

REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST *APARTHEID*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/36/22)



UNITED NATIONS

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New York, 1981

NOTE

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

The present report was also submitted to the Security Council under the symbol S/14689.

[4 November 1981]

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9 October 1981

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, adopted unanimously by the Special Committee on 9 October 1981.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 35/206 A to R of 16 December 1980.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Alhaji Yusuf MAITAMA-SULE
Chairman of the
Special Committee against Apartheid

His Excellency
Mr. Kurt Waldheim
Secretary-General of the United Nations
New York

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee against Apartheid was established by the General Assembly by resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962 as the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In resolution 2671 A (XXV), adopted on 8 December 1970, the Assembly requested the Special Committee constantly to review all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions and to report from time to time, as appropriate, to the General Assembly or the Security Council or both.
2. In its resolution 35/206 P of 16 December 1980, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue and to intensify its activities, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and with particular reference to:
 - (a) Promoting campaigns for the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa;
 - (b) Promoting increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement;
 - (c) Monitoring the implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid and exposing all collaboration with South Africa.
3. The Special Committee is now composed of the following 18 Member States:

Algeria	India	Philippines
German Democratic Republic	Indonesia	Somalia
Ghana	Malaysia	Sudan
Guinea	Nepal	Syrian Arab Republic
Haiti	Nigeria	Trinidad and Tobago
Hungary	Peru	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
4. At its 464th meeting on 21 January 1981, the Special Committee unanimously re-elected Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria) as its Chairman and Mr. Vladimir Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal) as its Vice-Chairman. At its 467th meeting, it elected Mr. Gervais Charles (Haiti) as Rapporteur. After the departure of Mr. Akporode Clark, the Special Committee, at its 482nd meeting, on 13 September 1981, unanimously elected Mr. Alhaji Yusuf Maitmam-Sule, the new Permanent Representative of Nigeria as its Chairman.
5. The Special Committee also elected Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa and re-elected Mr. Abdel Hamid Semichi (Algeria) as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information.
6. 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, and the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information is composed of Algeria (Chairman), the German Democratic Republic, Nepal, Somalia and Trinidad and Tobago.

7. In order to assist in promoting action on specific aspects of the campaign against apartheid, the Special Committee established two Task Forces: (a) the Task Force on Women and Children under apartheid, composed of India, Philippines, the Sudan and Trinidad and Tobago and (b) the Task Force on Political Prisoners, composed of the German Democratic Republic, India, Peru and Somalia.

8. In pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 35/206 H and 35/206 O of 16 December 1980, the Special Committee prepared and submitted 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/36/22/Add.1-S/14689/Add.1). 1/

9. At its meeting held on 9 October 1981, the Special Committee decided to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. It consists of:

- (a) A review of the work of the Special Committee;
- (b) Conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee;
- (c) A review of developments in South Africa for the period under consideration;
- (d) A list of documents of the Special Committee.

10. The Special Committee wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his abiding interest in its work. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the member States of the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned States, the socialist States, the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the two South African liberation movements, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and numerous non-governmental organizations for their continued support of the work of the Committee.

11. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Director of the Centre against Apartheid, to the secretariat of the Special Committee and to all other members of the Centre against Apartheid for their efficient and devoted service.

1/ The final text of the special report will be issued in Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/36/22/Add.1).

II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. Action taken by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session

12. During its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly considered the item entitled "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" in 10 plenary meetings between 11 November and 19 December 1980. ^{2/} It adopted 18 resolutions related to various aspects of apartheid and based mainly on the related recommendations of the Special Committee.
13. In resolution 35/206 A, on the situation in South Africa, the General Assembly condemned collaboration by Western and other States, and transnational corporations with South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other fields. It condemned the minority régime for brutal repression against opponents and for attempts to destabilize and commit aggression against neighbouring States. Furthermore, the General Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement by all means, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power, the elimination of apartheid and the exercise of the right of self-determination, and appealed to States to provide all necessary assistance. The General Assembly also denounced the programme of "bantustanization" and condemned the creation of a "constellation" of southern African States.
14. In resolution 35/206 B, on military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, the General Assembly expressed its serious concern at the failure of certain members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Israel and other States to cease their co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa in the military and nuclear fields and to prevent corporations and institutions within their jurisdiction from carrying out such co-operation. It further requested the Security Council to take mandatory measures to strengthen the arms embargo and secure cessation of all collaboration with South Africa. Measures to be taken included the revocation of licences for the manufacture of arms and related materials in South Africa and the prohibition of the transfer of technology relating to military and nuclear industries.
15. In resolution 35/206 C, on comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, the General Assembly requested the Security Council urgently to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. It again condemned continued economic and other collaboration by certain Western and other States and transnational corporations and other institutions with the racist régime. The General Assembly called upon Governments to sever all relations with South Africa, to impose an oil embargo and to end loans to and investments in that country.
16. In resolution 35/206 D, on the oil embargo against South Africa, the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that a comprehensive and mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum, petroleum products and other strategic materials was an important measure in international action for the total eradiction of apartheid.

^{2/} A/35/PV.56, 58-64, 85 and 98.

It requested the Security Council to consider urgently a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It also urged States to take effective legislative and other measures to ensure the implementation of such an oil embargo against South Africa as well as embargoes already imposed by States, individually or collectively.

17. In resolution 35/206 E, on cultural, academic and other boycotts of South Africa, the General Assembly requested States to prevent cultural, academic, sporting and other exchanges with South Africa. It further requested States that had not done so to cease cultural and academic collaboration with South Africa, to terminate visa-free privileges extended to South African nationals and to prohibit emigration to South Africa. It appealed to writers, artists, musicians, and others to boycott South Africa and urged academic and cultural institutions to sever links with South Africa.

18. In resolution 35/206 F, on the role of transnational corporations in South Africa, the General Assembly strongly condemned the activities of those transnational corporations which assisted the racist régime of South Africa in its military and nuclear build-up, provided it with its needs of petroleum, petroleum products and other strategic materials, and enabled it to counter international measures for the eradication of apartheid. It invited all Governments to prohibit collaboration with South Africa by transnational corporations within their jurisdiction, to deny contracts or facilities to corporations collaborating with South Africa, to encourage non-governmental organizations engaged in campaigns against such collaboration, and to expose the influence of corporations operating in southern Africa on news media and their control over such media.

19. In resolution 35/206 G, on international campaigns against apartheid, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to promote international campaigns against apartheid with a view to isolating South Africa in the political, economic, military, nuclear, cultural, sports and other fields, and securing the release of all political prisoners. It further requested the Special Committee to organize a seminar on the activities and role of the mass media, Governments and anti-apartheid movements, in publicizing the crimes of the apartheid régime and the struggle of the liberation movement of South Africa.

20. In resolution 35/206 H, on relations between Israel and South Africa, the General Assembly condemned the continuing and increasing collaboration by Israel with South Africa and demanded that Israel should desist from and terminate such collaboration, particularly in the military and nuclear fields. It requested the Special Committee to keep the matter under constant review and report to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

21. In resolution 35/206 I, on the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the General Assembly requested and authorized the Special Committee to organize, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, an international conference on sanctions against South Africa.

22. In resolution 35/206 J, on assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, the General Assembly appealed to all States to provide humanitarian, educational, financial and other necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement. It urged the United Nations Development Programme and other agencies within the United

Nations system to expand their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and to the South African liberation movements and urged also all agencies within the United Nations system to ensure the participation of the South African liberation movements in their relevant conferences and meetings, and to provide financial assistance for that purpose.

23. In resolution 35/206 K, on the campaign for the release of political prisoners, the General Assembly demanded that South Africa should release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, cease trials under repressive laws and recognize the prisoner-of-war status of captured freedom fighters. It urged Governments, judicial associations, other organizations and individuals to provide material, legal and other aid to South African political prisoners, restrictees and their families. It requested the Special Committee to continue to promote the campaign for the release of political prisoners.

24. In resolution 35/206 L, on dissemination of information on apartheid, the General Assembly requested all Governments and organizations as well as agencies of the United Nations system to co-operate further with the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid of the Secretariat towards the production and dissemination of information against apartheid. It appealed to all Governments and organizations to contribute generously to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

25. In resolution 35/206 M, on apartheid in sports, the General Assembly condemned sports organizations, sportsmen and sports bodies that collaborated with South Africa and requested the media not to publicize sports exchanges with South Africa. It requested the Secretary-General to circulate the revised draft of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports to Member States for comments.

26. In resolution 35/206 N, on women and children under apartheid, the General Assembly appealed to Governments and organizations to support projects designed to assist refugee women and children from South Africa. It encouraged women's organizations to proclaim an International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia. It also requested the Special Committee to promote and monitor the implementation of the relevant recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women.

27. In resolution 35/206 O, on the implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid by Governments and intergovernmental organizations, the General Assembly deplored that some Member States had maintained and even increased their political, military, economic and other relations with South Africa despite United Nations resolutions on apartheid and considered that all relations with South Africa served to fortify a military State whose existence was antagonistic to the very principles on which the United Nations was founded. It strongly urged the international community, including Member States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to continue and intensify the campaign to isolate South Africa from economic, political, military, nuclear and other forms of co-operation and declared its firm support for the armed struggle of the national liberation movement of South Africa and its quest for the liberation of the people of South Africa from the oppression of apartheid.

28. In resolution 35/206 P, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee to send missions to Member States and to the headquarters of the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations in order to promote international action against apartheid; to participate in conferences concerned with action against apartheid; to co-sponsor and promote the organization of conferences and seminars against apartheid in co-operation with Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and to commission expert studies on all aspects of apartheid and its international repercussions.

29. In resolution 35/206 Q, on investments in South Africa, the General Assembly again urged the Security Council to consider the matter at an early date with a view to taking effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in and financial loans to South Africa.

30. In resolution 35/206 R, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the General Assembly appealed for generous and increased contributions to the voluntary agencies engaged in assistance to the victims of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and Namibia.

31. The General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth session, also adopted a number of other resolutions which had a bearing on the question of apartheid. The following resolutions deserve special mention:

(a) Resolution 35/28, "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa";

(b) Resolution 35/33, "Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination";

(c) Resolutions 35/35 A and B, "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights";

(d) Resolution 35/38, "Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination";

(e) Resolution 35/39, "Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid";

(f) Resolution 35/119, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples";

(g) Resolutions 35/146 A and B, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa";

(h) Resolution 35/167, "Observer status of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States";

(i) Resolution 35/184, "Assistance to student refugees in southern Africa";

(j) Resolution 35/200, "Measures to be taken against Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist activities and all other forms of totalitarian ideologies and practices based on racial intolerance, hatred and terror".

B. Condemnation of South Africa's aggression against neighbouring States

32. On 30 January 1981, troops of the South African racist régime attacked the capital of Mozambique; nine persons were killed, and two members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) were abducted to South Africa.

33. On 30 January, the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, organized by the Special Committee (see paras. 76-80 below), heard a statement by the representative of the ANC on the attack by South Africa against Mozambique and sent the following message to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, and the President of the ANC, Mr. Oliver Tambo:

"Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, organized by Special Committee against Apartheid in Brussels on 30 and 31 January 1981, is angry and saddened at the news of South African commando raids into Mozambique resulting in the death of nine people. This barbaric attack and violation of Mozambique sovereignty demonstrates clearly the aggressive nature of the South African Government and contradicts its statement of wishing to live in peace with its neighbours. The Member States of the United Nations cannot remain silent and inactive in the face of such acts of terrorism. In expressing our sympathy to the government of Mozambique, to the ANC and to the relatives of the deceased, we pledge ourselves to continue our commitment to freedom and justice in Namibia and South Africa."

34. In a press release issued on 3 February 1981, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee condemned the attack and said:

"The escalation of the acts of aggression constitutes not only a grave and urgent threat to Africa but a breach of international peace and security. This grave challenge must be met immediately.

"On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I urge the Security Council to impose effective mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to force South Africa to end its criminal acts of aggression as well as to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to assist the South African people to eliminate apartheid."

35. The Special Committee received a number of communications condemning the brutal acts of aggression of South Africa against Mozambique.

36. On 8 May, the Chairman addressed a cable to Lord Gifford, on behalf of the Special Committee, commending his initiative for launching the campaign to stop the war against Angola and Mozambique. He stated that the Special Committee regarded the campaign as most timely and important, especially in Western countries, in the light of the criminal aggression by the South African racist régime and the moves in some Western countries to promote destabilization of Angola.

37. At its 480th meeting, on 26 August, the Special Committee issued a statement on recent grave developments in South Africa (A/36/459-S/14656, annex). It reads, inter alia:

"The Special Committee notes with utmost seriousness the letter dated 25 August 1981 addressed by the President of the People's Republic of Angola to the Secretary-General (S/14643) stating that the situation could develop into a war with unpredictable consequences. It considers that the international community should urgently act on his request to put an end to the successive acts of aggression against Angola and neutralize the imminent and large-scale invasion prepared by the apartheid régime against Angola.

"The aggressive nature and intent of the apartheid régime are further evidenced by the recent increase in its military budget by over 30 per cent from 1,890 million rand to 2,465 million rand and the transfer of an additional 172 million rand to the special defence account.

"The Special Committee is convinced that the apartheid régime has been encouraged in its criminal and aggressive behaviour by the attitudes of certain Western Powers which have persistently prevented effective action in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The vetoes cast by three permanent members in the Security Council in April to prevent the imposition of sanctions against that régime have assured it that it can pursue its crimes with impunity.

"The policies and actions of the new United States administration, in the name of so-called constructive engagement with the apartheid régime, have been regarded by the latter as a licence to aggression and continued defiance of the international community. The move to repeal the Clark amendment and permit intervention in the sovereign State of Angola is welcomed by that régime as evidence of the desire of a major Power to co-operate with it in destabilizing Angola and securing hegemony in the region.

"In the face of these grave developments, the Special Committee calls urgently for the widest international mobilization in support of the Declaration of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa (A/36/319-S/14531, annexes I and II), held in Paris in May 1981. The Conference urged all Governments, organizations and individuals committed to freedom to concert their efforts and step up action to isolate the apartheid régime and support the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. The Conference declared that they must demand that the Powers which continue to collaborate with the apartheid régime desist from such collaboration and facilitate mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and that they must proclaim that collusion with the crime of apartheid is an intolerable affront to the conscience of mankind."

38. At its 482nd meeting on 14 September, the Special Committee heard a statement from the Reverend Dr. M. William Howard, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, on the policy of the United States towards southern Africa. In his statement he said:

"South Africa has launched a massive invasion into Angola and continues to defy international opinion by refusing to abandon its illegal occupation of Namibia."

He added:

"The United States Government stands alone in vetoing a Security Council resolution condemning the invasion of Angola."

He continued to say:

"On 29 August, the Reagan Administration has revealed its newest thinking on United States policy towards South Africa, indicating more clearly than ever a tilt in favour of the white minority rulers."

C. Military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa

39. The Special Committee constantly followed all developments concerning military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa by Governments and transnational corporations and publicized information on such collaboration. It was represented at conferences dealing with the matter and organized hearings of anti-apartheid movements and other experts.

40. It repeatedly stressed that constant acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism committed by the South African régime against neighbouring States, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its rejection of the United Nations plan for the independence of the Territory, the escalating repression in South Africa, including the execution of patriots, the armed confrontation between the forces of the racist régime and freedom fighters and the recent nuclear tests by South Africa have resulted in a situation which constitutes a graver threat to international peace and security and, indeed, a situation of constant and escalating breaches of the peace under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

41. It considered that the Security Council, and those of its permanent members who prevent necessary action, will be failing in the discharge of their responsibilities if the Council does not make a determination under Chapter VII of the Charter in the face of this ever worsening situation and take mandatory action prescribed by the Charter. The Special Committee considered it essential and urgent to promote a world-wide campaign by all Governments committed to the liberation of South Africa and Namibia - the African, non-aligned and socialist States, and other States as well as Parliaments, trade unions and other organizations to press the major Western Powers to co-operate in implementing and reinforcing the arms embargo against South Africa.

1. International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa

42. The International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa was organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid, in co-operation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa and with the assistance of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. It was held at Europe House, World Trade Centre, London, from 1 to 3 April 1981.
43. The Special Committee had decided to organize the Seminar in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/206 B authorizing it "to continue its efforts to promote a comprehensive and effective embargo on all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa".
44. Participants in the Seminar included representatives of Governments, United Nations bodies and agencies, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, as well as a number of members of Parliament and individual experts.
45. The Seminar elected Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee, as its President and Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa and its Rapporteur. 3/ It also elected nine Vice-Presidents.
46. The message by the Chairman of the Special Committee was delivered by the leader of its delegation, H.E. Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana).
47. The opening meeting of the Seminar was held on 1 April 1981.
48. Statements were made by 11 speakers, including Mr. Alejandro D. Yango (Philippines), Vice-Chairman, Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) on the question of South Africa, Mr. Jorge A. Bolanos, Ambassador of Cuba to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries), Mr. Riundja Kaakunga, Deputy Administrative Secretary of South West Africa People's Organization, and Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Director, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.
49. The proceedings of the Seminar focused on questions concerning implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo (e.g. national legislation, definition of "arms and related material", etc.), monitoring of the arms embargo, reinforcement of the arms embargo (e.g. extension to dual purpose equipment, oil embargo, etc.) and South Africa's nuclear plans and capability.

3/ In the unavoidable absence of the President, the Seminar was chaired by Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, Ambassador of Algeria to France, Vice-President of the Seminar.

50. The Seminar concluded with the adoption of a declaration (A/36/190-S/14442, annex). 4/

51. In the declaration, the Seminar stressed the following:

"As a result of the continued military and nuclear collaboration by several Western and other States, especially the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Israel, South Africa's programme of military expansion and nuclear development has further advanced.

"...

"The Seminar declares, therefore, that any such assistance, direct or indirect, is a crime against the people of South Africa, Namibia and front-line States, a threat to international peace, a challenge to the authority of the United Nations and an offence against the conscience of mankind."

52. The Chairman transmitted the declaration of the Seminar to the General Assembly, the Security Council and its Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa. It was also considered at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

53. On 8 May 1981, the Chairman addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of the United States of America conveying the grave concern over information that the United States Administration was considering reversing its ban on the export of nuclear fuel to South Africa. He transmitted the hope of the Special Committee that the United States would not supply nuclear fuel, materials or technology to South Africa.

2. Other activities against military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa

54. On 28 October 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted a letter to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) on the question of South Africa suggesting consideration of the information contained in a documentary film by Granada Television concerning violation of the arms embargo against South Africa. On 11 November 1980, he transmitted to the same Committee the transcript of a television programme entitled "South Africa's Time Bomb", produced by Thames Television, indicating that South Africa had obtained a tactical nuclear delivery system despite the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977). On 29 December, he transmitted a pamphlet received from the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement entitled "The Philips Connection: Military Electronics for South Africa". On 5 January 1981, he transmitted a paper entitled "Military Production and Space Research Corporation" prepared by Mr. Remi Verbeek of the Action Committee on Southern Africa (AKZA), Belgium, for a United Nations symposium.

4/ For the report of the Seminar, see A/AC.115/L.547.

55. On 11 November 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee, in a letter to the Permanent Representative of Argentina, expressed concern over the award of the Argentine medal "Medalla Al Merito" to Captain William Harold Kelly of South Africa.
56. On 17 November 1980, the Chairman sent a cable to Mr. Joseph Luns, Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in connexion with reports that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. R. F. Botha, had held discussions with him on 14 November. The Chairman said:
- "Having regard to your assurances to Chairman of Special Committee in 1975 that South Africa was outside territorial limits of NATO and that NATO had no direct contact with South African régime. On behalf of the Special Committee therefore I have honour to express profound disquiet regarding circumstances of reported meeting and to emphasize that South African machinery of repression and racism must be denied every support and encouragement."
57. In a letter dated 12 March 1981 addressed to the Permanent Representative of the United States, the Chairman of the Special Committee conveyed its concern at press reports that the Government of the United States intended to grant Israel the right to sell its KFIR jets and other military equipment with American components to South Africa, and called for action to prevent such a sale.
58. In a reply dated 6 April 1981, the Permanent Representative of the United States assured the Special Committee that the United States had received no such request from Israel, and that the United States would not grant permission to sell any military equipment containing American components, including KFIR jets, to South Africa.
59. On 29 April 1981, the Special Committee was informed by Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, that the United Kingdom was exporting electronic equipment by the Plessey Company to South African military forces. The same day, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa expressing the hope that in view of the extreme seriousness and urgency of the matter the Security Council Committee would take urgent action to prevent the export of the equipment to South Africa.
60. The Special Committee subsequently received a statement by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement on the same subject. The statement indicated that this equipment included United States computers manufactured under licence in Ireland.
61. On 8 May 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted the statement to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa for further consideration. On the same day he addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of the United States requesting that the Government look into the matter urgently and take all necessary action in the light of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly concerning an arms embargo against South Africa.

62. On 12 May 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement concerning press reports that a South Atlantic alliance, including South Africa, would be discussed at a conference in Buenos Aires (A/36/253-S/14479, annex). He stated:

"My attention has been drawn to press reports that the idea of a 'South Atlantic alliance' would be discussed at a conference on military strategy being organized in Buenos Aires on 26 May by the Institute of American Relations and the Council for Inter-American Security in Washington, D.C., in co-operation with two Argentine institutes - the Carlos Pellegrini Foundation and the Ateneo de Occidente.

"The organizers of the Conference in Buenos Aires have announced that participants will include representatives from South Africa, the United States, Argentina, Brazil and other Latin American countries. One of the participants is General Vernon Walters of the United States, a former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency. After retirement, he became a member of the foreign policy advisory committee of Mr. Ronald Reagan during his presidential campaign in 1980."

63. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman vigorously denounced the move to discuss a military alliance with the South African racist régime and expressed the hope that no one committed to the principles of freedom, human rights and justice would participate in it.

64. The same day, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted the statement to the Secretary-General and to the Permanent Representatives of Brazil and Argentina.

D. International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa

65. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa was organized by the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 34/93 C of 12 December 1979 and 35/206 I of 16 December 1980, and held at UNESCO House, Paris, from 20 to 27 May 1981.

66. The decision of the General Assembly to endorse the recommendation of the Special Committee to convene the International Conference followed the endorsement of a proposal of the Special Committee by the Council of Ministers of the OAU, at its thirty-third ordinary session held in Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979, and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

67. The Assembly requested the Special Committee against Apartheid to take all necessary steps for the organization of the Conference and preparatory meetings in co-operation with the OAU. The Special Committee established a preparatory committee for the Conference under the chairmanship of Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman of the Special Committee. It included representatives of OAU and the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, as well as UNESCO which agreed, at the request of the Special Committee, to provide facilities for the Conference.

68. The International Conference conducted its work in Plenary meetings and in two Commissions - the Political Commission and the Technical Commission. During the Conference, a special meeting was held on 25 May 1981 in observance of African Liberation Day. The Conference was attended by representatives of 122 Governments, 4 national liberation movements, 15 intergovernmental organizations, 37 international non-governmental organizations and 53 national non-governmental organizations, including a number of members of Parliament and special guests, invited by the preparatory committee.

69. At its concluding meeting, on 27 May, the Conference adopted by acclamation the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa and the Special Declaration on Namibia (A/36/319-S/14531, annexes I and II). It decided to include the reports of the two Commissions as annexes to the report of the Conference. 5/

70. On 11 June, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa and the Special Declaration on Namibia to the Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council and the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

71. On 12 June, the Chairman transmitted these documents to all intergovernmental organizations that were present at the Conference.

E. Economic and other collaboration with South Africa

72. The Special Committee continued to follow developments concerning economic and other collaboration by Western States and transnational corporations with South Africa. It gave particular attention to promoting the implementation of an embargo on the sale or supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa and to the cessation of all loans to the racist régime.

73. It repeatedly condemned the continued collaboration of certain Western States, Israel and other States as well as transnational corporations with the apartheid State as an essential cause for the escalation of South Africa's aggression against independent African States, the continuation of its policies of oppression against the people of South Africa and its national liberation movement and its illegal occupation of Namibia.

74. It noted with appreciation the decisions concerning southern Africa adopted at the thirty-seventh ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in which the Council, inter alia, vehemently denounced the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for vetoing the Security Council resolution calling for an imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions including an oil embargo against South Africa and which considered the vetoes cast as an act of utter disregard of the aspirations of Africa and the international community, (see A/36/534, annex I).

5/ For the report of the International Conference, see A/CONF.107/8.

75. It supported the appeal of the OAU Ministerial Session to all Governments, particularly to the main trading partners of apartheid South Africa and the international community to fully implement the Declarations of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

1. Oil embargo against South Africa

76. A Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa was held in Brussels on 30 and 31 January 1981 for consultations on means to promote broader support for the implementation of an oil embargo against South Africa.

77. The Conference was organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with a committee of nine West European parliamentarians. It was attended by 35 members of Parliament from eight West European countries and the European Parliament, as well as representatives of United Nations bodies, the Organization of African Unity and the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. Representatives of a number of Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations attended the opening meeting as observers.

78. The Conference opened on 30 January under the chairmanship of Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, member of the Second Chamber of Parliament of the Netherlands. Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman of the Special Committee, delivered the opening address. He said:

"An oil embargo has remained for quite some time the centre-piece of our commitment to bring international pressure to bear on South Africa. We see it as a necessary complement to the arms embargo which was imposed in 1977. Especially since the Arab oil embargo against South Africa in 1973, and even more since the embargo by Iran early in 1979, the Special Committee against Apartheid has exerted great efforts towards a universal and effective oil embargo against South Africa. We have, in close collaboration with the Organization of African Unity, contacted many governments to persuade them to take effective action to impose and monitor an oil embargo against South Africa.

"We have been encouraged by the fact that practically all petroleum-exporting countries, whether or not they are members of OPEC, have supported the embargo and have taken measures to that effect. We have been encouraged by the growing public opinion in the countries which are the metropolises of the transnational oil companies and of tanker companies against involvement in the supply of oil to South African war machines and planes which rain terror and death on refugee camps in Angola, Zambia and in Namibia and the armoured carriers which kill innocent children crying for equal educational facilities.

"Despite the embargoes of the oil exporting countries, we know that South Africa is able to obtain oil, perhaps at a higher price, with the collusion of oil tanker companies and many shady interests. Tankers are even sunk in the high seas after illicit delivery of oil to South Africa. Tankers change their names and registration numbers so as to make a quick kill in the oil market. It is all so sordid, morally wrong, piratical and disgraceful.

"We have tried to persuade the Western countries to help stop this illicit trade with South Africa, particularly so as to respect the embargo by the OPEC countries. But so far we have not met with enough success. This is, of course, one of the main reasons for this Conference.

"When we call for an oil embargo to deprive the aggressive and repressive military and police forces of South Africa of their mobility, our concern is to reduce the conflict and suffering in the process of the inevitable emancipation of the black majority in South Africa and Namibia."

79. The Conference concluded with the adoption of a Declaration. In the Declaration, the parliamentarians welcomed and endorsed the proposals contained in General Assembly resolution 35/206 D on an oil embargo against South Africa. They pointed out, however, that alarming evidence had emerged in recent months suggesting that Western oil and shipping companies had played a key role in assisting South Africa to evade the existing oil embargo introduced by nearly all oil-exporting countries. They demanded, therefore, a decision by the Security Council to impose a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa.

80. The Declaration stated that Western countries were the homes of most of the oil and shipping companies which appeared to be currently involved in supplying embargoed oil to South Africa. Referring to a number of concrete proposals for legislative action with regard to the enforcement and strengthening of an oil embargo contained in paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 35/206 D, the Parliamentarians agreed upon the following:

- (a) To urge their Governments to support a mandatory Security Council oil embargo against South Africa;
- (b) To urge those European Governments that voted for General Assembly resolution 35/206 D to implement its terms;
- (c) To urge their Governments to introduce legislation;
- (d) To urge oil-exporting countries which already embargo South Africa to take more effective action to prevent the circumvention of this embargo by companies based in various parts of the world;
- (e) To seek co-operation with the oil-exporting countries on these matters.

81. The Special Committee undertook other action regarding an oil embargo against South Africa. In its efforts to promote an effective oil embargo against South Africa, it has maintained close contact with the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Working Group Kairos. The two groups established a foundation, the Shipping Research Bureau (SHIREBU), for research on the means whereby South Africa has been able to evade the oil embargo imposed by oil-exporting countries.

82. The first report of the Shipping Research Bureau, entitled "Oil Tankers to South Africa", concerned available information on tanker movements to South Africa. Copies of the report were made available to the Chairman of the Special Committee in December 1980. He then addressed letters to Permanent Representatives of countries concerned, which had voted for General Assembly resolutions on the oil embargo against South Africa, requesting them to undertake appropriate investigations and welcoming any relevant information or advice.

83. Replies received by the Chairman were released on 11 March 1981 in a publication of the Centre against Apartheid.

84. On 20 March 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a letter to Mr. Cor Groenendijk, Chairman of Working Group Kairos and of the Shipping Research Bureau in the Netherlands, commending the efforts for an effective oil embargo against South Africa. In a press statement the Chairman said:

"We have followed with great appreciation the very effective and nation-wide campaign launched by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Workgroep Kairos in 1979 for the oil embargo. The mobilization of wide public support, which resulted in the resolutions adopted by a large majority in Parliament, were a tribute to the painstaking efforts of the two organizations dedicated to freedom in southern Africa.

"The Shipping Research Bureau, established after the International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, organized by the Holland Committee and Workgroep Kairos, in cooperation with the Special Committee, was intended to undertake essential research on violations of the oil embargo in order to facilitate governmental and non-governmental efforts for the implementation of the embargo.

"The Bureau has already, within its first year, fully justified its existence. It has documented and drawn attention to the nefarious means used by various interests to frustrate the embargoes against South Africa instituted by almost all oil-exporting countries. It has thereby helped public opinion in several Western countries to exert its influence towards essential action."

85. Within other activities, in a letter dated 21 January 1981 and addressed to the Permanent Representative of Norway, the Chairman expressed appreciation for the action taken by the Government of Norway in preventing a Norwegian tanker from delivering oil from the Norwegian continental shelf to South Africa.

86. In a letter dated 22 January 1981 and addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Chairman of the Special Committee drew attention to the fact that oil from Brunei continued to be supplied to South Africa under a contract between Shell and SASOL, the South African parastatal oil corporation. He stated that the action of the administering Power, in permitting the export of oil from a Non-Self-Governing Territory in Asia to South Africa, in contravention of United Nations resolutions, was manifestly against the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He requested, therefore, consideration of the matter by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

87. The attention of the Special Committee was drawn to a letter addressed on 23 March 1981 by prominent churchmen in France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America to five oil companies, namely Total/Compagne Française des Petroles, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, British Petroleum, Mobil, Standard Oil of California and Texaco, relating to oil supplies to southern Africa.

88. In that connexion, the Chairman of the Special Committee and the President of the Council for Namibia issued a joint statement commending the church leaders for their initiative. The presiding officers also stated:

"We call on all oil companies to cease forthwith the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa, especially in violation of embargoes enacted by oil-exporting countries, so that they will not be guilty of even greater destruction and suffering in the inevitable process of liberation of South Africa and Namibia."

2. Hearing on bank loans to South Africa

89. On 24 March 1981, the Special Committee held a hearing on bank loans to South Africa.

90. At the invitation of the Special Committee, several leaders of non-governmental organizations active in campaigns against bank loans to South Africa and individual experts participated in the hearings and made statements. They were: the Reverend Dr. M. William Howard, President, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America; the Reverend Mr. David Haslam, Secretary, End Loans to Southern Africa, London; Mr. Urs Haymoz, Declaration de Berne, Zurich; Mrs. Renate Pratt, Co-ordinator, Task Force on Churches and Corporate Responsibility, Toronto; Mr. Gottfried Wellmer, Information Center on Southern Africa, Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany; Mr. Jim Morrell, Center for International Policy, Washington; and Ms. Beate Klein.

91. The hearing reviewed and highlighted developments concerning loans and other financial assistance to South Africa. The Special Committee obtained extensive information on loans and credits granted by some Western States and their financial institutions in contravention of United Nations resolutions. It was also informed about actions taken by non-governmental organizations, especially in Western countries in campaigns against loans and credits (see A/AC.115/SR.472).

3. International Seminar on Loans to South Africa

92. The International Seminar on Loans to South Africa was organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with the World Council of Churches, the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Berne Declaration Group. It was held at the Kongresshaus, Zurich, Switzerland, from 5 to 7 April 1981.

93. This Seminar was organized in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/206 C in which the Assembly requested the Special Committee "to consult experts, to hold hearings and to organize seminars on all aspects of sanctions against South Africa".

94. Participants in the Seminar included representatives of Governments, United Nations bodies and agencies, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia as well as a number of individual experts.
95. The Seminar elected the Reverend Dr. M. William Howard, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, as Chairman and Ms. Renate Pratt, Co-ordinator, Task Force on Churches and Corporate Responsibility, Toronto, as Rapporteur. It also elected five Vice-Chairmen.
96. The discussions of the Seminar focused on the role of loans and gold trade in facilitating the perpetuation of apartheid in South Africa and on proposals for further action. It reviewed recent loans and credits to South Africa and their implications and actions taken by Governments, intergovernmental organizations, churches, trade unions, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations for the cessation of financial assistance to South Africa.
97. The participants in the Seminar noted with grave concern the increase in loans and credits to South Africa by major banks and financial institutions since the middle of 1980. They stressed that foreign loans to and Western bank involvement in South Africa supported the system of apartheid in numerous ways. Several banks and financial institutions in Belgium, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States were identified by the participants as major lenders to or substantially involved with South Africa in defiance of appeals by the United Nations.
98. The participants in the Seminar urged African, non-aligned, socialist, oil-producing and other States committed to the liberation of southern Africa, as well as Parliaments and public organizations in the countries concerned, urgently to consider appropriate and effective action to persuade those banks and financial institutions to desist from all further involvement in apartheid South Africa.
99. After extensive discussions, the Seminar adopted a Declaration with a number of proposals for action toward a cessation of all loans to South Africa (A/36/201-S/14443, annex). The Declaration included a special appeal to Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Seminar urged Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and individuals to intensify action to stop all loans, credits and other financial assistance to South Africa. In the Declaration, the Seminar declared that any financial assistance to South Africa represented collusion with apartheid, and was a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as the OAU and the United Nations. It called on all banks and financial institutions to cease all lending to the South African Government and its agencies and to South African corporations. It called upon the United Nations and all member Governments to provide assistance to the front-line and other neighbouring States in their efforts to extricate themselves from maintaining economic relations with South Africa.
100. In part the Special appeal read as follows:
- "While many other international banks are currently refusing to lend to the apartheid régime, Swiss and West German banks continue to play a major leadership role in co-ordinating a wide variety of South African financial transactions. The governments concerned have taken no action even to discourage such transactions ..."

"The Seminar makes a special appeal to Swiss and West German banks to end all future loans to South Africa, particularly to the Government and its agencies. It also appeals to the Governments of Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany to take action, in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions, to end loans to South Africa and thereby prevent their societies from becoming involved in supporting the inhuman system of apartheid."

101. The report of the Seminar was reproduced in document A/AC.115/L.548.

102. The Chairman transmitted the Declaration of the Seminar to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

4. Other activities against collaboration with South Africa

103. On 22 October 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of Seychelles, conveying the appreciation of the Special Committee to the Government of the Seychelles for its action in terminating the landing rights for South African Airways.

104. On 28 October, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of Grenada, commending the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada for its introduction of a total ban on all trade with South Africa.

105. In a letter to the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, dated 3 November 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee congratulated the Movement for its initiative in calling for action by the medical profession in Ireland in the light of the collusion of the South African Medical and Dental Council with the Security Police in their torture and killing of political detainees. He said:

"The decision of that Council in exonerating the doctors involved in the examination of Mr. Steve Biko is a shameful violation of medical ethics which cannot but arouse all members of the medical profession. The South African Medical Association has been equally callous in its consideration of the case.

"Under the circumstances, I believe it would be immoral for any medical association or member of the medical profession to entertain relations with the South African medical and dental authorities. The martyrdom of Steve Biko, the great South African patriot and hero, should be a constant reminder of the imperative need for a boycott of such apartheid institutions."

106. On the same day, the Chairman addressed a letter to the American Medical Association urging it to cancel the proposed visit of its delegation to South Africa.

107. On 5 November 1980, the Chairman sent a cable to the group entitled "People for Southern African Freedom" (Eugene, Oregon, United States of America) commending that organization for its efforts towards the divestment of investments by the Oregon Board of Higher Education from corporations doing business in South Africa.

108. In a letter to the Permanent Representative of Colombia, dated 11 November 1980 the Chairman of the Special Committee referred to reports that Colombia intended to establish air services to South Africa and expressed the hope that Colombia would refrain from such action.

109. The Chairman issued a press statement on 5 January 1981 expressing satisfaction at the decision of the Borough of Lambeth, London, to remove its account from Barclays Bank because of its involvement in South Africa. He also commended the Labour Party of the United Kingdom for drawing the attention of all labour-controlled municipal councils to the involvement of Barclays Bank in financing the apartheid régime. In a press statement (GA/AP/1161) he said:

"While certain Western Powers continue stubbornly to oppose any action to prevent the collaboration of transnational corporations and financial institutions with South Africa, it is encouraging that a large number of local authorities have been taking action in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and other countries. The Special Countries welcomes such action and will promote it in accordance with its mandate."

110. On 9 January 1981, the Chairman issued another press statement (GA/AP/1162) commending six United States organizations, the American Committee on Africa, Transafrica, Washington Office on Africa, Clergy and Laity Concerned, American Friends Service Committee and Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, for having initiated the campaign to press for further action by State legislatures and city councils to divest from banks and corporations in South Africa.

111. In a letter, dated 19 March, the Chairman commended the joint statement by the Reverend Dr. M. William Howard, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States and Dr. Leon Sullivan on opposition to bank loans to South Africa.

112. On 20 March, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a letter to the President of the United Nations Correspondents Association expressing consternation that the membership directory of the United Nations Correspondents Association carried an advertisement for the South African Airways. He said:

"The advertisement is, in fact, a misleading propaganda for the South African way of life. It speaks of smiles as broad as the beaches without mentioning, of course, that the beaches are segregated by race. It speaks of warmth as a way of life in South Africa while in fact, the society is burdened by racist oppression and conflict".

113. On 13 May 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed letters to the Director-General of the World Health Organization and to the Secretary-General of the World Medical Association conveying the appeal of the Special Committee to reject the attempts being made to readmit the Medical Association of South Africa to the World Medical Association.

F. Cultural boycott

114. The Special Committee learned with great satisfaction that the executive board of the Boston Ballet had decided on 6 March 1981 in response to representations by a number of organizations to abandon a projected two-week tour of South Africa.

115. In a press statement (GA/AP/1180) issued on 9 March, the Chairman of the Special Committee commended the many organizations and individuals, including dancers, who had expressed their opposition to the proposed tour.

G. Bantustans

116. On 26 November 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement drawing the attention of the international community to the moves of the racist régime of South Africa to grant so-called "independence" to Ciskei. He declared that the régime intended to proceed with bantustanization in order to consolidate South African white domination in most of South Africa, while relegating the African people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, to client "states" which can be no more than reservoirs for cheap labour and dumping grounds for the aged and the infirm. He appealed to all Governments and organizations to denounce the moves to declare the so-called "independence" of Ciskei. He said that there must not and cannot be any recognition, direct or indirect, of the bantustans nor any dealings with them.

117. The statement was transmitted to the General Assembly and Security Council and issued as document A/35/676-S/14280.

118. In connexion with the report that the bantustan of "Transkei" maintained four representatives abroad, the Chairman transmitted on 27 October 1980 letters to the Permanent Representatives of Austria, Switzerland, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, requesting clarification concerning the representation of Transkei in their respective countries.

119. In a reply dated 10 November, the Permanent Representative of Austria stated that the Austrian Government had not recognized the so-called independent State of Transkei and that consequently there was no representation of Transkei in Austria. In a letter dated 15 December, the Permanent Observer of Switzerland, transmitted a statement of the Federal Department of International Relations of Switzerland that Switzerland had not recognized the "independence" of Transkei and that there were no diplomatic relations between Switzerland and that territory. Consequently, Switzerland granted no diplomatic privileges or immunities or other facilities to representatives of Transkei in Switzerland. It had no contacts with representatives of Transkei. In a letter dated 5 January 1981, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom informed the Chairman that the United Kingdom did not recognize the "independent" homelands, had no dealings with them and did not accept travel documents issued by them. There was thus no question of the United Kingdom Government granting facilities to any representatives of the Transkei or indeed any of the so-called "independent" homelands. No reply was received from the United States.

120. On 27 October 1980, the Chairman addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of Israel requesting clarification concerning reports of a visit by Mr. Lucas Mangope, "President" of the so-called "independent" State of "Bophuthatswana", to Israel in that month. In a reply dated 6 November 1980, the Permanent Representative of Israel stated that Mr. Mangope had been in Israel on a private visit and that the sole purpose of his journey was to visit the holy sites of his faith.

121. On 7 January 1981, the Chairman addressed a further letter to the Permanent Representative of Israel in connexion with a reported claim by Chief Patrick Mpetha, "President" of the so-called "independent" State of "Venda", that Israel had promised to recognize "Venda" in the near future. He expressed the hope that the claim was unfounded.

122. On 12 December 1980, the Chairman addressed a letter to Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, commending his dedication to the destruction of the apartheid system and its bantustan offshoot. Chief Dalindyebo had escaped from persecution in Transkei and had issued a press statement in Lusaka on 3 December denouncing apartheid and bantustanization.

H. Campaign against repression and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa 6/

123. In a letter dated 6 October 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee commended the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee for its support in the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

124. On 17 October, the Chairman sent a letter to Mr. Ernest Pignon-Ernest, a French artist expressing the appreciation of the Special Committee for his contribution to the United Nations of a poster in connexion with the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

125. In a press statement on 12 November (GA/AP/1152) the Chairman referred to a letter from the South African Congress of Trade Unions concerning the detention under the Terrorism Act of Mr. Oscar Mpetha, prominent trade union leader, since 13 August. Mr. Mpetha, 71 years old, was suffering from diabetes. The Chairman said that the detention "exposes the hypocrisy of so-called 'reforms' in the field of labour and illustrates the inhumanity of apartheid". He appealed to government trade unions and other organizations to demand the immediate release of Oscar Mpetha.

126. The attention of the Special Committee was drawn to the following telegram, dated 4 March 1981, addressed to the Secretary-General, by Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC:

"On 30 January 1981, during the barbaric attack on ANC residences in Maputo, the racist South African troops captured three ANC members, Selby Mavuso (26), David Thobela (26) and Thibe Ntsekang (25). Unconfirmed reports say the South African Government is preparing to charge them under security laws.

"On 19 February 1981, South African police abducted another ANC member, Daya Joe Pillay, from Swaziland where he was granted political asylum and worked as a teacher at St. Joseph's High School.

"ANC appeals to the United Nations to take urgent action to secure their release and hand over to the Governments of Mozambique and Swaziland."

6/ See also paras. 210-216.

127. In a press statement issued on 10 March (GA/AP/1181), the Chairman of the Special Committee denounced this new act of international banditry by the Pretoria régime which has a long record of kidnapping opponents of apartheid from neighbouring countries, in flagrant violation of international law and in defiance of United Nations resolutions. He urged Governments to exert their influence to persuade it to release the four persons forthwith and return them to the Governments of Mozambique and Swaziland. The Chairman added that in the event of South Africa's failure to abide by international law, the Security Council should consider the matter urgently with a view to securing the release of the four persons and averting further acts of kidnapping by the apartheid régime.

I. Women and children under apartheid

128. The Special Committee and its Task Force on Women and Children under apartheid devoted special attention to the plight of women and children under apartheid in the light of General Assembly resolution 35/206 N.

129. On 25 September 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message to Mrs. Yvette Roudy, a member of the European Parliament, commending her for the initiative in organizing an exhibit on women and apartheid.

130. On 19 December 1980, the Chairman addressed a letter to the Secretary-General concerning the detention and imprisonment of children under the obnoxious "security laws" in South Africa, and transmitted a paper on the subject prepared by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. He noted that contrary to the denials of the racist régime, detention and imprisonment of children had continued, and that it was one aspect of the crimes against children in South Africa which the General Assembly, in resolution 35/206 N, had requested the Commission on Human Rights to investigate. He requested the Secretary-General to take all appropriate action to secure the release of the children, and to convey the information to the Commission on Human Rights and its Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa for their urgent attention.

131. The Task Force held extensive consultations with the liberation movements and with the Non-Governmental Organizations' Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization on means to publicize the plight of women and children under apartheid, on their role in the struggle for liberation and to promote assistance to them. On its recommendation, the Special Committee decided to observe 9 August 1981 the 25th anniversary of the powerful demonstration of women against the pass laws as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia.

132. On 22 May 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement in support of the righteous struggle of South African women against oppression and apartheid. The Chairman said:

"The women of South Africa and Namibia have not only been the worst sufferers under apartheid, but have always played an important role in the liberation struggle, as well as in the trade union and other movements for their inalienable rights. They continue to play a significant role at the present stage when the struggle for liberation is stepped up in the face of increasing savagery of the apartheid régime. Many women have been imprisoned,

restricted and forced into exile for their participation in the struggle. The women of South Africa have also courageously supported their children in their momentous struggle for equality in education and against the humiliation of apartheid, especially since the gruesome massacre of African schoolchildren in Soweto on 16 June 1976. They deserve the solidarity and support of the international community."

133. On 26 March 1981, a special DPI/NGO meeting was organized in co-operation with the Centre against Apartheid in observance of the week of solidarity with Peoples Struggling Against Racism and Racial Discrimination focused on South African women and children under apartheid. The Chairman of the Special Committee was the main speaker. Also participating in the meeting were Mankenkulu Mahlangu, former Secretary of the Soweto Committee of Ten; Ntathu Mbotha, Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC); Victoria Mehlomakulu, of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC); and Joan Draper, Interpress News Service.

134. In his statement, the Chairman said:

"This meeting takes place amid the escalation of terroristic and unprovoked attacks launched by the racist régime of South Africa against the independent sovereign States of Angola, Botswana and Mozambique. These attacks indicate a most disturbing trend that can only aggravate the current situation in southern Africa. They, indeed, constitute a threat to international peace and security.

"The open support declared by the present United States administration for the racist South African régime cannot serve the cause of peace and stability in Africa. This fact has been clearly recognized by African States. In a statement released on 24 March, the African Group declared its vehement opposition to this support of South Africa by the United States administration since it 'can only encourage State terrorism practised by South Africa, racist oppression and repression of the black people in South Africa, perpetuate the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, and generally harm United States-African relations. For all this, the American Government will be held solely responsible'.

"The apartheid policies have diminished women's economic productivity, and with it, their political and social role. Women fight for survival in the bantustans, eking out existence from what little land is available. Diseases associated with malnutrition are widespread and death from starvation, particularly among children, is common in the reserves.

"But this oppression has not been accepted passively. With the increasing momentum of the struggle for national liberation, women have come to the front-ranks in the battlefields of South Africa. The history of South Africa is full with the examples given by women like Lilian Ngoyi, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, and many others. Their organized actions in the communities, trade union, schools, against forced removals have shown the determination of African women to fight for liberation."

135. The Special Committee was represented at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa of the Human Rights Commission and the meeting on Women and National Independence, organized by the Women's International

Democratic Federation, which discussed, inter alia, questions relating to women and children under apartheid. It acquainted the participants with the situation of the oppressed women in southern Africa and their heroic resistance against the inhuman system.

J. Apartheid in sports

136. The Special Committee has continued actively to follow developments concerning apartheid in sports and to take action to discourage sports exchanges with South Africa.

137. On 26 November 1980, the Chairman issued a press statement (GA/AP/1154) on recent developments concerning sports exchanges with South Africa. He commended all those Governments, sports bodies and sportsmen who had taken action against South Africa's apartheid sport in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. On the other hand he expressed grave concern over the collusion of others with apartheid sports. He said:

"In October-November alone, the French Rugby Federation team toured South Africa. The South African Springbok rugby team toured Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile. A South African golf team was allowed to participate in the Eisenhower Trophy tournament in the United States. The World Amateur Golf Council was reported to have switched the 1982 tournament from Sweden to Switzerland because of the refusal of the Swedish Government to grant visas to South Africans. The Weaver-Coetzee boxing match was staged in the bantustan of Bophuthatswana despite widespread protests.

"The New Zealand Rugby Federation decided, despite the declared opposition of the Government, to invite a South African rugby team to tour New Zealand in 1981.

"Several sports bodies in Western countries are actively campaigning for readmission of South Africa into international sport on the grounds of alleged changes in South Africa.

"The facts are, however, that the South African claims of elimination of racism in sport, repeated periodically for over a decade and faithfully echoed by some Western sports administrators, have always proved a fraud. Only a few weeks ago, a commission set up by the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa at the request of the régime reported that several laws must be repealed in order to eliminate racial discrimination. It added that 'it would be artificial to exclude only sport from the discriminatory effect of one of these laws, the Separate Amenities Act'.

"In an attempt to hide the true state of affairs from being known in the world, the régime has denied passports to leaders of non-racial sport, Hassan Howa, M.N. Pather and Morgan Naidoo. It recently refused a visa to Paul Stephenson, member of the British Sports Council, to visit South Africa as guest of the non-racial South African Council on Sport."

1. Register of sports contacts with South Africa

138. On 15 May 1981, the Special Committee published the first register of sports contacts of organizations, individuals, promoters and administrators in Western and other States with South Africa.

139. It contained an introduction on the significance of the campaign against apartheid sports, the reasons for the establishment of the register, and an appeal for action. The register itself contained a list of sports exchanges with South Africa arranged by the code of sport, a list of sportsmen and sportswomen who had participated in sports events in South Africa, arranged by country, a list of promoters and administrators who have been active in collaboration with apartheid sport.

140. The Special Committee indicated that the register would be kept up-to-date and published from time to time.

141. The publication was transmitted to the Organization of African Unity and was made available at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

2. Irish rugby tour of South Africa

142. On 3 November 1980, the Chairman addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of Ireland expressing the hope that the Government of Ireland would take all appropriate action to prevent a tour of South Africa by the Irish Rugby Football Union. Subsequently, on 4 December 1980, he issued a press statement (GA/AP/1157) in which he said:

"I have learnt with dismay that the Irish Rugby Football Union has decided on a combined Ireland and Northern Ireland Rugby Union tour of South Africa in 1981.

"This tour has been opposed by the Government of Ireland which, I may recall, had prevented a tour of Ireland by the South African Quagga Barbarian rugby team in 1979 in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. It has also been opposed by many prominent Irish organizations, sportsmen and other personalities.

"I hope that the Governments and peoples of Ireland and the other countries concerned will take all necessary action to terminate sports exchanges with South Africa and thereby avert the need for international action to prevent such exchanges."

143. On 31 January 1981, the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa (see paras. 76-80 above) adopted the following statement on the proposed tour of the Irish Rugby Football Union to South Africa:

"The Conference, representing Members of the West European Parliaments, the front-line States, liberation organizations within South Africa and Namibia, and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, formally calls upon the Irish Rugby Football Union not to proceed with its proposed tour this year to South Africa because such a tour would only serve to give

moral and political support to the apartheid régime and delay further the ultimate collapse of this socially evil and morally wrong social system."

144. The Irish Rugby Tour to South Africa took place in May 1981 despite the repeated appeals of the Special Committee, the Irish public and other opponents of the Tour.

3. South African Springbok rugby team's tour of New Zealand

145. The Special Committee has been anxiously following the developments on sports contacts between New Zealand and South Africa before and after the decision of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union on 12 September 1980 to invite the South African Springbok rugby team to tour New Zealand in 1981. The Union made the decision despite the declared opposition of the Government.

146. On 4 December, the Chairman issued a press statement (GA/AP/1156) on the matter. On behalf of the Special Committee, he commended all New Zealanders who had already demonstrated their opposition to the Springbok tour and assured them of its co-operation in their further efforts to enable public opinion to appreciate the situation and prevent the tour. He expressed his confidence that the people of New Zealand would stand firmly by their own tradition of equality in sport. He appealed to them, in this crucial period, to show their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, with the non-racial sports bodies in South Africa which were upholding the Olympic principle in the face of persecution, and with the millions of children who were denied equal opportunity. Collaboration with racism in South Africa, he stated, will not comfort the incorrigible racists of South Africa but will also tend to corrupt the moral values in the country which seeks collaboration.

147. On 11 March 1981, the Chairman addressed letters to Mr. Keane and Mr. Robertson, New Zealand rugby players, expressing appreciation for their decision not to play against the South African Springbok rugby team. He commended them for their demonstration of attachment to the principle of fair play in sport and their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

148. The Special Committee continued repeatedly to appeal for action to stop the Springbok tour. In spite of the world-wide protests by Governments, organizations and men and women of conscience, the tour took place in July 1981.

149. In this connexion, the Chairman issued a statement on 14 September 1981 applauding the courageous action taken by the tens of thousands of people in New Zealand in demonstrating against the tour. He expressed disappointment at the attitude of the Government of New Zealand which, while expressing opposition to the tour, not only failed in taking action within its power to stop the tour, but constantly attacked the anti-apartheid movement and, instead, provided police protection to the apartheid team.

150. The Special Committee learned that the Springbok rugby team would also visit the United States upon completion of the tour in New Zealand. The Chairman expressed serious disappointment over the fact that the United States Government had taken no action to prevent the tour of this apartheid team. The Special Committee, however, noted with satisfaction that the widespread public opposition

to the tour in the United States and repeated appeals made by the Chairman of the Special Committee to the authorities of cities concerned where the rugby games were scheduled had so far resulted in cancellation of games in New York City and Rochester.

4. Other activities to end collaboration with apartheid sports

151. On 8 April 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a message to the Conference of European Ministers of Sport. In a press statement (GA/AP/1202) he stated:

"The Special Committee is gravely concerned that some sports bodies, administrators and promoters have been enticed by South African propoganda and by offers of enormous financial rewards to organize sports exchanges with South Africa. They have done so in defiance of the Olympic principle and United Nations resolutions and often in defiance of advice of their own Governments. The Special Committee, therefore, considers that Governments and intergovernmental organizations must reinforce their decisions concerning apartheid in sports. Those who collaborate with apartheid sports bodies in South Africa should be warned that they risk denial of benefits of sports activities in countries which are committed against apartheid.

"On behalf of the Special Committee, I would express hope that the Conference of European Ministers of Sport will consider the matter and take appropriate decisions."

152. On 14 April 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a message to the Fourth Biennial Meeting of the non-racial South African Council on Sport (SACOS), which was held at Durban, South Africa, on 8 and 9 May 1981. In a press statement (GA/AP/1204) the Chairman stated, inter alia:

"We have admired the continued efforts by SACOS to uphold the principle of non-racialism in sport without any compromise on the Olympic principle and its publication of truthful and objective information on the situation in South African sport. We are aware that leaders of SACOS have been subjected to intimidation and persecution for this noble activity. We denounce in particular the seizure of the passport of the Secretary of SACOS last June on the eve of his departure for consultations at the United Nations.

"The Special Committee has pointed out that when schoolchildren are killed and maimed for demanding non-discrimination in education, no honest person can claim non-discrimination in sport. The inclusion of a few blacks in national teams is utterly irrelevant. Repression against non-racial sports bodies is also clear evidence of the effort by the régime to hide the truth ...

"I wish to assure you and through you the non-racial sportsmen of South Africa that the Special Committee will not relent until apartheid is totally abolished in sport, education and other fields of human endeavour."

153. The Chairman of the Special Committee sent a number of other communications to various sports organizations urging them to end sports exchanges with South Africa. He also sent communications commending those Governments, organizations,

sportsmen and sportswomen who took action for a cessation of all sports exchanges with the apartheid régime.

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

154. The Special Committee repeatedly appealed for increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and to the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU.

155. The Special Committee maintained contact with other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with assistance to victims of apartheid.

156. On 15 April 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message (press release GA/AP/1208) to Sam Nujoma, resident of SWAPO in connexion with the twenty-first anniversary of the establishment of SWAPO (19 April). The Chairman said:

"On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I extend greetings to the South West Africa People's Organization on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of its establishment.

"The establishment of SWAPO in 1960 marked a new stage in the long struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence. It organized and united the people of Namibia in a powerful movement for liberation.

"It demonstrated great heroism when it was obliged to embark on an armed struggle. At the same time, it has pursued all avenues for a peaceful settlement, showing great restraint and diplomatic skill. It has thereby earned recognition and esteem in the international community.

"The Special Committee against Apartheid has followed the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, against the racist régime of South Africa, and has constantly called for universal support in that struggle. At this critical stage in southern Africa, when the Pretoria régime is resorting to escalating brutality and despicable manoeuvre, with the support of its friends, to prevent genuine independence for the Territory of Namibia, the Special Committee against Apartheid pledges its full solidarity with the Namibian people and its sole and authentic representative, SWAPO."

157. On 29 June 1981, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee sent a cable to the African National Congress of South Africa, conveying greetings on the occasion of South Africa Freedom Day. He stated, inter alia, that the Special Committee had noted with satisfaction the great advance of the liberation struggle in South Africa on all fronts. In this crucial stage of the struggle when the apartheid régime was escalating brutal repression, it was the duty of the international community to take firm action to isolate that criminal régime to prevent all manoeuvres by the collaborators with the apartheid régime to disrupt international action and to provide all necessary assistance to the liberation movement.

L. Meeting of the Special Committee on legal aspects of the struggle against apartheid

158. On 27 March 1981, the Special Committee held a hearing on legal aspects of the struggle against apartheid. For the hearing, the Special Committee invited representatives of several organizations and individuals.
159. At the invitation of the Chairman, statements were made by Mr. Sean McBride, winner of the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes; Mr. Niall McDermot, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists; Mr. Kder Asmal, senior lecturer in law, Trinity College, Dublin; Mr. Albie Sachs, professor of law at the University of Mozambique; Mr. Thomas M. Franck, Director of Research, UNITAR; Ms. Deborah A. Jackson, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Ms. Gay McDougall, Director of the Southern Africa Programme of Lawyers, Committee for Civil Rights under Law, Mr. Millard Arnold, former Director of that Programme and Mrs. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Régime in Southern Africa.
160. The participants in the hearing reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement by all available means, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people, the elimination of the apartheid régime and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South Africa. They stressed the need for the international community to provide all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement in their legitimate struggle. They also underlined that the responsibility for the crime of apartheid was not confined to the apartheid régime in South Africa, but extended to its accomplices which artificially kept alive that criminal régime. Charges of collaboration, complicity and participation in the apartheid crime were based upon objective facts of the economic and military collaboration with the apartheid régime, or the fact that Western States did not hinder organizations and corporations under their jurisdiction from collaboration with the apartheid régime or institutions of South Africa.
161. The participants pointed out that South Africa had increased its internal repression, its attacks on the national liberation movements of southern Africa, and its aggression against front-line States. They stated that South Africa was guilty of aggression under Article 39 of the United Nations Charter. Consequently, they demanded that the Security Council urgently adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.
162. The participants affirmed that the international community must ensure that the Pretoria régime respect the status of freedom fighters of South Africa and Namibia under the relevant Geneva Conventions. Progressive legal organizations must devise and implement techniques to use international and national laws to challenge those States and others which contravened international law. The Secretary-General should demand that the South African Government provide access by the international community to the various political trials taking place.
163. They stated that true self-determination presupposed the release of Nelson Mandela and others held in prison as well as the return to South Africa of Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa, and all others working in exile for a new society, so as to enable them to take part in a national

convention as the true leaders of the voteless people. It also implied far-reaching political changes of a kind that would give the majority of the people a direct and decisive say in the governing of the land.

M. Encouragement of public action against apartheid

1. International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in International Mobilization against Apartheid

164. The International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against Apartheid was organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic. It was held at the International Press Center, Berlin, German Democratic Republic, from 31 August to 2 September 1981.

165. The Special Committee had decided to organize the Seminar in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/206 G. It was intended to review and highlight the role of mass media in the campaign against apartheid and to discuss effective measures to promote the international campaigns against apartheid.

166. The agenda of the Seminar included discussion of the need for greater publicity for the campaign against apartheid and the role of the mass media, particularly as regards the promotion and implementation of sanctions against apartheid South Africa; an analysis of reporting by the mass media and a review of activities by the United Nations and its agencies, Governments and other inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations and proposals for further action.

167. Participants in the Seminar included representatives of Governments, United Nations bodies and agencies, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, as well as individual experts.

168. The Seminar elected Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana), leader of the delegation of the Special Committee, as its Chairman; as Vice-Chairmen were elected Mr. Kurt Kruger, Secretary-General, Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic; Mr. Carlos Zamora (Cuba), representative of the non-aligned movement; Mrs. Mirjam Vire-Tuominen, Secretary-General, Women's International Democratic Federation; Mr. Robert Hughes, M.P., Chairman, British Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr. David Lampel, radio broadcaster, New York; Mrs. Josie Fanon, journalist, Paris; Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya, representative of SWAPO. The Rapporteur of the Seminar was Mr. Vasant V. Nevrekar (India), member of the delegation of the Special Committee.

169. On the proposal of the Chairman, the Seminar unanimously adopted at the opening meeting a declaration on the aggression against Angola by the South African racist régime. At the same meeting, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Bernhard Neugebauer, and the Chairman of the Seminar, Mr. Gbeho, addressed the Seminar. The opening session also heard statements by Mr. Stefan Kalina, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples; Mr. Johnstone M. Makatini, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa at the United Nations; Mr. Ahmed G. Ebrahim, Director of Publicity of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; and Mr. V. V. Nevrekar, Rapporteur of the Committee on Information. The representative of SWAPO addressed the session at its 3rd meeting.

170. On 1 September, non-aligned organizations, the Chairman and several other participants made reference to the important role of the non-aligned movement in the struggle against apartheid and for the liberation of southern Africa.

171. On the same day, the Seminar also adopted an appeal "to journalists of all media, to all film-makers, to all national, regional and international associations, organizations and institutions of journalists, writers, mass communicators, and to all organizations within the United Nations system to do their utmost to mobilize world public opinion against apartheid and expose and condemn on a global scale the racist régime in South Africa and its external allies and accomplices" (A/36/496-S/14686, annex III).

172. On 2 September, the Minister of Labour and Social Security of Angola, Mr. Horacio Pereira Braz da Silva, addressed the Seminar.

173. At the concluding meeting, on 2 September, the Seminar unanimously adopted the declaration and recommendations of the Seminar. On the recommendation of the Chairman, it decided that the declaration would be entitled "Berlin Declaration" (A/36/496-S/14686, annex I).

174. The documents and the report of the Seminar are published in document A/AC.115/L.555.

2. Youth and student activities against apartheid

175. The Chairman and the Working Group of the Special Committee held consultations from 25 to 27 March with a delegation of youth and student organizations composed of Mr. Jan Lonn, President of the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, and Mr. Joseph Jimmy, Secretary of the Pan African Youth Movement.

176. The delegation reported on the activities they had undertaken since the consultations held by the Special Committee with them at Sigtuna, Sweden, in May 1980. They referred in particular to their intention to organize an international youth and student conference to intensify support for the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and the front-line States during this crucial period. The conference was scheduled to be held from 13 to 15 November 1981 at Luanda, Angola.

177. The Working Group of the Special Committee reiterated the great importance it attached to action by the broadest spectrum of youth and student organizations in support of the struggle for liberation of South Africa and Namibia. It commended the organizations for their activities and their close co operation with the Special Committee.

178. The two sides fully appreciated that efforts for wider mobilization of youth and students in support of national liberation movements and front-line States were essential at this time. The brutal killings of students and youth in South Africa and Namibia, and the incessant acts of aggression against front-line States, including the killing of refugee women and children, as well as the moves in some Western countries to shield the South African régime from sanctions, made that mobilization imperative.

179. The Working Group, therefore, welcomed the initiative of youth and student organizations to convene an international conference for that purpose.

180. During the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Vice-Chairmen and Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa as well as other members of the Special Committee held consultations with representatives of student and youth organizations.

181. On 22 May 1981, they also participated in a preparatory meeting for the Youth and Students Conference in Solidarity with the Struggling People, Youth and Students of Southern Africa. The Chairman of the Special Committee also consulted with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola with regard to the Conference.

182. At its 478th meeting, on 23 June 1981, the Special Committee decided to support the Conference financially and to lend other appropriate assistance to ensure the success of the Conference.

183. The Special Committee learned with great satisfaction that a number of student groups in the United States had taken the initiative to organize a student anti-apartheid strategy conference, to be held in New York on 10 and 11 October 1981.

184. In a letter to the organizer, dated 11 May 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee commended this initiative. He stated:

"We share your view that an intensification, development and greater co-ordination of the student campaigns in the United States is essential and most timely at this time. The recent efforts by powerful interests in the United States to develop closer relations with the racist régime of South Africa in the political, economic, military and other fields represent a most alarming and dangerous phenomenon.

"It is our hope that the youth of the United States will demonstrate their full solidarity with the school children who are sacrificing their precious lives for freedom and equality, and call for an end to any collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa, as well as support to the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia. We earnestly hope that the power and influence of the United States will be exerted in favour of freedom and against racist tyranny."

3. Other activities concerning the international campaign against apartheid

185. On 9 October 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee received the delegation of the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia (Paris, 11-13 September 1980) for consultations on further international action for the liberation of Namibia. He assured the delegation that the Special Committee would continue to take all appropriate action, in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee of 24.

186. On 20 November 1980, the Chairman received Mr. Romesh Chandra and other members of the delegation of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, held at Sofia in September, who presented him the declaration of the conference. He consulted with the delegation on means to promote the international mobilization against apartheid.

187. On 26 November, the Chairman received Mr. Kurt Seibt, President of the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic. The Chairman expressed great appreciation to the Solidarity Committee for its co-operation with the Special Committee and contribution to the struggle for liberation of South Africa. Consultations were held on the situation in South Africa and on the programme of action for 1981. The President of the Solidarity Committee commended the Special Committee for its work and invited the Chairman to visit the German Democratic Republic.

188. On 4 December, the Chairman sent a message to Transafrica, Washington, and the International Freedom Mobilization, New York, commending their initiative in undertaking a national public education campaign for the isolation of the racist régime of South Africa. He expressed satisfaction that a number of black churches had agreed to display signs as part of the campaign. He said:

"I believe the black people and the black churches in the United States of America can make a crucial contribution at this stage of the struggle in South Africa and Namibia. The United States is not only a super-Power which exerts great influence in international affairs, but one of the main trading partners of South Africa which has resisted effective sanctions against the racist régime in Pretoria. The education of public opinion in the United States for an alignment of United States policy towards South Africa with that of the great majority of the nations of the world will guarantee the speedy triumph of the righteous struggle in South Africa."

189. The Chairman sent a message of congratulations to Bishop Ambrose Reeves, President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, on the occasion of the presentation to him on 16 December of the African National Congress award - isitwalande. The Committee later learned with sorrow that Bishop Reeves had died on 23 December. The Chairman sent a message of condolence to his wife, Mrs. Margaret Reeves.

190. On 17 April 1981, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message to the Meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in Havana (press release GA/AP/1210).

191. The Acting Chairman stated, inter alia:

"The Special Committee has noted with particular satisfaction the active solidarity of the World Peace Council with the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa against racism and apartheid. I would like to commend its excellent contribution to the efforts of the international community for the complete elimination of apartheid in South Africa. The Special Committee has followed with great appreciation the very effective and world-wide campaign of the World Peace Council against the racist régime and in support of the liberation movements in southern Africa.

"The Special Committee has no doubt that the World Peace Council will continue to extend its assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, to raise world consciousness against the criminal and aggressive nature of apartheid and to mobilize world public opinion for the strongest possible international isolation and condemnation of the apartheid régime."

192. On 15 April, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a cable to Archbishop Trevor Huddleston congratulating him on his election as President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. The Chairman expressed his satisfaction that a personality with such an outstanding contribution to the struggle against apartheid and racism has accepted the leadership of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement at this crucial stage in the process for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

193. On 13 May, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed letters to the President of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and the President of the Yemeni Council for Peace and Solidarity expressing the deep appreciation of the Special Committee for the efforts of these organizations to ensure the success of the 13th Council Session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, which was held in Aden from 20 to 26 March 1981.

194. In his letter, the Chairman stated that he highly valued the endeavours made by AAPSO in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate racism and apartheid. He said, inter alia:

"The region of southern Africa has witnessed the intransigent behaviour of the apartheid régime which requires an active response by the progressive forces everywhere. Your organization, which has assumed a leading role within the non-governmental organizations, will mobilize world public opinion towards that end."

195. On 26 June, the Acting Chairman addressed a cable to the Bermuda Workers' Socialist Party commending it for its campaign against bank loans to South Africa.

4. Conferences, seminars and other events co-sponsored by the Special Committee

196. During the period under review, the Special Committee co-sponsored a number of conferences, seminars and other events with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations in order to promote effective international action against apartheid.

197. It co-sponsored the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa held in Brussels on 30 and 31 January 1981 (see paras. 76-80).

198. It also co-sponsored the International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa held in London from 1 to 3 April 1981 (see paras. 42-53 above), and the International Seminar on Loans to South Africa held in Zurich from 5 to 7 April 1981 (see paras. 92-102 above).

199. The Special Committee co-sponsored the Seminar on effective measures to prevent transnational corporations and other established interests from collaborating with South Africa, organized by the Commission on Human Rights, which was held in Geneva, Switzerland from 29 June to 3 July 1981.

200. The Special Committee organized, in co-operation with the Government and Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, the International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of Mass Media in the International Mobilization against Apartheid, which was held in Berlin, German Democratic Republic from 31 August to 2 September 1981 (see paras. 164-174 above).

N. Special meeting for consultations with Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, and Mr. Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary of the South West Africa People's Organization

201. On 11 June 1981, the Special Committee held a special meeting for consultations with Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, and Mr. Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary of SWAPO.

202. After a welcoming statement, the Chairman invited Mr. Oliver Tambo and Mr. Moses Garoeb to make statements.

203. The Special Committee decided that the proceedings of the special meeting should be published for wide circulation.

O. Special meeting for consultations with the Right Reverend Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches

204. On 24 March 1981, the Special Committee held a special meeting for consultations with Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches. The Chairman made a statement to welcome Bishop Tutu. At the invitation of the Chairman, Bishop Tutu made a statement. The Special Committee took steps to ensure widest publicity for the proceedings of the meeting. On 27 March, the Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime, P. W. Botha, announced that the passport of Bishop Tutu would be seized on his return to South Africa. In a statement, the Chairman of the Special Committee denounced the persecution of Bishop Tutu (press release GA/AP/1198).

205. In another statement, on 10 April 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee appealed for wide support for Bishop Desmond Tutu (press release GA/AP/1203).

206. On 16 April, the international community learned with great regret that the passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu had been seized by the racist régime upon his return to South Africa. In a statement issued on 17 April 1981 (press release GA/AP/1209) the Acting Chairman stated that the confiscation of Bishop Tutu's passport was hardly surprising in the light of the rapid aggravation of the situation in South Africa. He said:

"The international community must not only denounce the seizure of the passport of Bishop Tutu, but must respond urgently to the appeal for international action to eliminate apartheid and enable the South African people to establish a democratic society. It must denounce and frustrate the current efforts by the friends of the racist régime to develop new links with it. It must institute total sanctions against South Africa and increase assistance to the oppressed people and their national liberation movements.

"On behalf of the Special Committee, therefore, I appeal to all Governments, organizations and individuals to condemn repression in South Africa and join in concerted international action in support of the struggle for liberation in South Africa."

P. Dissemination of information against apartheid

207. During the period under review, the Special Committee continued to encourage and promote dissemination of information against apartheid by the Centre against Apartheid and the Department of Public Information, as well as a number of non-governmental organizations, through publications in several languages, leaflets, posters, exhibits, radio programmes for broadcast to South Africa, television spots and films.

208. The Special Committee has continued during the year to promote voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid, established in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3151 C (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973. The following contributions and pledges have been received during the period from 1 July 1980 to 30 June 1981:

	<u>Pledges</u>	<u>Contributions</u>
	(in United States dollars)	
Austria	-	4 500
Bahamas	-	500
Barbados	-	500
Brazil	20 000	20 000
Cyprus	-	291
Finland	-	23 107
Ghana	-	870
Greece	2 000	-
Haiti	700	-
India	-	500
Ireland	1 754	2 085
Japan	-	10 000
Kuwait	-	5 000
Mexico	1 000	-
Nigeria	-	10 000
Philippines	1 000	-
Suriname	-	1 000
Syrian Arab Republic	-	1 000
Trinidad and Tobago	1 000	-
Tunisia	5 000	-
Turkey	1 000	1 000
Venezuela	-	1 000
Total	<u>33 454</u>	<u>81 353</u>

209. The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) has contributed to the production of a set of pamphlets on economic sanctions against South Africa in co-operation with the International University Exchange Fund and made them available to the Centre against Apartheid. Several non-governmental organizations, in particular the World Peace Council and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa have extended similar co-operation with the Centre against Apartheid.

Q. Observance of international days

1. Observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October 1980)

210. On 9 September 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued an appeal for the observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (press release GA/AP/1137).

211. On 10 October, the Special Committee held two meetings in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. Statements were made at the meeting by the President of the General Assembly; the Secretary-General of the United Nations; the President of the Security Council; the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24; the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia; the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa; and the Chairmen of the regional groups at the United Nations. Statements were also made by the representative of Sierra Leone as representative of the current chairman of the Organization of African Unity; by the representative of Cuba on behalf of the current chairman of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries; by the representative of Pakistan on behalf of the Organization of the Islamic Conference; by the representative of Luxembourg on behalf of the European Communities and Greece; and by the representative of Norway on behalf of the Nordic countries. The representatives of Austria, Guinea, India, Japan, Nepal, Panama and Yugoslavia also made statements.

212. At the invitation of the Chairman, the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Palestine Liberation Organization and SWAPO made statements.

213. At the invitation of the Chairman, statements were made by the special guests invited by the Special Committee: Mr. Percy Qoboza, Editor of the Sunday Post, Johannesburg; Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, Member of Parliament of the Netherlands, and Mr. Thozamile Botha, leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization. Representatives of the following non-governmental organizations also made statements: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa; Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches; British Anti-Apartheid Movement; International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; Amnesty International; and World Peace Council.

214. The Special Committee received messages from the President of Guinea; the President of Guyana; the Minister of External Affairs of India, the President of Nigeria; the President of Pakistan; and the Director-General of UNESCO. It also received messages from several non-governmental organizations and solidarity committees.

215. A meeting on the Day of Solidarity was also organized at UNESCO House, Paris, by French non-governmental organizations - the Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples, the Association française d'amitié et de solidarité avec les peuples d'Afrique, the Mouvement anti-apartheid - in co-operation with UNESCO, the Special Committee, the Centre against Apartheid and the United Nations Information Centre in Paris. The Chairman sent a message to that meeting.

216. On 9 October, the Chairman sent a cable to the National Union of South African Students expressing great satisfaction that it was observing the Day of Solidarity.

2. Observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1981)

217. On 17 February 1981, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued appeals for the widest observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Week of Solidarity with the Struggle against Racism (press releases GA/AP/1172 and 1173).

218. On 20 March 1981, the Special Committee held a solemn meeting to observe the International Day. At the invitation of the Chairman, the Secretary-General made a statement. The representative of Nepal read a message from the President of the General Assembly. The President of the Security Council for the month of March (German Democratic Republic) also made a statement.

219. At the invitation of the Chairman, statements were made by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on Decolonization, the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the representative of Cuba on behalf of the Chairman of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and the representative of Sierra Leone on behalf of the current Chairman of OAU. The representatives of the regional groups as well as the representative of Mauritania on behalf of the Arab Group and the League of Arab States also made statements (A/AC.115/PV.470).

220. At the invitation of the Chairman, statements were also made by the observers of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and SWAPO.

221. The Chairman expressed the appreciation of the Special Committee for the contributions of the following Member States to the United Nations funds for southern Africa: Australia, Austria, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United States of America and Venezuela. In addition, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had made contributions to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

222. The Special Committee received messages on the occasion from the heads of State or Government of Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Brazil, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, the Dominican Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Kuwait, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

223. In addition to the messages from heads of State or Government, the Special Committee received messages from the Governments of Austria, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Hungary, India, Japan, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, the Libyan Arab Jamahariya, Malaysia, Mongolia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, the

Philippines, the Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey and Venezuela as well as messages from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on behalf of the Soviet public, the German Democratic Republic Committee for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic and the Polish Solidarity Committee with the Peoples of Asia and Africa, on the occasion of the International Day. The texts of all messages are published as a document of the Special Committee (A/AC.115/L.546).

3. Observance of Africa Liberation Day (25 May 1981)

224. During the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the Special Committee and all participants in the Conference held a solemn meeting on 25 May in observance of the Africa Liberation Day.

4. Observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day) (16 June 1981)

225. On 16 June 1981, the Special Committee held a meeting in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. The observance of the Day marked the fifth anniversary of the massacre on 16 June 1976 by the Government of South Africa of young schoolchildren in Soweto.

226. The Acting Chairman read a message received from the President of the General Assembly. The Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions read a message from the Secretary-General.

227. The Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Acting President of the Council for Namibia made statements.

228. The representative of Cuba read a message from the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned States. The representatives of Bangladesh, Pakistan and Zambia read messages from their heads of State. The Special Committee also received messages from the Committee for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

229. The representative of Zaire, on behalf of the Group of African States, the representative of Japan, on behalf of the Group of Asian States, the representative of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, and the representative of Guatemala, on behalf of the Group of Latin American States made statements.

230. At the invitation of the Chairman, the observers of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania made statements.

231. In his concluding statement (see A/AC.115/PV.477) the Acting Chairman said,

"The escalation of South Africa's aggression against independent African States, the continuation of its policies of oppression and suppression against the people of South Africa and its national liberation movement and its illegal occupation of Namibia necessitated the adoption of firm measures against the apartheid régime. However, that régime, relying on the collaboration of certain Western States and Israel has insisted on its reckless policies in spite of world-wide condemnation of these policies. The Security Council witnessed that the three Western Permanent Members precluded the Council from adopting effective measures to bring about a solution to the outlawed behaviour of the apartheid régime."

"Our organization is faced with an important task to resolving the explosive situation in southern Africa. The only peaceful means to deal with the situation is through the isolation of the racist régime of South Africa in the political, diplomatic, military, nuclear economic, cultural, and sports fields. The imposition of total sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is the only remaining peaceful means to find a solution to this situation which is endangering international peace and security."

5. Observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1981)

232. On 11 August 1981, the Special Committee held a solemn meeting in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia, which marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic demonstration of South African women against the pass laws in Pretoria on 9 August 1956.

233. Statements were made by the representative of Guyana, on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia; Mrs. Coretta Scott King; Madame Jeanne Martin Cisse, Minister for Social Affairs of Guinea; Dr. Hortensia Busi de Allende; Mrs. Krishna Sahi, Member of the Indian Parliament; Madame Anne-Marie Lizin, Member of the European Parliament; Mrs. Lajosnee Duscheck, President of the National Council of Hungarian Women; and Mrs. Constance Le Duc, Chairperson of the International Affairs Department of the Ligue des Femmes du Québec; Mrs. Sol Nahon, on behalf of Mrs. Leticia R. Shahani, Assistant-Secretary-General of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs; Mrs. Gertrude Shope, representative of the African National Congress; Mrs. Maphiri Masekela, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and Mrs. Ellen Musialela, representative of SWAPO.

234. The Special Committee received messages from the Prime Minister of India, the Foreign Minister of Cuba, the Director-General of ILO and the Director-General of UNESCO, as well as from the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Socialist International Women, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the World Peace Council.

235. Messages were also received from the following national non-governmental organizations: the Association of Nicaraguan Women, the Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of the World, the Democratic Women's Federation of Germany (German Democratic Republic), the Ottawa Citizens Concerned about Southern Africa and the Soviet Women's Committee.

236. The special messages are published as a document of the Special Committee (A/AC.115/L.550).

237. The Special Committee also received signatures from hundreds of organizations and individuals to a message of greetings to women of South Africa and Namibia sponsored by the Special Committee, which read as follows:

"On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia and the 25th anniversary of the historic march by the women of South Africa on the Union Buildings, Pretoria, against the pass laws, we declare our solidarity with the oppressed women of South Africa and Namibia, and all those struggling to destroy the inhuman system of apartheid.

"We assure you and your national liberation movement of our support in your righteous and heroic struggle so as to promote its speedy triumph."

238. At the special meeting, it was announced that the special guests invited by the Special Committee had decided to establish an International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia, with H.E. Madame Jeanne Martin Cisse as Convenor. The Special Committee assured the International Committee of full support in its work.

R. Mission of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman to Nepal

239. At the invitation of the Government of Nepal, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee visited Nepal on 8 February 1981. The delegation was received by the Prime Minister of Nepal and held discussions with senior officials of the Government. The Chairman conveyed the appreciation of the Special Committee to the Government and people of Nepal for their contribution to the struggle against apartheid. He recalled that Nepal was a founding member of the Special Committee and had made a great contribution to its work. The Prime Minister assured him that Nepal would continue to extend full support to the work of the Special Committee and to the cause of African liberation.

S. Conferences

1. Representation at conferences

240. During the period under review, the Special Committee sent representatives or messages to a number of national and international conferences concerned with the problem of apartheid.

241. The Special Committee was represented at the following conferences:

- International Free Trade Union Conference in support of Independent Black Trade Union Movements in South Africa, organized by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), London, 6 and 7 November 1980.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)

- Symposium on activities of transnationals in South Africa and Namibia, organized by the Department of Public Information, London, 6 and 7 November 1980.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- 13th Congress of the International Union of Students, Berlin, German Democratic Republic, 18 to 24 November 1980.
Mr. Kumar P. Gyawali (Nepal)
- Consultative meeting in preparation for the Second International Youth and Students of Southern Africa, Helsinki, Finland, 25 and 26 November 1980.
Mr. Gerhard Schröter (German Democratic Republic) and
Mr. Kumar P. Gyawali (Nepal)
- Meeting of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, Tananarive, Madagascar, 23 to 26 January 1981.
Dr. Ferenc Somogyi (Hungary)
- Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, Brussels, 30 and 31 January 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- Second session of the International Commission of Inquiry into Crimes of the Apartheid Régime, Luanda, Angola, 30 January to 4 February 1981.
Mr. Gerhard Schroter (German Democratic Republic) and
Mr. Kennedy F. Apoe (Nigeria)
- NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, Geneva, 2 February 1981.
Mr. Babiker Ali Khalifa (Sudan) and Mrs. Maria Lourdes Ramiro Lopez (Philippines)
- Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- Meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries 9 to 12 February 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria) and Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal)
- Youth Conference against Racism and Apartheid, Dublin, 21 February 1981.
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)
- OAU Council of Ministers, Addis Ababa, 23 February to 1 March 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- Meeting of the OAU Sanctions Committee, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 16 to 21 March 1981.
Mr. Vasant Vishnu Nevrekar (India)
- 13th Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, Aden, Democratic Yemen, 20 to 27 March 1981.
Mr. Djebel Coumbassa (Guinea) and Mr. Efim K. Katchourenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

- NGO/Department of Public Information meeting in observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples Struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination, New York, 26 March 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa, London, 1 to 3 April 1981.
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) and Mr. Hans-Georg Schleicher (German Democratic Republic)
- International Seminar on Loans to South Africa, Zurich, Switzerland, 5 to 7 April 1981.
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) and Mr. Hans-Georg Schleicher (German Democratic Republic)
- International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, Geneva, 9 and 10 April 1981.
Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana)
- International Forum for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Georgetown, Guyana, 30 April to 3 May 1981.
Mr. Bariyu A. Adeyemi (Nigeria)
- ILO International Tripartite Meeting on Action against Apartheid, Livingston, Zambia, 4 to 8 May 1981.
Mr. Hernan Couturier (Peru)
- International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 20 to 27 May 1981.
All members of the Special Committee
- South Africa-Namibia Emergency Conference, Washington, D.C., United States of America, 8 and 9 June 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- Symposium on Transnational Corporation, Detroit, United States of America, 11 and 12 June 1981.
Mr. Ampim Darku Jim Blankson (Nigeria)
- Conference on Public Investment and South Africa, New York, 12 and 13 June 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- OAU Council of Ministers, Nairobi, Kenya, 15 to 27 June 1981.
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria) and Mr. Abdelhamid Semichi (Algeria)
- Women's International Democratic Federation Preparatory Meeting on Women and National Independence, Brazzaville, Congo, 23 to 26 June 1981.
Mr. Luis Sandiga (Peru)
- Seminar on Effective Measures to Prevent Transnational Corporations and Other Established Interests from Collaborating with South Africa, Geneva, 29 June to 3 July 1981.
Mr. Nelson Dumevi (Ghana)

- Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa, London, 29 June to 3 July 1981.
Mr. Babiker Ali Khalifa (Sudan)
- Preparatory Committee of the International Youth and Students Conference Solidarity with the Struggle of the Peoples, Youth and Students in Southern Africa, Geneva, 6 August 1981.
Mr. Ousmane Kaba (Guinea)
- International Seminar on Publicity and Role of the Mass Media in the International Mobilization against Apartheid, Berlin, German Democratic Republic, 31 August to 2 September 1981.

2. Messages of the Special Committee to international and national conferences

242. The Special Committee sent messages to the following conferences:

- World Parliament of Peoples for Peace, Sofia, 23 to 27 September 1980.
- Annual Meeting of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 21 October 1980.
- Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Council on Sports in Africa, Freetown, 17 to 20 December 1980.
- Public meeting in Paris to observe the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, organized by Mouvement contre le Racisme, et pour l'Amitié entre les Peuples, 13 March 1981.
- Conference of European Ministers of Sport, Madrid, 30 March 1981.
- Fourth Biennial Meeting of South African Council on Sport, Durban, South Africa, 10 April 1981.
- Session of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, Havana, 17 April 1981.
- International Labour Organisation General Conference, Geneva, July 1981.

T. Co-operation with other United Nations organs and with other organizations

1. United Nations organs

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

244. The Special Committee also maintained close relations with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa. The Chairman transmitted to that Committee documents of relevant international conferences and several communications containing information on the military and nuclear collaboration of Western States with South Africa.

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

2. Meeting of the Special Committee with specialized agencies

246. On 10 March 1981, the Special Committee held consultations with representatives of the specialized agencies and other institutions of the United Nations system to consider greater co-operation and co-ordination. Statements were made by the representatives of the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on the activities of the agencies for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

3. Other co-operation

247. The Organization of African Unity has been represented in the Special Committee as an observer and its representatives were especially invited to attend and address several meetings of the Special Committee.

248. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended the session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, held at Nairobi from 15 to 27 June 1981. The Special Committee and OAU co-operated closely in organizing the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981.

249. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It invited the Chairman of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries to its special meetings and to conferences and seminars co-sponsored by it.

U. List of statements issued by the Special Committee

250. During the period under review, the Special Committee issued the following statements:

3 October 1980

Appeal to CBS-TV to cancel the broadcast of World Boxing Association heavyweight championship fight between Mike Weaver and Gerrie Coetzee (GA/AP/1143)

3 October 1980 Appeal to the United States Golf Association to cancel South African participation in the Eisenhower Cup Golf Tournament, 8 to 11 October 1980, at Pinehurst, North Carolina (GA/AP/1144)

5 November 1980 Message to Chairman of Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (GA/AP/1151)

12 November 1980 Appeal for release of Mr. Oscar Mpetha (GA/AP/1152)

26 November 1980 Appeal for denunciation of moves to declare "independence" of Ciskei (GA/AP/1153) (issued as document A/35/676-S/14280)

26 November 1980 Statement on developments concerning apartheid in sports (GA/AP/1154)

26 November 1980 Statement condemning brutal sentences against freedom fighters (GA/AP/1155) (issued as document A/35/675-S/14279)

4 December 1980 Statement on invitation to South African rugby team to tour New Zealand (GA/AP/1156)

4 December 1980 Statement on planned tour of South Africa by the Irish Rugby Football Union (GA/AP/1157)

10 December 1980 Statement commending the proposal of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association calling for non-discriminatory practice as a condition of membership for the International Association of Logopedics and Phoniatrics (GA/AP/1158)

16 December 1980 Message to the African National Congress of South Africa on the occasion of the National Heroes Day (GA/AP/1159)

2 January 1981 Statement appealing for condemnation of restriction orders against leaders of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (GA/AP/1160)

5 January 1981 Statement commending the Borough of Lambeth, London, for deciding to remove its account from Barclays Bank (GA/AP/1161)

9 January 1981 Statement commending United States organizations for having initiated a campaign to press for further action to divest from banks and corporations involved in South Africa (GA/AP/1162)

13 January 1981 Statement of Chairman on the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa (GA/AP/1163)

27 January 1981 Statement on the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa (GA/AP/1165)

3 February 1981 Statement on the criminal aggression by South Africa against Mozambique (GA/AP/1169)

17 February 1981 Appeal for the widest observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (GA/AP/1172)

17 February 1981 Appeal for the observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples Struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination (GA/AP/1173)

23 February 1981 Appeal to Ireland to stop the proposed tour of the Irish rugby team to South Africa (GA/AP/1174)

9 March 1981 Statement commending the Boston Ballet for abandoning a proposed tour of South Africa (GA/AP/1180)

10 March 1981 Statement urging the release of four members of the African National Congress (GA/AP/1181)

20 March 1981 Letter to Workgroep Kairos commending the contribution of the Shipping Research Bureau to the efforts for an oil embargo against South Africa (GA/AP/1189)

23 March 1981 Joint statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia on appeal by church leaders to five oil companies (GA/AP/1190)

27 March 1981 Statement at the end of the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples Struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination (GA/AP/1196)

27 March 1981 Statement on consultations with representatives of youth and student organizations (GA/AP/1197)

30 March 1981 Statement urging governments, organizations and individuals to denounce persecution of Bishop Tutu (GA/AP/1198)

8 April 1981 Statement calling for appropriate decisions by the Conference of European Ministers of Sport (GA/AP/1202)

10 April 1981 Statement appealing for wider support for Bishop Desmond Tutu (GA/AP/1203)

14 April 1981 Message to the Fourth Biennial Meeting of the Non-Racial South African Council on Sport (GA/AP/1204)

15 April 1981 Message on SWAPO's twenty-first anniversary (GA/AP/1208)

17 April 1981 Message to the meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (GA/AP/1210)

17 April 1981 Statement on the seizure of Bishop Tutu's passport (GA/AP/1209)

12 May 1981 Statement on the military strategy conference in Buenos Aires, 26 May 1981 (GA/AP/1212)

13 May 1981 Statement on election of François Mitterand as President of France (GA/AP/1213)

22 May 1981 Appeal for support for the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of the Women of South Africa and Namibia (GA/AP/1218)

4 June 1981 Statement commending the Netherlands decision to end its cultural agreement with South Africa (GA/AP/1231)

16 June 1981 Statement on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (GA/AP/1233)

23 June 1981 Statement on the International Seminar on Publicity and Role of Mass Media in International Mobilization against Apartheid (GA/AP/1236)

6 July 1981 Statement on recent suppressive measures by the apartheid régime (GA/AP/1237)

10 July 1981 Appeal to the United States to stop the proposed South African rugby tour (GA/AP/1238)

28 July 1981 Statement commending the group HART (Halt All Racist Tour) of New Zealand for campaign to stop tour of South African Rugby team (GA/AP/1239)

31 July 1981 Statement on the Solemn Meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (GA/AP/1240)

13 August 1981 Statement commending Mayor Koch's decision regarding South African Springbok rugby team (GA/AP/1242)

21 August 1981 Appeal for action to save the lives of three South African freedom fighters (GA/AP/1243)

27 August 1981 Statement on recent grave developments in South Africa (GA/AP/1245)

III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Introduction

251. During the past year there has been a growing national mobilization of all segments of the oppressed population of South Africa against apartheid and all its manifestations, and a significant advance of the armed struggle by the national liberation movement.

252. The courageous struggle of the oppressed people has further exposed as a hoax, the propaganda of the racist régime and its overseas supporters about the possibility of meaningful reforms by the racist régime. The so-called reforms have proved to be measures to consolidate apartheid and repression, while accelerating the racist policy of "bantustanization" in order to deprive the great majority of the people of their inalienable rights, including even the right of citizenship.

253. The reponse of the apartheid régime to the struggle of the people has been a further intensification of repression and a further expansion of the military-repressive apparatus. The budget introduced in August 1981 provided for an increase of over 30 per cent in the "defence" vote. As a result of the continued military and nuclear collaboration by several Western States and others - especially the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Israel - South Africa's programme of military expansion and nuclear development has further advanced.

254. The régime has, moreover, escalated its acts of terrorism, subversion and aggression against neighbouring independent African States. Reference may be made particularly to its raid on Matola, Mozambique, in January 1981, which resulted in the brutal killing of a number of persons and the kidnapping of three South African exiles; the assassination and attempted assassination of South African refugees and members of the national liberation movements residing in the neighbouring countries, economic pressures and threats of military aggression against Zimbabwe and other neighbouring States; and the massive aggression launched against Angola since the end of July 1981.

255. The Special Committee reiterates its firm conviction that the apartheid régime has been encouraged to undertake these desperate and criminal acts by the protection afforded by major Western Powers against international sanctions and especially by the pronouncements, policies, and actions of the new administration in the United States.

256. It has now become clear, except to those who prefer to profit from the crime of apartheid, that humanity confronts an unparalleled and unique challenge in South Africa as a result of policies and actions of the apartheid régime, such as those mentioned below:

(a) The apartheid régime, chosen by a racial minority, has enshrined racism as a State policy;

(b) It has sought, through the policy of "bantustanization," to deprive the African majority of its citizenship in its own country. Thus it proclaimed the so-called "independence" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, and proceeded to proclaim the sham "independence" of Ciskei on 4 December 1981, thereby purporting to deprive 5 million Africans of their South African citizenship;

(c) It has caused untold misery to the people of South African by uprooting over 3 million people from their homes and denying the great majority of the people the right to equal education, health services and other benefits;

(d) It has constantly escalated repression against all those opposed to apartheid, resorting even to indiscriminate shootings of unarmed men, women and children, torture and execution of patriots, and the banning of national organizations of the oppressed people;

(e) The racist régime has constantly expanded its military budget, from 36 million rand in 1959/60 to 2,465 million rand in the current year. It has acquired nuclear-weapon capability;

(f) It has an unparalleled record of defiance of the United Nations and the international community. It has continued illegally to occupy the international Territory of Namibia, subjecting its population to terror and using it as a base for aggression against independent African States;

(g) The racist régime, moreover, is guilty of numerous acts of terrorism, subversion and aggression against independent African States. It has committed despicable atrocities, including massacres of refugee women and children.

257. There can be little doubt that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. Indeed, the apartheid régime is not only guilty of enormous crimes against the people of South Africa and Namibia, but has repeatedly breached the peace and is currently committing massive acts of aggression against the independent African States in southern Africa.

258. The Special Committee is of the view that the continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist régime of South African encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of the international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of apartheid in South Africa and the attainment of self-determination, freedom and national independence by the people of Namibia.

259. By acquiring nuclear weapon capability and by cementing an alliance with other racist-fascist régimes, it threatens to precipitate an even greater danger to humanity in its desperate efforts to perpetuate and consolidate racist domination in South Africa as well as hegemony over the whole of southern Africa. There is no parallel to apartheid except for Nazism, which precipitated the Second World War. It must be destroyed as Nazism and the Hitler régime were destroyed by a concert of nations and peoples from which the United Nations was born.

260. The international community can afford no further delay in action to destroy apartheid, to enable the people of South Africa as a whole to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, and thereby to avert the massive threat to international peace and security.

261. This task, as the Special Committee has emphasized, is the greatest moral challenge before humanity today.

262. The Special Committee, in accordance with its mandate from the General Assembly, has redoubled its efforts during the past year to promote effective

international action against apartheid by Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and men and women of conscience.

263. Towards this end, it organized three important seminars on different aspects of the campaign against apartheid: (a) the International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa, held in London from 1 to 3 April 1981; (b) the International Seminar on Loans to South Africa, held in Zurich from 5 to 7 April 1981; and (c) the International Seminar on Publicity and Role of Mass Media in the International Mobilization against Apartheid, held in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, from 31 August to 2 September 1981. It also co-sponsored a Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, held in Brussels on 30 and 31 January 1981.

264. It also organized, under the auspices of the United Nations and in co-operation with OAU, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held at UNESCO House, Paris, from 20 to 27 May 1981.

265. The declarations of this Conference and those of the three Seminars provide a framework for effective international action.

266. The Special Committee recommends the endorsement of these declarations by the General Assembly and the Security Council and vigorous efforts towards the effective implementation of their provisions.

267. The Special Committee also attaches great importance to the mobilization of all Governments and intergovernmental organizations, as well as trade unions, religious bodies, students and youth, women and other segments of world public opinion for action to implement the provisions of these declarations. Towards that end, it recommends that the General Assembly should proclaim 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. It will submit a special report on the programme for the International Year for consideration at the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly.

268. It wishes to refer, in this report, to a number of other specific aspects of international action against apartheid.

B. Wider significance of the struggle for liberation in South Africa

269. The Special Committee has followed with great satisfaction and admiration the advance of the struggle for liberation in South Africa and the participation in it, despite ruthless repression, of millions of workers, students, women, churchmen, journalists and others.

270. The United Nations and the international community have repeatedly recognized that this struggle is legitimate and deserves the support of the international community. They have noted that the apartheid régime has constantly resorted to brutal repression to prevent peaceful resistance by the oppressed people. They have recognized the right of the oppressed people and their national liberation movements to utilize all available means, including armed struggle, for liberation.

271. Moreover, in resolution 3411 B (XXX) of 28 November 1975, the General Assembly recognized the contribution of the liberation movements and other opponents of

apartheid in South Africa to the purposes of the United Nations. In resolution 3411 C (XXX) on the same day, the Assembly proclaimed that "the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid".

272. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize, in this connexion, the wider and historic significance assumed by the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

273. In the Berlin Declaration of the International Seminar on Publicity and Role of Mass Media in International Mobilization against Apartheid (A/36/496-S/14686, annex I), it is stated:

"With the march of independence in Africa, and especially the victory of national liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies and Zimbabwe after heroic armed struggles, the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia has assumed historic world significance.

"Freedom in South Africa and Namibia is the last major task to secure the total emancipation of Africa after centuries of humiliation, oppression and exploitation; to ensure the end of the tragic era of colonialism in the world; and to reach a turning point in the efforts to abolish the crime of racism and racial discrimination.

"The oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia are, therefore, fighting not only for the freedom of their peoples and nations but for all humanity."

274. The Special Committee attaches particular significance to the recognition of this fact on the eve of the seventieth anniversary of the establishment of a national organization of the African people in South Africa to attain their inalienable rights.

275. It denounces as despicable the attempts by the apartheid régime and some of its supporters to describe the just struggle of the oppressed people and their national liberation movements as "terrorists", for it is the apartheid régime which has a shameful record of terrorism in South Africa, as well as in neighbouring countries, including the bombings, assassination and kidnapping of refugees.

276. The Special Committee intends in 1982, in co-operation with UNESCO and with the participation of outstanding historians, to organize an international seminar on the history of the freedom struggle and significance of the heroic resistance by the South African people against oppression, dispossession and apartheid.

277. The Special Committee considers that the United Nations and specialized agencies, Member Governments and non-governmental organizations should help publicize the national liberation struggle in South Africa, its legitimate objectives and its wider significance.

278. Above all, the Special Committee emphasizes the urgent need for effective and concerted international action to isolate the criminal apartheid régime by comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and to provide all necessary assistance to the national liberation movement in the present crucial and

decisive phase of its struggle. For this struggle represents the final effort to end a shameful era of human history and to herald the emergence of an emancipated continent of Africa on the world scene.

C. Aggression against the front-line States and grave threat to international peace and security

279. The Special Committee recalls that many Member States had recognized as early as 1960, with the Sharpeville massacre and the large-scale military build-up in South Africa, that the policies and actions of the apartheid régime constituted a threat to international peace and security and were likely to lead to a catastrophic conflict unless effective international action was taken to eliminate apartheid. The Special Committee, therefore, stressed from its inception the imperative need for mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

280. Regrettably, because of the opposition of the Western permanent members, the Security Council failed to take such action, and the apartheid régime was able to embark on a massive military build-up. It resorted to ever more blatant acts of subversion and aggression against neighbouring States, especially since General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and the stationing of South African forces in Southern Rhodesia in 1967 in collusion with the illegal Smith régime. The apartheid régime has vainly tried to arrest and undermine the march of freedom in Africa by escalating acts of aggression, culminating the invasion of Angola in 1975 and 1976.

281. In the past few years, it has committed numerous acts of aggression, especially against the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Mozambique. It has utilized the international Territory of Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally, as a base for aggression. Repression in South Africa and Namibia and aggression against neighbouring States have thus become inseparable from apartheid.

282. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, therefore, recognized in May 1981 that the situation has become even graver than a mere threat to international peace and security. It stated in paragraph 10 of the Paris Declarations against South Africa (A/36/319-S/14531, annex I) that:

"The situation in southern Africa is, therefore, characterized by repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression and an ever-growing threat of a wider conflict with grave repercussions in Africa and the world."

283. In the few months since the International Conference, the apartheid régime again committed new acts of aggression, including a large-scale invasion of Angola.

284. The Special Committee notes with dismay that the Security Council was unable even to condemn this aggression and take minimum action, as proposed by the non-aligned States in the Security Council on 31 August 1981, because of the veto by the United States and the abstention of the United Kingdom.

285. The Special Committee hopes that these two major Powers will be persuaded by the strength of world opinion to discharge their responsibilities under the Charter.

286. It considers that the United Nations must, as a minimum, recognize the breaches of the peace and acts of aggression in southern Africa, declare the

apartheid régime as the aggressor, and decide on comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter as the only meaningful peaceful means to help resolve the grave situation. It further considers that the General Assembly should adopt a resolution calling on South Africa to pay compensation to Angola for the destruction of life and property brought about in that country by South Africa's recent unprovoked aggression.

D. Sanctions against South Africa

287. The Special Committee has, since its inception, emphasized the desirability and feasibility of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the South African régime in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

288. It recalls that such sanctions had been requested by the national liberation movement of South Africa more than twenty years ago, when the apartheid régime proceeded by brutal repression to close all avenues of peaceful resistance in South Africa.

289. It also recalls that many States, some at great sacrifice, instituted unilateral sanctions against South Africa in response to appeals by the national liberation movements, OAU and the United Nations.

290. But, despite repeated requests by the General Assembly, the Security Council has failed to impose sanctions except for the arms embargo instituted by resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977. This has been due to the opposition of the main trading partners of South Africa, which have continued and increased political, military, economic and other collaboration with South Africa, and the vetoes and threats of vetoes by three permanent members of the Security Council. Meanwhile, the main trading partners of South Africa have greatly increased their links with South Africa, and indeed profited from the sacrifices of those States which have imposed sanctions.

291. The Special Committee notes with utmost regret that the Western permanent members of the Security Council have continued, in the face of repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression by the apartheid régime, to prevent a determination by the Security Council that the situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security requiring action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It considers that the attitudes and actions of these permanent members constitute a violation of their responsibilities under the Charter and an abuse of the veto to protect a criminal racist minority régime and in effect, to encourage it to persist in its escalating crimes against humanity and against peace.

292. The Special Committee also notes that during the past two decades a number of States, including several Western States, became convinced of the need for sanctions against South Africa. It also notes with satisfaction the statements made by the new Government of France.

293. On the other hand, the Special Committee recalls with great appreciation the action taken by African, non-aligned, socialist States and other States to break off, or refrain from, any relations with the apartheid régime as a demonstration of their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and of their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations.

294. The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa demonstrated the overwhelming consensus in the world for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. It was attended by a great majority of States and by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and eminent individuals and adopted its two declaration by unanimity (see A/36/319-S/14531). 7/

295. The Conference defined the purposes of sanctions against South Africa and effectively demolished the arguments against such sanctions. The Political and Technical Commissions of the Conference, in their reports, proposed a number of concrete and detailed measures for action. 8/

296. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should endorse the declarations of the International Conference, as well as the recommendations in the reports of the Commissions, and take urgent steps towards their effective implementation.

297. In this connexion, the Special Committee considers it essential that the pressure of world public opinion should be exerted on the recalcitrant Governments which continue to oppose and frustrate sanctions against South Africa.

298. It points out, in response to their arguments on the importance of trade with South Africa, that the foreign trade of South Africa constitutes less than one half of one per cent of world trade and that the rest of Africa alone has more than eight times the trade of South Africa. The trade with South Africa has become important only because of the super-profits derived from the oppression and exploitation of the black people of that country under the criminal system of apartheid.

299. The Special Committee proposes that it should undertake studies and organize symposia to acquaint the public opinion of Western countries and Japan with:

(a) Their trade and economic links with South Africa, in relation to the trade with the independent States of Africa and all other States committed to sanctions against South Africa;

(b) The serious implications of trade with and investment in South Africa;

(c) The need for the countries concerned to make a choice between collusion with the apartheid régime and friendly relations with the great majority of Member States.

7/ The Special Committee notes with serious regret the non-participation in the Conference of a number of States, particularly the major trading partners of South Africa, namely, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Greece and Portugal. Their unwillingness even to participate in a dialogue with the majority of States on a problem of vital importance to the United Nations cannot but be deplored. The Special Committee also regrets the non-participation of a number of intergovernmental organizations, particularly GATT, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

8/ For the report of the Conference, see A/CONF.107/8.

300. The Special Committee also recognizes the need for action against transnational corporations, financial institutions and other interests which continue to collaborate with the apartheid régime in defiance of United Nations resolutions. It welcomes the decisions of OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in this respect.

301. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that the Paris Conference has clearly demonstrated that the great majority of States and of humanity are not only committed to the liberation of South Africa but are willing to contribute, even by substantial sacrifices, to that end. It considers that while efforts towards comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa should be stepped up, the committed Governments and organizations have the power, individually and collectively, to take effective actions against the apartheid régime and to assist the national liberation movement of South Africa. They have also the power to confront the few recalcitrant States with an inescapable choice between collusion with apartheid and genuine international co-operation.

302. The development of concerted action by the committed Governments and organizations is, therefore, an essential component of international action against apartheid.

1. Arms embargo against South Africa

303. The arms embargo against South Africa, imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977), despite its limitations, is the most significant measure by the international community in collective action against apartheid. It is, moreover, of great significance to the authority of the United Nations, as emphasized by the Secretary-General on 4 November 1977.

304. The Special Committee has repeatedly stressed the importance of effective implementation of the resolution and adequate monitoring of the implementation, as well as of reinforcement of the embargo.

305. The situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, has become much more serious since the adoption of Security Council resolution 418 (1977).

306. Regrettably, the resolution has not been effectively implemented by several Western States and Israel, and it has failed to serve its purposes. They have failed to enact effective national legislation and have interpreted the terms of the resolution so narrowly as to allow the supply to South Africa of much sophisticated military material.

307. The Security Council Committee, established by resolution 421 (1977) to monitor the embargo, has become largely paralysed by the attitudes of certain Western States. The Security Council has yet taken no action on the report submitted by the Committee in September 1980 to strengthen the arms embargo (S/14179).

308. Meanwhile, with the collusion of certain Governments and transnational corporations, the South African régime has been able to obtain not only supplies to maintain its military equipment, but also sophisticated new weapons systems and technology. There have also been clandestine shipments of arms to South Africa.

309. Meanwhile, the further progress of the apartheid régime in acquiring nuclear weapon capability has posed an enormous danger.

310. The Special Committee emphasizes the grave implications of this situation and the urgent need for action to avert a wider threat to international peace and to the authority of the United Nations.

311. It recommends urgent action on the following main recommendations (see A/36/190-S/14442, annex) of the International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo against South Africa:

"(a) All States should enact effective legislation or comparable policy directives on the arms embargo - covering transfers through third parties, end use, involvement in production in South Africa etc. - monitor and enforce it scrupulously, and severely punish all violators. The embargo should cover all military collaboration, direct or indirect, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly resolution 35/206 B of 16 December 1980.

"(b) The term 'arms and related matériel' covers oil, computers, electronic equipment, transfer of military technology, so-called 'dual purpose' equipment for military use, components, auxiliary equipment and spare parts of arms as do effective embargo lists.

"(c) The recommendations submitted in September 1980 by the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) on the question of South Africa should be adopted by the Security Council without further delay.

"(d) All States should discharge their responsibility to the United Nations by reporting to the Security Council all information available to them on any violations of the arms embargo.

"The Seminar considers it imperative and urgent to reinforce the mandatory arms embargo, particularly as regards nuclear collaboration and the supply of oil to South Africa."

312. The Special Committee also urges action on the recommendations of the Technical Commission of the Conference on means for full and effective implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa (see A/CONF.107/8).

313. The Special Committee notes with alarm the continued failure by the Security Council to take necessary action to prevent the acquisition by the apartheid régime of nuclear weapon capability and the continued collaboration by certain countries with the apartheid régime in the nuclear field.

314. The Special Committee recalls that it had drawn attention in its last report to the collaboration by Governments and/or institutions in the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Israel with South Africa in the nuclear field, including permitting the recruitment and training of nuclear scientists, the supply of technology and expertise and the exportation of uranium from South Africa and Namibia.

315. It notes with serious disappointment that they have not yet ceased such collaboration. In view of the grave danger posed by South Africa's nuclear plans,

the Committee recommends an urgent appeal to the Governments concerned to cease all such collaboration without further delay.

316. It draws urgent attention to the recommendations of the Technical Commission of the Conference on means to prevent the development of nuclear weapons capability of South Africa.

317. The Special Committee further suggests, in order to promote effective monitoring of the arms embargo:

(a) Joint meetings of the Special Committee and the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 421 (1977) on the question of South Africa to consider means to investigate and publicize information relevant to the implementation of the arms embargo;

(b) Participation of the Special Committee in meetings of the Security Council Committee;

(c) A request to the Secretary-General to strengthen secretariat services for the monitoring of the arms embargo and maximum co-ordination towards that end.

318. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that any form of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa increases the threat to international peace and security posed by the apartheid régime. It calls for efforts to secure the full implementation of all General Assembly resolutions concerning such co-operation.

319. The Special Committee took urgent action on the meeting of the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with the Foreign Minister of the apartheid régime in November 1980, and on reports in May 1981 concerning moves for a "South Atlantic alliance". It expresses its appreciation to States which responded positively to the appeals of the Special Committee, and hopes that all Governments and organizations will exercise utmost vigilance at manoeuvres by the Pretoria régime to forge military links with other States.

320. In this connexion, it draws attention to the resolution CM/Res.854 (XXXVII) of the OAU Council of Ministers which "strongly condemns the present United States Administration for reviving manoeuvres to create the South Atlantic Treaty Organization which includes the racist South African régime and appeals to the United Nations to undertake such measures as would ensure that this sinister organization is not established" (see A/36/534, annex I).

321. The Special Committee emphasizes the importance of public information and public action with respect to military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. It again commends the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa for its contribution in close co-operation with the Special Committee, to promote the arms and nuclear embargo, and appeals to all Governments to lend it greater political and material support.

2. Oil embargo against South Africa

322. The Special Committee attaches the utmost importance to an embargo on the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa as the most significant component in

economic sanctions against South Africa and as an essential complement to the arms embargo against South Africa. An oil embargo has become particularly urgent because of the escalation of repression and aggression by the apartheid régime and its frantic plans; with the co-operation of a number of transnational corporations and financial institutions, to expand the oil-from-coal industry.

323. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that the Security Council should institute a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa and should call on States to impose exemplary punishment on any transnational corporation and tanker company involved in the supply of oil to South Africa. It also calls for the termination of all participation by corporations and financial institutions in the oil-from-coal industry in South Africa.

324. It commends for the urgent attention of the Security Council and the General Assembly the proposals concerning an oil embargo against South Africa in:

(a) The Declaration of the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa; 9/

(b) The report of the Technical Commission of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa; 10/

(c) The resolutions of the thirty-seventh ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers (see A/36/534, annex I).

325. The Special Committee welcomes and commends the decisions of most oil-exporting countries to prohibit the export of their oil to South Africa. In view of the nefarious machinations of certain transnational corporations and shipping companies which have illegally and clandestinely supplied oil from these countries to South Africa, it recognizes the need for effective monitoring of the embargo by the oil-exporting countries at the national and international level.

326. The Special Committee, therefore, welcomes the intention of those countries to consider the establishment of a mechanism, including a monitoring agency, to ensure that their oil embargo is effectively and scrupulously respected. It recommends that the General Assembly should encourage and assist them in this respect.

327. The Special Committee intends to hold extensive consultations with oil-exporting countries and with experts, and encourage campaigns by anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations in order to promote an effective arms embargo against South Africa.

3. Action against collaboration by transnational corporations with South Africa

328. The Special Committee again emphasizes the importance of action against transnational corporations collaborating with South Africa. A number of

9/ Notes and Documents No. 5/81, publication of the Centre against Apartheid.

10/ See A/CONF.107/8.

corporations have continued to assist the apartheid régime in the development of its military repressive apparatus; in the expansion of the oil-from-coal industry as a means to withstand an oil embargo; in acquiring access to sophisticated technology; in promoting migration of skilled workers to South Africa; and in other ways. They have assisted the apartheid régime in its nefarious propaganda and promoted powerful lobbies in Western countries to prevent sanctions against South Africa.

329. They have profited from the system of racist domination and exploitation and colluded with the apartheid régime in brutal repression against black workers and their trade unions. The so-called "codes of conduct" for the operations of these corporations have proved ineffective and have, indeed, become instruments to facilitate expansion of the operations of these companies.

330. The Special Committee, therefore, calls for effective action by the United Nations and Member States to prevent the collaboration of transnational corporations with South Africa.

331. It emphasizes that transnational corporations and other interests buttressing apartheid must be treated as accomplices in the crime of apartheid, and that action must be taken against them in the light of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

332. The Special Committee considers that the home Governments of the transnational corporations, which have permitted and facilitated this collaboration by the corporations under their jurisdiction with the racist régime in South Africa bear full responsibility for their action.

333. It further rejects the contention that the transnational corporations can become instruments for the promotion of freedom and equality through their economic involvement in South Africa.

334. The Special Committee welcomed the decision of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in 1981, requesting the Special Committee and the United Nations Council for Namibia, in co-operation with the OAU Committee on Sanctions, to prepare an exhaustive list of all banks and transnational corporations which continue to operate in South Africa, while maintaining commercial interests in the member countries, so that action may be taken against them (see A/36/222-S/14458). In May 1981, it published particulars on some major transnational corporations which were most deeply involved in South Africa. 11/ It is continuing research with a view to the preparation of a more comprehensive report.

335. The Special Committee lent its co-operation to the seminars organized by the Department of Public Information - in pursuance of Economic and Social Council resolutions 1979/75 and 1980/59 - to make the public in home countries of transnational corporations aware of the role of those corporations and the political, economic, social and military and cultural implications of their collaboration with South Africa. It intends to organize, or promote the organization of several such events in 1982.

11/ Information Note No. 31/81, publication of the Centre against Apartheid.

336. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should endorse and act upon:

(a) The relevant recommendations contained in the report of the Technical Commission of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa; 12/

(b) The recommendations of the Seminar on effective measures to prevent transnational corporations and other interests from collaborating with the racist régime of South Africa, held in Geneva from 29 June to 3 July 1981. 13/

337. It recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the Special Committee to organize seminars and symposia to promote the campaign against the operations of the transnational corporations in South Africa.

4. Cessation of investments and loans

338. The General Assembly has expressed its conviction, repeatedly and by overwhelming majorities, that a cessation of all new foreign investments in, and loans to, South Africa would constitute an important step in international action for the elimination of apartheid because investments and loans abet and encourage the Pretoria régime to pursue its racist policies. It has urged the Security Council to consider the matter at an early date with a view to taking effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in, and loans to, South Africa. The Special Committee notes with regret that the Security Council has failed to take such action.

339. It further notes with serious concern that South Africa has been able to raise substantial loans in the past year, regarding them as an expression of confidence in the apartheid system. It also notes with regret the continuing flow of large-scale investments to South Africa from a number of Western countries.

340. The Special Committee draws the attention of the General Assembly to the recommendations for action contained in the Declaration of the International Seminar on Loans to South Africa, held at Zurich from 5 to 7 April 1981 (see A/36/201-S/14443, annex) and in the report of the Technical Commission of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. It recommends that they should be endorsed by the General Assembly.

341. The Special Committee commends the activities of many churches, trade unions, anti-apartheid movements and student groups which have organized public campaigns against loans to, and investments in, South Africa. It recommends that the General Assembly should appeal to all States and organizations to support such campaigns in all appropriate ways.

12/ See A/CONF.107/8.

13/ ST/HR/SER.A/9.

5. Other economic and related sanctions

342. The Special Committee firmly believes that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council is the most effective and peaceful means by which the international community can assist the people of South Africa in their legitimate liberation struggle and avert a catastrophic conflict.

343. It, therefore, recommends that the General Assembly should reaffirm its resolution 35/206 C of 10 December 1980 on comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and should again request action by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter.

344. The Special Committee will continue to study all aspects of sanctions against South Africa, to review the implementation of all relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and to promote campaigns in support of sanctions.

345. It intends to give special attention to: (a) an airline and shipping boycott of South Africa and (b) prohibition of the transfer of technology to South Africa.

6. Sports boycott

346. The international campaign against apartheid in sport has been an important component of international action against apartheid.

347. The Special Committee notes with great satisfaction the progress achieved in the campaign during the past year.

348. It notes in particular the nation-wide protest in Ireland against the tour of South Africa by the Irish rugby team, in which the Government, Parliament, churches, trade unions, students and youth and all segments of public opinion demonstrated their abhorrence of apartheid.

349. It also notes with admiration the massive protest by public opinion in New Zealand against the tour by the Springbok rugby team of South Africa, followed by courageous demonstrations by tens of thousands of persons during the tour.

350. The Special Committee, however, notes with concern and regret that several sporting organizations outside South Africa have succumbed to the deceitful propoganda of the apartheid régime on its alleged moves away from racial discrimination in sport, and have promoted renewed sports contacts with South Africa. It also notes with regret that some sportsmen have been enticed by exorbitant financial rewards to play in South Africa.

351. The Special Committee has, therefore, initiated a register of sports contacts with South Africa in order to enable Governments and organizations concerned to take appropriate action with respect to sportsmen, sports administrators and sports promoters who have collaborated with South Africa. This initiative has received strong support, especially from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa and OAU, and has persuaded several prominent sportsmen to undertake no more visits to South Africa. The OAU Council of Ministers decided, at its thirty-seventh ordinary session, to call upon Governments to ban from entering into their countries those sportsmen or teams which are listed in the register of the Special Committee as having participated in sports with teams in and from racist South Africa.

352. The Special Committee notes with particular regret the failure of several Governments to take firm action to terminate sporting contacts with South Africa. It wishes to make particular mention of the Governments of New Zealand and the United States of America which have permitted tours by Springbok rugby teams despite widespread public protests in their countries and appeals by the Special Committee. It suggests that the General Assembly should deplore the attitudes of these Governments and appeal to them to co-operate in the campaign against apartheid in sports.

353. The Special Committee reiterates the hope that the proposed International Convention against Apartheid in Sport will be completed and come into force soon.

7. Cultural, academic and other boycotts

354. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 35/206 E, the Special Committee has given special attention in the past year to the cultural, academic and other boycotts of South Africa.

355. It wishes to express its great appreciation to the many anti-apartheid and student groups and associations in the cultural field, as well as individual writers, artists and musicians, for their co-operation. It also notes with great satisfaction the courageous movement inside South Africa to boycott tours by entertainers from abroad.

356. The Special Committee intends soon to initiate a register of cultural contacts with South Africa in order to promote an effective boycott. It proposes to organize in 1982 an international conference of cultural personalities for action against apartheid and to sponsor international and national art exhibits and other events against apartheid.

357. The Special Committee commends the recent action of the Netherlands Parliament to terminate the cultural agreement between the Netherlands and South Africa. It hopes that other countries which have cultural agreements with South Africa will take similar action.

E. Political prisoners in South Africa

358. The Special Committee notes again with utmost concern that, despite repeated calls by the United Nations and the international community, the apartheid régime has failed to end repression, release political prisoners and detainees, and grant prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters. It has, instead, further intensified repression and instituted numerous trials under its obnoxious security laws. There has been increasing evidence of brutal torture of political detainees. The apartheid régime even resorted to kidnapping and assassination of members of national liberation movements from neighbouring countries.

359. The Special Committee strongly condemns the imposition of death sentences during the past year on six freedom fighters belonging to the African National Congress (ANC). 14/

360. The Special Committee warns once again that the continuation of repression and the execution of patriots are bound to lead to grave repercussions. They will aggravate the conflict and may well lead to reprisals by the national liberation movement against the criminal régime and its supporters.

361. The General Assembly has repeatedly declared that captured freedom fighters of South Africa are entitled to prisoner-of-war status under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Additional Protocol I of 1977 on the humanitarian conduct of war. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that the national liberation movement of South Africa has adhered to these instruments. But the apartheid régime has continued to ignore and defy the norms of international law.

362. In the light of the escalating repression by the apartheid régime and its grave repercussions, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should reaffirm the provisions of its resolutions on political prisoners in South Africa, and take further measures. It recommends, in particular, that the General Assembly should:

(a) Warn the apartheid régime of the grave consequences of continued repression and execution of patriots;

(b) Call upon all parties to the Geneva Conventions to take effective measures to persuade the apartheid régime to grant prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters;

(c) Request all Governments to help promote the campaign for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

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

363. The Special Committee considers that, in the light of the grave situation in South Africa, the international community should greatly increase all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU, namely, ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Such assistance should include: (a) humanitarian assistance; (b) assistance for

14/ The death sentences imposed on Mr. Anthony Tsotsobe, Mr. Johannes Shabangu and Mr. David Moise on 19 August 1981 are particularly alarming as they set the precedent of death sentences in cases in which no loss of life resulted from the alleged actions of the accused. The Court concluded that by their membership in ANC, they had found a common purpose and conspiracy to commit "terrorism". It reasoned that since ANC had declared war on South Africa and had entered into a conspiracy for the purpose, any ANC member automatically joins that conspiracy, irrespective of personal involvement or even knowledge of any acts of "terrorism". This opens the way to mass executions of members of the national liberation movement.

education and training; (c) assistance to projects of the liberation movements; (d) assistance for representatives of liberation movements to travel to conferences; and (e) assistance necessary for the conduct of the struggle for liberation.

364. The Special Committee intends to give priority in 1982 to this matter. It recommends that the General Assembly should again appeal to Governments and organizations for greater assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the liberation movements recognized by OAU.

365. The Special Committee again recommends that the General Assembly should continue the authorization of funds from the regular budget of the United Nations to enable the South African liberation movements recognized by the OAU to maintain their offices in New York.

G. Assistance to front-line States and other States contiguous to South Africa

366. The Special Committee considers it essential, in the light of the increasing acts of terrorism, subversion and aggression by the apartheid régime against the front-line States and other States contiguous to South Africa, and the tremendous sacrifices made by the latter in support of the United Nations resolutions on South Africa, that the international community must launch a large-scale programme of assistance to them. Assistance should include the provision of supplies of food, oil and other essential commodities, the establishment of facilities for their stockpiling and necessary financial assistance, as well as assistance at their request for the defence of their countries.

367. The Special Committee urges support by all States to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) aimed at reducing the dependency of the neighbouring States on the racist régime of South Africa.

H. Women and children under apartheid

368. In pursuance of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 35/206 N, the Special Committee continued to give special attention to the plight of women and children under apartheid, with a view to (a) publicizing the plight of women and children under apartheid and their struggle for national liberation; (b) promoting the mobilization of world public opinion in support of the righteous struggle of the women of South Africa and their national liberation movement; (c) encouraging assistance to the projects of the national liberation movements and front-line States designed to assist refugee women and children from South Africa and Namibia; and (d) encouraging women's organizations all over the world to intensify action in solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

369. Following extensive consultations with a number of non-governmental organizations, the Special Committee promoted the effective observance of 9 August 1981, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic demonstration of women in South Africa against pass laws, as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia.

370. The Special Committee noted with great satisfaction the establishment of an International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia, with Madame Jeanne-Martin Cisse as convenor, and assured it of full co-operation in its important work.

371. The Special Committee considers that international action in solidarity with the struggle of women in South Africa and Namibia should be intensified particularly with respect to mobilization of world opinion and increased assistance. It intends to expand its activities towards that end and invites the co-operation of Governments and organizations concerned. It intends to send a mission to the relevant projects of national liberation movements and front-line States in order to consult on means to promote greater assistance to them. It will expand contacts with women's organizations all over the world, and intends to organize in 1982 an International Conference in co-operation with the newly-formed International Committee.

372. The Special Committee commends its Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid for its active efforts in implementation of General Assembly resolution 35/206 N, and expresses appreciation for the co-operation of the Centre against Apartheid and numerous non-governmental organizations.

373. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should:

- (a) Reiterate the provisions of its resolution 35/206 N;
- (b) Proclaim 9 August as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia;
- (c) Appeal to Governments and organizations to provide generous assistance to the relevant project to the national liberation movements and front-line States;
- (d) Invite the co-operation of all Governments and organizations with the Special Committee in promoting solidarity with and assistance to the women of South Africa in their heroic struggle for liberation;
- (e) Invite the Centre against Apartheid and the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, as well as the Department of Public Information, to co-operate closely with a view to maximum publicity to the plight of women and children under apartheid and their struggle for national liberation.

I. Action by specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations

374. The Special Committee stresses the importance of action by all intergovernmental organizations, within their respective competences, against apartheid.

375. It pays tribute to the contribution of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and OAU. It also makes special mention of UNESCO and ILO, while recognizing the significant contributions of FAO, WHO and other organizations and institutions associated with the United Nations.

376. The Special Committee, however, notes with serious regret the continued collaboration with South Africa of a number of intergovernmental organizations, including those associated with the United Nations. It makes particular reference to the International Monetary Fund which has continued to provide assistance to the apartheid régime despite repeated appeals by the General Assembly.

377. The Special Committee recommends a renewed appeal to such intergovernmental organizations to cease all collaboration with and assistance to the apartheid régime. In case of continued defiance, it suggests that the United Nations should suspend agreements of co-operation with such organizations.

J. Public action against apartheid

378. The Special Committee attaches the greatest importance to action by non-governmental organizations and public bodies in support of the liberation of South Africa.

379. It considers that the United Nations and Member States should encourage public action against apartheid in all appropriate ways.

1. Anti-apartheid and solidarity movements

380. Anti-apartheid and solidarity movements have played a crucial role in educating public opinion in their countries, in promoting actions by their Governments as well as other institutions in their countries, and in supporting United Nations resolutions on apartheid.

381. While commending their efforts, the Special Committee recommends that the United Nations and Member States should consider all necessary political, financial and other assistance to these movements to enable them to continue and expand their activities.

2. Trade unions

382. The Special Committee attaches great importance to actions by the national and international trade union movement in solidarity with the struggle of the workers and the national liberation movement of South Africa.

383. Solidarity actions by trade unions have assumed great importance because of the heroic struggles of the workers in South Africa for their rights despite brutal repression.

384. The Special Committee commends the actions by trade unions in supporting struggles of black workers in South Africa, in denouncing repression against workers and journalists, in supporting sanctions against South Africa and exposing violations of the arms embargo and the oil embargo, in discouraging loans to South Africa and emigration of workers to South Africa, in opposing the activities of transnational corporations providing assistance to the apartheid régime, and in providing assistance to workers persecuted in South Africa and to their trade unions.

385. It commends the Declaration and resolutions on apartheid adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation in June 1981 as an important guide to further action.

386. It welcomes the resolution adopted at the thirty-seventh ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers in June 1981 requesting the OAU Sanctions Committee, in collaboration with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, the Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations Council for Namibia, to convene an international trade union conference for the purpose of working out a programme of action towards the enforcement of sanctions against South Africa (see A/36/534, annex I, resolution CM/Res. 865 (XXXVII)).

387. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should:

(a) Denounce the violations of trade union rights in South Africa and the repression against black workers;

(b) Commend the courageous struggle of black workers of South Africa for their rights;

(c) Commend actions by the world trade union movement in support of the struggle for trade union rights and liberation in South Africa and encourage further measures in the light of the conclusions of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa and the decisions of the ILO General Conference;

(d) Make necessary financial provision to enable the Special Committee to contribute to the organization of an international conference of trade unions on sanctions against South Africa and to undertake other activities to promote trade union action against apartheid.

3. Churches and religious bodies

388. The Special Committee reiterates its commendation of the action of churches and other religious bodies in the international campaign against apartheid, especially with regard to mobilization of opinion against apartheid and campaigns against loans to and investment in South Africa, as well as the provision of humanitarian assistance to the oppressed people and their liberation movements. In view of the importance of churches and religious bodies in the struggle against apartheid the Special Committee exhorts them to continue their noble efforts until the apartheid régime is totally eliminated.

4. Youth and student organizations

389. The Special Committee has given special attention to encouraging and promoting action by youth and students against collaboration with the apartheid régime and in support of the national liberation movements of South Africa. It has decided to provide political and material assistance to the World Youth and Student Conference in Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa which is scheduled to be held in Luanda, Angola, in November 1981.

390. It suggests that appropriate assistance and co-operation should be provided by the United Nations and other organizations concerned to promote activities by the youth and students against apartheid.

5. Other non-governmental organizations

391. The Special Committee equally commends the support of numerous other non-governmental organizations committed to the liberation of South Africa. It expressed particular appreciation for the constant co-operation of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization as well as to its members.

392. The Special Committee notes with regret, however, that a number of non-governmental organizations, including those which enjoy consultative status with the United Nations and specialized agencies, collaborate with South Africa and even the so-called "independent" bantustans, thereby showing utter insensitivity to the resolutions of the United Nations and the aspirations of the great majority of South African people. Some of them are even holding their conferences in South Africa.

393. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that the General Assembly should appeal to all non-governmental organizations to desist from any form of collaboration with the apartheid régime and institutions based on racial discrimination. It recommends further that the Assembly should request the Economic and Social Council and the Secretary-General to co-operate with the Special Committee in investigating and publicizing collaboration by non-governmental organizations with the apartheid régime so that appropriate action may be taken with respect to organizations which continue such collaboration.

6. Parliamentarians

394. The Special Committee recalls that parliaments and parliamentarians have played an important role in the international campaign against apartheid. It organized during the past year the Conference of West European Parliamentarians on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, and invited parliamentarians to its conferences, seminars and special meetings. It intends to develop closer liaison with parliamentarians in all countries.

395. The Committee recommends that the United Nations should make a special effort to inform parliamentarians on international action against apartheid.

7. Local authorities

396. The Special Committee notes with great satisfaction that local authorities, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, have taken significant actions against apartheid, such as prohibiting the investment of public funds in companies doing business with South Africa, and honouring leaders of the national liberation movement of South Africa. It assisted in the organization of a conference of members of State and local legislatures in the United States of America in June 1981 to consider co-ordinated action against apartheid.

397. The Special Committee feels that such actions of the local authorities in this direction should be publicized and encouraged by the United Nations.

K. Dissemination of information on apartheid

398. The Special Committee commends the Centre against Apartheid, as well as the Department of Public Information, for their efforts to promote publicity against apartheid. It also appreciates the co-operation of Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in this respect.

399. It considers that public information on apartheid should be greatly expanded in view of the grave situation in South Africa and the proposed international year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa.

400. It commends to the attention of the General Assembly the recommendations of the International Seminar on Publicity and the Role of Mass Media in the International Mobilization against Apartheid (see A/36/496-S/14686).

401. The Special Committee intends to initiate soon, under its auspices and with the assistance of the Centre against Apartheid, a feature service on apartheid. It recommends to the General Assembly:

(a) An appeal to Member States for generous contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid;

(b) A substantial increase of the budgetary provision for publications on apartheid in different languages;

(c) A modest provision of \$5,000 in the budget for grant to writers in connexion with the initiation of a "feature service" on apartheid.

L. Regional conferences and seminars

402. The Special Committee considers it desirable to organize regional conferences or seminars in order to promote:

(a) Wider dissemination of information on the situation in South Africa;

(b) Greater public action against apartheid;

(c) The implementation of sanctions and other measures against South Africa.

403. It proposes that such conferences or seminars be organized in Latin America and in South-East Asia in 1982.

404. The Special Committee notes that, while many Governments in Latin America and the Caribbean have taken firm action against apartheid, a few Governments have increased their political, economic, cultural and even military relations with South Africa. The apartheid régime, in its efforts to counter international isolation, has attempted to develop links in Latin America and has benefited from the paucity of publicity and public action in several countries.

405. The Special Committee, therefore, considers it essential to organize a conference or seminar in Latin America in 1982 to study action by Latin American countries against apartheid, as well as collaboration by certain Governments and corporations, and consider measures to publicize and counteract the manœuvres of the apartheid régime.

406. The Special Committee acknowledges the very important role played by Asian countries in the international campaign against apartheid. It has expressed great admiration for the actions of the people of New Zealand against sporting links with South Africa. It is gravely concerned, however, over the development of a virtual alliance between the apartheid régime and the authorities in Taiwan, by the attitude of the Government of New Zealand and its supporters as regards sporting contacts with South Africa, by the continued supply of oil from Brunei to South Africa, and by reports concerning the open and clandestine trade and other links developed by the apartheid régime with some Asian countries.

407. It therefore considers it essential to organize a regional conference or seminar in Asia in 1982.

408. The Special Committee has in mind that these two conferences and seminars should be preceded by expert studies, missions to Governments and extensive consultations.

M. Programme of work of the Special Committee and services for the Special Committee

409. The Special Committee recalls that, in paragraph 5 of its resolution 35/206 P, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to devote special attention in 1981 to:

"(a) Promotion of campaigns for the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa;

"(b) Promotion of increased assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement;

"(c) Monitoring of the implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid and exposing all collaboration with South Africa".

410. The General Assembly made a special annual allocation of \$150,000 to the Special Committee from the Budget of the United Nations for special projects to be decided on by the Committee to promote the international mobilization against apartheid, in particular:

(a) Co-sponsorship and assistance to national and international conferences and seminars against apartheid;

(b) Assistance to enable national liberation movements to participate in such conferences;

(c) Promotion of the widest observance of international days against apartheid and of international campaigns against apartheid;

(d) Expert studies on apartheid.

411. The Special Committee recognizes the need for great expansion of activity, as reflected in the recommendations above, in view of the grave situation in South Africa and the proposed international year of mobilization for sanctions against South Africa. The Committee will require greater services from the Centre against

Apartheid and greater co-operation from other units of the Secretariat in the discharge of its responsibilities.

412. It recommends in particular, that an annual allocation for special projects should be increased to \$300,000 in 1982 and that the Special Committee should be authorized to seek and receive voluntary contributions for such special projects.

413. While noting with great appreciation the services of the Centre against Apartheid, it recognizes the need for the strengthening of the Centre as may be required and the improvement of office space and other facilities for the Centre.

414. The Committee notes with satisfaction the services provided by the Liaison Office of the Centre against Apartheid in Geneva. It recommends that all United Nations Information Centres, especially those in France, the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries which are major trading partners of South Africa, should be instructed to give highest priority to the campaign against apartheid in the light of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the programme of work of the Special Committee. It suggests that the Secretary-General should consider the designation of special officers for this purpose within the existing staff, as appropriate.

415. It recommends that the Secretary-General should be requested, in co-operation with the Special Committee, to make urgent and effective administrative arrangements for support of the activities of the Special Committee and the implementation of the recommendations in this report.

ANNEX I

Review of developments in South Africa since October 1980

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. In South Africa, mass resistance to apartheid attained new heights and greater effectiveness during the period under review despite brutal repression by the racist régime. Organized and sustained struggles took place on several fronts, including a nation-wide uprising against the Republic Day festivities, a widespread revolt by black students against racial discrimination in education, an unprecedented wave of strikes by black workers demanding a living wage and trade union rights, bus boycotts and rent strikes by the black population against exorbitant increases in bus fares and rents, and struggles against forced removals and relocation of whole communities in both urban and rural areas.
2. Issues affecting black people, such as rent increases, gave impetus to the formation of residents' associations and similar community-based organizations throughout the country. The co-ordinated action of these organizations was instrumental in the success of rent and transportation boycotts; it also reflected the people's rejection of the community councils sponsored by the apartheid régime.
3. Black trade unions continued to voice the militant demands of black workers; as a result, their numbers increased. Their demands went beyond factory floor issues; independent unions indeed challenged the political tenets of the apartheid régime.
4. Black student organizations maintained their strong opposition to apartheid. They systematically raised their demand for an equal, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education.
5. Church leaders in South Africa gave strong support to the liberation struggle, war resisters, disinvestment campaigns and the boycott of apartheid sport.
6. Brutal repression against the opponents of apartheid continued. Political arrests, detentions, trials, torture, bannings, banishments, police attacks and intimidation and other forms of repression intensified. Six freedom fighters were sentenced to death.
7. Black women in South Africa continued to play an important role in the struggle for liberation. They actively resisted apartheid and policies and actions arising therefrom. They held demonstrations and participated in boycotts and strikes as well as in special events and memorial services in support of the liberation struggle.
8. The racist minority régime accelerated the implementation of its policy of "bantustanization". It announced its intention to grant so-called "independence" to another bantustan, Ciskei, in December 1981.
9. The régime's initiatives, propagated as reforms but intended to reinforce apartheid, were widely rejected by the black population as cosmetics and irrelevant to their aspirations.
10. A significant feature of the past year was the growing unity in action among the various struggling sectors of the population. Striking workers, boycotting students, church leaders, bus and rent boycotters, freedom fighters and others reinforced one another.

11. The growing mobilization and political consciousness were accompanied by a significant advance in the armed struggle conducted by the freedom fighters of the national liberation movement. Their armed attacks and precise military operations constituted an integral part of a militant nation-wide mass struggle by the people fighting on all fronts. They helped to raise the level of the over-all struggle against apartheid and heighten its impact. It was thus reaffirmed that the great majority of the people in South Africa identified themselves with the objectives of the national liberation movement.

12. On the other hand, there was a growth in military contacts and co-operation between South Africa and some military establishments, particularly in Western Europe, North America, Latin America, Israel and Taiwan. The over-all manpower of the South African military forces increased considerably, including the recruitment, for the first time, of 2,000 women as regulars. While expanding its armaments industry, the military establishment acquired more military supplies and technology from abroad. Press reports indicated close nuclear co-operation between South Africa, Israel and Taiwan.

13. The racist régime intensified its acts of aggression against neighbouring States, particularly Angola and Mozambique, killing civilians and destroying bridges, railroads and other property.

14. The cost of living for the average black family increased greatly. South Africa's imports and exports showed a substantial increase, and North America and Western Europe remained its most important trade partners. A very high increase in the price of gold in 1980 raised South Africa's revenues substantially. Foreign investment, loans, tourism and immigration to South Africa continued at a high level. South Africa expanded its airlines and shipping links to Western Europe and North America.

15. Although sports in South Africa remained racially segregated, the Pretoria régime continued to secure international sporting contacts and to use those contacts for propaganda purposes with a view to improving the international image of apartheid. For the same purpose, it also offered financial inducements to attract internationally known artists to South Africa for cultural events.

II. GROWING RESISTANCE AGAINST APARTHEID

A. Boycott of the Republic Day Festival

16. The South African régime celebrated in May 1981 the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Republic. A nationwide campaign to boycott the festivities was initiated among people of all population groups. The campaign immediately enlisted the support of community, church, students, workers, sports and women's organizations, which became instrumental in the success of the boycott.

17. The campaign began with the massive boycott of classes by black students demanding the eradication of Bantu education and the apartheid régime. Workers organized stay-at-home actions and demanded trade union rights and the release of political prisoners. Black people in the communities demonstrated against their appalling living conditions and called for the abolition of the community councils, which were viewed as instruments of apartheid. Church and women's organizations called on the régime to stop its repressive policies.

18. Mass organizations held commemoration services of the Sharpeville massacre and the Soweto uprising of 1976, throughout South Africa. They considered that those events indeed embodied the struggles of the black people of South Africa for a truly democratic society. During the commemoration of the Soweto uprising of 1976, workers stayed away from their jobs, people in the community boycotted transportation, students boycotted classes, and sports organizations cancelled their events. The black people of South Africa heeded the calls made by the mass organizations and appeared in large numbers at commemoration services conducted in churches and schools in the townships where the heroes of the people were remembered. The Freedom Charter remained the inspiration for renewed opposition to apartheid.

19. The boycott became the rallying point for the expression of opposition to the apartheid régime. It was significant because people of all population groups acted in unity to demonstrate their rejection of the racist régime. Their protests made it clear to the régime that the people of South Africa and their national liberation movement were unrelenting in their opposition to apartheid.

20. The organized presence of the national liberation movement was evident through the armed attacks conducted simultaneously against railway lines, power stations and police stations, as well as the calls to the people of South Africa to boycott the Republic Day festivities.

21. The apartheid régime responded with fierce violence to this upsurge of organized opposition. Police attacked demonstrators injuring many of them; scores of students, trade unionists, journalists, church and community leaders were arrested. Police conducted massive raids in the townships to intimidate the population. The régime served stringent banning orders on student and community leaders as well as on journalists. It used its entire repressive apparatus in its futile attempt to quell the nation-wide revolt against apartheid.

B. School boycotts

22. School boycotts and similar action by college and university students involved hundreds of thousands of students. Coloured students organized massive boycotts throughout the country against appalling conditions in their schools. Their demand was the same as that of African and Indian students: eradication of an inferior and racially segregated system of education.

23. Parents', teachers' and community organizations as well as a wide range of political and religious organizations supported the students. A higher level of unity developed among black students and between students and community organizations. The effectiveness of the boycotts forced the racist régime to close down many black schools.

24. During the boycott, the students linked their demands for a truly democratic system of education with demands for political rights for all blacks. They supported other struggles such as strikes by workers and community campaigns against bus fare and rent increases.

25. Although the boycott ended temporarily in February 1981, the opposition against apartheid education continued with the campaign against the imposition of compulsory racially segregated education for African children. Community and political organizations were in the forefront of the campaign along with the Congress of South African Students.

26. The boycott was renewed during the campaign against the Republic Day festivities when the massive actions by the students proved crucial in its effectiveness.

C. Workers' struggle

27. An unprecedented number of industrial strikes demonstrated the collective strength of black workers. In 1980, there were 207 strikes in South Africa, nearly twice the 1979 figure. Days lost through strikes totalled 175,000. a/ The strikes were significant not only because of the scale of the actions but, more importantly, for the reasons motivating them and the militancy of the workers.

28. Strikes were called primarily to demand the recognition of black trade unions or of workers' committees elected under union auspices, as opposed to the liaison committees approved by the régime. They were also called to protest the victimization of union members, particularly organizers, and to demand wage increases, better conditions of employment, and improvements in the general conditions of the workers' lives. Recently, "sympathy strikes" were called in Port Elizabeth to support the demands of black auto workers on strike at the Firestone plant. Thousands of workers went on strike to support their fellow workers.

29. The independent black trade union movement continued to grow. Approximately 50,000 black workers are thought to have joined trade unions in 1980. Black trade unions also played a crucial role in linking the struggles of the workers for economic and political rights with those of the rest of the population. One instance was the South African Allied Workers Union, which evidenced the most impressive growth in membership. The union declared that it was interested in all aspects that affected the black community.

30. As a result, the black population responded on occasions when striking workers called for support outside the workplace. It supported the consumer boycotts called by unions to strengthen the bargaining position of workers on strike. Two instances of such support were the national boycott of Colgate-Palmolive and Wilson-Rowntree products following strikes for union recognition at those plants.

31. It was increasingly difficult for employers to subvert strikes owing to the solidarity of the black population with striking workers. Unity between employed and unemployed and urban and migrant workers was more evident. Some independent unions even proposed the formation of a union for the unemployed to thwart the employers' tactic of replacing striking workers with the unemployed.

a/ "Seventeenth Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa" tenth item on the agenda, International Labour Conference, 67th Session, 1981.

32: The ranks of black trade unions opposed to registration continued to grow. The régime attempted to undermine black trade unions and the solidarity shown them by the black communities and the international trade union movement by imposing stricter controls on the independent trade union movement.

D. Resistance by South African churches

33. Within the framework of the over-all struggle against the racist régime, the resistance of churches and members of the clergy grew considerably in the past year.

34. An important development was the steady evolution among some churches towards greater support for the liberation struggle. The church showed an increasing support for white war resisters, actively participated in services to commemorate those who had died in the struggle, and gave stronger support for disinvestment and the sports boycott.

35. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) called for a boycott of the Republic Day festivals and for a rejection of tours by sporting teams to South Africa. In February 1981, SACC approved a resolution demanding that foreign investment in the country should only take place if full human rights in a united South Africa were promoted. It called on its Justice and Reconciliation Division to conceive positive non-co-operation measures for the defiance of unjust laws.

36. The National Conference of SACC declared this year that the fragmentaton of the human community resulting from the homelands policy was a threat to world peace and called on white South Africans to visit resettlement areas and to wage a campaign to enable the families of migrant workers to live with them where they work. The Conference called on all Christians to use their influence to press for the abolition of the pass laws and single hostels for married men and women.

37. In addition, SACC supported the blacklisting of sportsmen who maintained links with South Africa. Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of SACC, declared that the organization had also urged the cancellation of rugby tours scheduled to and from South Africa.

38. Several leading South African church officials expressed outrage in April 1981 at the disclosure that the racist régime had secretly funded the right-wing Christian League. The League had been engaged in a campaign to break the influence of SACC.

39. According to most church leaders interviewed this year by the Sunday Tribune, the war on South Africa's border is caused by apartheid and not by any external threat. Their resistance to the dictates of an unjust society was dramatically emphasized by SACC's refusal to meet the Chaplain General of the South African Defence Force to discuss the border war and by the decision of eight churches in Durban to ask their congregations to pray for South Africa a military parade through the city on Republic Day. b/

b/ Sunday Tribune, 22 February 1981.

40. All major churches that practice mixed worship rejected the South African Indian Council (SAIC), created by the racist régime to give credibility to apartheid. SAIC has long been rejected by the South African Council of Churches and the three black Dutch Reformed Churches.

41. The Roman Catholic Church announced in March 1981 that it would boycott the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Republic Day. Also, the bishops decided to support the sports boycott of South Africa.

42. Broederkring, the fraternity of ministers from the three black Dutch Reformed Churches released a document on 21 February 1981 showing the racist régime's repressive tactics against that and similar organizations. Officials of the organization likened the concerted onslaught against the fraternity to the fierce campaign waged against the Christian Institute before its banning in 1977. Two prominent Dutch churchmen, Dr. C. B. Roos, chairman of the Hervormde Synod in the Netherlands, and Dr. C. Mak, former chairman of the Gereformeerde Synod, called on 4 March for political steps to be taken against the Pretoria régime.

E. Resistance by other segments of the population

43. The struggle of students, workers and church leaders took place amid widespread opposition to apartheid by other sectors of the population. The urban areas were the scene of intensified community struggles. High rents, inadequate maintenance, deteriorating housing, and poor and expensive community services were the source of continued protests.

44. In the past year, the community councils instituted exorbitant rent increases. Black people showed their rejection of these councils through a campaign of organized resistance involving refusals to pay increases, demonstrations against the community councils and administration boards, and legal action. New community organizations emerged during these struggles which added to the strength of the existing organizations. The protests also heightened the struggle between the people in the townships and the councils which were viewed as agents of the apartheid régime.

45. The Indian and Coloured communities also entered into conflict with the apartheid authorities. They rejected the divisive tactics used by the régime and indeed identified the critical housing shortage as being the direct result of the Group Areas Act.

46. Widespread, massive bus boycotts became more frequent as workers took action to fight crippling fare increases, some of which fluctuated between 30 and 100 per cent. c/ Broad representative committees initiated and organized the boycotts which mobilized entire communities.

47. Population removals continued on a large scale. Many Indian and Coloured communities were forcibly uprooted to give way to "white" or "industrial" areas. A large number of Africans were "relocated." At the end of 1980, there were 841 group areas for whites, 581 for Coloureds, and 258 for Indians. According to

c/ Sowetan, 12 March 1981; Rand Daily Mail, 4 April 1981.

the régime's figures, 4,016 families throughout South Africa were moved in 1980 in terms of the provisions of the Group Areas Act. The régime set up special courts to prosecute hundreds of Africans, Indians and Coloureds who lived "illegally" in white areas. d/

F. Advance of the underground and armed struggle

48. In strongly condemning the racist régime of South Africa for its massive repression against the opponents of apartheid, the General Assembly has reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement by all available means, including armed struggle, for the elimination of apartheid and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the entire people of South Africa.

49. The armed liberation struggle of the people of South Africa gained strength just as the racist régime of Pretoria stepped up its manoeuvres and its repression against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and continued its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States. The situation in the region continued, therefore, to be explosive and in breach of world peace and security.

50. The national liberation movement intensified its armed struggle for the achievement of the legitimate basic rights of the majority population in South Africa, hand in hand with its political struggle inside and outside South Africa to isolate the racist régime.

51. Clearly, the struggle of the people of South Africa had entered a crucial phase. The racist régime of South Africa became more desperate, while the resistance of the people under the guidance of their national liberation movement continued to grow stronger. There was a growing mobilization of increased political consciousness among the oppressed people and a considerable advance in the armed struggle waged by the freedom fighters of the national liberation movement.

52. The level of the armed struggle and of underground actions which were militarily sophisticated appeared to be in constant advance. The increase in the incidents of armed struggle against the racist régime was indicated by the level of counter-insurgency activity of the apartheid forces, the discovery of caches of weapons, and the ever-increasing number of trials for "security-related" offences.

53. South Africa had 127 incidents of "political violence and sabotage" which resulted in the death of 70 people in the two years ending 30 June 1981. There were 30 serious arson attacks, 16 serious stonings, 15 explosive device incidents against persons, 13 cases of railway sabotage involving explosives, 10 grenade attacks, 10 shooting incidents and 8 attacks on policemen or their families. Police seized weapons and explosives on nine occasions, and six police stations were attacked. In addition to actual attacks, there were plans for attacks on police stations, fuel installations, power stations, courts, bridges, international business enterprises and administration boards. e/

d/ Rand Daily Mail, 20 February 1981.

e/ Rand Daily Mail, Extra, 28 July 1981.

54. The national liberation movement co-ordinated its operations with political campaigns. Since October 1980, the freedom fighters have conducted armed attacks against police stations, blown up railway lines, clashed with South African military and homeland forces, and destroyed oil pipelines. Those actions coincided with strikes of workers, demonstrations against higher rents, and disruption of bus service by stone-throwing youths seeking to enforce a stay-at-home by workers as part of the protests. Also, the broad national campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners demonstrated the growing unity of action and purpose between the political struggle and the armed struggle. f/

55. Of special significance was the extent of the unity and integration of struggles, their relation to the simultaneous armed struggle, and the understanding that they were all part of a struggle for liberation.

56. An important additional feature of the underground and armed struggle was the growth in the level of unity in action among the fighting contingents.

57. The killing and the capture of ANC freedom fighters in the raids by the apartheid régime into neighbouring African States in 1981 were strongly condemned by black organizations, and there were many statements from organizations and individuals showing that those in the national liberation movement, engaged in armed struggle, were seen by black people as heroes.

58. Fearing open expression of opposition to the raids and of support for the national liberation movement, the racist régime prevented the return of the bodies of the freedom fighters to South Africa for burial and banned services to commemorate them.

59. Thousands of Africans attended memorial services held in Soweto in 1981 in memory of the ANC members killed during both the raid into Mozambique and the Silverton siege. At the funeral, police used teargas to disperse the mourners.

60. A chronology of incidents relating to the underground and armed struggle within the period under review is included in appendix I to this annex.

III. REPRESSION AGAINST OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID

A. General

61. Faced with the upsurge of mass struggle and the advances of the national liberation movement, the régime used all its repressive power to suppress resistance and maintain itself. The growth of the black trade union movement, the co-ordinated actions by students, the emergence of new community organizations, and the increasing political and military capacity of the national liberation movement met with more systematic repression.

f/ A request by a United States delegation to meet Nelson Mandela was turned down by the South African régime, as confirmed by the Minister of Justice on 24 July 1981.

62. The racist régime used its full arsenal to halt the mass movement in South Africa. It resorted to (a) direct physical violence to disrupt organizational meetings and commemorations, (b) bannings of meetings and organizations to prevent organizing and mobilizing, (c) the law and the courts to prosecute individuals and organizations involved in protests and meetings, and (d) security laws and other repressive laws against freedom fighters and individuals involved in "illegal" organizations.

63. The régime also attempted to intimidate people in the townships by conducting periodic "security" operations in those areas. These raids, undertaken jointly by the police, military and security police, showed the régime's sinister effort to increase its capacity to repress resistance and defend itself against the forces of liberation.

64. The régime threatened to cancel the permits of several church sites if they continued to be used for meetings of residents on fare and rent increases. On some occasions, it even prevented funerals because of their political significance.

65. Police attacks on people attending meetings and protests increased. They attacked students, striking workers, churchmen, rent protesters, bus boycotters, and women and children resisting removals. They raided church and trade union offices. They used a variety of weapons and injured scores of individuals. Police also attacked spectators outside the courts where security trials were under way. During the protests against the Republic Day Festival, riot police and military patrols conducted raids in the townships and attacked individuals during demonstrations.

66. On 10 September 1981, speaking in the House of Assembly, the South African Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange, accused the South African Council of Churches of using funds obtained overseas to support activities which were in no way different from those of the ANC and threatened the Council and particularly its Secretary-General, Bishop Desmond Tutu, that the Government was finding it increasingly difficult to accept that situation any longer. Bishop Tutu and SACC were threatened because they help provide humanitarian assistance to families of political prisoners, assist dismissed and otherwise repressed workers, and oppose forced removals of African "squatters".

67. Prison conditions in South Africa continued to be as inhuman as ever. A letter dated 8 July 1981 from Mrs. Norma B. Kitson to the Chairman of the Special Committee, enclosing a copy of her appeal to the Minister of Prisons in Pretoria, complained against lack of heating in the Pretoria central maximum security prison where her husband had been suffering from cold. Mr. Ian David Kitson, who was imprisoned in 1964 for 20 years, is 61 years old.

B. Bannings, detentions and torture

68. Bans on organizations and individuals were extensively used as another means to prevent political activity. The régime imposed stringent bans on students, journalists, community and church leaders, and trade union activists, among others. g/

g/ Persons served with banning orders during the past year are listed in appendix II to this annex.

69. The régime frequently banned meetings because of their possible political implications. It used the Riotous Assemblies Act to ban specific meetings. Bannings affected report-back meetings at industrial plants (where union organizers inform workers about the status of negotiations with management), school meetings to discuss boycotts, commemoration services and community meetings to discuss rent and fare increases.

70. The racist régime also banned publications and newspapers to prevent the dissemination and discussion of ideas. The Post and the Sunday Post were the victims in 1980. Individual issues of student publications, publications of political organizations, and leaflets and pamphlets produced during mass struggles were also banned. The régime withdrew the passports of leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu.

71. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, at least 965 persons were detained by security police in South Africa in 1980. The detainees included pupils, college and university students, lecturers, school principals, teachers, political leaders, community leaders, journalists and trade unionists. A large percentage of the arrests and detentions were related to strikes and protests in the communities and schools. As a trend, the security police would first hold a person under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, then under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, and finally under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act. h/

72. In 1981, arrested people included such leaders as Mr. D. Johnston, Chairman of the Black Students' Society of the University of Witwatersrand; Mr. K. Seathlolo, former President of the Soweto Students' Representative Council; Mr. A. Boraine, President of the National Union of South African Students; Reverend E. Shomang of Soweto; Reverend S. Jacobs from the South African Council of Churches; Mr. J. Mavi, President of the Black Municipal Workers' Union; Mr. S. Njikelana, Vice-President of the South African Allied Workers Union; Mr. D. Makhanda, Chairman of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Association of South Africa; Mr. S. Pityana, organizer of the General Workers' Union of South Africa; Mr. Z. Sisulu, former President of Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA); Mr. T. Mazwai, news editor of the Sowetan, and Mr. T. Ndabeni, national organizer of the Azanian People's Organization.

73. In a telegramme dated 30 June 1981, the President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Canon L. John Collins, requested the Secretary-General to urgently intervene to ensure access to the lawyers and families of over 30 persons arrested during the preceding week, including student and church leaders.

74. In 1981, more than 100 trade union leaders were arrested, about 15,000 black workers fired as a result of over 63 strikes, and 2,060 striking workers deported to "homelands". On 6 September, the apartheid régime arrested about 205 unionists.

75. Details of police brutality were revealed during political trials. Many of those accused declared that their testimony had been extracted under torture.

h/ Star, 9 January 1981; Rand Daily Mail, 10 January 1981.

76. In June 1981, the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa received evidence in London of personal experiences of torture in South African prisons. The experiences included brutal beatings, electric shocks, sexual harrassment, mock burials and other inhuman and despicable forms of torture.

C. Political trials and death sentences

77. Political trials took place on a large scale. A large number of individuals faced prosecution for their participation in protests connected with school boycotts, labour strikes and community boycotts. Trials under the Terrorism Act and for offences such as sedition, treason and murder were frequent. Sentences were increasingly severe, particularly when the accused acknowledged that they were members of the national liberation movement.

78. The apartheid régime has not heeded the calls of the United Nations and the international community to accord prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocol I of 1977. In November 1980, in the Silverton siege treason trial, it imposed death sentences on three ANC freedom fighters, namely, Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, Naphtali Manana and Petrus Tsepo Mashigo. Consequently, the international community, including the Secretary-General of the United Nations, i/ expressed concern about those death sentences imposed as a result of acts arising from opposition to apartheid. At the time of this review, they were awaiting appeal.

79. On 19 August 1981, Messrs. Anthony B. Tsotsobe (25), Johannes Shabangu (26) and David Moise (25), ANC freedom fighters, were also sentenced to death by the Pretoria Supreme Court. They were tried under the infamous Terrorism Act on charges of so-called high treason, terrorism and attempted murder. They were held responsible for the attack on SASOL II installations in June 1980 as well as for the attack on the Booyesen Police station and the throwing of a handgrenade into a police constable's house in Bosfontein.

IV. WOMEN UNDER APARTHEID

80. With the growing momentum in the struggle for national liberation, women again came to the fore in political and mass resistance to apartheid. They militantly opposed forced removals, compulsory racially segregated education, the break-up of families due to the existence of migrant labour, and other actions carried out by the apartheid régime.

81. Women held demonstrations against rent increases and the policies of the administration boards and the community councils. They also participated in the community boycotts organized against the bus fare increases. They were active in the campaign against compulsory education, particularly through the Women's Federation of South Africa. The Federation called for the formation of a national committee to boycott the Republic Day celebrations.

i/ See S6/SM/3014 of 9 December 1980.

82. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1956 protest march against the issuance of pass books to black women was commemorated throughout South Africa on 9 August 1981. The theme of the commemorative events was "A place to live - struggles in the community by people from the community".

83. Resistance by women at the workplace also increased as demonstrated by the numbers of women workers who were involved in strikes. Domestic workers struggled for wage increases through their organization, the Domestic Workers' Association, which also played a leading role in the fight against the "key law". According to the law, employers must be in possession of a domestic worker's register and a duplicate key which must be made available on demand to any police officer or employee of the community council. The Association also demanded a minimum wage for domestic workers.

84. Women, along with men and children, militantly opposed their removal from the Nyanga squatter camp near Cape Town in August. The racist régime used its repressive apparatus to force the removal of mostly women and children who had come to Cape Town to join their relatives, i.e. migrant workers. The plight of the women and children of Nyanga became another example of the inhumanity of apartheid. Yet, the people's resistance to move, particularly the women's, became also a symbol of the determination to struggle against the abhorrent apartheid system.

85. During the past year, women in South Africa continued their active and militant resistance against apartheid, demonstrating the crucial role that they play in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

V. BANTUSTANS

86. The racist régime has speeded up its policy of bantustanization to create reservoirs of cheap labour for the white economy, deprive the impoverished African people of their rights of citizenship, and create ethnic and tribal differences.

87. Despite overwhelming opposition by the African people of South Africa, the racist régime announced its intentions to proclaim the fourth bantustan, the Ciskei, "independent" in December 1981. This proclamation was another act of defiance of the United Nations and the international community.

88. The racist régime's purpose in creating the absurdity of "homelands" was made clear once more by Prime Minister Botha who acknowledged publicly that none of the "homelands" would be economically viable and that they would serve mainly as labour reserves for white industrial centres nearby. j/

89. It was estimated that more than 95 per cent of the families in all "homelands" were dependent on cash earnings from migrant labour. A measure of the miserable plight faced by them could be gauged by the high rate of infant mortality, malnutrition, disease and physical afflictions and disabilities among them.

90. A report entitled "Native reserves, bantustans, semi-independent black states, homelands" at the Black Sash Conference held in March 1981 disclosed that women

j/ The Baltimore Sun, 18 May 1981.

formed more than 80 per cent of the population of "homelands" in the 30 to 39 age group and over 70 per cent in the 40 to 49 group. k/

91. Landlessness for the African people of South Africa has meant grinding poverty, indebtedness, destitution and broken family lives as migrant workers leave home for periods up to a year and more. A recent survey in the Ciskei showed that only 6 per cent of the land of the "homelands" was suitable for agriculture. l/

92. Children who grew up in bantustans with inadequate nourishment and care, little or no schooling, lack of health care, and without a stable family background - owing to broken family life caused by migrant labour - were often deprived of love and secure ties with their parents. In 1980, more than 50,000 children were expected to die of malnutrition in the rural areas, with another 100,000 at serious risk.

93. The massive spread of the cholera epidemic which first appeared in KaNgwane "homeland" in October 1980, causing the death of dozens of Africans, was attributed to the inadequate health facilities of that overcrowded "homeland". m/

94. The proposed "Black Council," which was meant to group together the so-called non-independent bantustans and the representatives of the urban African communities, suffered a defeat and perished in the face of strong opposition of the African people for genuine liberation.

95. Frightened by the upsurge of the liberation struggle and the heroism of the black people, the racist régime continued, by all possible means, to accelerate the policy of bantustanization and perpetuate inhuman exploitation which provided it with enormous profits.

VI. SO-CALLED REFORMS WITHIN APARTHEID

A. General

96. The Government continued with the implementation of political initiatives aimed at so-called reforms. It endeavoured to gain the co-operation of some sections of the oppressed majority, while it intensified the controls on the rest. Developments in the past year showed that the "reforms" were intended to preserve the basic system of apartheid while making the necessary adjustments in the context of changing economic and political circumstances. Those initiatives, however, have failed to stem the tide for demands for political liberation.

97. All-white general elections were held in South Africa on 29 April 1981. Prime Minister P. W. Botha called the elections eighteen months earlier allegedly to strengthen his hand within the National Party. Parliament and provincial council seats were contested. The policies of the contesting parties were far from

k/ Star, 16 March 1981.

l/ Ibid.

m/ Human Rights Internet, Washington D.C., February-March 1981, vol. 6, no. 4, p. 562.

clear but it was obvious that the ruling National Party went to the elections on the basis of its apartheid policies as expressed in its 12-point plan. That plan is based on so-called multi-nationalism, self-determination and independence for homelands, consolidation of homelands, separate communities and schools, and the removal of "hurtful and unnecessary" discrimination. Essentially, the plan maintained the pillars of apartheid.

98. The black people of South Africa were mere spectators to this process. Results indicated that the policies of Prime Minister Botha had failed to convince both its verkrampste and verligte constituency. Even though the traditional Afrikaner loyalty to the National Party showed some signs of erosion, the party still emerged as the dominant party in the Parliament with 131 seats compared with 26 held by the Progressive Federal Party and 8 held by the National Republican Party. The erosion of support for the National Party was also evidence of the entrenched Afrikaner ideology which viewed Prime Minister Botha's token initiatives for blacks as a threat to its power.

99. Prime Minister Botha's constitutional initiatives, the Black Advisory Council and the President's Council, failed to gain support from the black community. Both initiatives were viewed as political arrangements which would separate the Coloured and Indian groups from Africans and try to bring them into alliance with whites. The Prime Minister was, however, adamant in his opposition to including Africans in the President's Council.

100. The Coloured Representative Council (CRC) and the South African Indian Council (SAIC), the national bodies established by the régime for the Coloured and Indian communities, also failed to win any support from their communities. The CRC was eventually abolished. The régime plans to hold elections for SAIC, on 4 November 1981 in spite of SAIC's resolution of June 1981 describing the planned poll as an exercise in futility. n/

B. New labour controls

101. Following the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, the Government conceived a "new labour dispensation bill" whose clear objective was to tighten controls on labour. The régime also proposed the recognition of black trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act by which white unions were recognized.

102. Most black trade unions refused to register because of the controls that registration would impose on them. Those unions which registered were granted certificates on a racial basis.

103. In general, the independent black trade union movement rejected the "labour dispensation bill", because the bill would impose more stringent controls on unions. Opposition to the bill was also voiced by international workers' organizations. And even sectors of the business community in South Africa called on the régime to withdraw the bill. In the face of mounting criticism, the bill was withdrawn for further evaluation.

n/ Weekly Newsbriefing (ANC), 22 July 1981, p. 7.

104. The new Labour Relations Amendment Bill omitted some controls envisaged in the earlier draft. Nevertheless, it maintained restrictions on unregistered unions and illegal strikes. It also reintroduced a system of works councils. The official registration system remained intact as did a clause forbidding any union from having its main office in a "homeland". Leaders and representatives of almost the entire independent trade union movement planned to form a united front against this proposed labour legislation.

105. In addition to the measures recommended by the Wiehahn Commission, the régime resorted to other means to undermine the independent trade union movement. These included the detention of union organizers, the prosecution of organizers and workers involved in strikes, and the imposition of restrictions on the ability of unions to raise funds from other sources, which would severely limit their capability of sustaining strike action.

C. Pass laws

106. The recommendations of the Riekert Commission of Inquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilization of Manpower were originally hailed as introducing a "new political dispensation". Their actual function, however, was to simplify and streamline the laws relating to influx control and to make them more efficient.

107. A study released by the University of Cape Town in April 1981 disclosed that more than one third of the 102,000 prisoners in South Africa's jails were imprisoned because of pass laws. The study showed that it cost the taxpayer R112 million a year to enforce the pass laws. o/

108. The adoption of the Riekert recommendations made it more difficult for rural workers to go to urban areas to work. They also had a negative effect on the "freedom of movement" of urban workers, particularly because of the severe shortage of housing. Government statistics released in April 1981 showed that South Africa faced a backlog demand of more than 200,000 housing units for Africans, Indians and Coloureds. It was estimated that the Department of Community Development and Auxiliary Services would have to provide 42,000 dwelling units a year to be able to eliminate the backlog in five years. p/

109. In November 1980, the Minister for Co-operation and Development published three major draft bills to implement the full set of Riekert proposals: the Local Government Bill, the Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill, and the Black Community Development Bill. The bills were withdrawn after strong criticism against them was voiced from all quarters. There are indications that the new version of the bills may further limit the possibilities for Africans to reside in urban areas.

110. The régime spoke very rhetorically about change; yet evidence showed that the "reforms" were widely rejected by the population. The failure of these apartheid schemes pointed to the people's determination to secure genuine liberation. q/

o/ Sowetan, 10 April 1981.

p/ Rand Daily Mail, 15 April 1981.

q/ Sechaba, March 1981.

VII. MILITARY BUILD-UP

A. General

111. During the past year, contacts and co-operation between the South African military establishment and the regional and national defence organizations grew, primarily in Western Europe, North America, some Latin American countries, Israel and Taiwan.
112. Mr. R. F. Botha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, while on a visit to Europe in November 1980, met with Dr. Joseph Luns, the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This visit was interpreted as a reversal of NATO's policies, which did not envisage contacts with the South African régime and its military establishment. In the past, leaders of NATO countries had reiterated their adherence to this policy. Consequently, Mr. Botha's visit created consternation among the international community.
113. Some non-governmental organizations in Western countries attempted to enlist official and media support to promote the idea that South Africa is vital to and an integral part of the Western defence system. For example, the American Legion at its October 1980 meeting passed a resolution urging the United States President to terminate all sanctions against South Africa and enter into a mutually acceptable alliance with the South African régime.
114. Another example of co-operation with the South African régime was the construction of South Africa's first satellite tracking station, Landslat, in 1980. The Landslat station was a result of a joint effort by the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).
115. The South African régime hailed the change of the United States Administration as more favourable to South Africa. Mr. P. W. Botha said that the United States policy towards South Africa had been reversed and that it was now "realistic". During the early months of 1981, the South African media constantly reported that close military co-operation between the United States and South Africa was being envisaged by the new Administration in Washington.
116. In March 1981, while the United States policy towards South Africa was still in the planning stage, a South African military intelligence team headed by Brigadier P. W. Van der Westhuisen, Chief of the South African Military Intelligence, and Admiral Willem du Plessis, a member of the South African Prime Ministers State Security Council, arrived in the United States. These officials visited the United States Defense Information Agency, the National Security Council, and State Department officials, as well as the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.
117. The international community and the media interpreted the visit as a reversal of the United States military policy towards South Africa. The previous Administration had minimized contacts with the South African military establishment and, inter alia, reduced its military representation in Pretoria to a single military attaché. Meanwhile, the United States authorities announced that the South African military intelligence team had obtained entry visas from the United States officials in South Africa under false pretenses.

118. Mr. Botha was invited to the United States for consultations; he visited Washington in May 1981. This visit further exacerbated the international community's concerns that the South African régime and the new United States Administration were increasing their contacts, thus helping the régime to break its international isolation.

119. Also in May 1981, the Carlos Pellegrini Foundation and Ateneo de Occidente of Argentina with the Institute of Inter-American Relations and Council for Inter-American Security of the United States organized a conference in Buenos Aires on the defence of the South Atlantic. Representatives from some Latin American countries, South Africa and the United States participated in the Conference.

B. Defence budget

120. The 1981-1982 budget presented by the régime to the Parliament in August 1980 provided a substantial increase for defence. The budget was R2,465 million, a 30 per cent increase from the 1980-1981 defence budget of R1,890 million. The Minister of Finance indicated that another R172 million would be transferred from the budget surplus of R309 million to the Special Defence Account.

121. The defence budget allocates R1,293 million to landward defence and R710 million to logistic support, which together constitute 81 per cent of the budget allocations. This is a clear indication that South Africa is increasing its military build-up and that South Africa will escalate its aggression on the front-line African States.

C. Increase in military forces

122. As the régime became more aggressive, the over-all manpower of the South African Defence Force (SADF) increased by 35 per cent from 63,250 in 1979 to 86,050 in 1980. During the same period, total conscripts in the armed forces increased by 46 per cent, from 45,250 to 66,250. In 1980, black and Coloured regulars in the Army increased by 500 to 3,000, and for the first time, 2,000 women were recruited as regulars. The Navy maintained its manpower of 4,750 in 1980, but the Air Force increased its regulars by 300 to 6,000 bringing the total manpower of the Air Force to 10,300 in 1980 from 10,000 in 1979.

D. Acquisition of military equipment

123. In 1980, SADF acquired 100 Centurions and 40 Sherman tanks, 200 120 mm. heavy mortars, 15 N-7 105 mm. self-propelled guns, 40 M-198AI mm. towed and self-propelled howitzers, 1,000 Ratel infantry fighting vehicles, and 25 Augusta-Bell 205 multi-purpose utility helicopters for the Army. In the same period, the Navy acquired three Minister class multiple-missile gunboats and six Dvora (Resheff) class single-missile gunboats. Both types are classified as fast attack crafts (missiles) FAC(M)s.

124. Although official South African sources claimed that Resheff class FAC(M)s were built locally, Jane's Fighting Ships listed them as purchases from Israel. The Resheff class FAC(M)s are each armed with single Israeli-built Gabriel missiles. They are based at Salisbury Island, South Africa, used as a naval base

by the South African Navy since 1976. Six more Resheff class FAC(M)s are currently being constructed under contract with Israel.

125. In May 1981, three Austrian and three British subjects were arrested in Houston, Texas, and charged with illicitly trying to transport military weapons to South Africa. Along with such efforts, the international press has been frequently reporting that the mandatory arms embargo on South Africa has been loosely enforced by some government authorities, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom.

E. Armaments industry

126. The South African Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR) disclosed that, in addition to 25,000 workers employed by ARMSCOR, 90,000 workers were employed by pilot industries involved in arms production, bringing the total number of workers employed both directly and indirectly by the armaments industry to 115,000. Additional R1,600 million will be spent for armaments production and 25 per cent of the production will be exported.

127. In 1980, ARMSCOR continued to borrow from the South African market, assisted by domestic South African banks and South African subsidiaries of international banks.

128. In November 1980, ARMSCOR received the 1980 national award of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa for developing air-to-air missile and artillery rocket systems in South Africa.

F. Nuclear collaboration

129. According to the international media, United States nuclear analysts interpreted the "flash" of light which appeared over the South Atlantic in December 1980 as a nuclear explosion. The explosion was attributed to South Africa, the only country in the area with nuclear capability, in co-operation with Israel.

130. The South African Government announced in April that the reactors of the Atomic Energy Board (AEB) and Uranium Enrichment Corporation (UCOR) reactors would operate on locally-produced fuel in the near future.

131. Recent press reports indicate that South Africa, along with Taiwan and Israel, will become a member of the so-called "nuclear club" in the near future. During the past year, the international media reported close nuclear co-operation between South Africa, Israel and Taiwan.

VIII. INTENSIFICATION OF ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBOURING STATES

132. During the past year, the racist régime increased and intensified its military aggression on neighbouring African States.

133. In January 1981, South African military forces made numerous airborne landings and staged ground attacks on Angola, at the same time combining them with their routine air raids and reconnaissance flights.

134. The following month, South African aircrafts continued violating Angolan airspace; its military vehicles and troops crossed the Angolan border and temporarily occupied certain areas, destroyed bridges and railroads and attacked civilians.
135. Five innocent children were killed in March when South African Air Force planes wantonly machine-gunned an Angolan primary school. Furthermore, in the same month, the South African Air Force attacked the environs of Lubango, approximately 230 miles from the Namibian border, claiming to have destroyed major SWAPO training camps.
136. From January through February 1981 alone, 28 Angolans perished through South African military aggression.
137. In January 1981, the South African military also attacked homes of South African refugees, members of ANC, in Matola, Mozambique, killing 11 refugees. South Africans continued their military aggressions against Mozambique in February.
138. The régime continued to amass troops near the Angolan and Mozambique borders, criminally attacking both countries under the pretext of hot pursuit of so-called terrorists.
139. Since July 1981, reports indicate that the South African régime has amassed over 45,000 troops on the Namibia-Angola border. The South African Defence Force occupies positions approximately 100 kilometers inside Angola and has established headquarters at Mulemba, about 40 kilometers north of the Namibian border. Almost 15,000 South African troops, supported by the South African Air Force and motorised units, are reportedly pushing north, killing civilians, burning houses, and laying mines on roads. This recent aggression virtually constituted a permanent occupation of a part of Angolan territory. r/

IX. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

A. General

140. The régime's budget for 1981-1982 totalled R15,711,649,000, an increase of R2,569,732,000 (16 per cent) from the 1980-1981 budget.
141. South Africa's economic growth rate was 8 per cent per annum in 1980 and is expected to be between 4.5 to 5 per cent in 1981. The gross domestic product increased by 32.5 per cent to R57,917 million in 1979. The consumer price index (CPI) increased by 15.8 per cent during 1980, primarily as a result of the 30 per cent increase in food prices. The cost of living for the average black family increased by 20 per cent, almost 5 per cent higher than in 1979. The increase in food prices, naturally, had a critical impact on poor Africans.

r/ See appendix III for a partial listing of South Africa's acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

B. Trade

142. In 1980, South Africa's exports totalled R19,846 million, an increase of 33 per cent from R14,847 million in 1979. Imports totalled R14,288 million, an increase of 46 per cent from R9,739 million in the previous year.

143. During 1980, mineral exports totalled R13,204 million. Approximately R10,000 million worth of gold was exported, which amounted to more than 50 per cent of the aggregate exports and 70 per cent of the mineral exports. South African coal exports totalled 114,000,000 tons in 1980, 29,200,000 tons more than in 1979, earning R688 million in foreign exchange.

South African mineral sales (in millions of rand)

	<u>Gold</u>	<u>Diamonds</u>	<u>Coal</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1978	3 900	446	874	1 944	7 165
1979	5 842	547	1 147	2 233	9 770
1980	10 370	553	1 468	2 630	15 021

Source: Financial Mail, (Johannesburg), 10 April 1981.

144. With the exclusion of gold sales, South African exports totalled R 9,705 million in 1980, an increase of approximately 10 per cent from R 8,844 in 1979.

145. The domestic industries' high rate of expansion substantially increased imports. The high import content of capital goods, inventories and durable consumer goods caused imports to remain at a high level. The economic slowdown in North America and Western Europe, South Africa's main trading partners, and the high level of domestic demand for locally produced goods hindered the South African merchandise exports. As a result, the surplus on the current account in 1980 totalled R2,845 million, 4.5 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). In 1979, the surplus on the current account was R3,001 million, 6.2 per cent of GDP.

146. During the first four months of 1981, South African exports totalled R5,760 million and imports R5,264 million. South African exports to North America and Western Europe totalled R215 million, 37 per cent of the total exports. Imports from the same region totalled R3,064 million, 58 per cent of the total imports.

147. During the first quarter of 1981, the current account of the balance of payments had a seasonably adjusted deficit of R1,000 since the local demand for goods and services was in excess of the GDP for the first time since 1979.

148. In 1980, a four-fold increase in the price of gold raised the aggregate revenues earned from gold and cushioned the high import demand. The declining demand for gold and decreasing gold prices during the first quarter of 1981 could no longer absorb the sharp difference between imports and exports.

149. North America and Western Europe continued to remain the most important trading partners of South Africa throughout 1980. From January through November 1980, South Africa exported 26 per cent of its aggregate exports to North America and Western Europe. Thirty six per cent of its total imports were from North America and Europe.

C. Gold

150. South Africa is planning to market its annual 670-ton gold output during the current year. However, as long as the present downward trend in gold prices continues, South Africa's balance of payments difficulties will continue throughout 1981 if import levels are not reduced or exports other than gold are not increased.

151. In 1980, the average price of gold was \$613 per ounce, a 100 per cent increase from \$307 per ounce in 1979. During this period, the international value of net gold output increased by 69 per cent over the previous year. Although this increase reduced aggregate gold sales in 1980 to 21,669,444 ounces from 22,596,546 ounces in 1979, revenues increased substantially.

152. From January through May 1981, South African gold output totalled 8,734,208 ounces. During the same period in 1980, output totalled 9,039,112 ounces.

153. Krugerrand sales decreased to 3,142,500 ounces in 1980 from 4,940,755 ounces in 1979. From January through July 1981, Krugerrand sales totalled 1,840,420 ounces as compared to 1,251,486 ounces during the same period in 1980.

154. Whereas Krugerrands are basically bought by individual buyers, gold bullion is bought by institutional investors. Therefore, during the period under review, South African gold companies have intensified their campaign on gold sales, especially in the United States, the largest Krugerrand market, hoping that small investors might be lured by cheaper Krugerrand prices.

155. South African gold reserves totalled 12,275,000 ounces in April 1981, an increase of 23,000 ounces from 12,252,000 ounces in March. However, the decline in gold prices reduced the value of gold reserves to R4,385 million in April from R4,670 million in March 1981. During the same period, both gold and foreign exchange reserves fell by R563 million from R5,502 to R4,939 million.

D. Foreign investment

156. South Africa's net foreign liabilities, excluding equity investment, fell by R5,750 million from 1977 to R3,000 million at the end of 1980. In the same year, the net capital outflow was R2,300 million, a decrease of R235 million

from 1979, while South Africa had a balance of payments current account surplus of R2,845 million. s/

157. In 1980, foreign investment in South Africa totalled R30,000 million. Approximately R700 million new capital was invested during the last months of 1980. Half of foreign investment in 1980 represented equity, and the rest in various short and long-term commitments.

158. There were 1,200 British, 375 American and 350 West German corporations in South Africa as well as a large number of French, Italian, Swiss and other foreign corporations.

E. Loans

159. During the period under review, private international financial institutions have continued to collaborate with the South African régime. For example, in September and October 1980, South Africa borrowed \$250 million from the European and North American capital markets. This was South Africa's largest single-issue loan and was managed by Dresdner Bank, Commerzbank, and Kredietbank International of the Federal Republic of Germany, Barclays Bank and Standard Chartered Bank of the United Kingdom, Credit Commercial de France, Union Bank of Switzerland and Citicorp of the United States.

160. During the current year, the United Kingdom-based Standard and Barclays Bank reportedly offered the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) a loan of R900 million, spread over seven years. The bulk of the loan is to be used for financing the Lesotho power station. Furthermore, Sir Anthony Tuke, Chairman of the Barclays Bank in the United Kingdom, disclosed to the Bank's shareholders at their annual meeting in 1981 that Barclays would stay in South Africa as long as "the British Government continues to trade with South Africa".

161. The West Rand Administration Board raised a loan totalling R150 million from international financial markets, primarily those in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States.

162. If the balance of payments deficit continues to increase during the current year, the régime could seek further loans from international financial markets. t/

F. Immigration

163. The high domestic industrial growth rate and the chronic shortage of trained black technical and managerial personnel and skilled and semi-skilled labour has fueled South Africa's demand for skilled immigrants. In 1980, the depressed economies of Western Europe were the main sources of manpower supply for South Africa. During the first 11 months of 1980, 26,662 immigrants settled in South Africa, representing a net gain of 16,156, from 2,216 in 1979. Total immigration

s/ See appendix IV for South Africa's foreign liabilities.

t/ See appendix V for South Africa's borrowings.

reached 30,000 by the end of the year with a net gain of 18,002. The great majority of the immigrants came from South Africa's main trading partners in the West. Emigration from South Africa declined from 14,716 in 1979 to 10,466 in 1980.

164. From January to April 1981, migration to South Africa totalled 12,524, an increase from 7,450 during the same period in 1980. The number of immigrants from South Africa dropped from 4,340 (1980) to 3,002 (1981), representing a net gain of 9,522 as compared to the net loss of 3,110 during 1980.

165. The South African régime recruits immigrants mainly from Austria, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. During the first quarter of 1981, approximately 45 per cent of the immigrants came from the Western countries.

166. In 1980, British immigrants to South Africa increased significantly despite the British Trade Union Congress's (TUC) appeal to its members that emigration to South Africa was virtually equivalent to taking jobs from the black South Africans. British immigrants to South Africa increased to 10,000 in 1980 from 4,000 in 1979. Approximately 20,000 British immigrants are expected in South Africa during the current year. During the first two months of 1981, 2,650 British immigrants came to South Africa.

G. Tourism

167. For the first time since 1975, tourists visiting South Africa exceeded 700,000, despite high travel expenses. Approximately 33 per cent of the tourists were from the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America and Canada.

H. Airways

168. South African Airways (SAA) supplemented its fleet with new aircrafts and increased its flights to and from Western Europe and North America due to increased demand in 1980-1981.

169. British Airways (BA) started to promote South African exports through a computerized evaluation service, to determine the best method of transporting exports by rail, sea, or air.

I. Shipping

170. During the period under review, Safmarine, the South African national shipping line, increased its scheduled annual sailings to the United States from 37 to 54, to accommodate increasing United States exports to South Africa.

171. Recently, Safmarine has been reported to be negotiating with Japanese shipbuilders to construct three 65,000-75,000 range bulk carriers by 1984.

172. Safmarine is planning to invest R2,000 million in the full-scale containerization of sea trade between South Africa and Europe.

X. APARTHEID IN SPORTS

A. Internal developments

173. The sporting policy of the racist régime continues to be inextricably linked with its political and social policies, particularly with a variety of apartheid laws.

174. By and large, sport in South Africa is still controlled by racist rules and regulations. Permits for integrated sports are requested from the Department of Sport and Recreation which strictly adheres to the régime's policy of the permit system.

175. The Group Areas Act prohibits the social aspects of mixed sport as well as mixed events unless a permit is issued to the concerned parties. The Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Bantu Law Amendment Act and the Liquor Act provide a rigid system of race classification and make integrated sports impossible.

176. In this context, the Pretoria City Council reaffirmed in February 1981 its ban on multi-racial soccer. The Council decided that Caledonian Stadium could not be used for multi-racial soccer. In a statement issued on 17 March 1981, the Football Council of South Africa declared that it would boycott the South African Festival Games which took place in May, unless the Government intervened in the Caledonian Stadium and the Rand Stadium controversies.

177. In light of the above-mentioned prohibitions, and as long as legislation affecting integrated sports, directly or indirectly, remains implemented, it is hypocritical to talk of the racist régime's intention of integrating sports in South Africa. There can be no normalization of sports in South Africa unless the above-mentioned laws are abolished.

B. International contacts

178. During the period under review, the racist régime of South Africa continued using the international sporting contacts for propaganda purposes. Among these contacts, the Irish Rugby Football Union's tour of South Africa in May followed by the South African Springbok rugby team's tour of New Zealand which started in July 1981 aroused wide opposition in the international community.

179. The anti-apartheid movements, political parties, trade unions and church groups in Ireland and in New Zealand used all peaceful means at their disposal to persuade the Irish Rugby Union to rescind its decision to tour South Africa and the New Zealand Rugby Football Union to withdraw its invitation from the Springbok rugby team.

180. As soon as the Irish Rugby Union's tour decision was made public, the Government of Ireland declined to attend the Union's national matches, did not grant leave to civil servants planning to become players in the tour team and cancelled the Government's annual grant to the Union of R20,000. Furthermore, the Irish Government publicly and privately pressed the Union to reverse its decision to tour South Africa.

181. In New Zealand, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed their Government's disapproval of the New Zealand Union's invitation to the Springbok rugby team and requested the New Zealand Union to rescind it. However, the Union, in total disregard of international and domestic public opinion, refused to reverse its decision. The international community, especially the Commonwealth countries, had hoped that the Government of New Zealand, as a last resort, would deny visas to the Springbok rugby team. When such action was not taken by the New Zealand Government, an overwhelming majority of the international community interpreted it as a breach of the Gleneagles Agreement, and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

182. It must be borne in mind that while, the Irish and New Zealand Unions planned and executed their sports contacts with South Africa for narrow financial gains and in total disregard of the far-reaching consequences of their decision, the British Lions and French Tricolors rugby teams tour of South Africa in 1980 paved the way for the Irish Union to tour South Africa and for the New Zealand Union to invite the South African Springbok rugby team to tour New Zealand in the current year.

183. Most of the internationally recognized athletics and sports organizations no longer allow South African participation in their competitions. However, during the past year, South African athletes and players continued to participate in the privately-organized regional competitions as private citizens, primarily in North America and Western Europe. South Africans have also continued to organize golf, squash, tennis and other competitions in South Africa, attracting the participation of internationally recognized names.

184. The World Boxing Association, despite numerous appeals, has continued to plan, help and secure South African participation in international boxing events and overseas participation in South Africa. The Association continues to have many South Africans in its committees.

185. All international sports contacts with the régime's sports organizations are being used by the racist régime and by its collaborators for propaganda purposes. Failure to realize this fact will only undermine the principles and values of international sports.

186. The propaganda activities accompanying these contacts, as well as the active role of the racist régime, indicate that these contacts are aimed not only at readmitting South Africa to the international sports but also at improving the political status of the apartheid régime internationally.

187. As long as the raison d'etre of the régime is institutionalized apartheid, the so-called reform attempts by the official South African sporting organizations to adjust apartheid sports will serve only as palliatives.

XI. CULTURAL COLLABORATION

188. During the period under review, financial inducements continued to attract internationally known artists to South Africa.

189. In October 1980, Mr. Ray Charles, the well-known jazz star from the United States, toured South Africa. However, the tour did not draw the expected crowds. This was attributed to the effective boycott steps called by the national liberation movement.

190. In the following month, Mr. Cliff Richard, the British pop star, toured South Africa. It has been reported that Mr. Richard was planning another tour during the current year.

191. Recently, Mr. Frank Sinatra, the internationally-known singer from the United States, performed at Sun City's 8,000 seat amphitheatre from 24 July to 2 August. Although Mr. Sinatra claimed that his contract did not allow racial segregation at his performances, ticket prices ranging from R15 to R75 effectively barred black South African attendance.

192. In August, following Mr. Sinatra's example, Cher, a well-known singer and entertainer from the United States, also performed in Sun City.

193. On the other hand, however, in June 1981, the Netherlands Parliament abrogated the cultural treaty between the Netherlands and South Africa which had been suspended since 1977 in protest against Mr. Steve Biko's death in detention.

APPENDIX I

Chronology of developments relating to the underground
and armed struggle in South Africa

- 15 October 1980: Two bomb blasts ripped up part of the railway line linking Soweto and Johannesburg, and ANC pamphlets were found near the scene.
- 29 October 1980: Three people were wounded when two handgrenades were thrown at the West Rand Administration Board offices in Soweto.
- 20 November 1980: Security police claimed that they found explosives, weapons and ammunition in and around Soweto after a shootout with an alleged ANC guerrilla. The suspect blew himself up with a handgrenade when police raided a home in Chiawelo.
- 4 December 1980: A pamphlet bomb, reportedly engineered by the ANC, exploded on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand.
- 11 December 1980: A hand-grenade attack was made on the home of Transkei's Commissioner of Police, Major-General Martin Ngoebe.
- 8 February 1981: A homemade bomb exploded in the central city of Durban. ANC members were suspected. The explosion caused extensive damage.
- 14 April 1981: The railway line connecting Vryheid and Richards Bay was sabotaged resulting in the derailment of several trucks loaded with goods.
- 21 April 1981: An explosion and a fire destroyed a new science block at the Drakensberg Indian High School in Escourt. The damage was estimated at about R200,000.
- 21 April 1981: Police sources reported that eight limpet mines, with magnets and a timing device, had been used in the explosion of an electricity sub-station in the southern Durban black township of Lamontville. The blast disrupted power supplies over a wide area and caused an estimated damage of \$US 3,000,000. Police suspected that the ANC was behind the attack.
- 2 May 1981: A cache of homemade firearms was discovered in Soweto. Another cache was found in KwaZulu.
- 6 May 1981: The railway line passing through Gazankulu was sabotaged.
- 9 May 1981: A railway policeman was killed by a hand-grenade which exploded when he tried to arrest a man in Eastern Transvaal. According to the spokesman of the railway, the man was believed to be a guerrilla.

- 24 May 1981: Urban guerrillas attacked an East London police station with hand-grenades and AK-47 automatic rifles. Within hours the guerrillas also blew up part of a railway line between New Canada and Dube in Soweto, destroyed part of a railway line between Umlazi and Durban, cut power lines in Orange Free State, and shot at the Ciskeian Commissioner of Police.
- 27 May 1981: A bomb destroyed a Defence Force recruiting office near the centre of Durban in a massive explosion which was heard throughout the city. The bomb damaged other adjacent buildings. ANC members were suspected of causing the blast.
- May 1981: In the week leading up to the "Republic Day" festivals, guerrilla operations reached a new intensity with actions in all four provinces. In the Eastern Cape the police station at Port Jackson was attacked as was a police patrol in Mdantsane township. The railway line near Port Elizabeth was sabotaged.
- 6 June 1981: A powerful bomb blast damaged the Durban Cenotaph.
- 12 June 1981: An East London policeman's home was attacked with hand-grenades, and a section of railway line on the Richards Bay track was blown up.
- 29 June 1981: A bomb exploded under the railway line connecting Flexton and Fortdurbanford on the Natal North Coast. It destroyed part of the line.
- June 1981: A bomb rocked Durban's City Centre with an explosion in the Central Memorial Square. Severe damage was caused to the Centre.
- 21 July 1981: A high explosive device was set off at the Camden power station in eastern Transvaal. The explosion caused extensive damage to the electricity station.
- 26 July 1981: Two time bombs exploded in Durban.
- 2 August 1981: A security policeman was killed during a fierce fight between a crowd from Meadowlands Zone 5 and the police.
- 6 August 1981: A bomb exploded in East London's Central City shopping area. Damage was caused to buildings. Police accused the ANC for the explosion.
- 8 August 1981: A bomb blast ripped through Port Elizabeth's crowded Constantia Centre in Main Street, North End.
- 12 August 1981: Three men armed with automatic rifles fired several shots in Mink Road in Landrum and at several policemen from Erasmia police station.

- 12 August 1981: Four 122 mm rockets were fired on the military headquarters, Voortrekkerhoogte, near Pretoria causing heavy damage to buildings. ANC claimed that Umkhonto we Sizwe mounted the rocket attack.
- 19 August 1981: A high explosive device blasted the Cape Railway line causing heavy damage. The ANC claimed responsibility for the attack.
- 20 August 1981: A massive fire at a burst pipeline at the SASOL 2 plant near Secunda burned fiercely for more than three hours.
- 30 August 1981: Pamphlet bombs exploded in Cape Town, and thousands of pamphlets issued by the South African Communist Party were distributed on the sixtieth anniversary of its formation.
- 3 September 1981: A group of 20 to 30 men heavily armed with assault rifles, hand-grenades and other arms attacked the police station in Mabopane. Two policemen and a civilian were killed while the Station Commander's office, a car and an enquiry office were destroyed during the devastating guerrilla attack.

APPENDIX II

Persons served with banning orders during the past year

ADELMAN, Mr. Sammy

Student. President of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Witwatersrand. Served with a five-year banning order on 15 June 1981.

BORAINÉ, Mr. Andrew

Student. President of the National Union of South African Students. Son of the Progressive Federal Party Member of Parliament, Mr. Alex Boraine. Detained in May 1981. Released and immediately served with a five-year banning order on 30 June 1981. Restricted to his magisterial district. Banned from entering factories or black areas and forbidden to address student or political meetings.

CACHALIA, Mr. Azhar

Law student at the University of Witwatersrand. Vice-President of the Black Student's Society. Served with a five-year banning order on 30 June 1981. Restricted to the Benoni magisterial district. Must report to a police station once a week.

CACHALIA, Mr. Firoz

Industrial sociology student at the University of Witwatersrand. Served with a five-year banning order on 30 June 1981. Restricted to the Benoni magisterial district. Must report to a police station once a week.

CHETTY, Mr. A. S.

Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the Natal Indian Congress. The Pietermaritzburg Housing Action Committee and the Platoon Action Committee. Served with a five-year banning order on 19 February 1981. Second time he has been banned. Restricted to the magisterial district of Pietermaritzburg and prohibited from having any visitors, except his son and daughter-in-law.

FERRUS, Mr. John

Regional Chairman of the Labour Party in the Western Cape. Served with a five-year banning order on 25 November 1980. Restricted to the magisterial district of Worcester.

HAMDULAY, Mr. Jamalludien

Acting President of the South African Students Association (SASA). Served with a five-year banning order on 24 November 1980. Second president to be served with a banning order.

ISSEL, Mr. Johnny

Leader of the Coloured Mitchell's Plain Community. Former Organizer of SASA. Served with a three-year banning order on 21 November 1980. Restricted to the Wynberg magisterial district and prohibited from attending social gatherings and meetings. Second banning order served on him.

MKIZE, Ms. Florence

Leading member of the Women's Federation of South Africa. Served with a four-year banning order on 27 February 1981. Third time she has been banned. Restricted to the Lamontville township and the Durban magisterial district. Must report to a police station once a week.

MTHEMBU, Mr. Sibongile

Student at Turret College. Served with a three-year banning order on 30 June 1981. Restricted to the Johannesburg magisterial district and Zola township in Soweto. Must report to a police station once a week.

MTIMKULU, Mr. Phil

Journalist. Post reporter. Newly elected president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA). Served with a three-year banning order on 28 January 1981.

NQAKULA, Mr. Charles

Senior reporter for The East London Daily Dispatch. President of MWASA. Served with a two-year banning order on 31 July 1981.

SEWPERSADH, Mr. George

President of the Natal Indian Congress. Served with a five-year banning order on 24 June 1981. Restricted to the Durban-Pinetown-Inanda area. Under house arrest on weekends and public holidays. Second time he has been banned.

SISULU, Mr. Zwelakhe a/

Journalist. President of MWASA. Was served with a three-year banning order on 29 December 1980.

SUBRAMONEY, Mr. Marimuthu a/

Journalist. Vice-President of MWASA at the Natal office branch. Contributor to the South African Services of the BBC. Served with a three-year banning order in Durban on 29 December 1980.

a/ Mr. Sisulu and Mr. Subramoney are prevented from receiving visitors, except parents, parents-in-law, and a doctor; banned from any newspaper or educational premises; prohibited from attending social or political gatherings, and restricted to their own magisterial districts.

THLOLOE, Mr. Joe

Journalist. Post reporter. Vice-president of MWASA's Transvaal branch. Served with a three-year banning order on 28 January 1981.

TSEDU, Mr. Mathata

Journalist. Secretary of the Northern Transvaal branch of MWASA. Served with a three-year banning order on 9 January 1981. Restricted to the magisterial district of Seshego on weekdays. Under house arrest on weekends and holidays. Restricted from entering any newspaper office, educational institution, and attending social and political gatherings.

APPENDIX III

Partial list of South African military aggression
against neighbouring States

- 11-12 January 1981 South African army units backed by aircraft, attacked Angolan troops in the vicinity of Cuamoto, Angola.
- 30 January 1981 South African commando units attacked Matola, Mozambique, destroying houses of South African refugees, killing 11 freedom fighters and kidnapping three others.
- 10 February 1981 South African aircraft machine gunned Angolan troops in the vicinity of N'Giva, Angola.
- 12 February 1981 South African troops in 13 helicopters landed in Mulemba, Angola.
- 13 February 1981 More troops arrived by helicopters in Mulemba. Two helicopters penetrated 250 km inside Angola, landing troops in Bobala which went on to destroy one railway bridge on the supply route of Huila, Cunene and Kuando Kubango.
- 14 February 1981 South African troops in armoured cars and with the support of heavy artillery occupied the villages of Xiede, Ionde and Nehene, Angola.
- 16 February 1981 South African troops attacked civilians between Xiede and Namacunde, killing five.
- 17 March 1981 South African troops crossed Mozambican border at Ponta do Oro, opened fire at Mozambican border guards, seriously injuring one soldier.
- 30 July to present South African troops, supported by the Air Force and motorized units, penetrated more than 100 km inside Angola and established their headquarters in Mulemba, 40 km north of the Namibian border. South African aggressors have been destroying the infrastructure and uprooting thousands and killing hundreds of local inhabitants.

Source: Security Council documents and press reports.

APPENDIX IV

Foreign liabilities of South Africa

(Millions of rand)

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
DIRECT INVESTMENT														
Central Government and banking sector	114	111	103	112	266	305	345	162	219	227	253	271	299	376
Private sector	1 758	1 750	1 814	1 856	3 677	4 220	4 550	5 451	6 484	7 216	7 928	8 430	9 384	9 831
Total direct investment	1 872	1 861	1 917	1 968	3 943	4 525	4 895	5 613	6 703	7 443	8 181	8 701	9 603	10 207
NON-DIRECT INVESTMENT														
Central Government and banking sector	331	344	315	317	557	936	1 006	1 101	1 435	2 718	3 834	4 339	3 797	3 295
Public corporations and local authorities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 015	1 532	2 442	3 253	3 054	3 611	3 827
Private sector	869	833	791	766	1 318	1 572	1 885	2 697	3 105	3 860	4 582	5 238	5 795	5 351
Total non-direct investment	1 200	1 177	1 106	1 083	1 875	2 506	2 891	4 813	6 072	9 020	11 649	12 631	13 203	12 673
TOTAL INVESTMENT														
Central Government and banking sector	445	455	418	429	823	1 241	1 351	1 263	1 654	2 945	4 087	4 610	4 096	3 671
Public corporations and local authorities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 015	1 532	2 442	5 233	3 054	3 611	3 827
Private sector	2 627	2 583	2 605	2 622	4 995	5 792	6 435	8 148	9 589	11 076	12 510	13 668	15 179	15 382
TOTAL, FOREIGN LIABILITIES	3 073	3 038	3 023	3 051	5 818	7 033	7 786	10 426	12 775	16 463	19 830	21 332	22 886	22 880

Source: South African Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletins.

APPENDIX V

South Africa's borrowings on foreign and international capital markets, July 1980 through February 1981

Month	South African borrower (guarantor)	Amount (millions)	Millions of US dollars equivalent	Rate (percentage)	Type of loan (market country)	Maturity (term)	Identifiable banks
1980 July	ESCOM	DM 50	28.7	9.125	B-PR (Federal Republic of Germany)	1985/87	Norddeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (Federal Republic of Germany) Deutsche Girozentrale-Deutsche Kommunal Bank (Federal Republic of Germany) Hamburgische Landesbank Girozentrale (Federal Republic of Germany) Bremer Landesbank (Federal Republic of Germany)
July	ESCOM (RSA)	SwF 50	30.1	6.125	B-PR (Switzerland)	1983	Credit Suisse (Switzerland)
July	ESCOM (RSA)	SwF 50	30.1	not available	B-PR (Switzerland)	1983	Union Bank of Switzerland
July	ESCOM (RSA)	DM 75	42.9	9.00	B-PR (Eurobond)	1987	Norddeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (Federal Republic of Germany)
August	Standard Bank Import & Export Finance Co. Ltd. (Standard Bank of South Africa)	\$US 50	50.0	Libor +0.375	B-PU (Eurobond)	1985	Citicorp International Bank Ltd. (United States) Standard Chartered Merchant Bank Ltd. (United Kingdom) Banco do Bilbao (Spain) Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas (France) International Commercial Bank Ltd. (Taiwan) Orion Bank Ltd. (International Consortiumium) Sumitomo Bank Ltd. (Japan)
September	Standard Bank & Export Finance Co. Ltd. (Standard Bank of South Africa)	SwF 9.5	5.8	6.625	B-PU (Switzerland)	1984	Citicorp-Geneva (United States)

APPENDIX V (continued)

South Africa's borrowings on foreign and international capital markets, July 1980 through February 1981

Month	South African borrower (guarantor)	Amount (millions)	Millions of US dollars equivalent	Rate (percentage)	Type of loan (market country)	Maturity (term)	Identifiable banks
1980 October	ESCOM (RSA)	\$US 25	25.0	Libor +0.875 +0.75	CR (Euromarket)	1985	Soditic (Italy)
October	ESCOM (RSA)	\$US 50	50.0	Libor +0.75 +0.875	CR (Euromarket)	1985	Kredietbank International Group (Belgium) Crédit Commercial de France
October	Republic of South Africa	\$US 250	250	Libor +0.875 +0.10	CR (Euromarket)	1987	Cle. Luxembourgeoise de la Dresdner Bank AG (Federal Republic of Germany) Citicorp (United States) Barclays Bank (United Kingdom) Union Bank of Switzerland Crédit Commercial de France Commerzbank (Federal Republic of Germany) Kredietbank International (Belgium) Standard Chartered Bank (United Kingdom)
November	ESCOM (RSA)	DM 100	52.1	9.25	B-PU (Eurobond)	1987	Dresdner Bank AG (Federal Republic of Germany) Commerzbank AG (Federal Republic of Germany) Barclays Banking Group (United Kingdom) Berliner Handels und Frank-Carter Bank (Federal Republic of Germany) Crédit Commercial de France Crédit Lyonnais (France) Crédit Suisse First Boston (Switzerland) Kredietbank International (Belgium) plus 81 participating banks (see attached tombstone)
November	ESCOM (RSA)	SwF 50	29.0	6.50	B-PR (Switzerland)	1984	Credit Suisse (Switzerland)
November	ESCOM (RSA)	SwF 50	29.0	6.50	B-PR (Switzerland)	1984	Swiss Bank Corporation

APPENDIX V (continued)

South Africa's borrowings on foreign and international capital markets, July 1980 through February 1981

Month	South African borrower (guarantor)	Amount (millions)	Millions of US dollars equivalent	Rate (percentage)	Type of loan (market country)	Maturity (term)	Identifiable banks
1981 January	ESCOM (RSA)	SwF 100	56.1	6.75	D-PR (Switzerland)	1985	Swiss Bank Corporation
February	ISCOR (RSA)	SwF 30	13.4	6.50	B-PR (Switzerland)	1984	Union Bank of Switzerland
February	Standard Bank and Export Co. (Standard Bank of South Africa)	SwF 42	21.5	6.50	B-PR (Switzerland)	1984	Soditic (Italy)

	Number of Loans	Amount (millions of US dollars)
1979	13	295.7
1980	17	853.6
1981	3	93.0
TOTAL	33	1 242.3

Sources: Beate Klein, "Bricks in the wall", paper prepared for the World Council of Churches PCR Information, March 1981.

Various bond prospectuses and tombstones.

Abbreviations

- SOP Strategic Oil Fund
- B-PR Bond, privately placed
- B-PU Bond, public issue
- CR Credit
- Libor London interbank offered rate
- RSA Republic of South Africa
- ESCOM Electricity Supply Commission

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