

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

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OFFICIAL RECORDS: FORTY-THIRD SESSION  
SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/43/22)**



**UNITED NATIONS  
New York, 1989**

## 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.

26 October 1988

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the annual report of the **Special Committee against Apartheid** which was adopted unanimously by the **Special Committee** on 26 October 1968. The report on recent developments concerning relations between South Africa and Israel is annexed to it.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 42/23 A to H of 20 November 1987.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

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

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

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## I, INTRODUCTION

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

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

2. At its 612th meeting, on 7 January 1998, the Special Committee **unanimously re-elected** Major-General Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria) as its Chairman and Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovonko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. Jai Pratap Rana (Nepal) as its Vice-Chairman. Mr. Yves L. Augurte (Haiti) was elected as Vice-Chairman and Mr. Arif Shahid Khan (India) re-elected as Rapporteur.

3. The Special Committee also re-elected Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa; Mr. Tewfik Abada (Algeria) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information; Mr. Manuel Rodriguez (Peru) as Chairman of the Task Force on Political Prisoners; Mr. Nasraddin A. M. Idris (Sudan) as Chairman of the Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid and Mr. Oseloka Obaze (Nigeria) as Chairman of its Task Force on the Legal Aspects of Apartheid. (For the names of the members of the subsidiary bodies of the Special Committee, see annex II to the present report.)

4. The Special Committee decided **unanimously** to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report on recent developments concerning relations between South Africa and Israel is contained in annex I.

## II. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

### A. General political conditions

5. During the period under review, the South African racist régime has escalated its repression of activists and mass-based organizations that have been in the forefront of peaceful opposition to apartheid. In doing so, it has demonstrated its determination to smash any peaceful organized opposition to its rule in order to establish "security" and "normality" in the country. In Pretoria's view, these conditions seem to be necessary for the implementation of its programme of "constitutional reform", which is nothing but another manoeuvre to further entrench apartheid. Many of the actions undertaken by the régime in the last 12 months suggest a two-track policy involving, on the one hand, coercion and, on the other, attempts to co-opt sectors of the black majority population. The Pretoria régime remains intransigently opposed to necessary change,

6. Parallel with the internal suppression, Pretoria has uttrpad up its terrorist activities abroad, Assassination and maiming of important members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), carried out even in Western capitals, aim at weakening the national liberation movements and at undermining their standing within the international community.

7. In a sweeping offensive against resistance to its rule, on 24 February 1988 Pretoria imposed severe restrictions on the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations and 18 individuals committed to peaceful forms of struggle, and on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Significantly, these measures were adopted in the context of the prolonged state of emergency, which gives almost unlimited powers to the security forces, allows authorities to criminalize almost any political activity and to impose draconian regulations on the foreign and domestic media. These restrictions, amounting to virtual bans, were adopted ahead of bills tabled in Parliament that would, among other things, curtail strictly the bona fide activities of trade unions and enforce more rigidly residential segregation.

8. In imposing these restrictions Pretoria appears to be trying to achieve two distinct but related goals. Firstly, confronted with the challenge of the right-wing Conservative Party, the régime is attempting - unsuccessfully until now - to woo back white voters instead of addressing itself to the aspirations of the black majority.

9. Secondly, the régime is attempting to avert a popular boycott of nation-wide municipal elections, scheduled for 26 October 1988, of black representatives to officially sanctioned "community councils". Organizations now banned, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), have rejected the elections and vowed to organize a peaceful boycott of them. Such boycotts have been effective in the past. 1/

10. It appears that Pretoria is adopting repressive and reformist strategies as part of its overall policy of coercion and co-optation in the implementation of which the National Security Management System plays a central role. 2/ The first step in this policy, the calculated suppression of all forms of opposition to apartheid, seems to be an effort to consolidate the régime's control in the country and is connected with the growing power of the security apparatus in the conduct of the affairs of the country.

11. The re-establishment of control is central to the second step; that is, the manipulation of the chronic plight of blacks in order to defuse their resistance and to co-opt them. The régime has, through the Joint Management Committees, embarked on major "upgrading schemes" in housing and infrastructure in townships known for their militance, such as Mamelodi outside Pretoria, Alexandra outside Johannesburg and New Brighton outside Port Elizabeth. The ultimate goal of these schemes, as officials express it, is to "win the hearts and minds of the masses". Authorities seem to believe that a rising standard of living will defuse resistance and create a moderate black opinion favourable to the régime, or at least to black leaders who may participate in the proposed National Statutory Council.

12. The third step in Pretoria's policy of co-optation is to introduce political "reforms" in order to win some support base among blacks and to gain legitimacy for the régime. It should be recalled that the majority of township administrative structures have collapsed mainly as a result of the uprising and the ongoing rent

boycott. The régime seems to be looking to establish a credible administrative machinery; thus the October municipal elections appear to be a key element in this process of "political reform". The elected councillors will form colleges to elect 9 of the 15 representatives to the National Statutory Council, the forum which will play an advisory role in the preparation of a new constitution for blacks. The advisory role of the Council was clearly stated in an April address before the Parliament by Mr. P. W. Botha. Referring to the Council (or Qorrat Indaba, as it may be called), he said that "the Government is ... committed to the concept of a forum for deliberation". 3/

13. The relentless resistance of the black majority population, however, shows that Pretoria has been unable to implement either element of its policy successfully. The régime has failed to recruit genuine black leaders into its official structure, namely, the "municipal councils". It appears unlikely that Pretoria will be able to obtain black participation in the creation of the National Statutory Council or other similar structures, which have been universally rejected even by the horde of most of the non-independent "homelands".

14. Parallel with its political strategy, the régime has developed a strategy to deal with the economic crisis of the country. The recently announced economic package, with its emphasis on privatization, deregulation, drastic cuts in official expenditure and a wage freeze in the public sector, aims at boosting private investment and production as well as at reducing public sector deficits. Representatives of commerce and industry gave unqualified support to the new economic measures. This economic restructuring, however, will result in the deterioration of the living standards of low income groups, in particular, black workers.

15. The wage freeze will critically affect workers who suffered a massive 25 per cent increase in food prices in 1987. COSATU and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), the second largest trade union federation in the country, have opposed the measures, recognizing that the majority of public sector employees are black and that they would be most adversely affected. 4/ So long as the apartheid régime conducts war against its neighbours and the people in the country, a high proportion of the budget will be allocated to defence, police and security expenditure. In that context, it appears that, in addition to other factors, economic difficulties and military upsets played an important role in Pretoria's recent change of position regarding Angola and Namibia.

## **B. Repression of the Population**

### **Emergency and other repressive laws and practices**

16. Under the cover of the prolonged state of emergency, which was renewed once more in June, the régime has used the combined power of the armed forces, the police, other security forces and the courts in a systematic attempt to eliminate the opposition. 5/ It has also used surrogate forces, such as the vigilantes and the right-wing extremist groups, to try to destabilize communities across the country. South Africa is now a police State undergoing a process of increased militarization. In this context of terror and emergency, the security forces are virtually immune from prosecution of any violent acts they commit.



17. On 24 February, the régime severely restricted the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations and 18 community leaders. It also limited COSATU, the largest trade union federation in the country, to only shop-floor activities. By August it had effectively banned the End Corruption Campaign. The regulation limit the activities of the organizations to, inter alia, preserving their assets, keeping their books and records, and performing administrative functions. 6/ The 18 organizations and COSATU are, indeed, prohibited from conducting any political activity. The measures leave the Inkatha Movement as the only black political movement still untouched and free to operate in the country. 7/

18. Pretoria can use another legal weapon to suppress further the black labour movement. In September it adopted the Labour Relations Amendment Act, despite a joint agreement by union and employers to ask for key clauses of the law to be suspended. Along with the restriction imposed on COSATU, the Act is designed to paralyse the black labour movement. Its provisions, among other things, place further restrictions on labour's ability to stage strikes, allow employers to claim damages from trade unions for production lost during walkouts, allow employers to recognise minority unions and outlaw solidarity strikes and boycotts. 8/ In June, COSATU brought a Complaint before the International Labour Organisation (ILO) against the régime "concerning the infringement of freedom of association arising Out Of the Labour Relations Amendment bill, 1987". 9/

19. In addition, Pretoria has proposed the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill that would restrict all groups and individuals from receiving foreign funding for activities that might "endanger public safety". The Bill's provisions could further limit the political space for extra-parliamentary activity by depriving anti-apartheid organizations of much needed foreign financial support for their work. Amid massive foreign and domestic pressure, the régime seems certain to change some of the Bill's provisions. 10/

#### The use of vigilantes and assassins

20. An ominous corollary of the recent bans is the freer environment that they create for the activities of vigilante and paramilitary right-wing extremist groups against opponents of the régime. The growth of these groups constitutes a significant shift in the régime's strategy against the opposition. Until recently, Pretoria had relied predominantly on its traditional strategy of detention without trial to disrupt opposition organization. While detention have continued unabated, an analysis of recent events shows that detention without trial has been supplemented by another disruptive strategy: the use of surrogate forces to exacerbate divisions within communities, to annihilate anti-apartheid opponents and to advance the régime's "reform" plans. Observers point out that this strategy of internal destabilization seems to be at work throughout black communities in South Africa, in particular, in those with a history of organized resistance to apartheid. In townships and rural areas - hidden from whites and obscured from the record of history by strict censorship on the media - vigilantes are waging concerted campaigns against individuals and organizations, often with the consent and assistance of the security forces. 11/

21. In selected townships of the country, the vigilantes have become formally integrated into the security force structures. Such is the case of the municipal police, which fall under the authority of the local community councils, and the kitaskonstabels or "instant police", who are deployed in the townships after a three-week training programme. The kitakonstabels and the municipal police have

created a reign of terror in the Eastern Cape where, to date, they have been most extensively deployed. 12/

22. Most sinister of all are the "unknown" assassins, whose objective appears to be the elimination of any opponents of the régime. To note, Sicelo Dhlomo, 18, a volunteer worker at the Johannesburg offices of the now restricted Detainees' Parents Support Committee, was found murdered on 25 January, a few days after being released from questioning by police about the CBS television documentary "Children of Apartheid". In the documentary, which was broadcast in the United States of America, Mr. Dhlomo said he was tortured in detention in 1986 and 1987. His death followed a pattern of suspicious deaths which has been evident since 1985. 13/

#### Intimidation and covert action

23. In addition to the systematic repression carried out against them by the security forces, opposition organizations have been the subject of smear campaigns as well as violent attacks on their offices and their activists' homes. Particular targets of recent attacks have been the offices of COSATU affiliates, the homes of members of the End Conscription Campaign, facilities used by the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and other such anti-apartheid groups and individuals. The objectives of this violence are, first, to disrupt the activities of organisations that are in the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle and, second, to eliminate physically the organizations' members and leaders.

24. A disturbing trend, specifically in Pietermaritzburg (Natal Province), is the internecine violence fomented by the régime through the Inkatha Movement against UDF and its supporters. Since 1986, more than 600 persons have died, not to mention the material losses and damages caused by the violent confrontations. 14/ The recent restrictions have, in effect, increased the possibility of further violence. Ongoing peace talks between representatives of UDF and of Inkatha have now been derailed owing to the restrictions imposed on UDF and some of the organization's leaders,

#### Forced population removals

25. Under the cover of the emergency, Pretoria has openly returned to its policy of large-scale forced removals of the black population as part of its master plan to consolidate the "homelands". Shielded from public view and the scrutiny of the press, removals have taken an ominous turn with the covert use of vigilante groups. This contrasts with an earlier phase when the régime relied more openly on "legal" instruments to carry out the removals. In January, tensions among different factions erupted again at the Kensington Trade Company squatter camp of Cape Town, which was declared a restricted area, surrounded by barbed wire and accessible only to residents. Several people died and more than half of the camp was destroyed. In 1986, an adjacent squatter camp at Crossroads was destroyed in the most brutal forced removal in South Africa's history. The combined strength of the "widoekees" (vigilantes) and South African security forces was used to burn deliberately the shacks to the ground. Fifty-three people were killed, many injured and 70,000 left homeless. 15/

26. In line with its "orderly urbanization" policy, the régime recently unveiled a series of bills that will, in fact, enforce more strictly residential segregation in urban areas. One of them, the Group Areas Amendment Bill, provides for the mandatory eviction of blacks occupying houses in areas reserved for whites and for

the imposition of stiff penalties for offenders. If the Rent Bill is also passed, authorities will have the power to break the ongoing rent boycott. The bills, which give local officials more power over housing than ever before are the régime's attempt to keep homeless blacks from building informal dwellings without official permission near the cities where and when they can, 16/ Confronted with opposition, authorities may change some of the bills' provisions.

### Press censorship

27. Severe restrictions imposed on the media, as well as the continuous detention, harassment and intimidation of members of the domestic and foreign media, continue to muzzle the press. Authorities even attempted to enact legislation establishing an official registry of journalists, although they later shelved the idea in the face of widespread criticism. The anti-apartheid press - in particular, publications such as the New Nation, South Weekly Mail, the Sowetan and Work in Progress - which articulates the views of the black majority, has suffered the brunt of the press restrictions. To note, the New Nation was effectively silenced for three months. The newspaper's editor Zwelakhe Sirulu, who was detained in December 1966, continues to be in detention without charges. In August, authorities confiscated copies of the Weekly Mail, which carried the news about the refusal of 143 white conscripts to be inducted into the South African Defence Force.

### Detentions, trials, bans and executions

28. The almost unlimited powers of the security forces were highlighted in a wide-ranging report by the International Commission of Jurists following a mission to South Africa. The report charged that South Africa's security forces have engaged in the widespread use of torture and violence, even against children. It found other major abuses by the security forces, such as the "use of excessive force (including many killings) in crowd control operations, assaults and torture of detainees under interrogation, . . .". It concluded that the security legislation and the emergency regulations "... impose or authorize numerous restrictions on personal freedom in violation of human rights". 17/

29. Detainees, unlike long-term political prisoners and those involved in political trials, are incarcerated without charge or trial. Human rights monitors estimate that since the state of emergency was imposed in 1966 over 30,000 persons have been detained for varying periods of time. At present there are between 2,000 and 2,500 persons being held in detention without trial, some 250 of whom are children up to 17 years of age, including one as young as 14. Despite denials by the régime, human rights monitors in South Africa report that children are still being detained daily.

30. Of increasing concern are the long-term detainees. Estimates show that at least 500 of the detainees have been held for about six months and another 1,000 for one year or more. It appears that a core of 1,000 detainees or more is being carried forward from one state of emergency to the next, and face the prospect of being imprisoned indefinitely without charges,

31. According to human rights monitors, during the period under review, two persons died while being held under emergency regulations, namely, Benedict Mashole, 20 and Elda Bani, 56. Ms. Bani was the first woman to die in police custody. In addition, four other persons, whose arrest appears to have been politically motivated, died in detention. 18/

32. A tactic now used often by the régime is to impose restriction orders on political activists upon their release from detention, a measure that, combined with the recent restrictions on organisations, could have a paralysing effect on the activities of opposition organizations. By the end of 1987, 69 persons were restricted, 34 of whom are known to be members of UDF and its affiliates, while 11 are trade union members or officials. Eleven persons are known to have been restricted upon their release from prison. The most prominent among them are ANC member Govan Mbeki and two officials of UDF in Pietermaritzburg, who are said to have been essential to the peace talks.

33. Political trials continued to be used as a weapon to silence opposition and deprive anti-apartheid organisations of their leadership. According to South Africa's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, 37 political trials involving 112 accused were completed between December 1987 and March 1988. Currently, 62 trials are taking place involving 691 accused, including five treason trials with 50 accused. 19/

34. South Africa has one of the highest execution rates in the world. Amnesty International Report 1988 points to an unprecedented increase in the application of death sentences to political offenders. Eighty-one persons are known to have been executed between 1 January and 14 July 1988. By May 1988, there were 274 persons on death row, most of whose names are not known. At least 70 political prisoners are currently on death row. The most prominent are the Sharpeville Six, who were convicted on the doctrine of "common purpose". 20/

35. The plight of political prisoners was brought to the attention of the world once again when, in August 1988, ANC leader Nelson Mandela was hospitalized with tuberculosis. Calls were made inside and outside South Africa for his release. Earlier, in June, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) leader Zephania Mothopeng was also hospitalised. Political prisoners are often put in cells together with ordinary criminals and are subjected to harsh and unhygienic prison conditions, seriously overcrowded cells, assaults by wardens, and other forms of ill-treatment. For example, in August, a conscientious objector was transferred from prison to the hospital after a sexual assault by a common criminal prisoner. In protest against unbearable prison conditions, prisoners and detainees undertook several actions, including hunger strikes. According to the Minister of Justice, between February 1987 and 31 January 1988, tearsmoke was used on nine occasions against detainees. 21/

36. Magistrates or police have increasingly used bans and other repressive regulations to disrupt the activities of anti-apartheid opponents. Rallies, meetings or funerals have been banned on the grounds that they may "endanger public safety". An important exception to these regulations have been the rallies organised by the Inkatha Movement and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging/AWB (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), a white right-wing extremist organization.

### C. Resistance to apartheid

#### New forms of political resistance

37. The state of emergency has hampered severely the activities of anti-apartheid opponents of the régime. But it has also challenged activists to find new ways of operating. At the local level and beyond, opposition forces are now giving much

greater emphasis to the education and training of new cadres, a necessary measure to fill the leadership ranks depleted by **arrest** and **assassination**, and to long-term planning in order to lay **the basis for** a protracted struggle,

38. As increasing repression has hindered the activities of political organizations, the black labour movement and religious organizations have become a leading force in opposition to the régime. Anti-apartheid resistance is also adopting different political forms, switching from high profile, mass recruitment rallies to a system of block and street committees. Living permanently underground, organizers have established communication channels, which, although disrupted at times by the régime or vigilante repression, are able to hold regional structures together. In this process of political regrouping, the alliance between organized black workers and the youth continues to grow in significance as a component of the strategic resistance against apartheid.

39. The civic associations (residents' organizations) have survived in some townships across the country. They have been instrumental in organizing a boycott of rent which has been in effect since 1984 in many communities, 22/ Beyond political resistance, economic reasons underlie the boycott. Unemployment and a high rate of inflation have resulted in a substantial drop in the purchasing power of blacks. Rent and service increases, therefore, in addition to high transport costs, represent an onerous burden on blacks' paychecks. The State has used every weapon of repression to break the boycott, including the police and vigilantes as well as the withdrawal of electricity, water and any other public services.

#### Black labour movement

40. A significant development within the movement of opposition to the régime was the meeting held at Harare in May between representatives of ANC and NACTU. In a joint communique, both organizations recognised that unity in action was necessary and that it was imperative for the black labour movement in South Africa to strive towards unity, with the essential objective of forming a single federation. In August 1987, NACTU officials had held historic talks with senior members of PAC at Dar es Salaam, in which they had discussed the form and content of the struggle. In a statement simultaneously released by PAC and NACTU, both organizations agreed that the talks had "paved the way for further substantive ongoing consultations with the specific aim of finding agreed democratic solutions to all the problems besetting our motherland . . ." 23/

41. Earlier in May, COSATU had held a special congress to discuss, among other issues, strategy regarding the restrictions imposed on the federation and the implications of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, later promulgated. The decisions adopted by the Congress were important in that they may have paved the way for united action by opposition forces in the future. Subsequently, COSATU and NACTU called for three days of national protest in June against the Labour Bill, the emergency and the restrictions on anti-apartheid organizations. In spite of threats by management and authorities, as well as a series of court interdicts, the combined strength of the federations resulted in the participation of more than 2 million blacks in the stayaway. A conservative estimate indicates a loss of \$250 million to industry. Apart from the one in 1961, this was the most successful stayaway for many years and the only three-day stayaway ever called under emergency conditions, 24/ Earlier, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre (21 March), trade union members were a major force behind the stayaway, which involved over a million blacks throughout the country. 25/

42. **Notwithstanding** the emergency, trade union membership **has** increased, **in** particular, in certain sectors **of** industry, 26/ Trade unions have very often gone on strike or **work** stoppages to press their demands. The annual **report of** the National **Manpower** Commission (which excludes farm and domestic labour and **the** public sector) reflects **a dramatic increase** in strike activity during 1987, as seen in the comparative table **below: 27/**

Strikes	1985	1986	1987	Percentage increase 1986-1987
Number of strikes	389	793	1 148	144
Worker <b>s</b> involved	239 816	424 390	591 421	139
Work-days lost	678 274	1 309 958	5 825 231	444

43. The strike in **the** mining industry in August 1987 is to a large degree responsible for the increase. While strikes **decreased in the** first months of **1988**, trade unionists assert that **the** target of the unions, actions is changing in the face of repression and that worker militancy remains high. This assertion **is** borne out by the March and June stayaways, as well as by the recent strike of **the** **156,519-strong** National Union of Metalworkers, a COSATU affiliate, all of which show that heavy **political** repression has failed to intimidate workers. 28/

44. In August, NACTU held its annual congress, at which **key** issues relating to policy and future political direction were debated. In March, NACTU launched the first ever National Union of Farmworkers, which, together with the National Union **of** Farm and Agricultural Workers of South Africa, a COSATU affiliate, are intent on **organizing** farmworkers who are excluded from the Labour Relations Act and also therefore they have little protection as employees. 29/

#### Armed resistance

45. The objectives of the national liberation movements have recently **been more** visibly supported throughout the townships of South Africa. The **actions** of the armed wings of the national liberation movements, **namely** Umkhonto we Sizwe/MK and the Azanian People's Liberation **Army/APLA**, have been increasingly co-ordinated with popular campaigns in **the** country and timed to coincide with them. In that respect, **the** armed resistance has been used as a mechanism to challenge the legitimacy of the **régime** and to **mobilize** support for the goal of the movements. The main targets of **attacks have been** army personnel, vehicles and **bases**, parade grounds **and** the municipal councils and their police.

46. **Since the bans were** imposed in February **1988**, there has been a marked **increase** in armed actions against **régime** targets, although **some** "soft targets", **have** been hit. In **a statement** issued in **August** by its **national** executive committee, ANC acknowledged that "operational difficulties had led to unintended casualties". While welcoming the significant escalation **of** guerrilla activity against the regime, ANC underscored that it is contrary to the policy of the **organization** to **select** targets whose sole objective is to strike at civilians. It also asserted that **some of the** regrettable operations were the work of the **régime's** agent **provocateurs** and were intended to discredit the armed struggle. 30/

47. For the first time, ANC made public a set of "Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa" based on the Freedom Charter of 1955. The guidelines, which are intended for discussion inside and outside South Africa, envision a non-racial, multi-party democracy, a bill of rights and a mixed economy. Earlier, in December 1987, ANC organized an international conference at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, under the theme "Peoples of the World against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa". The conference adopted a declaration and a programme of action, urging all Governments, international organisations and solidarity movements to support the struggle for a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa. 31/

Opposition by religious institutions and leaders and other ecclesiastics

48. As authorities blocked peaceful avenues of opposition, religious leaders and institutions became more directly involved in the movement of political opposition to the régime. In defiance of the regulations forbidding calls for protests and boycotts, 26 religious leaders called for a boycott of the October municipal elections. In a statement, they committed themselves to non-violent direct action, and, if necessary, to civil disobedience in order to bring about justice and peace. In line with that position, Archbishop Desmond Tutu called openly for a boycott of the elections during his address to a packed congregation at St. George's Cathedral at Cape Town in September. He dismissed the régime's threats against supporters of the boycott by saying: "I am not defying the Government, I am obeying God." 32/

49. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) continued to lead the churches in opposing the régime while also providing humanitarian aid to the victims of apartheid. Stating that the régime is illegitimate because of its practices and constitution, SACC endorsed the decision to boycott the elections and resolved to oppose the media restrictions. In June, religious leaders attended a SACC convocation to discuss the situation in South Africa and to formulate non-violent strategies for fighting apartheid. Meanwhile, the Anglican Church made what was considered a watershed decision by endorsing the "Lusaka Document", which recognizes that the national liberation movements are "compelled" to use "force along with other methods to end oppression". The Church also resolved to seek further meetings with ANC and PAC to discuss "the nature of the South African" beyond apartheid. 33/

50. A trend continued with regard to the increasingly organised involvement of white South Africans in opposition to the régime. The formation of the anti-apartheid Five Freedoms Forum and the New Democratic Movement, as well as the continued activities of the Black Sash and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, were serious attempts by whites opposed to apartheid to build bridges to the black opposition movement inside and outside the country. 34/ The Forum's foundation principles, which were endorsed by UDF and COSATU, stressed the need to develop the conditions for a participatory democracy through debate and practical activity. Prominent Afrikaners raised their voices in opposition to specific policies of the régime, such as the ongoing conflict in the region and the continued imprisonment of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. 35/

51. The End Conscription Campaign, the **biggest** organization of whites affiliated with **UDF**, carried out effective campaigns against induction into the South African Defence Force; as a result, it was virtually **banned** in **August**. **36/** The magnitude of the increasing resistance to conscription was evident in the **wide support** that the campaigns received, including the campaign entitled "**Know Your Rights and Action for Alternative Service**". It is important to note that, while an increasing number of whites are publicly refusing to be inducted into the South African Defence Force on the grounds that it maintains the apartheid régime, they are also demanding the establishment of a peaceful alternative to military service. In that context, End Conscription Campaign **officials claim that one of the main reasons for the increase in emigration from South Africa along with a decrease in immigration to South Africa, is military conscription.** **37/**

52. Authorities attempted to halt any resistance to conscription not only by effectively banning the activities of the End Conscription Campaign, by harassing its members and by **smearing the organization**, but also by imposing heavy sentences on those who refuse military service. **38/** For example, conscript David Bruce was **sentenced** to six years in prison. Earlier, Dr. Ivan Toms, who along with 23 other whites, refused to do military service was sentenced to 630 days in prison. In the **greatest** challenge yet to compulsory military service, 143 white men, many from prominent Afrikaner families, **announced in August** that they would not serve in the South African Defence Force, in part, **because** of the experiences of South African soldiers in Angola and Namibia. Subsequently, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, launched an attack on the End Conscription Campaign, **accusing it** of threatening "**state security**". The actions of these men represent **serious** efforts by a growing number of white South Africans opposed to apartheid to link with the black resistance movement and its quest for a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa.

#### D. Aggression, destabilization and state terrorism

53. The undeclared war waged by South Africa and its surrogate forces against its neighbours, the front-line States, intensified in the past year resulting essentially in the destruction of Mozambique and Angola. The loss of human life has been substantial, and over 2.5 million people have been displaced in countries bordering on South Africa. **39/** It is estimated that the cost of regional destabilization since 1980 amounts to over \$US 27 billion, while for 1985-1986 alone, it was \$US 15 billion. The former figure is about twice the combined total of foreign aid received by the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) over the same period and more than the value of the region's annual gross domestic product.

54. South Africa has primarily chosen as targets of its destabilization, directly or through its proxy armies, the infrastructures that are priorities in SADCC's rehabilitation efforts based, in part, on Western aid. For instance, Zimbabwe is spending \$US 300,000 a week on its military force defending the Beira corridor, namely, the railway line connecting land-locked Zimbabwe with the Indian Ocean. Beira, which has a deep waterport, represents an alternative to the continued dependence by SADCC countries on South African ports and railways. It is ironic that Pretoria's proxy destroy projects built by Governments that protect South Africa from the imposition of mandatory comprehensive sanctions.

55. A country most severely hit by Pretoria's economic destabilization is



**Mozambique, In addition to the frequent sabotage of vital infrastructure by the armed bandits of RENAMO (Resistência Nacional de Mozambique), Mosambiquir presently faces the expulsion of its migrant workers from South Africa, a measure which will have a serious impact on the economic and social fabric of the country. A recent ILO working paper warns that the expulsion order is a threat, to the economic rsaoverly programme currently being implsmentad in Mozambique. It outlines three ways in which the expulaion order is likely to affect the eaconomyt it will exacerbate rural and urban unemployment, undermine rural trade and transport in the southern provinces, and sharply reduce the foreign exchange reserves necessary to maintain and expand existing productive capacity. 40/**

**56. The terroristic! activities of RENAMO bandits came to light recently in a report commissioned by the United States State Department, which concluded that the violence perpetuated by these bandits "is systematic and co-ordinated and not a series of spontaneous, isolated incidents by undisciplined combatants". 41/ Primary schools, health centres and produotion units are among the targets of destruction chosen by RENAMO. According to relief and church officials, more than 600,000 Mozambican refugees have entered Malawi since September 1996. If spontaneous settlers are included, the total number is probably far greater. Malnutrition, high infant mortality rates, the scarcity of food, severe overcrowding in the camps and frequent contamination of water supplies have placed a severe strain on Malawi's so far relatively sparse resources, 42/**

**57. In October 1987, South Africa sent an estimated 6,000 troops to Angola. Its forces fought in an integrated command structure with the United Statea-supplied UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola), the bandit group of Jonas Savimbi, in an offensive designed to cripple irrevocably the Government of Angola. In early 1908, the war reached a stalemate. 43/**

**58. The escalation of South Africa's military aggression was not confined to Angola and Mozambique; it included commando attacks in Zambia, threats and a part ial border blockade against Botswana, and terrorist acts in Swaziland and Zimbabwe, causing deaths, injuries and damage to property. The latter constituted part Of ayetematic efforts to eliminate ANC cadres living not only in the neighbouring countries but also in other parts of the world.**

**59. As the ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo warned that "the permissive attitude adopted by certain states towards the apartheid régime's acts of aggression has given Pretoria the confidence to extend its activities ao far afield ...", attacks against the resistance cadre took place outside South Africa. 44/**

**Mrs. Dulcie September, the ARC representative in France, Switzerland and Luxembourg, was brutally murdered in Paris on 29 March 1988. An attempt was also made on the life of Godfrey Matsope, the ARC representative in Belgium. In addition, Albie Sachs, a white South African lawyer and member of ANC, lost an arm in a car explosion outside his apartment in Maputo.**

**60. A significant development in the situation in the region was the series of quadripartite talks aimed at finding a negotiated solution to the raging conflict in south-western Africa. In August, the delegations of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of South Africa and the United States of America approved, inter alia, a comprehensive series of practical steps designed to create the conditions in the region necessary for a settlement. Earlier they had agreed on a document containing the "principles for a peaceful settlement in South-western Africa". A cessation of hostilities is now in effect. However, key issues remain to be resolved.**

### III. EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

#### A. General

61. During the period under review, although few new restrictive measures were imposed on Pretoria, sanctions that had been applied earlier started to cause strains on the South African economy. Adding to the decline of new bank lending and foreign investment, trade sanctions and disinvestment have exerted their toll on the balance of payments and the growth capacity of the economy.

62. In the last 12 months, with few exceptions, the pressure on South Africa came from non-governmental sources, from banks that find lending to South Africa risky, from companies that find investing there non-profitable and from individuals and organizations that continued pressing for divestment. It was only the Commonwealth that, with the exception of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, decided to tighten up its restrictive measures, and the United States, which added another type of sanction to its 1986 measures, that kept the momentum of governmental action against Pretoria.

63. Yet, in spite of the various restrictive measures, Pretoria managed to redirect some of its trade by opening some new markets and new sources of supply. It is highly regrettable that, at the time when some traditional major partners of Pretoria are reducing their links, a number of aspiring collaborators have appeared on the scene, some of them coming from unexpected quarters. It appears that some of them, in particular, from the Far East, are attempting to fill the vacuum created by the restrictive measures of some industrialized countries. In addition to redirecting some of its trade, Pretoria has also taken full advantage of the numerous loopholes appearing both among the unilateral measures of the sanctions-imposing countries and within these measures themselves. Since these measures remain uncoordinated, lightly monitored and not always rigorously enforced, their impact remains less forceful than intended.

#### B. Economic relations

##### Salient developments in South Africa's economy

64. After years of recession and stagnation, South Africa's economic recovery continued amid increasing signs, however, of long-term stagnation in domestic savings and investment. The growth rate of the gross domestic product was 2.6 per cent in 1987 and 3.9 per cent in the first quarter of 1988, compared to 1 per cent in 1986. The overall second quarter growth was a seasonally adjusted 1.5 per cent per annum. Yet, such growth rates are below the estimated 4 to 5 per cent growth rate that is necessary to contain the high unemployment rate. 45/

65. Inflation in 1987 was 14.7 per cent, down from 18.1 per cent in 1986. The foreign exchange rate of the rand recovered in 1987, contributing to the easing of inflationary pressure. But, while in 1987 South Africa's current account was in surplus, in the first quarter of 1988 it registered a deficit. Both foreign and domestically controlled industries continue to shy away from large-scale investments because of the unfavourable political outlook, 46/

66. Economic indicators thus remain well below the expectations of South African authorities. The commercial rand currently trades at about 80.41 and the financial rand at around \$0.27. The gold price has recently been falling, it has primarily been the failure of the gold price to rise after the October 1987 stock market crash that has reduced export revenues and led to poor performance.

67. Sanctions have had an impact on the South African economy. This has been acknowledged even by South African authorities. The Minister of Finance admitted that sanctions hurt the economy by tying up billions of dollars in non-productive strategic stockpiles and retarding the growth of the economy. 47/ Similar views have also been expressed by leading South African businessmen, such as Mr. Henri de Villiers, Chairman of the Standard Bank Investment Corporation, and Mr. Chris van Wyk, Managing Director of the Trust Bank of Africa Ltd. They believe that South Africa needs markets, skill, technology and capital, and that what sanctions have done cannot be ignored. 48/ In addition, the spokesmen of the wine industry of South Africa acknowledged that sanctions are causing problems to the industry. 49/

68. Indeed, in August 1988, the Minister for Finance announced a sweeping range of economic measures to stem consumer spending and restrict resulting high imports. The régime was thus forced to impose import controls to prevent a looming balance-of-payments crisis which was brought about by the recent fall in the reserve and trade figures. 50/

69. In fact, South Africa has been unable to resort to foreign borrowing to finance adequate economic growth and has been obliged to rely on a trade surplus in order to service its foreign debt. Political uncertainty has led to a decline in investment to levels affecting the maintenance of capital stock. The recent fiscal and monetary policies contributed to the current modest rates of economic growth which, however, have been inadequate to keep unemployment from rising further. 51/

#### Trade with South Africa

70. South Africa's trade relations with its major partners continued, although there was a remarkable realignment in the order of importance among them. Mainly as a result of the restrictive policies taken in the last two years by these countries, trade with the Nordic countries has virtually ceased, and trade with the United States has noticeably declined. On the other hand, Japan replaced the United States as the largest importer and, thus, has emerged as the first trading partner of South Africa. In fact, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Spain, Turkey and Taiwan, Province of China significantly increased the volume of their trade with South Africa in 1987. In terms of percentage increases, Switzerland, Argentina, Turkey and Brazil and Taiwan, Province of China more than doubled their South African imports between 1983-1985 and 1987. 52/ However, Argentina recently announced the cessation of all trade with South Africa.

71. The trade data discussed below are not exhaustive, since South Africa has stopped publishing statistics on its trade with individual countries. The available information is, therefore, based only on those countries (mainly members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)), which report their trade with South Africa. Most of the rest of the countries do not report or under-report such trade in their national statistics. Six OECD countries were the main trading partners of South Africa accounting for about 80 per cent of its trade. In 1987, Japan's imports from South Africa amounted to \$2.4 billion,

Italy's to \$1.8, those of the United States to \$1.3, the Federal Republic of Germany's to \$1.2, the United Kingdom's to \$1.1 and France's to \$0.6 billion. While imports of Japan increased by 44 per cent over the average of 1983-1985, the imports of the United States declined by 42 per cent over the same period.

72. Japan's main imported commodity from South Africa was coal, followed by non-monetary gold and other precious metals. Gold represented more than two thirds of Italy's imports from South Africa; platinum accounted for almost one third of the United States imports; gold, coal and fresh and tinned fruits accounted for 40 per cent of imports of the Federal Republic of Germany, and diamonds, metals ores and precious metals and fresh fruit made up the bulk of imports of the United Kingdom. Switzerland's import increases from South Africa were mainly in diamonds, Spain's in coal and Turkey's in iron and steel.

73. The Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States account for two thirds of exports to South Africa. The main exporter to South Africa in 1987 was the Federal Republic of Germany (\$2.5 billion), followed by Japan (\$1.9), the United Kingdom (\$1.6) and the United States (\$1.3 billion). While Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany increased their exports to South Africa by about 25 per cent over the average of 1983-1985, exports from the United States decreased by 33 per cent. Taiwan, Province of China doubled its exports to South Africa over this period, reaching \$430 million. 53/

74. It is reported, however, that the Government of Japan, through "administrative guidelines" to the private sector, is attempting to reduce trade with South Africa. 54/ Already in June 1988, Japanese trade with South Africa was 14.5 per cent lower in dollar terms than a year ago. 55/ The table below shows the impact of sanctions on the imports of some of the trading partners of South Africa which adopted restrictive measures in the last two to three years.

**Change in imports from South Africa by  
selected sanctions-imposing countries**

Value of imports from South Africa  
(Thousands of United States dollars)

<u>Importing countries</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1987</u>
United States of America	2 180	1 320
France	644	581
Denmark	160	6
Canada	155	106
Sweden	48	20
Norway	33	9

multilateral Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on  
Southern Africa, South Africa's Relationship with the  
International Financial System: Report of the  
Inter-Governmental Group, July 1988.

## Investments and credits

75. In 1987, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Japan, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Austria, in that order, had the greatest number of companies with investments in South Africa, ranging from 374 companies for the United Kingdom to 28 for Austria. 56/ The largest foreign investor was the United Kingdom, accounting for about 40 per cent of all foreign direct investment in South Africa. 57/

76. The rate of disinvestment from South Africa continued to accelerate for a third year, although some slowdown was evidenced in the first months of 1988. The successful campaigns by anti-apartheid organizations and shareholders, governmental restrictive measures and growing uncertainty about the economic and political prospects of the country have led a large number of transnational corporations, especially from the United States, either to disinvest or dispose of their equity investment. Over the last four years, more than 40 per cent of all transnational corporation subsidiaries operating in South Africa were sold or closed down; this figure includes 60 per cent of United States subsidiaries and 7 per cent of the subsidiaries of transnational corporations based in the Federal Republic of Germany.

77. While the number of foreign subsidiaries and the stock of foreign direct investment declined, the links of transnational corporations with the South African economy have not been necessarily severed. Depending on the form of disinvestment, which often reflects the global strategy of a transnational corporation, at least half of those corporations which disinvested have retained non-equity links, such as licensing, distribution, management, assembly or franchise agreements.

78. According to data from the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, the form of disinvestment of United States subsidiaries in the last two years was as follows: 36 per cent were sold to South African companies; 23 per cent to South African management or employees; and 17 per cent to other foreign companies; 11 per cent were closed down; 6 per cent sold or directed their assets to some form of trust. Thus, more than 80 per cent of the disinvested subsidiaries remained operational and more than half retained non-equity links with the parent transnational corporation thus resembling the approach followed over the years by Japan. In addition, regrettably, as foreign corporations reduce their direct investments in South Africa, corporations from Taiwan, Province of China are increasing theirs. By the end of 1987, about 50 Taiwanese factories had been established in South Africa and 20 others were under construction, most of them in the so-called "homelands", 58/

79. South Africa relies heavily on trade credits. Its relations with international finance remain tenuous. Long-term credits to South Africa have virtually ceased but short-term trade credits are increasing. The main sources of short-term credits are the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom. 59/ The United States, Japan and the Commonwealth (except for the United Kingdom) have banned new loans to South Africa, and some have also stopped export credit guarantees. South Africa has been able to attract limited amounts of capital from Far Eastern countries with large capital surpluses. Otherwise, the prospects of external capital lending to South Africa in the near future are not promising. In 1988, well-documented studies by the United States Congress and the Commonwealth Secretariat have shown the erosion of international financial confidence in South Africa, 60/

**C. Military build-up and collaboration\***

80. The apartheid régime continues to build up its military strength and to trade in armaments, despite the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. It has increased its 1988-1989 defence and security budget by 22 per cent, 61/. In 1987, it exported arms to 23 countries for a total of \$900 million, making arms the third most important export item after gold and coal, 62/. It was reported to be planning to build its own submarines. 63/ South Africa was also reported to have used foreign technical expertise to upgrade additional Mirage4 into Cheetahe, 64/

81. In February, it was reported that Austrian spotter planes were among the military items "recently" acquired by South Africa, 65/. It was also reported that arms were flown from Austria to South Africa. In November 1987, several consignments of weapons having been cleared through Graz Thalerhof airport and flown by the Israeli airline El Al to Johannesburg. 66/

82. In March, South Africa participated in an arms exhibition in Chile. The Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement expressing concern at this invitation. He also expressed astonishment at learning that two South African naval vessels had been invited to pay an official call to Chilean ports (see para. 151 below), 67/

83. In July 1988, an infraction of the arms embargo was reported in the media concerning South Africa's order for three high-technology dual-use multi-sensor platforms from the Federal Republic of Germany. The system, developed by British Aerospace and Messerschmitt of the Federal Republic of Germany, is already being used by the British Ministry of Defence to track high-speed airborne objects. It is described as an "electro-optical" tracking system for weapon trials, but South Africa ordered it ostensibly to track weather satellites. The two Governments reportedly gave export licence on South Africa's assurance that the system would be used for satellites. Apparently, by the time the matter was brought to the attention of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, one platform had already been delivered to South Africa (see para. 152), 68/

84. The Government's fiscal review in the Federal Republic of Germany into the alleged delivery of microfilms of the blueprints of the U-209 submarine to South Africa, mentioned in the previous annual report of the Special Committee, was dropped after the authorities concluded that the plans were not detailed enough to enable the construction of the U-boat. It should be noted, however, that no public prosecutor was assigned to investigate the case; instead, the fiscal authorities seem to have focused on possible violations of the country's export laws and had no access to all the data. Yet, a parliamentary (Bundestag) committee is investigating the case (see para. 147). 69/

85. There were additional press reports about military and nuclear collaboration between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa. The local government of Lower Saxony in the Federal Republic was reported to have said that it could not exclude the possibility that South African uranium hexafluoride was stockpiled in

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\* In view of the importance of the military relations between South Africa and Israel, a report on such relations is contained in annex I to the present report.

the **Advanced Nuclear Fuel6 GmbH at Lingen. 70/** Other report<sup>8</sup> indicated that the South African subsidiaries of BMW and Volkswagen work on armoured cars, while the subsidiary of AEG produces military electronic products, 71/

86. In August, South Africa approached the International Atomic Energy Agency to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to open its nuclear facilities to international inspection but on condition that it would be allowed to trade in nuclear fuel<sup>8</sup> and technology. In exchange, it would undertake not to produce nuclear weapons. 72/

D. International reaction against South Africa

Sanctions

87. Few significant new measures were taken against South Africa during the period under review. In December 1987, the United States Government repealed tax credits for the United States companies operating in South Africa. This measure would increase the total tax burden of these companies from 57.5 per cent to 72 per cent. 73/ At the time of writing of the present report, important measures, which would further restrict United States trade relations with South Africa, had been adopted by the United States House of Representatives and were before the Senate for consideration.

88. On 10 May 1988, the Icelandic Parliament enacted a law banning all trade with South Africa and Namibia. For humanitarian reasons, however, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iceland may grant exemption<sup>6</sup> from the provision<sup>8</sup> prohibiting the export of goods from Iceland to South Africa. Infractions of the provisions of the law are made subject to prosecution under the rules of criminal procedure. Violators are to be punished. The new measure adopted by Iceland on 29 May 1988 was in line with the general trade boycott of South Africa and Namibia, implemented by the other Nordic countries, and was legislated after the adoption of the revised Nordic Programme of Action against Apartheid in March 1988. The revision was a result of the trade boycott by the Nordic countries against South Africa and Namibia. Since 1 January 1988 the Nordic countries have implemented comprehensive measures that are said to be intended to counteract apartheid and to reduce the dependence of the front-line States and the members of SADCC on South Africa, as well as to promote economic development in the region. 74/

89. The Commonwealth summit meeting held at Vancouver, Canada, in October 1987 adopted the Okanagan Statement and Programme of Action on Southern Africa. With the exception of the United Kingdom, members stressed that the international community should widen and intensify economic sanctions and secure a more concentrated global programme of sanctions, with co-ordination of the implementation of measures agreed on by each member. The summit set up 4 Committee of Foreign Ministers to meet periodically and to provide the impetus and guidance in the implementation of the objectives. The Committee commissioned studies on South Africa's trade and its relationship to the international financial system. It also decided to prepare a detailed strategy to combat South Africa's press censorship and propaganda. At its first meeting at Lusaka in January 1988, it called for a strengthening of sanctions against South Africa. It also suggested that the United Nations mandatory arms embargo should be tightened and that South Africa's financial links with the rest of the world should be undermined. 75/

90. At its meeting at Toronto, Canada, in August 1988, the Commonwealth Committee Of Foreign Ministers proposed a global ban on trade credits to South Africa, a tightening of the foreign debt noose and aid to anti-apartheid groups. The proposals are expected to be considered by the Commonwealth Conference in 1989. The Ministers (Australia, Canada, Guyana, India, Nigeria, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) pledged to press for an international ban especially against South African coal. They committed themselves more thoroughly to stricter customs scrutiny and to the investigation of sanctions violations. They would also ask financial institutions in their countries not to increase trade financing to South Africa. The Commonwealth Committee noted that sanctions are having a discernible impact on South Africa and that the impact will be enhanced if the sanctions are more widely adopted and their application intensified and tightened. It also concluded that a global ban on trade credit<sup>2</sup> would have a very serious effect on South Africa's external accounts, 76/

91. A meeting of the Security Council, on 3 March 1988, failed to adopt a draft resolution that would have imposed selective mandatory sanctions on South Africa, largely barred on those adopted by the European Economic Community (EEC). The draft was vetoed by the United Kingdom and the United States.

#### Scope and degree of implementation of sanctions

92. The implementation of a restrictive measure is often less effective in practice than intended by those who imposed it. For one thing, the scope is often diluted, for another, implementation is often delegated to authorities that are not well versed in foreign policy. In the case of measures decided by international organizations, the interposition of an additional stage of operationalization, that is, the domestic implementation of an international decision, provides an opportunity for even greater dilution.

93. The EEC ban on oil exports to South Africa is an example. The original decision of the EEC Council of Ministers had excluded refined products from the ban. Since Europe is more important as a refiner than as a producer of petroleum, it would have made more sense to do the opposite. Since there are only two Oil exporters in EEC, one of whom (the United Kingdom) does not export oil to countries outside the International Energy Agency, the measure at first was only relevant to the Netherlands, a minor producer. Defining the scope of the ban was left to the individual Governments. When it was later decided to extend the ban to oil which had been imported into the Community, the Government of the Netherlands decided that it would not apply to oil in bonded warehouse storage, thus leaving the facilities of the Rotterdam spot oil market available to South Africa. When it was later decided to include petroleum products in the ban, a loophole was provided because it did not cover petroleum products that had been diluted with certain chemicals. South Africa can still purchase petroleum products in this form and remove the diluter afterwards.

94. The implementation of the arms embargo suffers similarly from the fact that it must be left to individual Governments to decide which objects are covered. Since there are a host of "dual-purpose" items commonly used for both military and civilian purposes, certain Governments continue to export such items to South Africa. These practices are all the less excusable when one considers that many of the same Governments apply rigorous arms equipment definition when it comes to implementing the Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade (COCOM) arms embargo against socialist and other countries. Western Governments have still not agreed



to use the so-called "COCOM list" of items as a guideline for the arms embargo against South Africa, despite a European Parliament recommendation to that effect,

95. The implementation of measures is often left in the hands of operational ministries, particularly those of commerce and finance, whose officials have less understanding of the political nature of sanctions and better relations with, and more understanding for, the business community whose activities are being affected by sanctions,

96. Implementation can be diluted, not only by delegating it to operational ministries, but by splitting it up among many different authorities. Implementation of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in the United States, for example, was delegated by Executive Order 12571 to no less than 10 different officials, agencies or combinations thereof with the brunt of the responsibility going to the department of Commerce and the Treasury, sectors of the Government where one would probably find little sympathy with sanctions.

97. Since sanctions measures are often equated with routine customs regulations, they are often treated as victimless white-collar crimes. In certain countries they are only punishable under the less stringent terms of customs violations. Violators even invoke the harmless or victimless nature of such crimes in their own defence; but not always successfully, for in a rare and commendable demonstration of political sophistication, the State Court of Düsseldorf in the Federal Republic of Germany, in a decision of 27 May 1986 in the so-called "Rheinmetall Case", found that the diplomatic embarrassment caused to the national government by the illegal export of arms to South Africa constituted an aggravation of guilt on the part of the defendants,

98. The implementation of the measures adopted unilaterally by individual countries against South Africa, therefore, needs strengthening through concerted international action. There is a need, for example, for better co-ordination and standardisation by States of their measures. It would also strengthen the implementation if States adopted legislative measures for implementation instead of issuing policy statements which do not have a binding character. In most cases, legislation does not have a wide external jurisdictional scope and does not extend to nationals abroad and to foreign subsidiaries. The definitions of the measures are not generally comprehensive enough so as not to leave loopholes.

99. Most economic measures against South Africa involve trade in commodities. Few countries (the Nordic countries and the United States) have adopted measures concerning services to South Africa, such as foreign nationals serving in the South African military. In addition, the international community is confronted with the issue of evasion of sanctions through third countries and the problem of those exploiting the commercial opportunity created by those imposing sanctions.

100. An example of evading sanctions may be seen in the case of Swaziland, where South African business concerns have created many small-scale schemes to replace South African labels by others that read "Made in Swaziland". By attaching forged "certificates of origin", they evade sanctions for such commodities as garments to the United States, avocados to the Middle East, apples to Europe and wine to Canada. 77/ Textile industry sources claim that such relabelling operations are carried out also in Lesotho and Mauritius. It was also reported that a secret office in the South African Foreign Ministry co-ordinates efforts to use neighbouring countries to evade sanctions. 78/

**101.** According to the United States General Accounting Office, in April, customs officials were investigating 41 cases of Covert imports of South African steel, textiles or farm products, as well as exports of arms, ammunition and aircraft to South Africa. 79/

**102.** The European Parliament adopted a resolution in October 1987 urging more effective control of airamvntione of restrictive economic measures imposed by EEC against South Africa. 80/

#### Disinvestment and divestment

**103.** In 1987, there was a record number of company disinvestments and an increasing trend of divestment of shares in firms involved in business with South Africa. 81/

**104.** Between 1984 and July 1988, a total of 339 corporations from 15 countries disinvested from South Africa. About 50 per cent of the withdrawals involved United States corporations and 29 per cent British ones, owing mainly to very strong domestic anti-apartheid campaigns. 82/

**105.** However, increasing numbers of the withdrawing corporations are adopting what is known as the "Japanese model" of economic relations with South Africa. They convert their interests, into the form of non-equity interests, such as licensing, distribution, franchising, management and trademark. According to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, only a handful of transnational corporations have left South Africa "lock, stock and barrel". Most of them have "pulled out" without leaving. They have sold their subsidiaries to the local management, undertaking licensing agreements to secure a continued flow of income. 83/ For example, of the 96 United States companies that have pulled out of South Africa over the two years up to December 1987, a total of 45 have continued to maintain ties through licensing and distribution agreements that ensure that their products are still available to South African consumers. 84/ Analyses of disinvestment, however, have shown that many of the disinvesting foreign companies maintain less direct links with subsidiaries in South Africa. 85/

#### Other actions by Governments and organizations

**106.** Many Governments, as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, have appealed for clemency for the "Sharpeville Six" who were sentenced to death on the grounds of "common purpose". They have also denounced the banning of 17 organizations and 18 persons, and demanded the lifting of the bans. In addition, they reiterated their call for the release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and other political prisoners in South Africa.

**107.** The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), meeting at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1988, the day marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of OAU, adopted a declaration by which it rededicated itself to eradicating all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination from the African continent. The Assembly expressed its determination to achieve early independence for Namibia and to secure the total elimination of apartheid in South Africa. Reaffirming its resolve to increase financial, material and military assistance to the national liberation movements, the Assembly committed itself to imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and urged the international community to take such measures against the apartheid régime.

108. Meeting at Luanda in **November 1987**, the **leaders** of Angola, Botswana, Mosambiquir, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe **called for** international action **against** South Africa's invasion of **Angola**. They condemned the South African war on Angola and aalled for help from **OAU** to drive South Africa's **forces out of** Angola. 86/

109. In **March** 1988, EEC called upon the **Pretoria régime** to withdraw **its** bill in the Parliament that would **restrict** the foreign financing of extra-parliamentary groups in South Africa. It said that it intended to continue to give **aid** to anti-aeartheid groups. **Under** this and other such **pressures**, last June the South African Parliament **shelved** the bill. 87/

110. Anti-apartheid groups organized an international week of action in **November 1987 against** Shell in **Australia, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States**. In the United States, they **also** launched a campaign against the Mobil Oil Corporation. 88/

111. Earlier, on 28 September 1987, the **American Committee on Africa and the AFRICA Fund** organised the "**unlock Apartheid's Jails Campaign**" in the **United States**. Symbolic keys **were** collected and **left** at the **doors** of the South African **Consulate-General** in New York in October and the **Embassy** in **Washington, D.C.** in December. The Campaign **was** launched by the well-known comedian, **Bill Cosby**, and the Chairman of the Special Committee at a **press** conference in New York **City**, Campaign **chairman** Bill Corby was joined by the **mayors** of eight major **cities**, who presented "**the key to the city**" to symbolise the **commitment** of their citiee to freeing apartheid prisoners. Meeting with the **mayors** at United Nations Headquarters, the Secretary-General stressed the importance of **the** Campaign and thanked the **mayors** for their initiative.

112. In **February**, the **Japanese Anti-Apartheid** Committee launched a nation-wide campaign to **boycott** South African goods. 89/ In the **same** month, anti-apartheid groups from 10 **EEC countries** held a conference at Bonn and pledged to intensify their **efforts** to **secure** the impoeition of comprehensive and mandatory **sanctions** against **South Africa** and to promote peoples' sanctions against all forma of collaboration with that country. They agreed to **organize** co-ordinated campaigns **for, among** other things, sanctions against South African coal and a ban on all computer and electronic exports to South Africa. They also agreed to **work** for securing the termination of South Africa's diplomatic representation to the European Commieeon.

113. A joint project of the Programme to **Combat Racism** of the World Council of Churches and the London-based End **All Loans** to South Africa, **namely**, the International **Campaign** Against Banking on Apartheid, intensified **its** campaign **against** trade credits and loans to South Africa and imports of gold from **South Africa**. 90/ In June, major anti-apartheid organiaatione in Western Europe, **as** well as ANC, SWAPO, church groups and individuals, set up the World Gold Commission in London to block **sales** of South African gold. 91/

#### Cultural and sports boycotts

114. The cultural and **sports** boycotts **against** South Africa are integral components of the concerted international **action** for the eradication of apartheid. Important activities and **initiatives** were undertaken both at the United Nations and in various countries by non-governmental organizationr and individuals.

115. The fifth Register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa **was** published by the Special Committee on 9 August 1988. **It** contains the names of those artists and entertainers which have performed in South Africa from January 1981 to June 1988. It **also** contains a List of persons whose **names** have been deleted **since** the publication of the fourth Register in April 1987. **Several of** the **few** remaining internationally known entertainers and artists pledged that they will not undertake again cultural activities in apartheid South Africa and **were** therefore deleted from the Register. **Among those whose names** were deleted are Paul **Anka**, Shirley **Bassey**, **Cher**, Rita Coolidge, **Bartha Kitt** and Frank Sinatra (**see** pars. 164).

116. In November 1987, five United States **film-makers**, namely, Woody **Allen**, Jonathan **Demme**, Spike Lee, Martin **Scorsese**, and Senson Seidelman, on behalf of 100 film-makers **who** are **members of** the United States-based Film-makers United against Apartheid, sent a letter to the President of the United States urging **him to** support fully the cultural **boycott of South** Africa, sponsored by the United Nations, and to adopt **stronger** economic sanctions against South Africa.

117. To **discuss** the cultural boycott **of South Africa** and various aspects of cultural activities in South Africa, a conference **was** held at Amsterdam, the Netherlands in December 1987. The **Culture in Another South Africa (CASA)** Conference, **organized** by the **CASA** Foundation and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands, in co-operation with the Municipality of Amsterdam and **various non-governmental** organizations and individuals, reaffirmed the United Nations policy **on the** matter and discussed relevant technical and political **matters**.

118. In June last, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement **organized** an 11-hour-long **rock** concert at Wembley Stadium in London in **honour** of Nelson Mandela's seventieth birthday. **Many** stars from all over the world performed **at** the concert, which was viewed by over **one** billion people in **60 countries**. The concert galvanized further support for the struggle against apartheid and for the release **of** Mr. Mandela, who has been in **gaol for 25** years, 92/

119. With regard to the sports boycott against **Youth Africa**, a major development in the combat against apartheid in sports was the entry into force of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports on **3** April 1988. **At the time of** writing, **the** Convention had **been** ratified **by** 32 States and signed by 45 others. The Convention is expected to play a decisive role **in furthering** the isolation of apartheid sports.

120. On **14** April 1988, the **Register** of Sports Contacts with South Africa was released. The Register was well received by Governments and anti-apartheid **groups**, and was widely reported by the news media. As a result, an increasing number of requests have been received for deletions from **the Register** (**see** para. 159).

121. Earlier, in November 1987, the International Conference against Apartheid Sport was held at **Harare**. It was supported **by the** Special **Committee** and sponsored by the South African **Non-Racial** Olympic **Committee** (SAN-ROC) and African **sporting** organizations. It was attended **by many** Governments, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), sporting organizations **from** all over the world, and many anti-apartheid groups. It **set** strategies for the **further** isolation of the apartheid **régime** from international sports (**see** para. 157).

122. On 25 January, the President of the International Tennis Federation announced that the players would no longer be required to play in South Africa. LOC had expressed concern about a possible African boycott of the 1988 Summer Olympics at Seoul, because of the annual tennis tournament held at Johannesburg. 93/ Later, in June, IOC convened a special meeting on Olympism and Apartheid. It issued a declaration denouncing apartheid and urging all international sports organizations to cut their remaining ties with South Africa. It also announced that it would establish a co-ordination commission to study and follow all matters concerning apartheid in sport (err para. 161) , 94/

123. Despite the progress achieved in isolating apartheid sports, the racist régime is still able to lure some sports persons through financial and other incentives. Many of those who were lured by the apartheid régime subsequently regretted their decision and decided not to collaborate again with apartheid sports. There is a need for the international community to take further concerted action to strengthen and further the gains already achieved in this sphere.

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

129. During the period under review, the Special Committee against Apartheid continued to monitor the implementation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on apartheid and to promote the international campaign against apartheid. Undertaking activities that have maximum potential for influencing decision-making, the Special Committee gave new impetus to the mobilization of Governments, non-governmental organizations and public opinion. Thus, it organized and Sponsored seminars and meetings of parliamentarians, journalists and prominent personalities from the world of culture, entertainment and sports by carefully choosing the participants who could influence Governments and public opinion, the Special Committee aimed at generating a multiplier effect in its anti-apartheid campaigns. In addition to the organization and sponsorship of seminars, meetings and missions, the Special Committee also provided assistance to a number of activities by anti-apartheid movements in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly. It also issued statements and appeals on developments relating to South Africa and enhanced contacts with opponents of apartheid inside and outside the country.

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

125. During its forty-second session, the General Assembly considered the above-mentioned item in seven plenary meetings, between 16 and 20 November 1987. Based mainly on the recommendations of the Special Committee, the General Assembly on 20 November adopted the following eight resolutions relating to various aspects of apartheid: "International solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa" (42/23 A); "Application of co-ordinated and strictly monitored measures against South Africa" (42/23 B); "Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa" (42/23 C); "Relations between Israel and South Africa" (42/23 D); "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid" (42/23 E); "Oil embargo against South Africa" (42/23 F); "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid" (42/23 G); And "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa" (42/23 H),

126. The Special Committee, with the support of the African Group of States, had initiated a streamlining of the draft resolutions submitted to the General Assembly. The new format and content, characterized by brevity and precision, were generally appreciated by Member States from all regions, as manifested in the explanations of the votes and in the results of the voting itself. There was also a positive reaction in the press as well as among non-governmental organizations. Virtually all resolutions obtained greater support; changes in the voting were particularly pronounced among members of the Western and Other Group of States. As in the recent past, resolution 42/23 H was adopted without a vote.

##### B. Statements made at meetings of the Security Council

127. On 30 October 1987, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee addressed the Security Council during its consideration of the situation in Namibia (see S/PV.2759). He deplored the unprecedented Attempts by the racist régime of South

Africa to crush liberation forces in Namibia and to entrench further the policies of apartheid in that Territory. In view of the escalating atrocities by South African forces against the Namibian people and SWAP!), he called upon the international community to strengthen its commitment and solidarity with the national liberation movements and emphasized that the most appropriate and effective peaceful means of forcing South Africa to terminate apartheid and its illegal occupation of Namibia would be comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Acting Chairman endorsed a proposal made by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to arrange for a cease-fire and the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

128. On 23 November 1987, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee participated in the Security Council debate on Angola's complaint of aggression by South Africa (see S/PV.2764). He reiterated the Special Committee's view that the racist régime's aggression against Angola constituted a serious threat to peace and security in southern Africa. On behalf of the Special Committee, he asked for the immediate withdrawal of South Africa's forces from Angola and the determination of compensation for the damage suffered by that country.

129. On 3 March 1988, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed the Security Council during its consideration of the question of South Africa (see S/PV.2793). Stating that the situation in South Africa continued to deteriorate and that it was at a stage where even the most elementary rights of the oppressed people in South Africa to peacefully protest apartheid and to exercise their freedom of expression were being denied, he condemned the ban imposed on organisations and individuals on 24 February 1988, which closed virtually all avenues for peaceful change in South Africa. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman requested the Security Council to adopt urgently comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as the only way to respond to Pretoria's consistent defiance of United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 569 (1985), which called for the unconditional and immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free, united and democratic society based on universal suffrage.

### **C. Activities of the Special Committee against the policies and practices of the apartheid régime**

130. The Special Committee repeatedly drew the attention of the international community to the oppressive and terrorist policies and actions of the apartheid régime. On various occasions, the Chairman held discussions with senior officials of a number of countries and other individuals concerned and called upon the international community to strengthen the world-wide anti-apartheid campaign, to support the struggles of the South African and Namibian people led by the national Liberation movements and to assist the front-line States, which have been the subject of Pretoria's aggression and destabilization (see annex III to the present report).

#### **Against repression**

131. The Special Committee continued its efforts to disseminate information and condemn the repressive policies of the régime and the attacks against opponents of apartheid.

132. The Rapporteur of the Special **Committee**, on 2 May 1988, issued a report entitled "Apartheid on the attack: recent developments", which covered developments between September 1987 and April 1988. It highlighted the escalation of the repression of individuals and mass-based organisations, as well as terrorist acts committed in south Africa and beyond, including in capitals of Western Europe. The report noted that, despite the intensification of the regime's double-track strategy of repression and annihilation of opponents, coupled with efforts to co-opt parts of the majority population, resistance to apartheid was persisting, regrouping and **ta'ing** different political forms. An alliance between organized black workers and the youth was developing into a significant component of the strategic resistance against apartheid.

133. On 10 June, following the renewal of existing emergency legislation for another year, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement condemning the renewal of the state of emergency and **urg.ng** the international community to respond effectively by immediately imposing sanctions.

134. The Special Committee repeatedly drew the attention of the international community to the fact that the apartheid regime continued arbitrarily to impose death sentences and to carry out executions as part of an ongoing campaign of persecution and brutality designed to crush and suppress the struggle for liberation. It appealed for immediate action to stop the execution of Mlungisi Luphondo. It condemned the execution of Michael Lucas and other persons and called upon the international community to prevent the executions of four members of the **Addo** Youth Congress, who were sentenced to death in January 1987. The Special Committee was much concerned and tried to prevent the execution of the "Sharpeville Six". On 7 December 1987 and 15 March 1988, the Chairman urged Governments and peoples of the world to intervene and prevent the flagrant judicial murder of the sir young South Africans, who were convicted and sentenced to death on the basis of "common purpose". The Chairman denounced the barbaric concept of collective responsibility, rejected by national and international legal standards. The international community was called upon to do its utmost to save the lives of the "Sharpeville Six".

135. During the solemn meeting in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October **1987**), special guests from South Africa, including former political prisoners, gave moving testimonies of their treatment, as well as **pers,onal** accounts of the repressive apartheid machinery (see annex IV to the present report). The Special Committee unanimously adopted an appeal urging all Governments to focus on demands for the immediate release of all political prisoners and others detained under state of emergency regulations, for staying the executions of 30 young patriots on death row and for granting prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom-fighters. On 22 October 1987 and 11 and **12** July 1988, the Chairman issued statements in which he expressed the **Spécial** Committee's grave concern about the continuation of arbitrary detentions, detentions without trial and the blackout of information regarding detained or missing persons. Publishers, journalists, leaders of mass organizations, lawyers and others were victims of a new wave of repression. The attention of the international community was drawn in Particular to the fact that the editor of the anti-apartheid newspaper the New Nation, Zwelakhe Sisulu, had been in detention without trial since December-86.

136. On 8 January 1988, the Chairman in a statement denounced the warnings by the racist regime against five anti-apartheid journals and condemned the attempts to curtail and censor the "alternative" South African press. The threats to close



down the Sowetan, the Now Nation, the Weekly Mail, South and Work in Progress were a further step in silencing apartheid's opponents and in preventing world public opinion from learning the truth about apartheid's domertio terror. On 23 March, in another statement thr Chairman deplored thr ban imposed on thr Now Nation,

137. In ⑤ • tatomont on 25 February 1908, the Chairman of the Speoial Committee expressed dismay about new measures Ly the apartheid régime to ban and restrict 17 political, civic and human rights associations and other mass organisations, inoluding COSATU, as well as 18 individuala, from • xotairing any functions other than perfunctory oner and considered the measures a further intensification of the régime's undeclared war against peaceful ochange in South Africa. By rertr ioting COSATU to only "shopfloor" aotivitler, prohibiting calls for ranotionr or the release o f detainees, and by taking othrr such measures, the racist authorities have trampled upon ths lart vestiges of frerdom of arrooiation.

138. On 12 May 1980, the Chairman rent a message of support to the meeting of COSATU oonvrnd in thr midst of the state of • mergenoy and the restrictions imposed on it, • specially in oonnection with the rertr iotive Labour Amendment Bill. In June, the Chairman issued a statement condemning and calling for the denunciation of employers, threats against a peaceful protest from 6 to 8 June called for by COSATU and its affiliatrr. The Special Committee oonsidered thoes threats a direct violation of internationally accepted rtandardr of indurtrial labour relationr and called for thr mobilization of public support for the adoption of oo-ordinated and • tr ictly monitored ranotionr against South Africa.

139. On other specific ocoarionr, the Special Committee focused internat lonal attention on the rituation in South Africa, for inatanoe, on the tenth anniversary of the death of Steven Biko and on the release of Govan Mbeki. Further, during the 9olcmn meetings in observance of the tenth anniversary of the death of Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, founder of PAC, on 26 February 1988, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1988) and the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (16 June 1988), the international community's attention was drawn to the intransigent and peace-threatening posture of Pretoria (see annex V to the present report).

140. The occasion of Neleon Mandela's seventieth birthday provided a unique opportunity to focus international attention on his continued imprisonment. On 12 April, the Chairman called upon all United Nations Member States to initiate activities to mark that important occasion. Many Stater responded with a variety of commemorative events. On 18 July, the Special Committee paid tribute to Nelson Mandela by holding a special meeting on the occasion of hie seventieth birthday and by organizing a special exhibit on Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa. The participant6 in the meeting called for their immediate and unconditional releaeo from apartheid gaols.

141. The Speoial Committee dealt also with the situation of woman and children under apartheid. Its representatives participated actively in the International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa, which was held at Harare from 24 to 27 September 1987,

142. Focusing on the conditions in apartheid gaols, the Special Committee expressed its abhotrenoc at the detention of women and children and its implications for their physìcal and psychological condition, Despite their suffering, women and

children are increasingly contributing to the liberation struggle. This conclusion was reiterated by the Special Committee at its solemn meeting on the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1988).

#### Against acts of aggression and destabilization

143. On 19 November 1987, the Chairman of the Special Committee in a statement emphasized that the expansion of the deployment of South African armed forces inside Angola is seen by the Special Committee as yet further proof of the régime's contemptuous disregard of world public opinion and its determination to escalate its aggression against Angola and its support to the renegade UNITA forces. On other occasions, for instance at the forty-ninth ordinary session of the OAU Liberation Committee, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 18 to 20 February 1989 and at the Public Hearings on the Situation in Namibia held in Washington, D.C., from 2 to 4 May 1988, the Chairman denounced the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and condemned the use of the Territory as a springboard for launching invasion and committing aggression against the front-line States, as well as for the flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of front-line States, in particular Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

144. On 29 March 1988, the Special Committee issued a statement in which it deplored strongly the assassination of Duloie September, the head of the ANC mission in Paris. In condemning the terrorist act, the Special Committee called upon Western Governments to take immediate action to ensure the safety and protection of representatives of the national liberation movements operating in their countries and to forestall repetition of such heinous acts. Reacting to the statement, the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, in a letter to the Special Committee's Chairman, assured the Special Committee of the French Government's determination to arrest and punish the perpetrators of that crime and to do everything possible to prevent a recurrence of such action. In another case, on 8 April, the Special Committee strongly condemned the attempted assassination of ANC activist Albie Sachs by a car bomb in Maputo. In a statement, the Chairman called upon the international community to respond to that act of State-sponsored terror against the national liberation movement with immediate and decisive action to stop the South African régime from conducting transborder violence and assassinations.

145. In March 1988, the Chairman of the Special Committee made a statement at a Conference entitled "South Africa's Future and Europe's Role" organized by the Association of Western European Parliamentarians against Apartheid (AWEPAA) at Lusaka, in which he proposed, inter alia, the setting up of an emergency programme for concerted bilateral and multilateral assistance to the front-line States to counter South Africa's economic destabilization, as well as to reduce their dependence on South Africa's infrastructure. In this connection, he emphasized the importance of the AFRICA-Fund for providing means and ways to support the national Liberation movements and the front-line States against apartheid's political and economic pressure. On 27 July, on the eve of a meeting of senior officials of the AFRICA-Fund held at Lima from 2 to 5 August 1988, the Chairman of the Special Committee participated in a press conference, and the Vice-Chairman in the meeting itself, thereby demonstrating close co-operation with the Fund and the Special Committee's resolve to support its objectives.

## Against collaboration with South Africa

146. The Special Committee continued **its efforts to persuade Governments to curtail their economic and other relationships with South Africa, and raised with some of them reports of acts of collaboration while expressing appreciation to others which took measures to end such acts.**

## Against military collaboration

147. During the forty-second session of the General Assembly, at the end of the debate on agenda item 33 "**Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa**" (20 November 1987), the Chairman of the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa made reference to the sale of blueprints of naval submarines to South Africa by a company of the Federal Republic of Germany and regretted the delay in the investigations of the matter, 95/ On 15 January 1988, the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany informed the Chairman of the completion of related investigations (see para. 84 above).

148. The Special Committee followed up investigations by the Government of Austria, and the Chairman corresponded with the Permanent Representative of that country regarding plans by MB Aircraft Industries AG to set up a factory in Ciskei, South Africa, to build small planes of the UB 23 type suitable for police and military activities. 96/

149. On 15 January 1988, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee, in a letter to the Permanent Observer of Switzerland to the United Nations, drew attention to the participation of a 28-member team of the South African Defence Force in the annual Swiss march on 9 and 10 May 1986. Recalling those General Assembly resolutions which call on all States to terminate their military collaboration, including the exchange of military visits with South Africa, the Acting Chairman invited the Swiss Government to comply with those provisions.

150. Following a statement of the Chairman of the South African Arms Production Corporation (ARMSCOR) regarding exports of arms to Sri Lanka, the Chairman of the Special Committee, on 23 February 1988, sent a Letter to the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka requesting an investigation of the matter. He also requested that those investigations be extended to a reported sale to Sri Lanka of armoured cars manufactured in South Africa, into which the Special Committee had already inquired through a letter of its Acting Chairman, dated 24 April 1986, to which no reply had yet been received.

151. On 4 March 1988, the Chairman, first in a letter to the Permanent Representative of Chile, and later in a public statement, expressed the serious concern of the Special Committee about reports that South Africa had been invited to participate in the Feria Internacional del Aire (FIDA 88) arms exhibition at Santiago, Chile, and that two South African naval vessels had been invited to pay an official call to Chilean ports. The Chilean Government was urged to cancel the invitation extended to South Africa for FIDA 88, as well as the visit of South African naval vessels (see para. 82). The Chairman, at a seminar held at Lima in March 1988, expressed his regret that Chile proceeded with the inclusion of South Africa in the Fair and with the naval visit. The Chilean Government responded by assuring the Chairman that it would co-operate in achieving the Special Committee's goals and that its competent organs would be instructed accordingly when organizing future events of this nature. 97/

152. On 17 June 1988, the Acting Chairman **sent letters** to the **Permanent Representatives** of the Federal Republic of Germany and the **United Kingdom to the United Nations** requesting investigations by their respective Governments concerning alleged deliveries of Multi-Sensor **Platforms** to **South Africa** involving **British Aerospace** and **Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm**. The equipment, produced in accordance with the requirements of the **South African Defence Force**, would be used for locating **tanks**, missiles, grenades and other ammunition, as well as for preparing military operations. **Both Governments** were requested to inform the **Special Committee** of the results of the investigation (see para. 83).

#### Against economic collaboration

153. On 26 August 1987, the Chairman of the **Special Committee** drew attention to the fact that several Western European airlines (i.e., **Lufthansa**, **British Airways** and **UTA**) inserted special advertisements in **South African** newspapers publicizing special connections to **United States** cities, thus undermining **United States** prohibition of air links with **South Africa**. Appropriate letters were sent to the **Permanent Representatives** of the **United States**, the **United Kingdom**, the **Federal Republic of Germany** and **France**.

154. On 27 October 1987, the Chairman of the **Special Committee**, in a letter to the **Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea** to the **United Nations**, referred to an article carried by The New York Times of 21 October 1987 concerning developments in the relationship between his country and **South Africa**, especially as those seemed to be inconsistent with **General Assembly** resolutions calling for the cessation of all collaboration with **South Africa**. He requested clarification in the matter. On 6 June 1988, the **Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea** to the **United Nations** sent a reply to the Chairman denying any official or unofficial collaboration with **South Africa**.

155. In a statement issued on 5 February 1988, the Chairman expressed the **Special Committee's concern** that Japan had increased trade with **South Africa**, which was estimated for 1987 at more than **\$US 4 billion**, a 14 per cent rise over 1986. Japan had become the apartheid régime's number one trading partner. Such a development not only contradicted **United Nations resolutions** against collaboration with **South Africa** but also the spirit of **Japan's** own measures against the apartheid régime. The **Special Committee** appealed to Japan urgently to take additional measures to end trade links with **South Africa** and to join in the efforts of the international community to eliminate apartheid.

156. In a letter dated 16 March 1988 to the **Permanent Representative of Mauritius** to the **United Nations** the Chairman requested investigation and information regarding alleged reports that a new company, **Les Moulins de la Concorde**, had been established by nationals of **Mauritius** and white **South Africans**. The Chairman expressed the strong hope that the Government of **Mauritius**, in conformity with relevant **United Nations** resolutions, would terminate any collaboration with **South Africa**.

#### Against sports contacts with South Africa

157. The **Special Committee** gave active support to the **International Conference against Apartheid Sports**, convened by **SAN-ROC** at **Harare** from 5 to 7 November 1987 (see para. 121).

158. Upon the entering into *force* of the International Convention against Apartheid in **Sport8** on 3 April 1988, the **Chairman** of the Special Committee urged **those** States **which** had **signed** the Convention **to** expedite their procenses of becoming parties to it and **urged** all other States to **accede** to the Convention, On 21 April 1988, the Deputy Permanent **Representative** of the United Statee of America to the United Nations **indicated** in a letter that **the United States was unable to accede to the Convention.**

159. **Pursuant to a decision taken in 1980,** the Special Committee published the **Register** of Sports Contacts with South Africa. The most recent Register contains information on sports contacts **for the** period from 1 January to 31 December 1987 and, **as** the previous ones, **includes a** cumulative list, **by** country, of sportepersons who participated in **sports** events in South Africa and those who *were* deleted because they **undertook not** to engage in further aporte events in South Aft ica. **Among them** there are well-known sportspersons, such as Mary Lou **Retton**, Frank **"Fuzzy"** Zoeller, Jr., and Timothy **S.** Mayotte. For the first time, a press **conference** war given on the **occasion** of the publication of the **Register** (14 April), which resulted in extensive prese coverage on it (see **also para. 120**).

160. **On 24 June 1988,** the Acting **Chairman** sent a **letter to the Permanent** Representative of Venezuela **to** the United **Nations** drawing his attention to the **fact** that the South **African** boxer, Welcome **Ncita**, had **been** invited to fight in Caracas. He requested **urgent measures** to prevent the **boxing** fight as well as any sporting exchange with South Africa, At the time of writing, **no** reply had **been** received.

161. **On 20 June 1988,** the Chairman sent a **meaaage** to the President of IOC, Juan Antonio Samsranch, commending his initiative to **convene** a meeting on **"Olympism and Apartheid"** and the efforts that IOC has taken to isolate apartheid sports. On tho request **of** the Chairman of SAN-ROC, the IOC Declaration **Against Apartheid** was **issued** as a **document** of the Special Committee (see **para. 122**).

162. **On 30 June 1988,** the Special **Committee** held a **meeting to honour the** President of the World Boxing Council, **José** Sulaiman, **with** a citation **for his contribution to the** efforts of the United Nations to isolate apartheid, and **to pay tribute to boxero and** boxing administratora for their individual and collective actions in this **regard**. Speaking on behalf of all the boxers present, **"Sugar"** Ray Leonard promised **not to take part in any event in South Africa** as long as apartheid **exists**. Among the **boxers** who were prenent at the meeting **were** Muhammad **Ali**, Joe **Frazier**, Gerry Cooney, Don **Lalonde**, Roberto **Duran** and Azumah Nelson (see annex III to **the** present report).

#### Against cultural collaboration

163. The Special **Committee** gave a **new impetus to the** policy **of** cultural isolation of South Africa. It elaborated **its** guidelines for the implementation of the cultural boycott of South Africa, which found broad acceptance. In co-operation with **the Ministry of Culture** of Greece and the Hellenic Association for the **united Nations**, it organized the **Symposium** "Culture against Apartheid" **with a number of** prominent participants from the cultural world. The **Symposium**, **which was held at** Athens from 2 to 4 September 1988, adopted an appeal, a **message** and a **statement** including a number of recommendations **for** future action (Bee annex IV to **the present** report).

164. The Special Committee **continues** to **publish the Register** of **Entertainers**,

Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa. The Register has been kept up to date since it was first issued in October 1983 it is revised on a semi-annual basis. Names of persons who undertake not to engage in further cultural activity in South Africa are accordingly deleted from the Register (see para. 115).

165. During the forty-second session of the General Assembly, the Special Committee organized a three-week exhibition of "Art against Apartheid". The exhibition consisted of original paintings and sculptures of 40 well-known international artists and gave testimony of their personal commitment to the abolition of apartheid. Produced by the Association of Artists of the World against Apartheid, the exhibition is to be presented as a gift to the first free and democratic government of South Africa elected by universal suffrage. Until then, the works of art will be held in trust by the Association, on behalf of the Cultural Foundation against Apartheid, which has been established by the Special Committee.

166. On the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, a ceremony was held on 11 October 1987 to celebrate the publication of a book of homage to Nelson Mandela. Twenty-three eminent writers from around the world contributed to the book "For Nelson Mandela", which was jointly sponsored by the Special Committee and the publisher Seaver Books/Henry Holt and Company, Inc.

167. The Special Committee has promoted and endorsed various cultural events throughout the world. It supported and participated in the International Conference on Culture in Another South Africa (CASA), held at Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The Conference was organized by the CASA-Foundation in co-operation with the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands for an extended exchange of views on aspects of current and future culture in South Africa. The Special Committee also endorsed a Project against Apartheid Festival in Italy, which was held in June 1988. It actively supported the production of a television programme by Globalvision, Inc., New York, which is screened on a weekly basis as the "South Africa Now" series, and was represented at the International Rock Concert for Mandela at Wembley, London.

168. In a statement issued on 30 June 1988, the Chairman of the Special Committee welcomed the decision of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to ban six South African scientists from participating in the International Conference on Combustion and Detonation Phenomena organized by the Fraunhofer Institute for Chemical Technology at Karlsruhe (see annex III).

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

169. During the period under review, the Special Committee organized, assisted and participated in a number of meetings, conferences and seminars to mobilize action against the apartheid régime. They are discussed below (see annex IV to the present report).

#### Students' hearings on the situation in South Africa

170. On 11 September 1987, in co-operation with the American Committee on Africa, New York, the Special Committee held a hearing of student leaders to review the grave situation in South Africa and student action in the United States against apartheid. Twenty-one student representatives replied to questions asked by

members of the Special Committee, In following up the students' hearings, the Chairman, in February 1908, **aent a** letter to United States student anti-apartheid organisations encouraging them to continue their anti-apartheid **activities in** campuses, streets, city halls **and** elsewhere, **as** those activities **had** strengthened the movement to isolate South Africa internationally,

#### **Seminar on the Role of the Latin American and Caribbean Media in the International Campaign against Apartheid**

171. The Latin American and Caribbean Media **Seminar** was organized **by the** Special Committee in co-operation with the Government **of** Peru, **and was** held at Lima **from 7** to 9 March 1988. **At the** end of the Seminar, the **participants** adopted **an** appeal and two resolutiona. The **Seminar was** attended by journalists, **editors**, writers, **media** and other experts from 17 Latin American and **Car. bbean countries** (see annex IV).

#### **Special meetings to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Special Committee**

**172. On** 6 May 1988, the Special Committee held two special meetings to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary **of** its first meeting in 1963. On that occasion, the Chairman stated that there **was no cause for** celebration **but** an opportunity for **sober** reflection over the failure **of** tho international community to erase the stigma **of** apartheid. **He** called upon all concerned and peace-loving people **to** join in decisive efforts to define **new ways** and means **for** the enhancement of **the** global struggle against apartheid. The Chairman emphasised that, although the ultimate solution of the conflict lay in the hands of the South African people, it was **up** to the international **community effectively** to assist **them**. The meeting was addressed **by** the Chairman of **PAC**, Mr, Johnson Mlambo, and special **guests** who had played an important role in the activities of **the** Special Committee **over** its **25** years of **existence**. **A film made by** the United Nations Secretariat **especially** for the occasion was **shown**. Among **the** speakers **were the** President of the World Alliance of Reformed **Churches**, **the** Reverend **Allan** Boeek and **the** Anglican Primate of Southern Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

#### **Support of anti-apartheid activities, participation in meetings and missions**

173. During the period under review, **the** Special **Committee** participated in or sponsored conferences and seminars, and granted assistance **to 25** international and national non-governmental organisations and anti-apartheid groups in support of **their** campaigns or projects aimed at **mobilizing** public opinion in solidarity with the struggle in South **Africa**. In this regard, the Special Committee contributed actively to the deliberations of a Conference on "Sanctions **and** South Africa", held at Howard **Unive:rsity**, Washington, D.C., on 31 October **1987**. The Conference was attended **by important** anti-apartheid activists **from** all **over** the United States **as** well as from inside South Africa. Three months later, on 1 and 2 February **1988**, the Chairman reiterated the Special Committee's view on **sanctions** at a meeting **of** the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, **which was** held at Lusaka.

**174.** The Special Committee actively supported **and** contributed to **the** International Conference **on** "Peoples of the **World** Against Apartheid **for** a Democratic South **Africa**" which was organised **by A.C** and held at **Arusha**, United Republic of Tanzania **ftom 1 to** 4 December **1987**. The Conference, attended **by** over 500 participant8 **from** all over the world, was held **as** part of the observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary **of** ANC.

175. On 4 December 1987, in a message to the European Community Summit meeting at Copenhagen, Denmark, the Chairman addressed a special appeal to the Heads of State and Government of the European Community to give urgent and special consideration to the deteriorating situation in South Africa. He stated that the Summit had a unique opportunity to adopt further collective sanctions measures against the South African régime. The Chairman urged, in particular, that national regulations be tightened to prevent loopholes in sanctions legislation that enable Pretoria to acquire vital equipment for the continued repression of the South African people by the military and police force. A similar initiative was undertaken by the Special Committee's Chairman on the eve of a meeting of African Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP) with EEC Foreign Ministers on 26 April 1988, when he identified nine areas in which both groups of countries could co-operate in the Special Committee's actions against apartheid.

176. The Chairman commended anti-apartheid organizations or groups and outstanding individuals for their direct and strong support for the international campaign against apartheid. On 1 October 1988, he sent a message of appreciation to the Mayor and whole city of The Hague for their declaration of The Hague as an "Anti-Apartheid City". On 17 February 1980, the Acting Chairman sent a letter to United States Congressman Charles B. Rangel honouring his initiatives in drafting and bringing into law an amendment to the deficit-reduction bill by 22 December 1987, which denied tax credits to United States corporations operating in South Africa. On 31 March and 5 April, letters of appreciation were also sent to Mr. Elie Wiesel for cancelling his lectures at Northern Michigan University and to Mr. James M. Leas for his article in The New York Times of 4 April 1988 in promotion of the divestment campaign and the total isolation of apartheid.

177. In October and November 1987, the Chairman sent letters of appreciation and support to the organizers of national anti-apartheid movements in Spain and the Philippines, which will give the international campaign against apartheid further momentum. On two other occasions in October 1987, cables were sent by the Chairman to rescind or cancel decisions and arrangements of individuals or groups that would run contrary to United Nations resolutions on apartheid. The Chairman thus addressed the Presidents of the Young Presidents Organization, New Haven and New York, Joel Schiavone and Jody Grant, to cancel plans for a trip to South Africa. He urged them to lend their support to the international campaign against apartheid and offered a free exchange of views about an alternative venue for an African tour. On the other occasion, the Chairman of Metro Media Channel 5 New York, John Klug, and the General Manager of Channel 50 Southfield, Michigan, George Williams, were requested to rescind their decision to telecast in November 1987 the Shaka Zulu series, which is a production of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and a propaganda instrument of the apartheid régime. Both were called upon to prevent the showing in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

#### Missions of the Chairman of the Special Committee

178. During the period under review, the Chairman visited a number of countries and met with senior officials. The Chairman visited Botswana in May 1988, where he had consultations with officials of the Government, and Lesotho, where he held extensive consultations with the Head of State and the Foreign Minister. From 15 to 17 May 1987, he visited Zimbabwe and held consultations with the President Of the Senate and officials of the Foreign Ministry and parliamentarians. He visited the United Kingdom and held consultations with the British Anti-Apartheid Movement



and British parliamentarians. He attended the "Freedom-Fest" Concert, which was held at Wembley Stadium in the United Kingdom and whose focus was the "Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70" campaign.

179. The Chairman also visited the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from 1 August to 12 August 1988. He held extensive consultations with high-ranking Government officials, parliamentarians and the leaders of non-governmental solidarity committees. He gave interviews and held press conferences for national news agencies.

#### **E. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and other organisations**

180. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with other United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa. It has continued to co-operate with the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. Part of their ongoing co-operation is the establishment of a task force to prepare and organize a hearing in 1989 on the oil embargo against South Africa. The two bodies also exchange relevant information and their Chairmen consult frequently. A report was issued on consultations between the President of the Economic and Social Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee. 98/ The Special Committee also continued to co-operate with ILO and took part in the deliberations of the ILO Tripartite Conference on Action Against Apartheid, held at Harare from 3 to 6 May 1988, as well as in the deliberations of its Committee on Apartheid during the seventy-fourth session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in June 1988.

181. The Special Committee also co-operated with the Commission on Human Rights, in particular, its Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa. Co-operation has also intensified with the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, in particular, its Division for the Advancement of Women.

182. The OAU was invited to attend meetings of the Special Committee as an observer and its representatives addressed several of its meetings and conferences. Likewise, the Special Committee was invited to all the meetings of OAU, including those of its Liberation Committee. The Special Committee participated in and addressed all these meetings. It also continued to maintain close co-operation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and with other specialized agencies, intergovernmental, non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations and sent representatives to attend and address conferences, meetings and other events organized by them. From 7 to 10 September 1988, the Chairman participated in the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Nicosia. The Final Declaration of the Conference called for the convening in 1989 of a special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa. 99/ This call was endorsed by the eightieth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held at Sofia from 19 to 24 September 1988, in which the Chairman of the Special Committee participated. 100/ The Special Committee also welcomes the decision taken by the Inter-Parliamentary Union Council at that Conference to organize an inter-parliamentary conference against apartheid in 1989.

## V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

183. In the past year the racist Pretoria régime escalated its repression in South Africa, trying to crush every form of opposition in the country and to impose its political designs. At the same time, for a variety of reasons, the apartheid régime has recently become involved in diplomatic efforts aimed at a settlement in the conflict in southern Africa.

184. The renewal of the state of emergency and the series of repressive measures adopted against anti-apartheid organisations and domestic and foreign media suggest that the régime can only advance its objectives through the indiscriminate use of force and State-sponsored terrorism. The enactment of these repressive measures is designed to stifle opposition to the régime, its "reforms" and the scheduled elections for October 1988.

185. Pretoria's constitutional scheme excludes black participation in Parliament and restricts it to the "homelands" and township councils. The reaction to that exclusion has contributed to the violence that has shaken South Africa since 1984. The régime's "reforms" give an appearance of power-sharing without substance. The centre-piece of the reformist scheme, the National Council, soon to be called the Great Indaba, will be an advisory body. The scheme, among other things, preserves the fragmentation of the population and the limitation of black power to "own affairs", preserving as the domain for decision-making by whites those issues most critical to the national body politic. As long as the state of emergency is in effect, political prisoners and detainees remain imprisoned, anti-apartheid and political organisations continue to be banned, the prospects of a peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa remain elusive and the country continues its downward spiral into violence.

186. Recent negotiations in the southern African region give reason for cautious hope of the resolution of the war conflict in Angola and the independence of Namibia. The fact remains, however, that the root cause of the conflict in southern Africa is the maintenance of apartheid and, as long as this system is in effect, regional peace will be threatened constantly.

187. Apartheid is not only being aggressively maintained, but is also becoming the object of a disingenuous effort to camouflage it through "reforms". Thus the challenge to the international community remains as high as ever and the imposition of sanctions on the régime continues to be of crucial significance. In this respect, those sanctions imposed on South Africa by a number of countries significantly contributed to common efforts of the international community and have had a considerable impact on the economy, even if their implementation has been at times hesitant and on the whole unco-ordinated. Partly as a result of sanctions, the South African economy is experiencing slow rates of growth. The compound effect of disinvestment, the denial of long-term credit and the lack of new capital investment are beginning to be felt and show the vulnerability of South Africa's economy to sanctions.

188. In this context, the new measures adopted against South Africa and those being considered for adoption by the Commonwealth and the United States Congress are welcome. South Africa's trade with the Nordic countries has virtually ceased and that with the United States has decreased as a result of the measures they have undertaken in recent years.

189. It is regretful, however, that, while some countries are gradually reducing their economic links with South Africa, others are filling that gap in defiance of United Nations resolutions calling for the complete isolation of the régime. Recent studies reveal a disturbing pattern, the traditional trade partners of South Africa are being replaced by new ones. Thus, in 1987, the value of South African trade with Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Spain and Turkey has considerably increased over the 1983-1985 period. Japan, which has replaced the United States as the largest trading partner of South Africa, increased its imports of South African goods by 40 per cent, while Switzerland increased its imports from South Africa threefold during this period. One of the most significant beneficiaries of trade restrictions against South Africa has been Taiwan, which in 1987 increased its imports from South Africa by 150 per cent over the 1983-1985 period and has also invested in the "homelands". In addition, Israel's imports of iron and steel increased, as well as commodities which are unclassified in Israel's trade statistics. The Federal Republic of Germany has become the largest exporter to South Africa, followed by Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. It is disturbing that some major industrialized countries still maintain significant trade, investment and military links with Pretoria. It is equally disturbing that some newly-industrialized countries, particularly in the Far East, are reaping advantage by filling the economic gap created by the sanctions of those countries which have heeded the call of the international community to isolate South Africa. It is furthermore a worry some that some developments, admittedly in few African countries, suggest that the necessary vigilance is not being exercised; this allows Pretoria to evade sanctions.

190. Recent developments in South Africa proved once more that the régime cannot solve the conflict in the country by violence. Despite the régime's relentless attack on all fronts, the opposition is regrouping and its activities range from armed resistance to strikes and boycotts. It is imperative then that the international community exercise further economic and political pressure in order to induce the régime to introduce fundamental changes in the political system of the country amounting to the eradication of apartheid. Is strong evidence that economic sanctions can have a significant impact on the South African economy; they act as a catalyst on the domestic and international business community by affecting those economic sectors which have influence on the political decision-making process in the country. In the same vein, other efforts to isolate South Africa, such as in the sports and the cultural fields can exert a parallel pressure on the ruling white minority and should therefore, be strengthened.

191. It is in that context that the Special Committee considers that the most effective sanctions, short of the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, should be targeted at key areas of the economy, notably a ban on imports of coal and agricultural products, or supply of loans and credit, or transfer of technology and a ban on direct air flights to and from South Africa. A mandatory oil embargo still remains one of the most powerful ways of pressuring the régime. The effective monitoring of the arms embargo is also of extreme significance in the international campaign against apartheid. EEC and Japan, which, with regard to the scope and implementation of sanctions, substantially lag behind the Nordic countries and the United States, are urgently invited to raise the level of their sanctions and to close loopholes appearing within the context of their participation in the international action against apartheid.

192. Measures should also be considered to prevent countries from benefiting from the vacuum created by other States that have imposed sanctions. States deciding

to introduce sanctions should adapt national legislative measures to penalize violators of sanctions, instead of merely relying on policy statements. Finally, ● reprimar ham shown that the sanctions adopted against South Africa need strengthening, better co-ordination and standardization, improved implementation and a more effective centralized monitoring and reporting system.

193. While there are signs that the political climate in the region is improving, a development that the Special Committee welcomes, the international community should intensify its focus on the continuing deterioration of the internal situation in South Africa, where apartheid, which has been the root cause of the regional conflict, remains virtually intact. The challenge to all the members of the international community is as urgent as ever.

194. In view of the above, the Special Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it:

(a) Reaffirm its condemnation of the system of apartheid and the apartheid régime's acts of repression, aggression, destabilization and terrorism;

(b) Reaffirm also the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa by all means, including armed resistance, for the ● elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa;

(c) Demand that the apartheid régime lift the state of emergency, release all political prisoners and detainees, rescind the bans on political organizations and individuals, and repeal restrictions on the freedom of the press, and end its repressive policies and violent practices;

(d) Demand also that the racist régime annul the capital punishment recently imposed on opponents of apartheid, including the "Sharpeville Six", and abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949 and Additional Protocol I of 1977, which accord prisoner-of-war status to captured fighters;

(e) Emphasize again that only negotiations with the genuine representatives of the resisting majority can bring about a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the racial conflict in South Africa;

(f) Consider the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the recent developments concerning relations between South Africa and Israel (annex I);

(g) Request the Security Council to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa;

(h) Call upon all States, pending the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions, to terminate all military, nuclear, trade, financial, technological, investment, and non-equity relations, as well as air and other transport links with South Africa, and prevent their citizens from serving in South Africa's armed forces and other sensitive sectors of the country;

(i) Urge all States to strengthen and co-ordinate their measures against South Africa, strictly to monitor and enforce the implementation of such measures and to punish violators;

(j) Urge the international community to intensify its efforts for full implementation of United Nations resolutions on the cultural, sports, consumer and other boycotts, which are the effective means of applying pressure on Pretoria to dismantle apartheid, and reaffirm its condemnation of collaboration with South Africa;

(k) Urge the international cultural community to heed the appeal of artists, writers, entertainers and other individuals from the cultural world, made at the Symposium on Culture against Apartheid, held at Athens, and call upon Governments to facilitate implementation of the policy of cultural isolation of South Africa endorsed by the Special Committee against Apartheid;

(l) Urge those States which have not yet done so, to ratify or accede to the International Conventions, regarding Apartheid, including the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports;

(m) Call upon Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and individuals to extend all possible assistance to the struggling people of South Africa and their national liberation movements, as well as to the front-line States, which are subjected to South Africa's aggression and destabilization;

(n) Authorize the Special Committee against Apartheid to continue in its new approach to the mobilization of international action against apartheid, through collection, analysis and dissemination of information, meetings, liaison with non-governmental organizations and relevant individuals able to influence public opinion and decision-making, hearings, consultations, missions, publicity and other relevant activities;

(o) Convene a special session in 1989 on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.

### Notes

1/ In the townships of the Vaal Triangle, where the uprising began in 1984, the turn-out in the 1983 municipal elections for councillors was less than 15 per cent. In Soweto, the largest township, fewer than 6 per cent of the electorate voted. At the writing of this report, the Pretoria régime prohibited the holding of the All-In-Conference in a further move to pave the way for the imposition of its unpopular "municipal elections". This conference, called by COSATU, was to assemble the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid forces in order to work out a common and concerted response to the régime's mounting campaign of repression. Prior to the Conference, security forces conducted raids against anti-apartheid organizations and arrested hundreds of activists, including many trade unionists. See also The Economist (London) 13 August 1988.

2/ At the top of the National Security Management System Structure is the State Security Council and a complex of committees. The Council, whose chairman is Mr. P. W. Botha, advises authorities on the formulation of national policy and strategy regarding the security of the country. Its decisions are implemented at the regional and local levels by the Joint Management Committee, which assesses the security situation in each region and recommends to the authorities appropriate solutions, ranging from security force action to the upgrading of living

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conditions. The Joint Management Committee and their substructures include representatives from business, community councils, the South African police and the South African Defence Force (SADF).

A recent document whose contents were leaked to the Conservative Party and revealed in Parliament shows a régime's media advertising strategy to address its "credibility" problem and to encourage participation - mainly in black communities - in the municipal elections. The total cost, approved by Cabinet, is estimated at more than \$2 million. See also Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 10 June 1988.

4/ Work in Progress (WIP) 52 (Braamfontein, South Africa), March 1988.

5/ Government Gazette (Pretoria), vol. 276, No. 11339, 10 June 1988) and Star (Johannesburg), 5 July 1988,

6/ Government Gazette (Pretoria), No. 11156 and No. 11157, of 24 February 1988. The 17 organizations are: Azanian People's Organization, Azanian Youth Organization, Cape Youth Congress, Cradock Residents' Association, Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Detainees support Committee, National Education Crisis Committee, National Education Union of South Africa, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, Release Mandela Campaign, South African National Students' Congress, South African Youth Congress, Soweto Civic Association, Yoweto Youth Congress, United Democratic Front, Vaal Civic Association and Western Caps Civic Association.

7/ The Times (London), 26 February 1988.

8/ In addition, Pretoria has established the Defence Manpower Liaison Committee (DEMALCOM), which is chaired by military personnel and includes representatives from the Chamber of Mines, Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Association of Chambers of Commerce, and other business groups. One function of DEMALCOM is to provide participants with statistics on "unrest"-related incidents and to forewarn of possible stayaways. See also South African Labour Bulletin, SALB (Braamfontein, South Africa), vol. 13, No. 1, November 1987.

9/ In its complaint, COSATU singled out (a) the preference that the South African Government seeks to give to racially constituted unions at the expense of non-racial ones; and (b) the fundamental abridgement of the right to strike, "Complaint submitted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) against the Government of the Republic of South Africa", Report of the Director-General, Fourth Supplementary Report, Fourteenth item on the agenda, Governing Body, ILO (Geneva), May-June 1988,

10/ Financial Times (London), 2 March 1988; Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 27 May to 2 June 1988; and Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 3 June 1988.

11/ Sash (Johannesburg), vol. 30, No. 3, December 1987,

12/ Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 13 to 19 November 1987; Greenflies - Municipal Police Night Ereton Cape issued by Black Sash (Mowbray), 1 January 1988; City Press (Johannesburg), 10 January 1988; and The New Nation (Johannesburg), 17 to 23 March 1988,

Notes (continued)

13/ The pattern of deaths includes Eric Mntonga, an official of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, activist lawyer Victoria Mxenge, Mathew Goniwe, Fabian Ribeiro, Chief Ample Mayisa, and others, all of whom were respected community leaders who were brutally murdered; Financial Times (London) and The New York Times, 29 January 1988.

14/ COSATU and UDF attribute the violence largely to "a systematic attempt to smash our organizations . . . In coming to this conclusion, we do not wish to dispute that members of our organization have been involved in acts of violence. None the less, the evidence points to the fact that the lion's share of the violence can be directly credited to the vigilantes and the failure of the police to intervene or prevent further violence . . ."; "Violence in Pietermaritzburg (PMB)", A Memorandum by COSATU and UDF", November 1987; Africa News (Durham), 16 November 1987; and South African Labour: Bulletin, SALB (Braamfontein), vol. 13, Nos. 4 and 5, July 1988.

15/ The National Committee against Removals estimates that 4 million blacks have been forcibly resettled since 1950 while 3 million are facing the threat of being relocated; Crises in Crossroads: A report on human rights in South Africa, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), December 1987; and Reuter, 11 March 1988.

16/ It is estimated that some 250,000 blacks live in "white areas" nationwide. There are 1.5 million squatters in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand area and about 2.5 million around Durban; Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 8 July 1988; Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 22 to 28 July 1988; and New Nation (Johannesburg), vol. 3, No. 30, 28 July to 3 August 1980.

17/ South Africa: Human Rights and the Rule of Law, International Commission of Jurists, edited by Geoffrey Bindman, Pinter Publishers (London and New York), 1988.

18/ Since 1963 more than 82 persons have died in prison while being held under legislation providing for detention without trial; Review of 1987 by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, DPSC (Johannesburg), 31 January 1988; and Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 3 to 9 June 1988.

19/ Human Rights Update, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), April 1988 and vol. 1, No. 3, July 1988.

20/ The Sharpeville Six were granted a stay of execution following an unprecedented international campaign for clemency. The names of the Sharpeville Six are: Mofaleni Reginald Sifatsa, Reid Malebo Mokoena, Oupa Moses Diniso, Thabasa Ramashamola, Duma Joshua Kumalo and Francis Don Mokhesi. They were sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court in December 1985 for being part of a crowd that killed a community councillor in Sharpeville, a township in the Vaal Triangle. They were convicted of murder and sentenced to death only because the court found that they had "common purpose" with the actual perpetrators. Their appeal was rejected on 1 December 1987. They were to have been hanged on 18 March 1988. Judgement is awaited on an appeal to have the trial reopened on the grounds that the key State witness committed perjury during his testimony. See also Human Rights Update, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the

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Witwatersrand (Johanneeburg), vol. 1, No. 3, July 1988; and Amnesty International Report 1988 (London) , 1988.

21/ Hansard (Cape Town), 1 March 1988, cols. 154-156.

22/ By now the boyoott has affected more than 50 townships, coating the régime about \$400 million; Christian Science Monitor (Boston), The Guardian (London), and The Warhington Post, 18 February 1988.

23/ Joint Communiqué of the African National Congress and the National Council of Trade Unions (Harare), 3 May 1988; and "Press Statement on PAC-NACTU Talks", issued by PAC on 2 September 1987 at Dar es Salaam.

24/ COSATU News, Special Congress edition, May-June 1988; S.A. Barometer (Johannesburg), vol. 2, No. 11, 17 June 1988; and Work in Progress (WIP) 54 (Brramfontein, South Africa), June-July 1988;

25/ COSATU Information Bulletin (Johannesburg), October 1987; The New York Times, 13 March 1988; The Guardian and Financial Times (London) , 22 March 1988; and Weekly Mail (Johanneeburg), 25 to 30 March 1988.

26/ Financial Mail (Johanneeburg), 8 January 1988; S.A. Barometer (Johannesburg), vol. 2, No. 9, 20 May 1988 and vol. 2, No. 10, 3 June 1988; and Business Week (New York), 20 June 1988.

27/ S.A. Barometer (Johannesburg), vol. 2, No. 9, 20 May 1988.

28/ More than 30,000 members of the National Union of Metal Workers went on strike in 180 factories in huguat 1988. The strike, which cost the industry about \$20 million in losses, was settled after an agreement was reached between the union and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, the national employers' federation in the metal industry. The agreement, inter alia, eetabliehee compulsory stop-order facilities for the union; Work in Progress (WIP) 54 (Braamfontein, South Africa), June-July 1988; and NUMSA National Strike Report (Johannesburg), 11 August 1988.

29/ Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 4-10 March and 12-18 August 1988.

30/ The New York Times, 21 August 1988.

31/ ANC conference report, entitled "Peoples of the World against Apartheid and for a Democratic South Africa" (Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania), 1 to 4 December 1987; Southern Africa Report (Toronto), February 1988; and Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 12-18 August 1988.

32/ Statement by 26 religious leaders (Johannesburg), 29 June 1988; and The Guardian (London), 5 September 1988.

33/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 4 December 1967.

34/ The New Democratic Movement is led by Wynand Malan, 4 former National Party Member of Parliament, who defected and stood as an independent candidate.



Notes (continued)

35/ Die Kerkbode, the publication of the Dutch Reformed Church, published an article questioning the presence of South African troops in Angola on "Christian-ethical grounds". Later Beeld, an Afrikaans newspaper, called for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela,

36/ The End Conscription Campaign was formed in late 1983 to work for an end to the draft and to provide moral support for conscientious objectors; Resister, Committee on South African War Resistance, London, No. 52, October-November 1987; Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 4 to 10 March 1988; and The New York Times, 28 March and 23 August 1988.

37/ Although it is difficult to quantify, the End Conscription Campaign estimates that about 7,589 conscripts failed to report for national service in 1985, in contrast to 2,500 in 1984. Between early 1984 and July 1987, a total of 1,248 objectors applied for alternative service to the Board for Religious Objection. As the war in Angola intensified, more white men refused military service. A survey conducted among white students at Rhodes University in 1987 showed that about 52 per cent of those who planned to emigrate were leaving because of conscription. See also S.A. Barometer (Johannesburg), vol. 2, No. 15, 12 August 1988.

38/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 5 August 1988; and Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 5 to 11 August 1988.

39/ Front-line States and the destabilization by South Africa, by Victoria Brittain (London), February 1988; and Victims of Apartheid: Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa, information paper prepared for the International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in southern Africa (Oslo), 22 to 24 August 1988.

40/ Mozambican migrant workers in South Africa: the impact of the expulsion order by Centro de Estudos Africanos, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, working paper issued by the ILO International Migration for Employment Branch (Geneva), October 1987.

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44/ ANC statement on Pretoria's terrorism issued by ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo, 11 February 1988.

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47/ The Cape Times, 20 October 1987; and Router, 16 March 1988.

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55/ Financial Times, 22 July 1988,

56/ International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Investment in Apartheid, Brussels, May 1988,

57/ Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, U.K. Companies and Their Subsidiary or Related Companies in South Africa and Namibia, June 1988.

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59/ Financial Times, 3 August 1988.

60/ United States General Accounting Office, South Africa: Trends in Trade, Lending and Investment, April 1988; and Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, op. cit.

61/ Anti-Apartheid Movement, Anti-Apartheid News, London, May 1988.

62/ Agence France-Presse dispatch, 24 May 1988.

63/ Router, 18 November 1987,

64/ Anti-Apartheid News, London, January/February 1988.

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68/ The Guardian, 5 July 1988.

69/ The Citizen, 13 and 14 January; The Guardian, 13 January; Der Spiegel, 22 February; and Die Zeit, 1 July 1988.

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71/ Southcan, vol. 2, No. 37, 2 June 1988.

72/ Router, 16 August 1988; and The Citizen, 17 August 1986.

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77/ Canada and the United States have banned the import of South African wine. Japan, Taiwan, Switzerland, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands are the biggest importers of South African wine (Reuter, 28 April 1988).

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81/ Small, op. cit.

82/ Klein, op. cit., pp. 7 and 32.

83/ International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, op.cit., and Klein, op.cit., p. 33.

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97/ Letter from the Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, 30 March 1988.

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## ANNEX I

### Report on recent developments concerning relations between south Africa and Israel

#### I. INTRODUCTION

1. This report is in response to General Assembly resolution **42/23 D**, of 20 November 1987, by which the Assembly requested the Special Committee against Apartheid to keep the relations between Israel and South Africa under constant review and to report thereon to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate.
2. The restrictive measures adopted last year by the Government of Israel against South Africa were noted in the Special Committee's previous special report on this subject. a/ That report noted that Israel sold between R1.26 and R1.68 billion worth of arms to South Africa a year. In view of the fact that military relations, which are generally considered very important, continue between the two countries, this report is focused mainly on such relations.
3. Although, owing to the secretive nature of the relations between the two countries, available data are limited, sufficient information exists suggesting that collaboration, between South Africa and Israel, in particular, in the military field, continues.

#### II. MILITARY COLLABORATION

4. On 18 March 1987, the Israeli Cabinet announced that it would not renew its military contracts with South Africa. However, in spite of this announcement, it was reported that the Israeli Government had repeatedly reassured the public that the relations with South Africa would "really not change" and that the industries would not suffer. The same reports also indicated that some of Israel's military contracts would not expire until the late 1990s. b/ Indeed, the continuing military collaboration between the two countries confirms [the point] that little is changed in their relations.
5. In November 1987, it was reported that South Africa had seized the opportunity of the cancellation of Israel's Lavi jet fighter plane to attract laid-off aircraft workers by offering as high a salary as \$7,000 a month and generous transportation and housing allowance to 600 former employees of the Israeli Aircraft Industries. c/ Although a spokesman of South Africa's ARMSCOR denied that any Israeli engineer was employed by ARMSCOR, reports to the contrary persisted. d/
6. According to reliable reports, about **50** Israeli aircraft industry engineers and technicians, made redundant by the cancellation of the Lavi fighter project, had been recruited by a South African aircraft company and were living in Johannesburg in December 1987, receiving salaries of between \$5,000 and \$7,000 a month, payable into bank accounts anywhere in the world. They would initially begin work on the Cheetah upgrade programme, an adaptation of the South African Mirage fighter, before helping to set up a plant at an existing factory near Pretoria for the manufacture of a new aircraft. e/ The Israeli experts are

believed to have played a significant role in developing the recently launched and greatly modified Cheetah. f/

7. In August 1988, the apartheid régime unveiled the new, improved Chortah, the Cheetah E, which is a modernised and integrated navigation and weapon system. It is said to be capable of switching from a ground attack to a dog fight mode with the push of a button. The Chertah E was reported to have been secretly stationed at a new airbase in the northern Transvaal and to have undergone several months of testing. g/

8. Moreover, Israeli military advisers were reported to have assisted the South African air force in its war on Angola. They were said to have jammed the Angolan radar and enabled the South African air force to make the raid on Lubango in February 1988. The Observer allegedly reported that about 600 Israeli technicians were involved in that aggressive action. It is believed that this great number of Israeli advisers have been in Namibia since 1976 and that in 1981 the then Israeli Defence Minister, Ariel Sharon, visited troops in northern Namibia as well as southern Angola. h/ According to Angolan sources, there has been Israeli involvement in the training of UNITA soldiers at a base in a neighbouring country, and Israeli military personnel were engaged with the South African military in Namibia. i/

9. In addition to Israeli engineers and advisers serving in South Africa, there is also arms trade between the two countries. One source has estimated that Israel's annual arms sales to South Africa is about 10 per cent of its total annual arms export. j/

10. Despite the attempts to keep the military trade between the two countries top secret, sporadic information becomes available. According to one such piece of information, given by the head of the Danish seamen's union, three Danish freighters were under contract to the Israeli firm, Mano Seaways, which specializes in transporting Israeli weapons to South Africa. Quoting crew members' statements, he said that the ships, namely Herborg, Karoline and Dorthe Lea, carried arms to South Africa this year as well as in the past. k/ It was also reported that arms were flown by the Israeli airline, El Al, from Austria to Johannesburg in November 1987. l/

11. In another instance, Israel was reported to have agreed to trade an executive jet for South African coal in a R14 million deal, which, according to the spokesman of the Energy Ministry, did not violate new Israeli measures against South Africa. m/ In the vein of trade for military use, Israel's state television claimed that Israel imports steel from South Africa for its arms industry. n/

12. There were also recent reports emanating from the Israeli press and other sources that the Israeli and South African officials were to meet last August in Pretoria secretly. The meeting was reportedly arranged in accordance with an agreement concluded in 1976, when the then South African Prime Minister, John Vorster, visited Israel and established "a ministerial level committee to oversee a set of military and economic accords". It also appeared from these reports that this agreement, like most of other agreements between the régime and Israel, was open-ended and/or self-perpetuating. Moreover, the Israeli press, relying on Israeli Foreign Ministry sources, reported that the March 1987 cabinet

decision was "explicit" to the effect that Israel would "sign no new agreements with South Africa" but would "adhere to the existing ones". o/

13. In view of the illustrative data provided above and the announcements made by Israeli officials, the limited measures adopted **by** Israel against South Africa do not appear to have altered substantively the relationship between the two countries. It is characteristic that the Director General of the Foreign Ministry of Israel has noted that the measures adopted by Israel in 1987 were symbolic and would not seriously hurt the \$240 million-a-year trade between the two countries. p/

### III. THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF **ISRAEL** ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

14. A letter dated 29 July 1988 from the Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations and addressed to the Centre against Apartheid, indicated that the Israeli Government would continue its endeavour to curtail its relations with South Africa and that it would refrain from new undertakings between Israel and South Africa in the realm of defence. It added that no new investments in South Africa had been approved and that cultural ties had been completely severed with "those institutes in South Africa that are connected in any way with the apartheid régime". It also said that Israeli civil servants are forbidden to visit South Africa and that the Israeli authorities, including its Customs Services, had taken all necessary steps in order to prevent Israel from being used as a transit point for the transfer of goods and services to and from South Africa. The letter also mentioned training programmes in Israel for black South African candidates and invitations to some prominent black leaders to visit Israel.

15. The Special Committee does not, however, regard **such** programmes and visits as restrictive measures against South Africa. However useful their purpose may be, such actions cannot be substitutes for restrictive measures.

### IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**16.** Despite the measures adopted by the Government of Israel against South Africa, as announced last year and reaffirmed recently, Israel continues to have dealings with South Africa, particularly in the military field. The existence of secret military and other agreements in force between the two countries imply that such collaboration will continue until the agreements expire at a date that is also unknown to the international community. Israel's military collaboration with South Africa extends not only to arms trade and upgrading the apartheid régime's weaponry systems, but also to training and advising that **régime's** forces and proxy forces in the regional conflict to the detriment of the front-line and neighbouring States, as well as Namibia's freedom fighters.

17. Although Israel's limited measures against South Africa constitute a step in the right direction, its continuing military relations with South Africa are of particular concern to the Special Committee. In view of its military agreements with South Africa and the veil of secrecy surrounding the nature and length of those agreements, Israel's affirmation that it "**will** refrain from new undertakings between Israel and South Africa in the realm of defence" does not adequately contribute to the international community's efforts towards, the isolation of South Africa and the elimination of apartheid as soon as possible. ...

18. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly authorize it to continue to keep the relations between South Africa and Israel under constant review and to submit a report as appropriate.

19. The Special Committee recommends to the General Assembly that it condemn the continuing collaboration between South Africa and Israel and that it call upon Israel to cease forthwith its collaboration.

### Notes

a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-second Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/42/22),

b/ Israeli Foreign Affairs (California), June 1987, and South African Digest, 25 September 1987.

c/ South African, 11 November 1988; and Israeli Foreign Affairs, December 1987.

d/ The Citizen, 13 February 1988; and The Star, 3 December 1987.

e/ Jane's Defence Weekly, 5 December 1987; The Star, 25 November and 3 December 1987; and Israeli Foreign Affairs, December 1987.

f/ Sunday Tribune, 24 July 1988; and Israeli Foreign Affairs, March 1988.

g/ Israeli Foreign Affairs, September 1988.

h/ South African, 16 March 1988; and Facts and Reports, 19 March 1988.

i/ The Guardian, 7 June 1988; and Israeli Foreign Affairs, July 1988.

j/ Jane's Defence Weekly, 9 January 1988.

k/ The Washington Times, 19 May 1988.

l/ Austrian Press Agency, 24 January 1988.

m/ The Star, 29 September 1987.

n/ Jane's Defence Weekly, 2 May 1988.

o/ Israeli Foreign Affairs, July 1988.

p/ The Star (weekly), 30 September 1987.



## ANNEX II

### Composition of the subsidiary bodies of the Special Committee against Apartheid and of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

#### 1. Subsidiary bodies of the Special Committee

- (a) Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa<sup>8</sup>

Ghana (Chairman) , Hungary, India, Indonesia, Peru and Sudan

- (b) Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information<sup>8</sup>

Algeria (Chairman) , German Democratic Republic, Nepal, Somalia and Trinidad and Tobago

- (c) Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid:

India, Philippines, Sudan (Chairman) and Trinidad and Tobago

- (d) Task Force on Political Prisoners:

German Democratic Republic, Guinea, India, Malaysia, Peru (Chairman), Somalia and Syrian Arab Republic

- (e) Task Force on the Legal Aspects of Apartheid:

Hungary, Nigeria (Chairman), Peru and Syrian Arab Republic

#### 2. Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

Algeria, Cuba, German Democratic Republic, Indonesia, Kuwait (Vice-Chairman), New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway (Chairman), Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and United Republic of Tanzania

### ANNEX III

#### Selected excerpts from statements issued by the Special Committee

The Special Committee issued a number of statements during the period under review. Below is a list of these statements and selected excerpts from most of them.

**GA/AP/1816** Statement by the Chairman on the observance of the tenth  
(11 September 1983) anniversary of the death in detention of black consciousness movement leader, Steven Biko

"... On the tenth anniversary of the tragic death of **Steven Biko**, the Special Committee against Apartheid notes that the circumstances that led to his death are still present and have even worsened in South Africa. . . . The Special Committee against Apartheid calls upon the international community in memory of Steven Biko to intensify its efforts to stop executions and obtain the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, as a first step to pave the way for a negotiated and peaceful solution and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa."

**GA/AP/1820** Statement by the Chairman on the observance of the Day of  
(5 October 1987) Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October)

". . . Today, in South Africa, the oppressed people have been suffering an unprecedented scale of repression by the apartheid régime under the state of emergency. Arrests, detentions, bannings, torture and deaths in detention are rampant day in and day out. It is estimated that more than 30,000 people, including women and children, have been detained since June 1986, while 30 young patriots are facing execution on death row for no other 'crime' than their opposition to apartheid."

**GA/AP/1825** Statement by the Chairman on the recent arrests and detentions  
(22 October 1987) in South Africa

"In view of the draconian restrictions imposed on information regarding detentions, the fate of a detained or missing person is not always readily known. . . . The recent detentions only add to the long list of individuals whose voices the régime has attempted to silence through imprisonment without trial ..."

**GA/AP/1827** Statement by the Acting Chairman appealing for action by  
(4 November 1987) the international community to stay the execution of South African freedom fighter **Mlungisi Luthondo**

"The special Committee against Apartheid appeals to the international community to take immediate action to stop the

execution of Mr. Lumphondo and to exert maximum **pressure** on the apartheid authorities to **stay his execution and the execution of all other freedom fighters now on death row.**"

GA/AP/1828  
(6 November 1987)

**Statement by the Acting Chairman on the release of African National Congress official Govan Mbeki**

"The Special Committee against Apartheid welcome<sup>6</sup> the **release** Of Govan Mbeki, speaker of the **African National Congress**, who **was incarcerated** in the dungeon of apartheid with **Nelson Mandela since 1964 . . .** the **Special Committee** believes that the **release** of Mr. Mbeki, and **some** other political **prisoners, can acquire a meaning only if it is seen as a first step towards the eradication of apartheid.** In **this** regard, it should **be followed** by the **release of all other political prisoners** and detainerr, the lifting of the **state of emergency** and the unbanning of the national liberation **movements and all other political organizations and the return of all political exile<sup>8</sup> . . .**"

GA/AP/1829  
(19 November 1987)

**Statement by the Chairman calling upon the international community to counter South Africa's escalation of aggression against Angola**

"The **expansion** of the deployment of the **armed forces of the apartheid régime inside Angola is yet another proof of the régime's contemptuous** dieregard of world public opinion and **its determination to escalate its aggression against Angola and its support to the renegade UNITA forces . . .**"

GA/AP/1830  
(4 December 1987)

**Message from the Chairman to the European Community summit meeting at Copenhagen from 4 to 7 December**

"... The Copenhagen Summit has a unique opportunity to adopt further collective sanctions **measures** against the South African **régime . . .** We **urge that** the Summit **also** give **serious** attention to the need to effectively implement **measures** which have already **been** adopted, including the **mandatory arms embargo.** I urge, in particular, that national regulations **be** tightnsned to prevent loopholea which **enable** the Pretoria **régime to** acquire vital equipment **for its** military and police force . . . "

GA/AP/1831  
(7 December 1987)

**Statement by the Chairman on the failure of the "Sharpeville Six" death sentence appeal**

"The Special Committee against Apartheid **expresses its grave** concern on the failure of the appeal of the 'Sharpeville **Six**', who were sentenced to death **on 12 December 1985** for allegedly killing the so-called deputy mayor of the African township of Sharpeville during the **start** of the **unrest caused by the imposition** of the eo-called **constitution by the apartheid régime.** The **Special Committee appeals to the international community to most vehemently denounce the death sentences** and

take all possible measures to prevent the execution of the six South African patriots ..."

GA/AP/1834  
(8 January 1988)

Statement by the Chairman denouncing warnings by Pretoria against five anti-apartheid journals and condemning attempts to curtail and censor the alternative South African press

"... the South African authorities have threatened to close down the Sowetan, the New Nation, the Weekly Mail, South and Work in Progress. These threats are a further step in silencing the opponents to apartheid, and in preventing world public opinion from learning the truth about the régime's domestic terror."

GA/AP/1836  
(18 January 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the death of Sean MacBride

"The Special Committee against Apartheid has learned with profound sadness of the death of Sean MacBride, the Nobel and Lenin Prize winner, on 15 January in Dublin ... Throughout his 70-year career, whether as Foreign Minister of Ireland, as Founder and Chairman of Amnesty International, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists and as President of the Geneva-based International Bureau for Peace, he displayed an indomitable spirit and selfless dedication that left their imprint not only on his own country, Ireland, but also on the international scene where his unwavering commitment for nuclear disarmament, decolonization and human rights forced respect far and wide."

GA/AP/1837  
(5 February 1986)

Statement by the Chairman on Japan's reported trade increase with South Africa

"The Special Committee against Apartheid is concerned over the recent press reports about Japan's increased trade with South Africa, which is estimated for 1987 at more than \$4 billion, a 14 per cent rise over 1986. Japan has become the apartheid régime's number one trading partner ... The Special Committee therefore reiterates its appeal to the Government of Japan to urgently take additional measures to end trade between Japan and South Africa ..."

GA/AP/1838  
(25 February 1988)

Statement by the Chairman calling for the denunciation of a "new wave of repression" by South Africa and imposition of sanctions against the régime

"The régime's latest moves are superimposed on the state of emergency that was declared two years ago and that has turned the country into a police State. They represent a further intensification of the régime's undeclared war against peaceful change in South Africa in so far as the organizations whose activities are now banned are those which have recently been at the forefront of peaceful opposition to apartheid ..."

GA/AP/1840  
(4 March 1986)

Statement by the Chairman appealing for the widest **observance of** the International Day **for** the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March)

"... On that day [21 March 1960], several thousand **demonstrators** peacefully marching against South Africa's Pass laws were mercilessly **fired** on by the racist police and 69 persons, including women and children, were killed while 180 were wounded. The observance of the International Day this year takes on particular **significance** since the situation in South Africa has been acutely aggravated by the racist **régime's** latest wave of repression **against** opponents of apartheid ..."

GA/AP/1841  
(7 March 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the participation of South Africa in an arms exhibition in Chile

"On behalf of the Special Committee and on my own behalf, I must express my **serious** concern at the news that **the** racist **régime** of South Africa will participate at the forthcoming FIDA 88 arms exhibition in Santiago, Chile. We **were** also astonished to learn that two South African naval vessels, Drakensberg and the missile-attack craft, Frans Erasmus, have been invited to pay an official call to Chilean ports. This action is contrary to the spirit of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo against South Africa and in violation of Security Council resolution 558 (1984) which requested 'all States to refrain from importing arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa'... I urge the Government of Chile to cancel the invitation extended to the racist **régime** of South Africa, **as** well **as** the call of two South African naval vessels to Chilean ports ..."

GA/AP/1848  
(15 March 1988)

Statement by the Chairman urging international action to prevent the execution of the "Sharpeville Six" by South Africa on 18 March

"The Special Committee against Apartheid has just learned that the **régime** of South Africa issued **orders** for the execution [on 18 March] of the **Sharpeville** Six, that is, Messrs. **Diniso**, **Khumalo**, **Mokgesi**, **Mokheona**, **Sefatsa**, and Miss **Theresa Ramashamola**... the court proceedings of the Sharpeville Six show that none of the six young South Africans convicted of murder were found by the court to have caused the actual death of the Councillor. They were convicted of murder and sentenced to death **only** because the court found they had "common purpose" with the actual perpetrators. This so-called **judgement** proceeds unquestionably from the barbaric concept of collective responsibility rejected by **national** and international legal standards . . . "

GA/AP/1849  
(18 March 1988)

Statement by the Chairman **announcing** the entry into force of the Convention against Apartheid in Sports on **3 April**

"I am pleased to announce that the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports had been **ratified, accepted, approved or acceded to** by 27 Member States as of 4 March, In **accordance** with its article 18, the Convention 'shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the **date of deposit with** the Depository of the twenty-seventh instrument of ratification, **acceptance, approval or accession**'. Therefore, the Convention will enter into **force** on 3 April . . . The Convention also has **been signed** by more than **40** other States which have not yet deposited their instruments of ratification, approval or acceptance. I wish to urge **these States** to expedite their processes in order that they become parties to the Convention . . ."

GA/AP/1853  
(23 March 1988)

Message of the Chairman sent to the anti-apartheid newspaper New Nation expressing **concern** on its banning by South **Africa** on 22 March

"... draconian measure taken against New Nation **is** further attempt by Pretoria to silence voice of black majority to keep from **publ ic** scrutiny any and all **reports** about its inhuman policies. The Special Committee is confident that **message** Of resistance and hope for non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa **spread** by New Nation will not disappear altogether. That message is **rooted** deeply in the commitment to articulate and disseminate the demands of the black majority **for** a new society in South **Africa** . . . New Nation **may** be **silent** today but its voice shall continue to be **heard** in the townships and factor **ies** through South Africa where it comes from . . ."

GA/AP/1854  
(25 March 1988)

Statement by the **Acting Chairman** condemning **executions** in South **Aft ica**

"The Special Committee against Apartheid **has** just learned with utmost abhorrence that the racist **regime** in South Africa carried **out the execution8** of Michael Lucas and **some** other persons whose names were not **released**. The **régime also** issued **orders** for the execution next Tuesday, **29 March, cf** **Similio** Lennox Wonci, **Mziwoxolo** Christopher Makeleni, Ndumiso Silo Siphenuka and Mackezwana **Menze**, all of them members of the **Addo** Youth Congress, who **were** sentenced to death **by the racist** judiciary in January 1987 . . ."

GA/AP/1855/Rev.1  
(29 March 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the assassination in Paris of African **National** Congress representative **Dulcie** September

"The Special Committee against Apartheid **was shocked to learn of the assassination** of **Dulcfe** **September**, the head of the **African** National Congress of South Africa (ANC) mission in Paris . . . Two days before (27 March), a **bomb** was found in

front of the ANC office in Brussels ... The Special Committee **condemns** these criminal and terrorist acts carried out by the régime's forms, this time on the soil of Western countries. It warns that the assassination of Ms. September is not an isolated incident<sup>1</sup> rather, it is an escalation of Pretoria's undeclared war against the people of South Africa, which the régime is now taking into European capitals. The Special Committee calls on Western Governments to take immediate action to ensure the safety and protection of ANC representatives operating in their countries and to forestall repetition of such dastardly acts. It calls on them to **restrict** diplomatic relations with this terrorist régime, since it is in the shadow of diplomatic immunity that Pretoria conceives and carries out its murderous acts. The Special Committee once more calls on Western Government<sup>8</sup> to **close** all air routes between their countries and South Africa . . ."

GA/AP/1856  
(8 April 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the attempted assassination of African National Congress activist Albie Sachs

"The Special Committee against Apartheid learned with shock and deep sorrow that agents of Pretoria attempted to assassinate Mr. Albie Sachs, a lawyer and writer who currently works for the Ministry of Justice of Mozambique. Mr. Sachs, an activist of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), was seriously injured when his car blew up by an implanted bomb in central Maputo ... The Special Committee against Apartheid strongly **condemns** this renewed rot of state-sponsored terror against the national liberation movement<sup>8</sup> . . ."

GA/AP/1859  
(4 May 1988)

Statement by the Chairman announcing Special Committee's twenty-fifth anniversary meeting on 6 May, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu attending

GA/AP/1864  
(3 June 1988)

Statement by the Chairman condemning employers' threats against peaceful protest by South African trade unionists

"..I a number of employers in South Africa, including the Anglo American Corporation (the largest conglomerate in the country), have threatened to undertake disciplinary and/or other actions that the 'companies may deem necessary' against the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), its affiliates and members if they participate in any form of peaceful protest from 6 to 8 June ... It may be recalled that at its recent emergency Congress, COSATU resolved to 'put aside three days at the beginning of June from 6 to 8' during which workers would protest in one form or another against the restrictions imposed on COSATU, the bans of 17 anti-apartheid organizations and 18 individuals and the Labour Amendment Bill whose provisions could, in effect, paralyse the black trade union movement. The Special Committee considers these threats as direct violation of internationally accepted standards of industrial labour relations ..."

GA/AP/1865  
(8 June 1988)

Statement by the Chairman calling for the wide observance of the International Day of Solidarity ~~with~~ the Struggling South **African** People (16 June)

"... The observance of Soweto Day this **year** will mark the twelfth anniversary of the worst massacre ever witnessed in South **Africa**, on 16 June 1976, when peaceful demonstrations of African **students** against the forcible imposition of Afrikaans and the so-called Bantu education and their heroic defiance of massive police violence resulted in [the] killing and maiming of thousands of schoolchildren . . . The observance of the International Day this year takes on particular significance because the situation in South Africa has been further aggravated by the racist **régime's** latest wave of repression against opponents of apartheid under [the] **extended** state of emergency ..."

GA/AP/1866  
(10 June 1988)

Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the renewal of the state of emergency in South Africa and urging the international community to demand sanctions against the racist regime

"Two years **ago**, the racist Pretoria regime declared a **state** of emergency in South Africa, giving virtually Unlimited power to its military and security forces to quell any opposition against apartheid. **Yesterday**, it once again reinstated the existing emergency rules for another 12 months ..."

GA/AP/1871  
(22 June 1988)

Statement by ~~the~~ Acting Chairman announcing the Special Committee meeting on **30** June to honour World Boxing Council President **José** Sulaiman for his efforts against apartheid

GA/AP/1873  
(30 June 1988)

Statement by the Chairman welcoming the decision by the Federal Republic of Germany to ban six South African scientists from an international conference

"The Special Committee against Apartheid has learned that six South African scientists have been banned from ~~the~~ International Conference on Combustion and **Detonation** Phenomena, to take place later this month in the Federal Republic of Germany' after an intervention by the Government. The Conference, organized by the Fraunhofer Institute for Chemical Technology in Karlsruhe, is regarded as the most important of its kind ~~in~~ the international scientific circuit . . . The Special Committee is encouraged by the initiative taken by the Government of the Federal Republic Of Germany . . . The Special Committee hopes that this initiative by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will encourage other Governments to undertake similar steps in cases of any conferences **or** other gatherings to which South Africans are invited."



**GA/AP/1874**  
(11 July 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the **hospitalization** in a psychiatric ward of journalist **Zwelakhe** Sisulu

"**The Special** Committee against Apartheid is gravely concerned that journalist Zwelakhe Sisulu has been **hospitalized** in the psychiatric ward of Johannesburg Hospital, due to severe depression. Mr. Sisulu, the editor of the **anti-apartheid** newspaper the New Nation, has been in detention without trial since December 1986. He is among the more than 2,000 political detainees who remain in prison, despite repeated international appeals for their release. His father, Walter Sisulu, has been in prison, along with Nelson Mandela, since 1964 . . ."

**GA/AP/1875**  
(12 July 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the recent detention by South Africa of anti-apartheid activists

"**The Special** Committee against Apartheid strongly condemns the detention by South African authorities of more than eight activists in **Cape** Town on 8 July. They are being held under the state of emergency which permits indefinite detention without trial. Among the detainees are **Zollie** Malindi, regional president of the United Democratic Front; photographer Omar **Badsha**; lawyer Bulelani Ngcuka; and journalist Jonathan Shapiro. Their detention is allegedly connected to their participation in the organization of a concert to celebrate the seventieth birthday on 17 July of imprisoned African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela . . . Of increasing concern to the Special Committee are the approximately 500 detainees who have been held for at least six months and the 1,000 who have been held for a year or more. South Africa's prison population is today among the highest in the world . . ."

**GA/AP/1876**  
(13 July 1988)

Statement **by** the Chairman calling for widest observance of the seventieth birthday of Nelson Mandela on 18 July

"... Nelson **Mandela's** stature as a symbol of resistance and as leader of the South **African** people is well known and continues to grow. Despite 26 years in apartheid prisons, he remains unbroken in his determination to eradicate the inhuman system of racial segregation in South Africa and to establish a free, united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa in which all may participate unconditionally . . . I call upon the international community once again to do all in its power to achieve the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African and **Namibian political** prisoners which is long overdue."

**GA/AP/1879**  
(26 July 1988)

Statement by the Chairman on the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia (9 August)

".s. The International Day 1988 will mark the thirty-second anniversary of the historic demonstration by South African women in 1956 in protest against the racist **régime's** pass-laws . . . Despite claims by the South African authorities that the 'pass-laws' were abolished in 1986, black people are still required to have 'approved **accomodation** and jobs' **to live** in the cities of South Africa. In addition, **forced** removals have continued and are now carried out with the overt **support** of vigilante groups equipped and backed by the racist **régime**. Those who are suffering most under such circumstances are women and children . . ."

**GA/AP/1884**

(24 August 1988)

Message of the Acting Chairman sent to the "End Conscription Campaign" condemning its banning by South Africa on 22 August

"... The Special Committee considers that the work of the Campaign has been significant in raising the consciousness of white youth and others to the injustices of apartheid and the role the South African Defence Force plays in the furtherance of the **régime's** aggressive policies inside South Africa and in the region. Despite its banning, the Campaign shall continue to be the voice of hope and a bridge in efforts to promote a **just** and peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa . . ."

**Conferences and seminars organized or assisted  
by the Special Committee**

**A. Conference on Peoples of the World against Apartheid for a  
Democratic South Africa (1-4 December 1987)**

1. The **Conference on Peoples of the World against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa** was convened by **ANC** at **Arusha**, United Republic of **Tanzania**, as part of the observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of **ANC**.
2. The Chairman of the Conference was Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and National Service of the United Republic of Tanzania. It was attended by over 500 delegates representing Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, national liberation movements and the South African mass democratic movement. Included was a delegation from the Special Committee, headed by one of its Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Jai Pratap Rana.
3. The Conference was opened by Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the ruling party of the United Republic of Tanzania, whose address was adopted as a working document of the Conference, by Mr. Oliver Tambo, the President of **ANC**, and Mr. Sam Nujoma, the President of **SWAPO**. Heads of delegations presented their statements at the plenary sessions.
4. At the end of its deliberations, the Conference adopted a **Declaration of Arusha on South Africa and a Programme for Heightened International Action against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa**. In the Declaration, the participants urged all Governments, international organizations and solidarity movements to act in support of the struggle for a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa, and reaffirmed their own commitment to continue the effort to bring apartheid to an end, independence to Namibia, and peace to southern Africa. In the Programme of Action, they set forth a plan for the international community to implement, monitor and enforce comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa and generally to increase support for the struggle against apartheid.

**B. Seminar on the Role of the Latin American and Caribbean Media in  
the International Campaign against Apartheid (7-9 March 1988)**

1. The Seminar on the Role of the Latin American and Caribbean Media in the International Campaign against Apartheid, organized by the Special Committee in co-operation with the Government of Peru, was held at Lima. Presided over by Mr. Gonzalo Durant Aspillaga, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Justice of Peru, the Seminar was attended by journalists, editors and other writers from 17 Latin American and Caribbean countries, several journalists from South Africa, media and other experts, and representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, and of the Government of Peru. The delegation of the Special Committee was led by its Chairman, Major-General Joseph N. Garba, who opened the Seminar and delivered a final address. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, His Excellency Allan Wagner, also addressed the concluding session of the Seminar.

2. The Seminar adopted the outline of its **report** on its proceedings, an Appeal, and two **resolutions**. In the Appeal, the Seminar **participants** called upon the nrw media, non-governmental organisation, labour union, and **writers** in the Latin American and Caribbean region to take a number of **measures** to help to **increase public awareness** of the true situation in South Africa and Namibia, as well as support for **effective international action**, including the **adoption of comprehensive mandatory manationm**, to bring **apartheid to an end and independence to Namibia**. In the two remolutionm, partioipantm **xpremmmed** their appreciation to Peru for its **contributions** to the **struggle againmt apartheid**, and pledged their support to South African journalists.

**C. Conference of the Amrooiation of Went European Parliamentarians  
Cot Action against Apartheid on Southern Africa's Future -  
Europe's Role (23-30 March 1988)**

1. **The Conferenae on Southern Africa's Future - Europe's Role, organized by AWEPA, was held at Lumaka.**

2. **The first part of the Conferenae was held at Lusaka from 23 to 27 March. It was homted and opened by President Kenneth Kaunda and concentrated on South Africa and Namibia [proper]. Among thome who participated were delegations from theme two countries, including representatives of the national liberation movements. The Special Committee was represented by Mr. Sotiriom Mousouris, head of the Centre againmt Apartheid.**

3. **The parliamentarians present promised to ume their influence in their respective aountriem and electoral aonmtituenciee for the adoption of measures with a view to eliminating apartheid and implementing the relevant Security Council resolution on the independence of Namibia. a/**

**D. Symposium on Culture againmt Apartheid (2-4 September 1988)**

1. **The Symposium on Culture againmt Apartheid, organised by the Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operation with the Ministry of Culture of Greece and the Hellenic Aeociation for the United Nationm, wae held at Athens. Presided over by Mrs. Molina Mercouri, Minister of Culture of Greece, the Symposium was attended by 36 prominent artists, performers, film and theatre directors and writers from all over the world and by the national liberation movements of South Africa, Mr. Harry Belafonte, Ms. Glenda Jackson and Mr. Wole Soyinka were elected as Vice-Premidentm and Mr. Rick Dutka as Rapporteur of the Symposium. A number of non-governmental organizations attended the Symposium as observers. The delegation of the Special Committee was led by its Chairman, who opened the Symposi um and delivered a final address. b/**

2. **The Symposium adopted an outline of its report on its proceedings, the Athens Appeal and a number of recommendations. The participants considered the situation in South Africa and the international response, reviewed the role of artists and entertainers in the struggle againmt apartheid, and discussed the cultural boycott of South Africa and its implioationm. Having endormed the achievements of the cultural boycott againmt the apartheid aulture of South Africa and the policy guidelines for the boycott that was recently adopted by the Special Committee, they**

adopted the Athenm Appeal calling for an intensification of the boycott and adopted a number o f recommendations.

3. More specifically, among other things, the Appeal called upon all writers, artists, musicians, composers, entertainerr, actorm, producers, distributors and other cultural workers in the international community to refuse to perform or have their worko performed in South Africa. It urged the strengthening of the monitoring of the boycott and expressed full euport for the efforts of the United Nations to promote the isolation of South Africa. c/

4. In a message addressed to certain United States senators, the participants expressed their mupport for the recent legislative initiatives to strengthen United States manotionm against South Africa. They also issued a message addreemed to the publico, calling for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political primonera. They called the attention of the international community to the plight of the thousands of South Africans in detention, on trial or in prison. They further called for the total rejection of the apartheid [so-called] "local elections" on 26 October 1988.

#### Notes

a/ See A/AC.131/291.

b/ For the report of the Symposium see A/AC. 115/L. 656.

c/ For the full text of the Appeal, see A/43/606-5/20184.

## ANNEX V

### Observance of the International Days of Solidarity by the Special Committee

#### A. Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October)

1. On 12 October 1987, the Special Committee held a meeting to publicize the plight of political prisoners in South Africa (all those imprisoned, interned or restricted for opposing apartheid) and to reaffirm the demand of the international community for their release. Statements were made at the meeting by the Secretary-General, the President of the forty-second session of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee. The guest speakers were the Reverend Tshenuwani Simon Farisani, a former prisoner in South Africa, Mrs. Dawn Ingle of Free the Children Alliance of South Africa, Ms. Isabelle Jaquem of Amnesty International, and Mrs. Gay McDougall of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

#### B. International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March)

2. The Special Committee held a meeting on 21 March 1988 to observe the twenty-eighth anniversary of the massacre in Sharpeville, South Africa, in which police fired on several thousand demonstrators staging a peaceful protest against the "pass-laws", killing 69 and wounding many more. The meeting was addressed by the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee. Mrs. Coretta Scott King, widow of the United States civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., was a special guest; she made a statement. The South African cast of the musical play, "Sarafina", closed the meeting with two songs.

#### C. International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People Of South Africa (16 June)

3. The Special Committee held a meeting on 16 June 1988 to commemorate the massacre in Soweto, South Africa, when on that day in 1976 hundreds of unarmed students demonstrating against the imposition of Afrikaans and the Bantu system of education were fired on by the police, with hundreds killed in the ensuing violence. The meeting was addressed by the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee. The guest speakers were Mrs. Semaar Karima of the Western Cape Youth Congress, an affiliate of the South African Youth Congress, and Mr. Justice Lebea, a member of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

**D. International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa and Namibia (9 August)**

**4. The Special Committee held a meeting** on 9 August 1988 to commemorate the demonstration by South African women on that day in 1956 in Pretoria to protest the extension of the "pass-laws" to women. Statements were made at the meeting by the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee, the Assistant Secretary-General and head of the Centre againmt Apartheid on behalf of the Secretary-General, and others.

## ANNEX VI

### List of documents of the Special Committee

- A/AC.115/L.647      **Messages** received **on the** occaeion of the International **Day** of Solidarity with the **Struggle of Women in South Africa** and Namibia
- A/AC.115/L.648      **Messages** **recei** **d** on the occaeion of the **Day** of Solidarity with South Afriaoan Political **irisoners**
- A/AC.115/L.649      **Report** of the International **Student Conference** in Solidarity with the **Struggle of the Studentm of Southern Africa**, held in London from **31 July** to **3 August** 1987
- A/AC.115/L.650      The Plight of Children in **South Africa**
- A/AC.115/L.651      Report **of** the Seminar on the Role of the Latin American and Caribbean Media in the International Campaign against **Apartheid**, held at Lima, Peru, from 7 to 9 March 1988
- A/AC.115/L.652      **Messages** received **on** the **occasion** of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial **Discrimination**
- A/AC.115/L.653      **Messages** received on the **ccasion of** the twenty-fifth anniversary of **the** Special Committee against **Apartheid** (6 May 1988)
- A/AC.115/L.654      **Messages** received on the ocaamion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People **of South Africa - Soweto Day** (16 June 1988)
- A/AC.115/L.655      **Messages** received on the occaeion of the **seventieth** birthday **of Nelson Mandela** (18 July 1988)
- A/AC.115/L.656      Report of the Symposium on Culture **against Apartheid** held **at the** Eugenidion Foundation, Athena, from 2 to 4 September **1988**.



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