

SPECIAL REPORTS
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST *APARTHEID*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 22A (A/37/22/Add.1 and 2)



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NOTE

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

The present document contains two special reports submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*. They were previously circulated under the symbols A/37/22/Add.1-S/15383/Add.1 and A/37/22/Add.2-S/15383/Add.2.

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FIRST SPECIAL REPORT

Recent developments concerning relations between Israel
and South Africa

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

31 August 1982

Sir,

I have the honour, in accordance with resolution 36/172 M adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1981, to transmit herewith a special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa.

The Special Committee requests that this report be issued as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

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

His Excellency
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary-General of the United Nations
New York

I. INTRODUCTION

1. For almost a decade, the Special Committee against Apartheid has drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the military, nuclear, political, economic and other fields. The General Assembly has repeatedly called upon Israel to cease such collaboration, 1/ but the Government of Israel has defied all appeals. In fact, the collaboration has assumed increasing scope, especially since the visit of South African Prime Minister B. J. Vorster to Israel in 1976 and the signing of a series of agreements between the two countries. Moreover, both countries developed closer relations with the authorities in Taiwan and with certain other régimes.

2. In resolution 36/172 M, adopted on 17 December 1981, the General Assembly again expressed grave concern about reports of continued collaboration between Israel and South Africa, in particular in the military and nuclear fields, and considered that such collaboration "is a serious hindrance to international action for the eradication of apartheid, an encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa to persist in its criminal policy of apartheid and a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa and the entire African continent, and constitutes a threat to international peace and security". In the resolution, the General Assembly:

"1. Strongly condemns the continuing and increasing collaboration of Israel with the racist régime of South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields;

"2. Demands that Israel desist from and terminate all forms of collaboration with South Africa forthwith, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, and abide scrupulously by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

"3. Requests the Special Committee against Apartheid to keep the matter under constant review and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate."

3. During the same month, however, the Minister for Defence of Israel was reported to have made a secret visit to the northern borders of Namibia, a territory under illegal South African occupation for which the United Nations has assumed responsibility. It was reported that Israel would supply South Africa with, or enable it to build, patrol boats with missiles, in flagrant violation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

4. The Special Committee has been gravely concerned at the attitude and actions of the Government of Israel. In his address to the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Palestine, held in Kuwait from 5 to 8 April 1982, the Chairman of the Special Committee recalled the growing collaboration between Israel and South Africa and stated:

"We face a grave situation today both in southern Africa and in the Middle East, a situation that spells the danger of wider conflagrations ...

"But we are faced not only with parallel situations, but with the ever-increasing collaboration between the Pretoria régime and Israel in

military, nuclear, political, economic and other fields. This collaboration has become so brazen that only a few weeks ago the Minister of Defence of Israel visited the northern borders of Namibia, a territory for which the United Nations has special responsibility, to advise the illegal authorities in their criminal plans.

"South Africa and Israel have not only set up a diabolic axis or alliance, but are trying to forge a so-called sixth world alliance of outlaws and pariahs, which poses an enormous danger to international peace and security. The danger of these countries being enabled to engage in nuclear blackmail in this troubled world needs urgent attention of the international community.

"We have reason to be alarmed that the so-called strategic co-operation between the United States and Israel - and the emergence of a similar relationship between the United States and South Africa - will reinforce the military relationship between the régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria."

5. The present report, prepared in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 36/172 M, reviews developments since the previous report submitted in 1981. 2/

II. MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

6. It was reported in August 1981 that Israel was hoping to boost arms exports by more than \$2 billion from 1982 to 1985. Such a plan depended on the approval of the Government of the United States of America to allow Israel to export arms to South Africa and Taiwan, since many Israeli weapons have vital components made in the United States. The Minister for Economy of Israel was reported to have appealed to the United States Government as follows: "Do not compete with us in Taiwan, do not compete with us in South Africa, do not compete with us in the Caribbean or in other countries where you could not directly do it." 3/

7. General Natan Nir, Chairman of the Association for the Welfare of Soldiers in Israel, visited South Africa for three weeks in September 1981 on a mission "to help give soldiers the feeling that they are needed and appreciated". He met several high-ranking South African military officers and praised the recent South African raid into Angola. 4/

8. Mr. Ariel Sharon, Israel's Defence Minister, visited the "operational areas" in Namibia in December 1981 during large-scale aggression by South Africa against Angola and was reported to have made a strong appeal for South Africa to be supplied with sophisticated arms. According to press reports, Mr. Sharon's views were shared by military analysts in the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). 5/

9. Reporting on the visit, The New York Times stated that "the military relationship between South Africa and Israel, never fully acknowledged by either country, has assumed new significance with the recent 10-day visit by Israel's Defence Minister, Mr. Ariel Sharon, to South African forces in Namibia along the border with Angola". It noted that Military Balance, the annual publication of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London, had reported that the South African Navy had seven Israeli-built fast-attack craft, armed with Israeli missiles and that seven more were under order. 6/

10. The Chairman of the Special Committee, in a statement on 14 December 1981, said:

"The report in The New York Times today on the recent visit of Israel's Minister of Defence to Namibia should come as no surprise to those who have been following with consternation the collusion between the régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv, especially since 1976. The constant denials by the Israeli Government, repeated again by its representative in the General Assembly on 30 November 1981, have again proved to be utterly false.

"The visit of the Israeli Minister to Namibia, an international territory for which the United Nations has special responsibility, at a time when South Africa was engaged in criminal aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, is a further brazen act of encouragement to the apartheid régime.

"It is a hostile act against the people of Namibia, South Africa and the front-line States, as well as the continent of Africa. It is an affront to the United Nations and a challenge to the international community.

"On behalf of the Special Committee, I must also express shock at the report that the Israeli Minister of Defence, 'in company with many American and NATO military analysts', called for the supply of more modern weapons to South Africa."

11. An article in Militaria, an official technical periodical of the South African Defense Force (SADF), reported in February 1982 that South Africa might possibly build or purchase six Israeli frigates, equipped with Gabriel missiles, torpedoes and a helicopter. 7/

12. The Sunday Times, London, reported in May 1982 that, according to a book to be published in Israel by three Israeli authors, Israel and South Africa were developing a cruise missile with a range of 1,500 miles, a neutron bomb and various nuclear delivery systems. The three authors were said to be very well-known, established figures in Israel with excellent military and government connections. One of them, Mr. Amos Perlmutter, who worked for four years at the Israeli nuclear centre at Dimona, was then a professor at the American University. 8/

III. ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

13. Israel's trade with South Africa decreased in 1980 as a result of strict Israeli financial policies. Israeli imports from South Africa fell from \$153 million in 1979 to \$134.43 million in 1980; and Israeli exports to South Africa increased from \$48.2 million in 1979 to \$80.75 million in 1980. This situation appeared to be a temporary phenomenon.

14. Mr. Avraham Rami Gutt, Director-General of the Israel Export Institute, wrote in the South Africa-Israel Economic and Trade Annual that the development of trade between Israel and South Africa was the natural development of their friendly political relations as well as their geographical proximity. He noted that the rate of advance of Israel's exports to South Africa was relatively greater than that of Israel's sales to other countries in the world. The rate of growth of imports of South African goods to Israel was also greater than that from other sources.

15. Israel, he said, absorbed about 1 per cent of South Africa's exports, and provided the latter with about 0.5 per cent of its imports. (These figures do not include arms, oil, diamond and gold sales.) Mr. Gutt stated that there existed significant possibilities for the development and further advancement of trade between the two countries, including the establishment of an industrial plant that would utilize raw materials from South Africa to manufacture goods for export to the European Economic Community (EEC), to which Israel had tariff-free access without restriction on volume. 9/
16. The Israel-South African Chamber of Commerce (ISACC) held a symposium at Tel Aviv in January 1982 on the development of Israeli-South African trade. It was attended by more than 200 Israeli businessmen, all involved or interested in commercial and industrial ties with South Africa.
17. Dr Piet J. Kieser, Managing Director of the South African Foreign Trade Organization (SAFTO), was the guest speaker. He outlined various areas of possible co-operation between industrialists of both countries. These, he indicated, were largely due to the high levels of technology attained in complementary industries by both Israel and South Africa.
18. Papers delivered at the symposium included the following:
- (a) "The policy of investments from South Africa", by Mr. Raphael Benvenisti of the Israel Investment Authority;
 - (b) "Economic agreements between Israel and South Africa", by Mr. Ephraim Raviv, former Counsellor for Economic and Commercial Affairs at the Israeli Embassy in South Africa;
 - (c) "The experience of Israeli manufacturers of metal products in South Africa", by Mr. Steph Wertheimer, a leading industrialist who has several manufacturing interests in South Africa."
19. During a luncheon given by a leading Israeli bank, Mr. Avraham Rami Gutt, Director-General of the Israel Export Institute, concluded the symposium by reiterating the high priority his organization placed on developing the South African market. He mentioned various exhibitions of Israeli goods which had been held in South Africa during the past two years and expressed appreciation for the way in which they had been received in the Republic. 10/
20. A seminar on the advancement of trade between Israel and South Africa, organized by the ISACC at Haifa in July, was attended by 80 businessmen from that area. 11/ During the same month, ISACC arranged a luncheon meeting at Tel Aviv, attended by 70 prominent businessmen, on trade opportunities in South Africa. 12/
21. The Special Committee referred in its last report to collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the diamond industry and to efforts by the Israeli Government to help the South African industry. 13/ It was subsequently reported that the Israeli Government had set up a \$100 million fund in co-operation with banks and the Israeli diamond industry as an inducement to that industry in South Africa. 14/
22. Mr. Ben Tal, president of Israeli Zim Eilat Services, visited South Africa in February 1982 and stated that the South African-Israeli shipping trade would be

built up and the service improved through good understanding and mutual co-operation. 15/

23. It was reported in March 1982 that a Cape Town company, Huguenot, had entered into a licensing arrangement for the manufacture of its "Redwood jeans" in Israel. Manufacture in Israel would facilitate export to EEC countries. 16/

24. Israel has also increased e- involvement in Namibia, in contravention of United Nations resolutions. The Windhoek Advertiser reported on 22 January 1982 that a new large-scale fishing company, Makorob Fishing, had been registered at Windhoek. Enok, an Israeli company, would own 49 per cent of Makorob Fishing which had an initial capital of R 1.1 million. It added:

"The Israelis had also been attracted by the cheap labour available in South West Africa as compared to Israel, as well as the close proximity of Lüderitz to the fishing grounds which would be trawled. The Israelis would be providing the 507-ton refrigerated stern trawler Yam Suf - which has been fishing along the west coast for a considerable period in the past. A portion of Yam Suf's catches would be processed into final products for export at Lüderitz, while the remainder would be sold to Makorob's sister company in South Africa, South Atlantic Fisheries, which is an affiliate of Israel's Atlantic Fisheries, Ltd. Mr. Mynhardt went on to say that a South Atlantic Ltd.-owned refrigerated reefer would call at Lüderitz on its way from Cape Town at regular intervals, to load a wide range of processed fish products for shipment to Israel or alternative overseas markets. 'South Atlantic Fisheries are no strangers in these waters and have been fishing off South Africa for the past 20 years or so. They have a good track record', said Mr. Mynhardt."

IV. CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND SPORTING CONTACTS

25. A joint medical conference of Israel and South Africa on pediatrics was organized by the South African Medical Research Council (MRC) at its headquarters at Parow in March 1982. Collaboration with Israel in the field of medical research had been initiated by MRC as early as 1978. 17/

26. It was reported that three senior South African science students were spending two months at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel after having been awarded travel grants by the South African Society of the Weizmann Institute. 18/

27. The start of construction of Israel's first public squash centre was celebrated at Herzlia in May 1982. Messrs. Simon Malone of Squash Promotions, Mendel and Robert Kaplan of Cape Gate Holdings and the Barrow brothers, all South Africans, financed the project, which was designed by Louis Karol, a Cape Town architect. 19/

28. It was reported that concern was growing at the Israeli Embassy in Pretoria over the number of Israelis leaving their country to settle in South Africa. The Jewish Board of Deputies launched a study to establish the exact size of the Israeli community in South Africa which was estimated by some officials to be as high as 30,000. 20/

29. The Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, published in February 1982 by the Special Committee, listed the following Israeli athletes and teams who

maintained sporting contacts with South Africa: 21/ Shlomo Glickstein, J. Shenish, O. Jacob, A. Green, T. Friescher, Limor Friedman, the Petah Tikva soccer team and the Alpha-Benton volley-ball team.

V. RELATIONS WITH BANTUSTANS

30. A significant development has been the increasing collaboration by Israel with the so-called independent bantustans in defiance of resolutions of the United Nations.

31. It was reported in December 1981 that the Israeli Government had reached an agreement to participate in the agricultural development of the bantustan of Bophuthatswana. The negotiations included a poultry scheme costing between R 2 to R 3 million and the development of the dairy industry in Bophuthatswana by one of the largest Israeli farming concerns, involving up to R 50 million. Discussions on utilizing Israeli expertise and capital in projects in Bophuthatswana were conducted with government leaders, private concerns and financial institutions in Israel. 22/

The Bophuthatswana delegation was led by Mr. Hendrik Van Zyl who was accompanied by Mr. Glen Seape, Secretary for Agriculture and Mr. David Bestor, a farming expert. 23/

32. Israel and Bophuthatswana have developed close links since 1980 when Mr. Shabbatai Kalmanowitz, former adviser to late Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir of Israel, was appointed its commercial representative in Israel and when "President" Lucas Mangope visited Israel.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

33. Dr. Yosef Burg, Israel's Minister for the Interior, Police and Religious Affairs, visited South Africa in May 1982 at the invitation of the South African Zionist Federation. While in South Africa, Dr. Burg received a plaque and a proclamation scroll from the Johannesburg Deputy Mayor, naming a square in Johannesburg, "Jerusalem Square". 24/

34. Professor Amos Shapiro, Dean of the Law School of Tel Aviv University, visited South Africa in April 1981 under the auspices of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information. Addressing the South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce on the question of security legislation, he said that South Africa and Israel both faced "existential problems". 25/

Notes

1/ For the most recent, see General Assembly resolutions 32/105 D of 14 December 1977, 33/183 D of 24 January 1979, 34/93 P of 12 December 1979, 35/206 H of 16 December 1980 and 36/172 M of 17 December 1981.

2/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/36/22/Add.1 and 2), document A/36/22/Add.1.

3/ United Press International (Jerusalem), 17 August 1981.

Notes (continued)

- 4/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 9 September 1981.
- 5/ The Star (Johannesburg), 15 December 1981; and BBC, London, 16 December 1981.
- 6/ The New York Times, 14 December 1981.
- 7/ Die Burger (Cape Town), 26 February 1982.
- 8/ Sunday Times (London), 16 May 1982.
- 9/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 8 December 1981.
- 10/ The Star (Johannesburg), 22 January 1982; South African Digest (Pretoria), 12 February 1982.
- 11/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 16 July 1982.
- 12/ Ibid., 23 July 1982.
- 13/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/36/22/Add.1 and 2), document A/36/22/Add.1, para. 26.
- 14/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 1 December 1981.
- 15/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 5 February 1982.
- 16/ Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 7 March 1982.
- 17/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 5 March 1982.
- 18/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 12 January 1982.
- 19/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 28 May 1982.
- 20/ Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 16 May 1982.
- 21/ Centre against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 7/82, February 1982.
- 22/ Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 15 December 1981.
- 23/ Sunday Times (Johannesburg), 20 December 1981.
- 24/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 30 April 1982; The Citizen (Johannesburg), 22 May 1982.
- 25/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 23 April 1982. Professor Shapiro was then visiting Senior Fellow at Yale University Law School and a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Law Center in the United States.

ANNEX I

Special reports of the Special Committee against Apartheid on
relations between Israel and South Africa, 1976 to 1981

- 1981 Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/36/22/Add.1 and 2), document A/36/22/Add.1
- 1980 Ibid., Thirty-fifth session, Supplement No. 22A (A/35/22/Add.1-3), document A/35/22/Add.2
- 1979 Ibid., Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/34/22/Add.1)
- 1978 Ibid., Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/33/22/Add.1 and 2), document A/33/22/Add.2
- 1977 Ibid., Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/32/22/Add.1-3), document A/32/22/Add.3
- 1976 Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/31/22/Add.1-3), document A/31/22/Add.2

ANNEX II

Publications of the Centre against Apartheid of the Secretariat
on relations between Israel and South Africa

- July 1981 Israel and South Africa - An Unlikely Alliance, Rosalynde Ainslee
(Notes and Documents, No. 20/81)
- February 1977 Relations between Israel and South Africa - Report of the United
Nations Special Committee against Apartheid (Notes and Documents,
No. 5/77)

[Original: English]

[10 November 1982]

DOCUMENT A/37/22/Add.2

SECOND SPECIAL REPORT

Trade union action against apartheid in South Africa

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

5 November 1982

Sir,

I have the honour, in accordance with resolution 36/172 H adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1981, to transmit herewith a special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on trade union action against apartheid in South Africa.

The Special Committee requests that this report be issued as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

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

His Excellency
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary-General of the United Nations
New York

I. INTRODUCTION

1. During the past year, the Special Committee has devoted particular attention to trade union action against apartheid in view of the growing strength and resistance of the black trade union movement in South Africa, the brutal repression against trade union leaders and activities by the apartheid régime and the crucial role of trade union organizations all over the world in the international campaign for the elimination of apartheid. It held extensive consultations with national and international trade union organizations with a view to encouraging concerted action in solidarity with the oppressed workers of South Africa and in pursuance of the request of the General Assembly, in resolution 36/172 H of 17 December 1981, that the Special Committee take steps to organize in 1982 an international conference of trade unions on sanctions against South Africa.

2. In this report, the Special Committee wishes briefly to review the situation with respect to the black trade unions in South Africa and the results of its consultations on an international conference of trade unions.

II. LONG CONCERN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

3. The Special Committee has emphasized since its inception that the system of apartheid is based on the inhuman exploitation of black working people through the denial of their elementary rights and repression of their trade unions and other organizations. It recognizes that the struggle of the black workers for their trade union and political rights is a crucial component of the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

4. The Special Committee greatly appreciates the solidarity of the international trade union movement with the oppressed workers of South Africa in their struggle for trade union rights and national liberation. It has always recognized the important role of the trade union movement in the international campaign against apartheid.

5. In co-operation with the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the Special Committee helped to organize two international trade union conferences for action against apartheid in 1976 and 1977. The conferences were attended by representatives of about 200 million trade unionists and helped in advancing solidarity actions by trade unions around the world.

6. The Special Committee has also frequently consulted trade union leaders on the international campaign against apartheid. It has invited representatives of the trade union movement to many of its conferences, seminars and special meetings, and sent missions to a number of international, regional and national trade union federations.

7. The Special Committee has also emphasized the important role of ILO - with its tripartite structure, including representatives of Governments, employers and workers - in international action for the elimination of apartheid. It has held frequent consultations with ILO and noted with satisfaction the progress of its action against apartheid.

8. It may be recalled that the International Labour Conference unanimously adopted on 8 July 1964 a Declaration on the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic

of South Africa and a programme for the elimination of apartheid in labour matters. These historic documents underlined the commitment of the organization and have served as a framework for concrete action against apartheid and in support of the oppressed workers in South Africa.

9. On 18 June 1981, the International Labour Conference adopted a new Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, which represents a new stage in the commitment of ILO. The Special Committee welcomed the Declaration and looks forward to its effective implementation.

III. APARTHEID AND THE DEPRIVATION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS

10. The developments concerning the labour situation in South Africa have been fully reviewed in the annual reports of the Director-General of ILO on the application of its Declarations of 1964 and 1981. They have also been covered in many reports and documents of the Special Committee and in the reports of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Southern Africa established by the Commission on Human Rights. The Committee will draw attention to only a few salient points.

11. The African workers in South Africa have had a long tradition of trade unionism despite severe restrictions and harassment by the racist régimes which, already in the 1920s and 1930s, excluded most African workers from the definition of "employee" and prevented them from joining registered trade unions. The African mine labour strike in 1946, which was suppressed by the brutal massacre of many workers, was but one of the heroic struggles led by them.

12. The oppression of African workers further increased after the apartheid régime came to power in 1948. Under the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, all Africans were excluded from collective bargaining. African trade unions could not be registered nor could Africans be members of registered unions. All strikes by Africans were declared illegal.

13. At the same time, the régime undermined the position of African workers by its policy of migrant labour, mass expulsions of "unauthorized" Africans from urban areas, creation of bantustans and a complex of inhuman regulations on the movement, residence and employment of African people. Many of the employers and white trade unions connived with the régime in its policies.

14. The régime also resorted to increasingly ruthless repression against leaders of African trade unions which, though unregistered, were not illegal. 1/

15. The racist régime and its supporters expected that the growing unemployment among Africans, and their insecurity, combined with repression, would curb all African resistance against exploitation and humiliation. Their calculations failed, however.

16. There was a massive wave of strikes in factories and mines beginning in 1972 for wage increases, the right to organize independent unions and the right to recognition of such unions. A number of independent black unions were formed in defiance of the racist régime.

17. The resurgence of the African trade union movement, and the solidarity with it of all the black people, as well as of the international trade union movement, led the apartheid régime and the transnational corporations to undertake some "reforms" to deceive the world and avert international sanctions.

IV. FRAUD OF LABOUR "REFORMS"

18. The régime established the Wiehahn Commission and the Riekert Commission and, on the basis of their reports, enacted legislation - beginning with the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1979 - enabling Africans to join registered trade unions. The true intention of the legislation, however, was to exercise strict control over the African trade unions, through the process of registration, and to divide the emergent African trade unions through the exclusion of migrant workers and others from the unions. After resistance by the African workers and their unions and denunciations by the international trade union movement and ILO, some adjustments were made, but these did not provide for full trade union rights.

19. Domestic and farm workers, as well as migrant workers from independent African States, representing a great percentage of African workers, are excluded from trade unions. The South African Labour Relations Amendment Act of 1981 made it an offence for any union to give financial assistance to a person involved in an "illegal" strike. (Almost all strikes by African workers are illegal.) Under the Fund-Raising Act, the régime prohibited the Federation of South African Trade Unions from making public collections of funds in South Africa or from receiving any funds from trade unions abroad. The laws prohibiting outdoor gatherings or "intimidation" have been used to prevent meetings of trade unions or picket lines. The obnoxious security legislation has been used to imprison, restrict and persecute leaders of independent trade unions.

20. Legislation currently under consideration reveals the true purposes of the racist régime.

21. The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, which was introduced in the South African Parliament this year and referred to a parliamentary commission, further restricts the number of Africans entitled to stay in urban areas. It makes it an offence for an "unauthorized" African to stay in the urban areas even for one night (as against 72 hours at present) and greatly increases penalties against employers who hire "illegal" Africans or any persons who give them accommodation.

22. The legislation would streamline and extend the obnoxious and humiliating "pass laws" which have caused enormous resentment among the African people and have been condemned by the international community. Under it, hundreds of thousands of Africans would face deportation to the so-called homelands and the independent States created under the bantustan policy. As Miss Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash commented, it would create walls around the cities, trapping people in the homelands where they face a situation which amounts to genocide.

23. While the racist régime has been perpetrating the fraud of "reforms" while escalating repression, some Western Governments and employers have been publicizing "codes of conduct" as a means to eliminate apartheid. A number of Western countries adopted these codes in the 1970s, following shocking revelations of starvation wages and other inequities in affiliates of transnational corporations

in South Africa, in order to divert pressure for disengagement from South Africa. Corporations in South Africa then announced their own code. These codes, concerned mainly with working conditions, were rejected by the trade union movement in South Africa and abroad on the grounds that they were ineffective without enforcement measures and that, in fact, they were intended mainly to justify continued economic collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

V. GROWTH OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS AND RUTHLESS REPRESSION
BY THE RACIST REGIME

24. Despite the intimidation and repression and other difficulties, the African trade unions have rapidly grown in strength in recent years.

25. African trade union membership increased from 16,000 in 1969 to over 300,000 in 1980.

26. The number of strikes by workers increased from 207 in 1980 to 342 in 1981, involving 92,842 black workers in 297 companies. Almost all the strikes were "illegal". The number of strikes is expected to be even higher in 1982, because of the rising unemployment and cost of living and the growing militancy of the workers.

27. Black communities have increasingly shown their solidarity with the workers by boycotting products of companies which refuse to recognize black trade unions and by demanding the release of detained workers and union leaders.

28. The growth of the black trade union movement has further exposed the collusion of the racist régime and the employers and has underlined that the enforcement of trade union rights in South Africa requires the elimination of the system of apartheid.

29. With the encouragement of the régime, employers have refused to negotiate with unregistered and emergent black trade unions, while favouring the parallel unions ("sweetheart unions") set up by white trade unions.

30. When the black trade unions are obliged to resort to strikes, employers retaliate with mass dismissals of strikers and call in the police.

31. The racist régime has intervened in numerous labour disputes, breaking up union meetings by violence, arresting thousands of workers and deporting them to so-called homelands. In 1981, more than 15,000 black workers, including more than 100 trade union leaders, were reported to have been detained, and over 2,000 striking workers were deported to the homelands.

32. The repression against black trade union leaders and activists has greatly increased in the last year, as the racist régime and employers have failed in their efforts to undermine the black trade unions and as the links between the trade unions of black communities have developed further.

33. There has been a wave of arrests of trade unionists, especially since November 1981, when the African workers denounced the so-called "independence" of the Ciskei. Many were subjected to terror and violence by authorities in the Ciskei.

34. A large number of trade union leaders were brutally tortured in prison. Mr. Neil Aggett died in prison on 5 February 1982 and several others were hospitalized. A number of trade union leaders have since been charged under Draconian security laws providing for severe penalties.

35. The régime has attempted to link the trade unionists to the national liberation movement and to the growing armed struggle so as to subject them to heavy sentences and intimidate the African workers. 2/

VI. NEED FOR URGENT INTERNATIONAL ACTION

36. The gross violation of trade union rights in South Africa, the increasing repression and terror against black trade unions and the collusion between the racist régime and employers demand urgent international action, both by Governments and by the world trade union movement.

37. The international community must demand:

(a) Full recognition of black trade unions and of trade union rights for the entire population;

(b) Immediate release of trade unionists imprisoned or restricted;

(c) Abrogation of orders prohibiting fundraising by black and genuinely multiracial trade unions;

(d) Withdrawal of proposed legislation and abrogation of existing legislation restricting the freedom of movement, residence and employment of African workers;

(e) Penalties against transnational corporations which violate trade union rights and collude with the racist régime in the repression of black workers.

38. The world trade union movement should be encouraged to lend all necessary support to black and multiracial trade unions in South Africa and to mobilize for sanctions against South Africa since trade union rights cannot be fully secured without the total elimination of apartheid.

39. The Special Committee considers that an international trade union conference can make an important contribution in this respect.

VII. CONSULTATIONS ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF TRADE UNIONS

40. Following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 36/172 H, the Special Committee approached the Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body with a view to organizing the most representative international trade union conference which would lead to concrete action by the trade union movement in solidarity with the oppressed workers of South Africa for the elimination of apartheid. It also held consultations with many national and international trade union federations on action against apartheid and on the proposed conference.

41. The Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body agreed to the request of the Special Committee for organizing an international conference and sought the views of the national trade union centres, which overwhelmingly supported the convening of the conference. Many of them emphasized the need for necessary arrangements to facilitate the widest participation in the conference, especially for assistance to trade unions which require financial aid.

42. After extensive preliminary consultations, the Special Committee invited a delegation of the Workers' Group, led by its Chairman, Mr. Gerd Muhr, to Headquarters and held consultations on 24 September 1982 with the participation of the representatives of the United Nations Council for Namibia, ILO, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU).

43. The participants agreed on the organization of an international conference of trade unions on sanctions and other actions against the apartheid régime in South Africa, to be convened in 1983. The Conference, to be held in Geneva, will be organized by the Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body and the Special Committee, in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, OAU and OATUU, with the following objectives:

- (a) To promote sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa;
- (b) To promote world-wide solidarity with, and assistance to, the black trade union movement of South Africa;
- (c) To promote effective international action to eliminate apartheid and enable the South African people to establish a democratic society.

VIII. RECOMMENDATION

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

- (a) Authorize the Special Committee to organize the International Conference of Trade Unions on Sanctions and other Actions against the Apartheid Régime in South Africa, to be held in 1983 in accordance with the present report;
- (b) Make adequate financial provision for the Conference and the preparatory work for the Conference;
- (c) Appeal to all Governments and organizations to lend all appropriate support to the black trade union movement in South Africa.

Notes

1/ The brunt of the repression was borne by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which was founded in 1955, with equal rights to registered unions as well as unregistered African unions, after the newly established Trade Union Council of South Africa excluded the latter. It decided to struggle against the policy of racial discrimination and co-operated with the African National Congress (ANC). By 1961, it had 46 affiliated unions. Its leaders, officials and members were subjected to severe repression and harassment so that, by the

Notes (continued)

mid-1960s, the organization was forced to operate from abroad and underground. A number of SACTU leaders are still in prison, serving long terms for participation in the struggle for liberation, and many others are restricted under stringent banning orders. Several died of torture during detention.

2/ For details on repression against trade unionists, see documents A/AC.115/L.578 and A/AC.115/L.579.