil-producing and oil-shipping States, to co-ordinate effective action as soon as possible;

(c) Urge States to co-ordinate the application of international and national measures on the matter, to develop new measures designed to broaden the scope of the oil embargo and to establish a mechanism to monitor its operation;

(d) Urge Governments to compel the companies originally selling or purchasing oil or petroleum products, as appropriate for each nation, to refrain from selling, reselling or in any way transferring oil and petroleum products to South Africa and to illegally occupied Namibia.

### 4. Concerted international action against the apartheid régime

217. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Endorse the Final Declaration of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, Harare, Zimbabwe, August-September 1986;

(b) Encourage all States, pending the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, to increase the scope and effectiveness of the concerted measures that they have already taken against South Africa and urge those States and groups of States that have not yet taken such measures to do so immediately;

(c) Recognize that a cessation of all new foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa would constitute an important step in international action for the elimination of apartheid. A number of Governments have already taken legislative and other measures towards that end. In addition, some transnational corporations, as a result of government legislation, the pressures of their shareholders and public action, have begun to reduce their operations in South Africa. Regrettably, other transnational corporations from some Western countries and Japan have most unscrupulously stepped in to fill the vacuum with new or increased investments, thus becoming very active collaborators in the perpetuation of apartheid. The General Assembly should condemn those corporations

and call for a list of such corporations to be published periodically by the Special Committee against Apartheid and other appropriate bodies of the United Nations. The Assembly should also call for intensified vigilance in identifying those corporations that take advantage of the withdrawal of others, with a view to subjecting them and those remaining in South Africa to a world-wide boycott campaign;

(d) Emphasize the special responsibility and duty of the United Nations system to contribute to the total elimination of apartheid and call upon all organizations and institutions of the United Nations system to sever their relations with South Africa as well as with banks or business corporations operating in South Africa. The General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the implementation by those organizations and institutions of the resolutions and decisions on apartheid of the Assembly and the Security Council and to submit a report on the efforts of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination regarding the relationship of the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies of the United Nations system with banks and financial institutions that have collaborated with the apartheid régime since the adoption of Assembly resolution 40/64 A of 10 December 1985;

(e) Note with satisfaction the actions against the racist régime taken by many States, local authorities, trade unions, religious bodies, co-operatives, universities, anti-apartheid movements, solidarity and other organizations and institutions all over the world;

(f) Encourage campaigns for divestment from South Africa, as well as consumer, sports, cultural and other boycotts against racist South Africa. The General Assembly should recognize the great importance of such campaigns, which have not only encouraged millions of individuals to participate in action against the inhuman system of apartheid, but have also sustained the faith of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia in international solidarity.

##### 5. Sports, cultural and other boycotts against South Africa

218. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Take note with appreciation of the signing, by a significant number of States, of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports (General Assembly resolution 40/64 G of 10 December 1985, annex) and urge those States to ratify the Convention as soon as possible. It should further urge those States that have not yet done so to sign and ratify the Convention;

(b) Call upon sports organizations and individual sportsmen and sportswomen to co-operate in making the boycott of apartheid in sports more effective;

(c) Commend those sportsmen and sportswomen, artists and entertainers who have refused to perform in racist South Africa, thus showing their abhorrence of the apartheid régime.

## 6. Support for the national liberation struggle

219. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial and democratic State. I should recognize and respect the right of the people of South Africa and their national liberation movements to choose the necessary means of struggle to attain this objective;

(b) Welcome the intensification of the armed struggle by the heroic people of South Africa and urge all States to go beyond mere expressions of support and render effective assistance to the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity. In this regard, the General Assembly should appeal for greater moral, political and material support to be given to the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for their legitimate struggle and for the intensification of the political mobilization of the masses within the country;

(c) Request the Secretary-General to take all possible steps to intensify activities in the field of dissemination of information on the liberation struggle and to make the international community and world public opinion aware that recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle by the people of South Africa entails as a corollary the extension of all political, material and moral support to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements;

(d) Commend all Governments, organizations and individuals who have assisted the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements and thereby demonstrated solidarity with their legitimate struggle for freedom. It should draw attention to the need for increased humanitarian and educational assistance, as well as all appropriate assistance for the struggle for the elimination of apartheid and the building of a new society;

(e) Demand that the Government of South Africa unconditionally and immediately release all political prisoners, including Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Zephania Mothopeng, guarantee the safe return of all political exiles, rescind the ban on the national liberation movements, political organizations and individuals and permit freedom of expression, assembly and political activity. It should stress that only negotiations with the genuine and acknowledged leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa can bring about an agreement on a non-racial and democratic society in a united South Africa;

(f) Invite Member States to observe and promote the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) on 16 December 1986 and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa on 8 January 1987.

7. Assistance to the front-line States and States members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

220. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Emphasize the great importance of assistance to the independent African States in southern Africa that have suffered greatly from aggression and destabilization by the racist régime of South Africa and to the efforts of the States members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa;

(b) Recognize that a programme of sanctions against South Africa must be complemented by a programme of assistance to those States, as well as to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia through their national liberation movements.

8. Final recommendations

221. In conclusion, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Reiterate its conviction that the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid is to enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa. The alternative to sanctions is escalating violence and bloodshed. The situation brooks no delay. The time for concrete, immediate action has come;

(b) Condemn any attempt to interpret the present conflict in southern Africa as an "East-West" conflict. The conflict in this area does not result from the "East-West" confrontation. It has its roots in the policies and practices of the apartheid régime;

(c) Stress that the racist régime of South Africa has institutionalized racism and has its roots in the same racist and bellicose ideology that provoked the Second World War and caused untold death and destruction. Appeasement of the racist régime, therefore, can only have the same disastrous consequences;

(d) Call for full and unconditional support for the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa for peace, non-alignment and freedom;

(e) Appeal to all States Members of the United Nations, as well as anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations, to redouble their efforts to secure the imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions and their strict implementation.

C. Programme of work of the Special Committee

222. There is an ever growing consensus in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The events organized by the Special Committee in the course of the year, notably the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa in Paris, the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa in London and the United Nations Seminar on the Oil Embargo against South Africa in Oslo, revealed the wide agreement existing on the subject. In its

programme for the coming year, the Committee proposes to give effect to the recommendations contained in the Declaration of the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa (see A/41/434-S/18185 and Corr.1, annex), to continue its efforts to extend and strengthen this virtual consensus until there is full agreement on the matter. It intends to promote campaigns and other appropriate actions to isolate the racist régime, to monitor the implementation of existing sanctions and to mobilize moral and material support for the struggle of the South African people for liberation. The Committee intends to continue to sponsor conferences, seminars, hearings and other activities and events that will deepen knowledge of the various aspects of the apartheid régime with the aim of fostering an active and action-oriented political commitment. It is evident that continued resistance to effective action against South Africa, especially by some Western Governments, is not caused by a lack of knowledge about apartheid but is motivated by a variety of factors such as strategic and ideological considerations, fear of losing vested economic interests, and the so-called "kith and kin" sentiment. The programme of work will concentrate on concrete action against apartheid, particularly in those countries whose relations with South Africa give them a special leverage with it.

223. The programme will include missions by the Chairman and by Committee members to various countries. It will provide for continuing and strengthening contacts with other intergovernmental organizations, such as OAU, the League of Arab States, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, EEC, the Commonwealth, the African, Caribbean and Pacific States etc.. in order to co-ordinate action in support of the struggle of the South African people. The programme will also take into account the crucial role that, at this stage, parliaments and legislative institutions, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, student bodies, church groups and other such organizations are playing in generating support for effective action against apartheid.

224. These consultations with Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are aimed at promoting concerted international action in support of the struggle against apartheid and a peaceful and speedy transition to a non-racial and democratic system in a united South Africa.

225. In the coming year, the Special Committee will mobilize international public opinion and economic assistance in support of the front-line and other neighbouring States and promote further possible action that the international community may take in the face of current South African economic aggression and the likelihood of retaliatory action against its neighbours.

226. The Special Committee, conscious of the financial difficulties that the Organization is facing at the present moment, effected considerable savings last year in response to an appeal by the Secretary-General. It will continue to exercise financial prudence and vigilance, bearing in mind its overriding responsibility to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. It requests a special allocation of \$US 375,000 from the regular budget of the United Nations for 1987 for special projects it intends to carry out.



### Notes

1/ Reuter, 17 April 1986; and Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Deaths in Custody: Seven Recent Cases in South Africa (New York, July 1986).

2/ Daily Dispatch (East London), 24 April 1986.

3/ Sash, vol. 28, No. 4, February 1986.

4/ Christian Science Monitor, 28 May 1986.

5/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 11 April 1986.

6/ The Star (International Airmail Weekly), (Johannesburg), 9 June 1986.

7/ According to Hansard (Cape Town), 3-6 March 1986, a total of 37 members of the Defence Force committed suicide in 1985, compared with 25 in 1984 and 11 in 1983.

8/ Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 21-27 March 1986.

9/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 10 and 11 March 1986.

10/ Ibid., 5 July 1986.

11/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 30 May 1986.

12/ The New York Times, 17 July 1986.

13/ ANC News Briefing (London), Issue No. 11, vol. 10, week ending 16 March 1986, p. 3.

14/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 23 May 1986.

15/ Daily Mirror, 19 September 1986.

16/ The Guardian, 14 June 1986.

17/ Morning Star, 28 June 1986.

18/ The New York Times, 23 and 24 July 1986; and "CBS Evening News" with Dan Rather, 7 p.m., New York, 5 August 1986.

19/ A/41/388-S/18121, annex, para. 9.

20/ The New York Times, 28 August 1986.

21/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 25 January 1986.

22/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 11 April 1986; and Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 27 June 1986.

23/ Financial Times (London), 12 August 1986.

24/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 9 May 1986.

Notes (continued)

- 25/ Africa News, vol. XXVI, No. 11, 2 June 1986.
- 26/ Ibid., 21 April 1986.
- 27/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 20 February 1986.
- 28/ Ibid., 3 May 1986; and Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 27 June 1986.
- 29/ Financial Times (London), 20 March 1986.
- 30/ The New York Times, 18 March 1986.
- 31/ Mission to South Africa, The Commonwealth Report, (London, Penguin Books, June 1986). pp. 137 and 138.
- 32/ The New York Times, 26 August 1986.
- 33/ Ibid., 28 August 1986.
- 34/ Ibid., 11 July 1986.
- 35/ The Star (International Airmail Weekly), (Johannesburg), 3 February 1986.
- 36/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 7-9 and 12 April 1986 and 10 and 22 May 1986.
- 37/ A/41/434-S/18185 and Corr.1, annex.

ANNEX I

List of statements issued by the Special Committee

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

|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| GA/AP/1669<br>(2 October 1985)   | Statement by the Chairman appealing to Governments to prevent participation in the South African Grand Prix  |
| GA/AP/1672<br>(9 October 1985)   | Message by the Chairman commending the Trustees of Columbia University for divesting from companies doing business in South Africa   |
| GA/AP/1673<br>(9 October 1985)   | Message by the Chairman appealing for the cancellation of the South African Grand Prix   |
| GA/AP/1678<br>(16 October 1985)  | Statement by the Chairman appealing for urgent action to stop the hanging of Benjamin Malesela Maloiso in South Africa   |
| GA/AP/1679<br>(18 October 1985)  | Statement by the Chairman expressing shock at the hanging of an African poet   |
| GA/AP/1683<br>(25 October 1985)  | Message by the Chairman urging banks not to reschedule or restructure South Africa's debt repayments   |
| GA/AP/1685<br>(28 October 1985)  | Statement by the Chairman urging the World Medical Association to reconsider its decision to hold an annual meeting in South Africa  |
| GA/AP/1687<br>(7 November 1985)  | Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning attempts by South African authorities to curb reporting by the media of unrest   |
| GA/AP/1688<br>(7 November 1985)  | Statement by the Acting Chairman praising plans for a 9 November march by the New Jersey Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Mobilization Coalition   |
| GA/AP/1693<br>(3 December 1985)  | Statement adopted by the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> at the conclusion of consultations held with non-governmental and anti- <u>apartheid</u> organizations on 25 and 26 November |
| GA/AP/1696<br>(20 December 1985) | Statement by the Chairman condemning recent death sentences imposed by the South African régime  |
| GA/AP/1698<br>(16 January 1986)  | Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning recent mass dismissals of striking black mine workers in South Africa  |
| GA/AP/1699<br>(22 January 1986)  | Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the trial of 22 opponents of the Pretoria régime   |
| GA/AP/1700<br>(24 January 1986)  | Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the detention by the South African régime of leaders of the United Democratic Front  |

|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| GA/AP/1703<br>(24 February 1986) | Statement by the Chairman condemning the agreement reached between South Africa and its creditor banks to ease the régime's debt crisis  |
| GA/AP/1708<br>(14 March 1986)    | Statement by the Chairman condemning the banning orders imposed on two South African black leaders   |
| GA/AP/1710<br>(14 March 1986)    | Statement by the Chairman appealing for the widest observance of International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination  |
| GA/AP/1717<br>(27 March 1986)    | Statement by the Acting Chairman appealing to Governments and organizations to condemn police atrocities in South Africa as "inhuman and criminal"   |
| GA/AP/1719<br>(28 April 1986)    | Statement by the Acting Chairman commending the decisions of the British Actors' Union instructing its members not to perform in South Africa  |
| GA/AP/1720<br>(30 April 1986)    | Statement by the Chairman condemning the death sentences imposed in December by South Africa against the "Sharpeville Six"   |
| GA/AP/1722<br>(2 May 1986)       | Statement by the Chairman calling on the international community to condemn the new public safety amendment bill and all others that form pillars of <u>apartheid</u>  |
| GA/AP/1725<br>(14 May 1986)      | Statement by the Chairman condemning the arrest by South Africa of seven members of Pan Africanist Congress of Azania  |
| GA/AP/1728<br>(16 May 1986)      | Statement by the Chairman condemning recent acts of violence in South Africa   |
| GA/AP/1730<br>(16 May 1986)      | Statement by the Chairman condemning the arrest of the General Secretary of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference  |
| GA/AP/1731<br>(19 May 1986)      | Statement by the Chairman condemning the military action by South Africa against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe   |
| GA/AP/1733<br>(12 June 1986)     | Statement by the Acting Chairman expressing shock and outrage at the grave situation in South Africa   |
| GA/AP/1747<br>(10 July 1986)     | Statement by the Chairman appealing to the international community to take all necessary action in order to prevail on the Pretoria régime immediately to return Mr. Sidney Maibi, who was abducted in Swaziland |
| GA/AP/1748<br>(21 July 1986)     | Statement by the Chairman on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of <u>Apartheid</u>                            |
| GA/AP/1749<br>(22 July 1986)     | Statement by the Chairman calling for the widest observance of International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia  |

|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| GA/AP/1750<br>(29 July 1986)     | Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning attacks on Allan Boesak in South Africa  |
| GA/AP/1751<br>(31 July 1986)     | Statement by the Acting Chairman expressing dismay over the textile imports agreement reached between the United States and South Africa       |
| GA/AP/1752<br>(7 August 1986)    | Statement by the Chairman welcoming the sanctions package against South Africa adopted at the recent meeting of the Commonwealth countries     |
| GA/AP/1754<br>(15 August 1986)   | Statement by the Chairman congratulating the people of KwaNtshale for opposing so-called "independence" offered by South Africa                |
| GA/AP/1755<br>(26 August 1986)   | Statement by the Acting Chairman requesting a boycott of the congress scheduled to be held in Pretoria on high-speed photography and photonics |
| GA/AP/1756<br>(28 August 1986)   | Statement by the Acting Chairman congratulating the divestment decision of the California legislature  |
| GA/AP/1757<br>(29 August 1986)   | Statement by the Acting Chairman expressing "shock and horror" over recent killings in Soweto township   |
| GA/AP/1758<br>(4 September 1986) | Statement by the Chairman expressing concern at the reported visit to Japan of the Foreign Minister of South Africa                            |
| GA/AP/1759<br>(9 September 1986) | Statement by the Chairman appealing for urgent action to stop the hanging by South Africa of two ANC members                                   |

List of documents of the Special Committee

- A/AC.115/L.629 Statement made by Judge Nathaniel R. Jones at the 577th meeting of the Special Committee, on 15 October 1985
- A/AC.115/L.630 Statement made by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, at the 578th meeting of the Special Committee, on 22 October 1985
- A/AC.115/L.631 Statement by David Lange, Prime Minister of New Zealand, at the 579th meeting of the Special Committee on 23 October 1985
- A/AC.115/L.632 Messages received on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October 1985)
- A/AC.115/L.633 Statement adopted by the Special Committee at the conclusion of its consultations with non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations, held at its 580th to 583rd meetings, on 25 and 26 November 1985
- A/AC.115/L.634 Report of the International Seminar on Racist Ideologies, Attitudes and Organizations Hindering Efforts for the Elimination of Apartheid and Means to Combat Them (Siofok, Hungary, 9-11 September 1985)
- A/AC.115/L.635 Messages received on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1986)
- A/AC.115/L.636 Report of the Seminar on Oil Embargo against South Africa (Oslo, 4-6 June 1986)
- A/AC.115/L.637 Report of the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa (London, 28-30 May 1986)
- A/AC.115/L.638 Statement made by the Special Committee against Apartheid on the occasion of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia, 8 August 1986
- A/AC.115/L.639 Messages received on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (8 August 1986)

## ANNEX III

South Africa's budget (1985/86-1986/87)

(Millions of rand)

|                                       | <u>1985/86</u> | <u>1986/87</u> | <u>Increase</u> |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Defence                               | 4 409          | 5 257          | 848             |
| Education                             | 5 099          | 6 083          | 984             |
| Welfare promotion                     | 1 781          | 1 933          | 152             |
| Health                                | 2 513          | 2 799          | 286             |
| Civil pensions                        | 857            | 1 245          | 388             |
| Constitutional development            | 2 325          | 2 912          | 587             |
| Improvements of conditions of service | 235            | 1 077          | 842             |
| Transport                             | 1 622          | 1 721          | 89              |
| Agriculture                           | 1 087          | 876            | -211            |
| State debt costs                      | 4 479          | 5 233          | 754             |
| Other                                 | 8 570          | 8 435          | -135            |
| Total                                 | <u>32 977</u>  | <u>37 571</u>  | <u>4 594</u>    |

Source: Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 21 March 1986.

## South Africa's main trading partners (1984-1985)

(Millions of dollars)

| Country  | Imports by South Africa |                   |       |                   | Exports by South Africa |                   |       |                   | Total trade |                   |        |                   |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
|  | 1984                    | per cent of total | 1985  | per cent of total | 1984                    | per cent of total | 1985  | per cent of total | 1984        | per cent of total | 1985   | per cent of total |
| United States of America                             | 2 278                   | 20.6              | 1 232 | 16.9              | 2 655                   | 29.4              | 2 242 | 24.8              | 4 933       | 24.6              | 3 475  | 21.3              |
| Japan  | 1 850                   | 16.7              | 1 023 | 14.0              | 1 597                   | 17.7              | 1 640 | 18.2              | 3 447       | 17.2              | 2 663  | 16.3              |
| Germany, Federal Republic of                         | 2 359                   | 21.0              | 1 701 | 23.3              | 972                     | 10.8              | 954   | 10.6              | 3 331       | 16.6              | 2 655  | 16.3              |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | 1 638                   | 14.8              | 1 327 | 18.2              | 1 131                   | 12.5              | 1 378 | 15.3              | 2 769       | 13.8              | 2 705  | 16.6              |
| France   | 507                     | 4.6               | 395   | 5.4               | 660                     | 7.3               | 632   | 7.0               | 1 167       | 5.8               | 1 027  | 6.3               |
| Italy  | 523                     | 4.7               | 336   | 4.6               | 525                     | 5.8               | 622   | 7.0               | 1 048       | 5.2               | 958    | 6.0               |
| Belgium and Luxembourg                               | 252                     | 2.3               | 190   | 2.6               | 298                     | 3.3               | 358   | 4.0               | 550         | 2.7               | 548    | 3.3               |
| Netherlands  | 274                     | 2.5               | 212   | 2.9               | 151                     | 1.7               | 161   | 1.8               | 425         | 2.1               | 373    | 2.3               |
| Switzerland  | 239                     | 2.2               | 201   | 2.7               | 88                      | 1.0               | 70    | .8                | 327         | 1.6               | 271    | 1.7               |
| Canada   | 166                     | 1.5               | 121   | 1.7               | 163                     | 1.8               | 159   | 1.8               | 329         | 1.6               | 280    | 1.7               |
| Spain  | 120                     | 1.1               | 90    | 1.2               | 165                     | 1.8               | 210   | 2.3               | 285         | 1.4               | 300    | 1.8               |
| Sweden   | 194                     | 2.0               | 124   | 1.7               | 51                      | .6                | 51    | .6                | 245         | 1.2               | 175    | 1.1               |
| Australia  | 116                     | 1.0               | 49    | .7                | 125                     | 1.4               | 106   | 1.2               | 241         | 1.2               | 155    | 1.0               |
| Others   | 529                     | 4.8               | 300   | 4.1               | 446                     | 5.0               | 439   | 5.0               | 975         | 5.0               | 739    | 4.5               |
| Total  | 11 045                  |                   | 7 301 |                   | 9 027                   |                   | 9 022 |                   | 20 072      |                   | 16 324 |                   |

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



ANNEX V

South Africa's balance of payments (1985)

(Millions of rand)

|                                     |              |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Merchandise exports                 | 20 018       |
| Net gold exports                    | 15 460       |
| Merchandise imports                 | (22 544)     |
| Trade balance                       | 12 934       |
| Net service and transfer of payment | ( 5 822)     |
|                                     | <u>7 112</u> |

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Source: South African Reserve Bank, Quarterly Bulletin,  
March 1986.

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