

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

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OFFICIAL RECORDS: FORTY-SECOND SESSION  
SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/42/22)**



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New York, 1987

NOTE

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

The present report was also submitted to the Security Council under the symbol **S/19217**.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

16 October 1987

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 16 October 1987.

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 41/35 A to H of 10 November 1986.

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

## CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1 - 5	1
II. OVERVIEW .....	6 - 14	2
III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA .....	15 - 69	4
A. General political conditions .....	15 - 20	4
B. Repression of the population .....	21 - 37	5
C. Resistance to <u>apartheid</u> .....	38 - 46	8
D. Aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring States .....	47 - 52	11
E. Military build-up and collaboration .....	53 - 60	12
F. Economy and foreign economic relations .....	61 - 69	14
IV. INTERNATIONAL ACTION .....	70 - 95	16
A. General .....	70	16
B. Governments and intergovernmental organizations .....	71 - 78	16
C. Non-governmental organizations .....	79 - 83	17
D. Divestment .....	84 - 91	18
E. Sports and cultural boycotts .....	92 - 95	20
V. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE .....	96 - 137	21
A. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-first session on the item "Policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa" .....	97	21
B. Statements made at meetings of the Security Council ..	98 - 99	21
C. Activities of the Special Committee against the policies and practices of the <u>apartheid</u> régime .....	100 - 109	22
D. Action against collaboration with the <u>apartheid</u> régime	110 - 122	24
E. Encouragement of world-wide action against <u>apartheid</u> .	123 - 135	26

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
F. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and with other organizations .....	136 - 137	28
VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	138 - 150	29

Annexes

I. Composition of the subsidiary bodies of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> and of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa .....		37
II. South Africa's budget (1986/87 and 1987/88) .....		38
III. South Africa's main trading partners (1985 and 1986) .....		39
IV. Selected excerpts of statements issued by the Special Committee .....		40
V. Conferences and seminars organized or assisted by the Special Committee .....		48
VI. Observance of the International Days of Solidarity by the Special Committee .....		51
VII. List of documents of the Special Committee .....		52

## I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

2. At its 599th meeting, on 12 January 1987, the Special Committee unanimously re-elected Major General Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria) as its Chairman and Mr. Guennadi I. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Jai Pratap Rana (Nepal) and Mr. Serge Elie Charles (Haiti) as its Vice-Chairmen, and elected Mr. Arif Shahid Khan (India) as Rapporteur.

3. The Special Committee also re-elected Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa. It elected Mr. Tewfik Abada (Algeria) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information, re-elected Mr. Raúl Rivera (Peru) as Chairman of its Task Force on Political Prisoners and elected Mr. Nasreldin A. M. Idris (Sudan) as Chairman of its 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. Upon the departure of Mr. Raúl Rivera, on 16 June 1987 the Committee elected Mr. Manuel Rodriguez (Peru) as Chairman of the Task Force on Political Prisoners. (For the names of the members of the subsidiary bodies of the Special Committee, see annex I to the present report.)

4. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 41/35 C of 10 November 1986, the Special Committee will submit, for the attention of the Assembly and the Security Council, a special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa (A/42/22/Add.1-S/19217/Add.1).

5. At its 611th meeting, on 16 October 1987, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

## II. OVERVIEW

6. During the period under review (September 1986 to August 1987), the Special Committee against Apartheid followed with grave concern the rapidly deteriorating situation arising from the policy of apartheid in and around South Africa and the régime's mounting reign of domestic terror, as well as its acts of aggression and destabilization against countries of the region, which constitute a threat to international peace and security. It also monitored the international response to the situation.

7. The South African racist régime was confronted during this period with unprecedented nation-wide resistance to apartheid, which it attempted to quell through a co-ordinated assault on all forms of extra-parliamentary opposition in the country. Recognizing the grave effects of repression on the opposition, the Special Committee intensified its efforts, particularly with regard to the plight of political prisoners, trade unionists, students and youth, women and children, leaders of grass-roots and religious institutions, journalists and others. In the same vein, the continued undeclared war by the régime against the front-line and neighbouring States also compelled the Special Committee to express its concern over the critical situation afflicting those countries and the need for effective international assistance to them.

8. In view of the Draconian measures recently imposed on the foreign and domestic media, which prohibit the publication of brutal acts of suppression of demonstrations and other forms of resistance to the racist apartheid system, the Special Committee strengthened its efforts to promote the dissemination of information on internal developments in the country and to mobilize greater international action against that system. It organized, co-sponsored and participated in meetings, seminars, conferences and hearings and co-operated closely with Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in these endeavours.

9. The international community responded to the apartheid régime's intransigence by adopting stronger economic and political measures for the purpose of isolating the régime completely. At its forty-first session, the General Assembly adopted a series of resolutions on the situation in South Africa. Members of the Security Council agreed on a package of voluntary sanctions. Regrettably, two permanent members of the Council made it impossible, once more, for the Council to agree on one of the most effective measures of pressure for peaceful change in that country, that is, the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

10. Individual Governments have taken specific action against the Pretoria régime. Over the years, many countries such as the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as well as socialist countries have adopted effective measures against the racist régime of South Africa. Among the Western countries, the Nordic countries have been in the vanguard of the campaign for sanctions, gradually imposing effective trade and other sanctions. An initiative of the Congress of the United States of America resulted in the adoption of selective sanctions by the United States. Despite a number of exemptions, these measures were a step in the right direction. More limited were the steps taken by the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Commonwealth as a whole due to the opposition by the United Kingdom of Great



Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany to stronger measures. Japan also introduced certain restrictions to its relations with Pretoria, albeit still limited.

11. While these measures are considered positive and manifest an encouraging trend, serious efforts still have to be made towards a more concerted approach and a more effective monitoring of the implementation of these restrictions. Of growing concern are the repeated violations of the mandatory arms embargo, the oil embargo and other international sanctions, as well as the reluctance shown by some Governments to enforce fully the implementation of their own measures, in particular by investigating and punishing infractions.

12. As is evident from both the growing resistance to apartheid and the renewed calls for sanctions against Pretoria, there is a world-wide sense of urgency to replace the apartheid system by a democratic and non-racial order in an unfragmented South Africa, without further bloodshed. The Special Committee's aim has all along been to help bring about a peaceful transformation in South Africa.

13. Concerted and enforceable sanctions should be the most important components of any international effort to create the conditions necessary to effect a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the conflict in South Africa. In that context, the dependence of the South African economy on foreign technology, loans and trade is critical in the consideration of further measures to be adopted. In order to be effective, such measures should be concerted and their implementation strictly monitored.

14. In the present report, the Special Committee reviews developments in South Africa, focusing on the political and economic conditions, the repression and resistance inside the country and the acts of destabilization of the front-line States, as well as the continuing collaboration of certain Western countries and their economic interests with South Africa. It also discusses the international response during the period under review and the thrust of the initiative and activities of the Special Committee. The annexes include, in a chronological order, selected excerpts from statements of the Committee and detailed information on the conferences and meetings that the Committee organized or in which it assisted the organizers, highlighting the specific contributions of those conferences and meetings to the international struggle against apartheid.

### III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### A. General political conditions

15. South Africa has experienced a year of sustained popular mobilization that reflects the determination of the black majority to dismantle the apartheid system and, in its place, to build the foundations for a non-racial and democratic society. The Pretoria authorities, however, have shown no genuine inclination towards a solution to the political crisis in the country. Instead, they have tried to crush opposition by extending the state of emergency, designed to create an atmosphere of terror and fear in which the police, the army and vigilante groups act with virtual impunity. At the same time, they have introduced so-called "betterment schemes" in some black communities designed to subvert resistance and co-opt portions of the population, as well as to deceive the international community.

16. In this climate of generalized repression, the National Party's call for an election in May 1987 for whites only was an attempt to reassert the authority of the Party and to give a semblance of legitimacy to its so-called constitutional plan of power-sharing based on ethnicity. The election results, which returned the National Party to power with an increased majority, reflected the fears and intransigence, inflamed by the authorities on the eve of the elections, of most of the white minority and their belief in the promise of stability and national security by the National Party. There were also fissures in the edifice of Afrikanerdom, as intellectuals of stature in the Party called for negotiations with representatives of the African majority, and some Afrikaners met with representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) at Dakar in July seeking to outline areas of agreement concerning the future of South Africa.

17. The constitutional plan to accommodate Africans living in urban areas outside the "homelands" is, in essence, a policy of coercion and co-option that appears to have three components. First, the emergency regulations aim at restoring "order" in the black townships and the "homelands". Central to this plan of regaining administrative and political control at the local level is the National Security Management System (NSMS), which is an apparatus established to confront the "total onslaught" by "revolutionary" forces against the State. 1/ In times of crisis, it appears to play a more visible co-ordinating and directive role, all in the interests of security and stability, two key elements of Party policy. 2/

18. Second, the constitutional plan envisions the implementation in selected areas of socio-economic betterment projects, which are conceived to improve physical conditions in those areas, in an apparent attempt to remove the community grievances and encourage the emergence of a black middle and business class with a stake in the system. A case in point is the Alexandra township, one of the most politically organized communities in the country. In Alexandra, the security forces have systematically persecuted community activists, in particular members of the Alexandra Action Committee. 3/ At the same time, a 90-million-rand-programme is under way to "upgrade" the community.

19. Third, the constitutional power-sharing plan is firmly wedded to "group" (i.e., ethnic) politics, as Mr. P. W. Botha has vowed that there will never be black majority rule or a black head of State in South Africa. 4/ Hence, the proposed National Statutory Council for Africans will be no more than an advisory

body since the decision-making power rests with Mr. Botha and the chamber for whites in Parliament and will be constituted by members chosen in elections undertaken by the community councils, long rejected by the majority population as a creation of the régime. Not even the "homeland" leaders, not to mention a single leader of stature in the black community, has agreed to serve on the National Statutory Council. Opposition organizations have rejected the Council and called on Pretoria to negotiate with the leaders recognized by the majority population.

20. The escalation of repression has failed to stem the resistance in the country, although it has undermined the work of many popular organizations owing to the detention and persecution of their members and leaders. The trade union movement has taken the forefront of the struggle in view of the fact that other organizations have been weakened and many activists driven underground. Notwithstanding these setbacks, opposition groups have survived and have entered a gradual process of reorganization and consolidation in preparation for the long haul. They are, indeed, learning to function strategically under almost clandestine conditions.

### B. Repression of the population

21. To re-establish its control, which has been shaken by the nation-wide rebellion, the régime has engaged in a co-ordinated violent assault on all forms of extra-parliamentary opposition in the country. The state of emergency, in force since July 1985 in some form or another and successively renewed in December 1986 and June 1987, reveals South Africa as a police State where the security forces have almost unlimited powers of repression and in which their brutal actions are virtually immune from prosecution. Regulations authorize the banning of meetings and gatherings of all kinds and, therefore, enable the authorities to criminalize and obstruct even mild forms of political dissent.

22. During a mission to South Africa, representatives of the International Commission of Jurists saw no evidence of the punishment of police misconduct. The mission "was unable to credit the professed desire of the government to restrain police brutality, as it is on the atmosphere of terror created by police brutality in the townships that the Government's strategy of repression depends. Even the most glaring abuses have gone unpunished". 5/

23. The extensive use of detention without charge or trial, resulting in the "legal" disappearance of activists, even of children, is nowadays a weapon of intimidation and a deliberate mechanism to weaken the opposition. In addition, another - more insidious - weapon employed against the opposition is the increasing number of attacks and murders committed by vigilante groups, acting with the tacit consent of the police. In this climate of State-induced terror, the authorities have imposed a curtain of silence by severely restricting the domestic and foreign media. The régime is already proceeding to fulfil what it claims is a mandate derived from its electoral victory to crush all forms of extra-parliamentary opposition as a condition for the implementation of its so-called reforms.

24. Under cover of the emergency, the basic laws of apartheid are being enforced against blacks in a variety of spheres. In 1986, for instance, about 64,000 Africans were forcibly removed, compared with 40,000 in 1985; nearly 100,000 Africans were arrested for trespassing in 1986; and most residents of the "independent homelands" continue to be deprived of their South African

citizenship. The removal of African communities is being achieved by a combination of intimidation, political disorganization, coercion and vigilante action. Its ultimate goal is to consolidate the "homelands", to create geographically cohesive and ethnically-based entities and ultimately to deprive Africans of their birth-right citizenship. 6/

25. The occupation of the townships by the police and army, including the presence of armed men in classrooms, has become institutionalized. As much as four fifths of the country's police force is now on duty in the townships. In scenes reminiscent of the Second World War, authorities have ordered entire townships to be sealed off with blade-wire security fences or, as in the case of Soweto, with a cement wall. Soldiers atop armoured cars use spotlights to maintain a constant surveillance on the fences or the wall. 7/

26. Incidents of police and army violence have increased since the emergency. There have been reports of casualties as a result of police violence against workers on strike, communities resisting their forced removal or eviction for non-payment of rent. Unofficial estimates indicate that since September 1984 more than 2,300 persons - most of them black - have been killed, mainly by actions of the police and troops. Official figures usually underestimate casualties, many of which are, in addition, portrayed as the result of violence committed by blacks against other blacks. 8/

27. The local and foreign media have been functioning under Draconian restrictions that proscribe any filming, photographing or tape-recording in areas of "unrest" or any reporting on actions by the security forces without the permission of the police. It is an offence to publish or make a "subversive statement", the meaning of the term subversive having been broadly defined. Also redefined are the terms "unrest" and "resistance". They now include stay-aways, "illegal" strikes, school, rent, consumer and transport boycotts, and any other form of protest. By definition, calls for boycott actions such as disinvestment and sanctions are banned. Also banned are other kinds of opposition such as "alternative education", "people's courts" and "street committees". As if these press restrictions were not enough, on 27 August the régime announced further restrictions to censor the press and to close down for up to three months newspapers that it believes are promoting civil disobedience, boycotts or the image of so-called radical groups. Soon afterwards, it appointed a panel of censors to implement the restrictions that are aimed at what is known as the "alternative press", such as the New Nation, a newspaper owned by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company. The new restrictions will further prevent the people from making their voice heard.

28. In this atmosphere of co-ordinated violence by the security forces, the actions of vigilante groups, whose members are recruited and armed by the police, have increased. While previously there were isolated incidents, primarily political assassinations, now vigilante activity has spread throughout the country, causing innumerable injuries and the death of many activists. No one has yet been brought to justice in any of these cases. In the Eastern Cape and Natal areas a reign of terror is being directed against members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO). Members of Inkatha have been reportedly involved in the violence against COSATU in Natal. 9/

29. In the "homelands" repression appears to be far worse than in the rest of South Africa, partly because these areas are less subject to the scrutiny of the media. In Lebowa and Kwa Ndebele, a "homeland" scheduled to become "independent", opponents have been detained, tortured and, in some cases, killed by the security forces. 10/

30. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee reports that since 1986 there has been a steady increase in the number of political trials, the main objective of which appears to be to engage activists in lengthy and costly court cases, which not only curb their role in opposition organizations but also result in the loss of their jobs with the consequent hardship to their families. Trials on charges of "high treason" or alternatively "subversion", "terrorism" or "murder" are increasing as authorities attempt to demonstrate that any form of popular mobilization and organization - be it a boycott, stay-away, "street committee" or "people's court" - constitutes a "treasonous" activity. At the end of August 1987, 32 persons were on death row for convictions related to unrest. On 1 September, two of them were hanged.

31. The régime's objective of intimidating the opposition, particularly the youth, is most evident in figures released by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which show that 40 per cent of the 30,000 persons detained since June 1986 are children 18 years of age or younger. Even potential prosecution witnesses are held in prison and many are detained for long periods. 11/

32. An analysis of recent detentions shows clearly the official attempt to cripple organized resistance in the country as the trend now is to detain systematically leaders and influential members of all kinds of organizations - be they youth or civic structures, trade unions or their support groups or popular organizations. Human rights monitoring groups in South Africa report a rise in detentions under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention in solitary confinement without access to lawyers or family. This means, in effect, that individuals can disappear without any trace. Reports reveal unbearable prison conditions made worse by a significant increase in the prison population owing to the detentions under the emergency. Recently the Minister of Justice revealed that between July 1986 and July 1987 police had used tear-gas against detainees on 20 occasions. 12/

33. Evidence shows that torture and ill-treatment of detainees are rampant. Several organizations in South Africa, including the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and the National Medical and Dental Association, have published reports showing the grave effects of prolonged incarceration and torture, particularly on children. In Parliament, the Minister of Law and Order reported that 253 persons detained in police cells since June 1986 were hospitalized between August 1986 and February 1987. About 158 of them had been detained under the emergency. 13/

34. The black trade union movement has played a significant role in the political struggle and has, therefore, become the focus of State repression. The State perceives the trade unions as powerful opponents because of their organizational strength and their ability to withhold labour and, theoretically, to paralyse the economy. The activities of the two largest trade union federations, COSATU and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), have been curtailed through the combined use of the security forces and the courts, often with the acquiescence of management. Trade unionists have been detained and/or injured and some have been killed. Landlords have even evicted unions from their offices in alleged compliance with the Group Areas Act.

35. In April, the State launched a concerted and violent campaign against COSATU through the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the media supporters of the régime. A series of police raids on the premises of COSATU affiliates, attacks against its members and the siege of its Johannesburg headquarters culminated in the expert bombing of COSATU House, which left the building unsafe for use. In August, its new building in Cape Town was also bombed. 14/ The State and management have often been in collusion to break strikes, e.g. in the automotive, metal and mining industries and the retail, transport and postal service sectors. Official figures indicate that in 1986 police intervened 286 times in strikes. 15/ Recently, when the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the largest affiliate of COSATU, went on a legal strike, the mine security personnel along with the police attempted to break the strike, causing 11 deaths, more than 300 injuries and 400 arrests. Earlier, when the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), the second largest affiliate, voted to strike, authorities, in agreement with management, made the strike "illegal" merely by issuing the old contract in a Gazette and thereby extending the contract. (In South Africa it is "illegal" to strike if the old contract is still in force.) Large detachments of police were sent to the industrial plants.

36. Black children have become the target of violent repression by the State as they have been in the forefront of the resistance in the townships. Approximately 300 to 500 of the 3,000 persons in detention in August under the emergency regulations were children under the age of 18 years, some of them only 12 years old. And these are conservative estimates, according to a representative of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. Many children have been seriously injured, some have been tortured with electric shocks and tear-gas and some have died as a result of violence by the security forces. Reports show that in the "independent homeland" of Ciskei children bore the marks of torture eight months after the police had interrogated them using whips and metal-tipped clubs or strips of rolled wire to hit them. Children reported that the police had scalded them with boiling water and burning plastic. 16/

37. A disturbing development regarding the detention of children is the existence of secret youth camps, where children are sent straight from detention to attend courses designed, according to officials, to facilitate their "reabsorption" into their communities on their release. Despite a public outcry over this measure and hunger strikes by detainees, the President's Council recently issued a report suggesting the creation of special rehabilitation centres for youth who commit "politically motivated offences". Civil rights groups suggest that the children sent to these camps may be pressured to become police informers or subjected to other forms of intimidation and coercion. 17/

### C. Resistance to apartheid

38. Resistance to apartheid in South Africa continued to grow despite intensified repression. The national liberation movements, the black labour movement, students and youth, religious leaders and institutions, grass-roots organizations and white critics of the system have given new dimensions to the struggle against apartheid. Particular struggles have been integrated into the wider liberation struggle. The régime has failed to find true leaders who would co-operate in the carrying out of its plans of so-called "reforms" and in perpetuating apartheid.

39. Freedom fighters have continued to step up their armed and underground struggle against the racist Pretoria régime. The police have been engaged in gun battles and hand grenades have been thrown at a variety of strategic targets, including the Soweto Police Training College. The annual police report for the year 1985/86 notes that during that period "the unrest situation was characterized by increasing violence and ANC terrorist activity", that land mines were used in 18 attacks, and that 50 ANC and 6 PAC so-called "terrorists" were arrested. There were 199 so-called "acts of terrorism" in 1986, compared with 86 in 1985. 18/ According to the South African authorities, 42 policemen were killed and 52 were seriously injured in the execution of their duties in 1986. 19/ Recruitment into and training by the military wings of the national liberation movements in South Africa have increased, as indicated from evidence in political trials. An increasing number of organizations and individuals have met with the leaders of the national liberation movements, despite the régime's efforts to discredit and intimidate them.

40. The growing popular resistance and the increasing unworkability of apartheid have been manifested also in a trend to replace the official town and village councils by new structures of "people's power", such as "street committees", "village committees", "people's courts" and "people's education", despite the fact that many of the activists of these new structures and organizations have been detained or forced into hiding.

41. The black labour movement has continued to play a significant role in its opposition to apartheid. Its objective is not only economic but also political. Its actions, better organized, are often co-ordinated with those of other political grass-roots organizations such as UDF and AZAPO. A new labour federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU, formerly the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)/Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU)), has been formed and has a membership of about 420,000. 20/ The 1-million-strong COSATU has encouraged the formation of one union per industry through the merger of its member unions. 21/ It has launched the living-wage campaign, the importance of which is likely to increase, and has declared that the struggle will continue as long as the régime persists in protecting the wealth and privileges of certain groups. It has also begun a drive to organize unemployed black workers.

42. In 1986, there were 793 strikes involving 424,135 black workers. 22/ In the first quarter of 1987, the unions most involved in strikes were those affiliated with COSATU. Although many of the strikes in this period lasted less than a week, those lasting more than a month have showed an increase over past years. 23/ Unprecedented strikes took place in the retail, transport and postal sectors, and were supported by sympathy strikes. A two-day stay-away from work, called for by trade unions in protest against the whites-only election in May 1987, involved more than 1 million workers. A similar number of workers stayed away from work on 16 June, Soweto Day. The greatest strike in South Africa ever, and the most widely supported, began on 9 August when about 340,000 gold and coal miners went on strike, halting production in 52 gold and coal mines for three weeks, as a result of which the mining companies sustained a loss of more than \$US 225 million.

43. With regard to the critical labour situation in the country, the Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa published by the International Labour Organisation in 1987 has noted that "South Africa's internal turmoil and uncertainty, reflected in the labour field, was a direct consequence of the

Government's failure to provide positive, realistic and constructive political leadership, to recognize and come to terms with the inevitability of fundamental change and its intransigence in the face of international pressures, all of which merely compounded an already dangerous situation".

44. Black students ended their boycott of schools at the beginning of the current year for what they called "alternative education", but they were, together with black youth, at the forefront of popular resistance, which also included consumer, rent and transportation boycotts. The ongoing rent boycott engulfed more than 50 townships throughout the country and from June 1986 to April 1987 cost about R 297 million. <sup>24/</sup> In April 1987, to replace the Congress of South African Students, which had been banned in 1985, black students established secretly, in order to evade suppression, the South African Youth Congress. Its programme of action includes the organizing of the unemployed youth and supporting the living-wage campaign, which are among the key elements in the joint struggle being waged by black youths and workers. In May, another youth organization, the Azanian Youth Organization was launched, with a socialist political programme.

45. Church leaders and religious institutions have opposed apartheid more forcefully than ever. In December 1986, they called for the lifting of the emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of political organizations. In April, the defiance campaign against the ban on calls for the release of political detainees had the support of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and black Reformed churches, as well as the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the ecumenical South African Council of Churches (SACC). Even the white Reformed Church, which had previously justified apartheid on biblical grounds, concluded that theological justification for enforced racial separation was untenable. An international conference, organized by the World Council of Churches (WCC) at Lusaka in May 1987, recognized that the nature of the South African régime compelled the national liberation movements to use force along with other means to end apartheid. It also stressed the urgent need for the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa.

46. There was wider opposition to apartheid by democratic whites, by individuals and organizations such as the End Conscription Campaign as well as by other non-racial organizations such as the National Union of South African Students, the Black Sash and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. A number of Afrikaner academics issued anti-apartheid manifestos calling for power sharing. In July, a conference of 61 whites, mostly Afrikaners, and 17 ANC members was organized at Dakar by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, which was established by white opponents to apartheid. Its host was the President of Senegal and it aimed at sounding out the positions of the parties concerned on fundamental elements of the country's future order. The white participants, who were acting in their individual capacities, came from the academic, professional, cultural, religious and business fields. The conference expressed preference for a negotiated solution and agreed that there was an urgent necessity to achieve a non-racial democratic society in the country. While this historic event aroused world-wide interest, the apartheid régime was so irritated as to threaten measures even against diplomats who encouraged such efforts.



#### D. Aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring States

47. In accordance with its strategy of domination in the region, Pretoria has continued and intensified its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States in order to weaken their economies and thus keep them dependent on South Africa, to use them as hostages to alleviate outside pressures, to dissuade them from supporting opponents of the régime and indeed physically to eliminate such opponents. In fact it has increasingly resorted to the use of death squads to abduct and assassinate freedom fighters in the neighbouring States.

48. South African forces, which continue to be illegally stationed in southern Angola, have repeatedly carried out raids in that country, and have used the illegally occupied Namibia as a launching pad against Angola. A week before the raid on 28 July 1987, Angolan authorities reported that South Africa had about 7,000 troops in southern Angola, some of whom were stationed in Cuando Cubango to support bandits of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA). 25/ As a result of acts of aggression by South Africa and UNITA, which reportedly is receiving military assistance from the United States, Angola has suffered vast human and economic losses. In addition to the loss of 60,000 lives, almost one tenth of the population has become homeless and 150,000 others have become refugees in neighbouring countries. It is estimated that the total of United States aid to UNITA has reached \$US 30 million and that of South Africa is about \$US 200 million a year. 26/

49. Mozambique, too, has been the target of relentless and barbaric attacks. By January 1987, South African aggression had cost Mozambique about \$US 5 billion. More than 100,000 people in Mozambique have lost their lives as a direct or indirect result of South Africa's actions, and millions are seriously short of food. 27/ In addition to a South African commando assassination team that made an incursion into Maputo on 29 May and other similar attacks, Pretoria provides full support to the Resistência Nacional de Mozambique (RENAMO), known also as the Movement of National Resistance (MNR). The brutal acts of the RENAMO bandits are notorious. In July, RENAMO forces massacred 380 civilians in Mozambique, including children, women and the elderly, and in August they killed about 70 civilians. 28/ Earlier, in December 1986, Mozambique had accused South Africa of repeatedly violating the 1984 Nkomati Accord by making incursions by aircraft into Mozambique in order to supply RENAMO. In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, the President of Mozambique explained that Pretoria's acts of aggression and destabilization against his country were aimed at damaging Mozambique's economy and thus making the other neighbouring countries more dependent on South Africa as they lost the access provided by Mozambique's trunk roads, railways and ports. 29/ About 500,000 Mozambicans have become refugees in neighbouring countries.

50. Other countries in the region have not been spared. In October 1986, South African forces crossed into the eastern region of Botswana. On 1 January 1987, South African agents killed a woman and injured five soldiers in a raid on Botswana. A bomb explosion at Gaborone on 8 April was blamed on South Africa. 30/ Since September 1986, South Africa has deployed clandestine hit squads in Lesotho and Swaziland. In November 1986, two former Lesotho cabinet ministers were reportedly murdered by a South African death squad. 31/ Thirteen men and women, known or suspected ANC members, were shot to death by death squads in Swaziland in the nine months since December 1986, including Cassius Makke and Paul Dikeledi. There were also abductions of suspected ANC leaders in Swaziland by unidentified

men. 32/ In April 1987, apartheid forces attacked Zambia, killing five people and injuring two, and destroying several buildings. In May, the authorities in Zimbabwe blamed South Africa for the murder of the wife of an ANC member by a rocket at Harare. South Africa's agents have even gone beyond the neighbouring States. Recently, four men appeared in court in London on charges of conspiring to kidnap ANC leaders living in the United Kingdom.

51. In August 1986 and February 1987, as part of its destabilization efforts and in retaliation to its neighbours' support for sanctions against South Africa, Pretoria held up the traffic of transit cargo from Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It also threatened to expel from South Africa, under an order of 8 October 1986, about half the Mozambican workers.

52. The regional conflict created by apartheid is impeding economic development by disrupting transport, creating vast numbers of refugees and necessitating increased military spending. It is estimated that in the five years from 1980 to 1984 South Africa's aggression and destabilization efforts cost the nine countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) more than \$US 10 billion and that by the end of 1986 the figure rose to over \$US 18 billion. 33/ To note just one area, for example, the infant and child mortality rates in Angola and Mozambique are now estimated to be the highest in the world because of "underdevelopment compounded by war and economic destabilization, and the resulting set-backs and dislocations". 34/

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

53. With the aim of strengthening itself, the Pretoria régime has continued with its programme of military build-up and collaboration with certain countries. It has increased its defence budget and strengthened its defence forces in pace with its intensified acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring States and of repression against the majority of South Africans.

54. In the 1987/88 budget, defence allocation totalled R 6,683 million, an increase of 40 per cent compared with the previous budget year, and the allocation was set at 4 per cent of the gross domestic product. However, as in the past, actual defence spending for the period is expected to exceed the allocated amount significantly. South Africa also increased the numerical strength of SADF by 27 per cent from 83,400 in 1984/85 to 106,400 (including medical corps) in 1986/87. The army was increased by 13.3 per cent to 76,400, the navy by 56 per cent to 9,600, and the air force by 30 per cent to 13,000. Budgetary provision for the police was increased by 42.8 per cent (see annex II to the present report). 35/

55. There have also been reports indicating infringements of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977 on the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, which the Council adopted unanimously. In December 1986, the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, a non-governmental organization with headquarters in Norway, informed the Special Committee that it had received reports indicating that substantial shipments of weapons were about to be transported to South Africa in violation of Council resolution 418 (1977). One report was concerned with the sale of 39 tons of machine guns to South Africa by a brokerage company in Brussels, Air Charter Centre, to be transported through third-party countries; the second report was

related to an unspecified shipment, again from Brussels to South Africa and involving a United States-owned firm called Overseas National; and the third report was related to a shipment of 20 tons of rocket-launching equipment from Switzerland 36/ to Johannesburg (see also para. 112). In response to the World Campaign's intervention, Air Charter Centre refrained from transporting arms to South Africa. 37/ Also, in late 1986, it was reported that the State-owned Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werft AG Shipyard at Kiel, and Ingenieurkontor Lübeck, an engineering company, both of the Federal Republic of Germany, delivered to the South African Embassy at Bonn from 1984 to 1985 microfilms of the blueprints of the U-209 submarine (see para. 113). 38/

56. In March and April 1987, various press reports indicated that Israel had become South Africa's largest arms supplier and that the armaments industries in the two countries were co-operating in technical and research areas, enabling Israel to earn between \$US 400 and 800 million from its exports of military equipment and expertise to South Africa in 1986 alone. 39/

57. In March 1987, the Israeli Cabinet decided to reduce its ties with South Africa and not to enter into any new defence contracts with it. It also assembled a team of experts to present policy recommendations to the Cabinet on South Africa. The recommendations of the experts, according to official sources, were being examined in the Israeli Cabinet (see the Special Committee's special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa, A/42/22/Add.1-S/19217/Add.1).

58. In the same month, two men in the United States were charged with trying to smuggle sensitive military manuals to South Africa. The indictment was based on the violation of the Military Export Control Act and the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (1986). According to press reports, it was the first time the Act had been used as a basis for criminal charges. Captain Nicholas Voster, a military attaché at the South African Embassy at Washington, D.C. was also named in the indictment. He was soon thereafter recalled by Pretoria to avoid his expulsion. 40/

59. In April, the United States State Department submitted its report on the infringements of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) to the Congress. An abridged version of the report was made public. The report confirmed, inter alia, that South Africa had developed "a large and sophisticated indigenous arms industry"; that it imported weapons systems and sub-systems when it could neither produce a weapon nor secure a licensing arrangement in the country; and that most of the major weapons systems in South Africa predated the 1977 arms embargo but in most cases were maintained and upgraded with the assistance of the original manufacturer. These companies were involved in the exportation of arms covered by the embargo and in the maintenance and upgrading of the system in situ prior to 1977. The abridged report mentioned the names of the countries whose companies had violated the embargo, but did not include the names of the companies involved or give any evidence suggesting the involvement of Governments, with the exception of Israel. 41/

60. The South African régime depends increasingly on brute force to defend the apartheid system through a variety of means. The régime needs an arms industry to support and furnish its military and police forces, the guardians of the apartheid system and the principal vehicles in carrying out repression against the majority of its population. It needs advanced weapons to carry out its aggression against

the independent States of southern Africa. Finally, Pretoria attempts to make advances in the most sophisticated weapons system and nuclear technology in order to intimidate the international community and strengthen its leverage vis-à-vis the West. Regrettably, it appears that in all these efforts Pretoria finds certain accomplices, be they individual companies or certain Governments that have chosen, for a variety of reasons, to aid and abet these efforts in total disregard of their catastrophic consequences.

#### F. Economy and foreign economic relations

61. Despite relatively favourable world market conditions for the South African economy, its performance shows serious signs of chronic sluggishness, mainly because of internal unrest and external pressure. Both in 1986 and during the first half of 1987, the South African economy grew at a slow pace. In 1986, the growth rate of the gross domestic product stopped short of 1 per cent. This followed a 1.5 per cent decrease experienced in 1985. While in the first quarter of 1987 the growth rate amounted to 2 per cent, in the second quarter it rose by only 1.5 per cent, affected, according to observers, by work stoppages and strikes. 42/
62. Reflecting the increased state of uncertainty, businesses have been reducing new investment. In fact, gross domestic fixed investment declined by 16.5 per cent in 1986. This is particularly significant, as it shows a consistent downward trend; from 1981 to 1985 gross domestic fixed investment declined by 21 per cent. According to official data, average utilization of productive capacity in the manufacturing sector was 79.7 per cent in 1986, compared with 86.3 per cent in 1984. 43/ This underutilization appeared to be a result of insufficient consumer demand and a shortage of raw materials and skilled labour. Furthermore, in South Africa businesses have increasingly shown a tendency to invest in financial rather than productive assets. This has caused a sudden increase in speculative operations in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, yielding substantial profits to the speculators. It was estimated that in 1986 alone approximately R 12 billion (about \$US 6 billion) was spent on speculative operations. In his address to stockholders on 25 August, the Governor of the South African Reserve Bank said that "money is chasing paper in financial markets instead of bricks, mortar and steel". 44/
63. Unemployment continues to remain high among blacks, amounting to 4.2 million out of a 12 million potentially active labour force. Some 260,000 black work-seekers enter the market each year. About 40 per cent of the black population is under 15 years of age and the urban black population is growing at an annual rate of about 3 per cent. 45/ An economic growth of about 3 per cent annually is required to absorb the increases in the black labour force, which is presently beyond the capacity of the economy.
64. Inflationary pressures continued; the consumer price index rose by 18.6 per cent in 1986, compared with 16.2 per cent in 1985. Up to June 1987, the consumer price index increased by 17 per cent. As a result, black workers' real purchasing power declined significantly, especially because food prices rose by 26 per cent in 1986, the fastest annual increase in the past six years. 46/
65. The South African economy is heavily dependent on trade links with the rest of the world. Minerals and metals contribute preponderantly to export earnings, with

gold accounting for about 40 per cent of export income. In the first six months of 1987, the price of gold averaged \$US 434 per ounce, compared with an average of \$405 in the last quarter of 1986. It is noteworthy that as long as the price of gold remains over \$US 400 per ounce, a \$US 10 increase in the average annual price results in approximately \$US 200 million a year in additional export income for South Africa.

66. Western European and North American countries and Japan continued to be the main trading partners of South Africa. Total trade with Western European countries amounted to \$US 22.6 billion in 1986, representing one third of South Africa's aggregate trade. 47/ In 1986, total trade with the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and the United States increased, while that with the United Kingdom and France decreased. 48/ However, trade with certain countries in the Far East is becoming increasingly important; in 1986 alone it increased by 40 per cent (see also annex III to the present report).

67. In 1985, exports amounted to 30 per cent and imports to 25 per cent of the gross domestic product. It is estimated that 68 cents of each rand used for manufacturing is spent on imports, making imports vital to the economy. The dependence of the South African economy on imported basic industrial chemicals and manufacturing is significant; approximately 80 per cent of imports represent capital and intermediate goods, which South Africa cannot do without. 47/ Most of these products originate in major Western industrial countries and cannot easily be replaced by local production; thus, given also the dependence on foreign investment and loans on the one hand and the limited range of exports on the other, South Africa remains seriously exposed to international pressure.

68. In September 1986, South Africa finalized an agreement in London with its largest creditors, which were holding over 70 per cent of its total payable foreign debt of \$US 13 billion. In March 1987, a new three-year debt rescheduling programme, which will run into 1990, was reportedly reached with the major creditors of South Africa. Accordingly, South Africa will pay \$US 1.42 billion before 1990; the rest will be serviced according to the original schedule. 49/

69. In general, the current economic policy of South Africa is based on an effort to stimulate the domestic economy. Yet, the main constraints on economic growth remain the lack of productive investment, the acceleration of the rate of inflation, the partial exclusion from foreign capital markets and the reduced confidence of the business communities in the ability of the régime to solve the crisis in the country.

#### IV. INTERNATIONAL ACTION

##### A. General

70. During the period under review, the international campaign to isolate and put pressure on the racist régime of South Africa intensified and was marked by new, significant developments. Under increasing pressure from public opinion and legislative bodies, several Governments have taken meaningful steps, moving from general condemnations of the evils of apartheid to the introduction of sanctions. The divestment and disinvestment campaign, despite a number of shortcomings in divestment, has remained an additional measure aimed at isolating South Africa. Many intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations have stepped up their anti-apartheid activities.

##### B. Governments and intergovernmental organizations

71. During the period under review, Norway, Sweden and Finland adopted comprehensive and mandatory measures against South Africa. In March 1987, the Norwegian Parliament adopted the Norwegian Act on Economic Boycott against South Africa and Namibia. The Act, which took effect on 20 July 1987, imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, such as a general ban on imports from and exports to South Africa, a ban on oil transport to and from South Africa by Norwegian tankers, a ban on the transportation of goods or passengers to and from South Africa either by Norwegian or South African vessels, and a ban on the granting of services, loans and credits, investments, the transfer of patent or production rights, and tourism promotion in South Africa. However, the Act does not include a ban on the resale of cargoes of Norwegian tankers whose final destinations are determined at sea after the start of the voyage. 50/

72. In March 1987, the Swedish Government introduced in Parliament a trade sanctions bill, which had the support of all the major political parties. The bill, which was later enacted into legislation, imposed a ban on all trade, with a few exceptions, with South Africa, including that passing through third countries, and a ban on the loading, unloading, transport or reception for storage of prohibited goods, as well as the means of transport and transport equipment and of services through third parties. The legislation took effect as of 1 July, and 1 October 1987 would be the deadline to end all trade with South Africa. The Act does not, however, call for disinvestment. At the time of preparation of the present report, the Swedish Government was considering the possibility of extending the Act to Swedish-owned subsidiaries outside Sweden. 51/

73. In June 1987, the Finnish Parliament adopted a law which prohibits all imports from and all exports to South Africa (see S/18961/Add.3).

74. In October 1986, the United States Congress adopted selective restrictive measures, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, against South Africa. The Act did not impose comprehensive sanctions, but it was a step in the right direction in the United States position towards tangible measures against apartheid. Most of the provisions of the Act took effect immediately and the others were introduced within a period of six months. The Act banned new investments, except in firms owned by black South Africans, prohibited new bank loans to the South African public or private sector, banned coal, iron, steel, textile, uranium and agricultural imports

from South Africa, incorporated and made permanent the combined sanctions imposed by the President in September 1985, revoked landing rights for South African Airways, and prohibited United States companies from claiming credits on their United States corporate income tax for taxes paid to the South African régime (see A/AC.115/L.642).

75. An official advisory report, prepared for the State Department at its request and published in January 1987, suggested that the United States Administration should join in concerted international efforts to impose sanctions on South Africa and to isolate it economically. It also noted the reasons for the failure of the 1986 diplomatic initiative of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group for negotiations and the importance of a sanctions package as contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which placed the United States "out in front in the international effort to apply pressure for change in South Africa and [stated] that the United States strategy of constructive engagement [had] failed to achieve its objectives". 52/

76. In 1986, EEC adopted measures banning new investments in, and the importation of iron, steel and gold coins from, South Africa. A ban on coal imports from South Africa was not adopted because it was opposed by the Federal Republic of Germany and Portugal, which claimed that a coal ban would cause massive unemployment in South Africa. However, the Government of the Netherlands continued unsuccessfully to press EEC to include coal imports in the measures. In June 1987, the Government of the Netherlands announced that, in line with the EEC decisions of 1986, it would submit legislation to the Parliament banning new investments in South Africa. 53/

77. Furthermore, in October 1986, the members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg called upon the EEC ministers to adopt more restrictive measures against South Africa, stating that the measures already adopted were inadequate, and urged EEC to ban new investments, new bank loans and other loans to the South African régime, imports of uranium, coal, gold, diamonds, textiles and agricultural products, purchases from companies owned by the South African régime, and exports of computers and oil. The European Parliament also called for the suspension of the landing rights in Europe of South African Airways (see A/AC.115/L.642). An EEC ban on coal imports from South Africa could pose a serious threat to South Africa because EEC countries import a significant portion of South Africa's coal. Reports indicate that Danish, French and United States restrictions on coal imports from South Africa have already had adverse effects on its coal exports.

78. At the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986, the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonisation and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund) was established. The objectives of the Fund, inter alia, are to assist the front-line States to cope with problems that would arise in the event of sanctions towards or by South Africa. By July 1987, over \$US 200 million had been pledged to the Fund (for details, see A/41/697-S/18392 and A/42/422, annex (II)).

### C. Non-governmental organizations

79. The role played by non-governmental organizations in international action against apartheid has been invaluable. Non-governmental organizations have successfully continued and intensified their monitoring efforts on collaboration with South Africa, most importantly, violations of the oil and arms embargoes. In

some countries, they have staged selective but effective boycotts against certain companies doing business with South Africa and have continued with their divestment campaigns in the United States and Western Europe.

80. Among the organizations active in the international campaign against apartheid, the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, which has headquarters in Norway, actively monitors infringements of the mandatory arms embargo all over the world and reports them to the United Nations. The Shipping Research Bureau of the Netherlands monitors the tankers transporting oil to South Africa.

81. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the National Students' Union of the United Kingdom have waged an effective campaign against Barclays Bank, which announced in November 1986 that it had sold its 40.4 per cent share in its South African subsidiary to the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa (see A/AC.115/L.642).

82. In 1986 and at the beginning of 1987, an international campaign to force the Shell Oil Company to withdraw from South Africa was launched by grass-roots anti-apartheid organizations and activists in Western countries. The campaign was endorsed by many anti-apartheid organizations and activists in South Africa, including Dr. Beyers Naudé, then Secretary-General of SACC, Reverend Allan Boesak, leader of UDF and Chairman of the World Council of Reformed Churches, and COSATU. 53/ In addition, a number of concerned stockholders in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States have been pressing through special shareholders meetings to discuss Shell's withdrawal from South Africa. In June 1987, it was reported that senior Shell executives in the Netherlands had formed a special group to study various options regarding possible withdrawal from South Africa. 53/

83. In early 1987, five United States anti-apartheid movements, namely, the American Committee on Africa, the American Friends Service Committee, the Inter-Faith Center on Corporate Responsibility, Trans-Africa and the Washington Office on Africa, defined the meaning of economic disengagement and issued guidelines for action to be taken in order to fulfil divestment requirements. According to them, a corporation is regarded as doing business in or with the Republic of South Africa or Namibia if it, its parent or its subsidiaries have direct investment in South Africa or Namibia or have entered into franchise, licensing or management agreements with or for any entity in those countries; or are financial institutions that have not prohibited new investments, loans, credits or related services, or the renewal of existing financial agreements, including those for the purposes of trade, with any entity in those countries; or have more than 5 per cent of their common stock beneficially owned or controlled by a South African entity. 54/

#### D. Divestment

84. In the United States, the divestment movement, which gained momentum in 1986, continued throughout 1987. As of June 1987, 22 states, 14 counties, 75 cities and the United States Virgin Islands, as well as over 128 colleges and universities had adopted legislation prohibiting procurement contracts from and investment of public funds in companies "doing business" with or in South Africa. 55/ Most of the universities and colleges that have already adopted divestment policies decided to



dispose of their stocks in companies doing business in or with South Africa over a period of years in order to minimize financial dislocations. In some cases, however, simple declarations by corporations that they were selling their South African assets or operations were interpreted by trustees that the companies had divested. In other cases, some corporations refused to renew their academic donations to institutions that had adopted divestment policies. 56/

85. According to reports, over \$US 18 billion in securities have already been sold to comply with current legislation. For example, the New Jersey Division of Investment, which manages a \$US 17-billion state pension fund, has already sold \$US 4.4 billion in securities of companies doing business in or with South Africa and was expecting to sell another \$US 3 billion by August 1988, the legal deadline for divestment in New Jersey. 57/

86. In 1986, a number of United States companies announced that they had terminated their "direct investment" in South Africa by selling their South African assets, in most cases to corporations wholly owned by South African interests. Some legislators and managers of public funds interpreted these steps as corporate "restructuring" or "circumvention of current legislation", thus not making them eligible for pension-fund investments and/or procurement contracts.

87. In this connection, various media reports indicate that some companies, such as Coca Cola, Fluor Corporation, General Electric, International Business Machines, General Motors, and Proctor and Gamble, that had previously announced the sale of their South African assets, ending their direct investment in South Africa, continue to do business in or with South Africa through franchise and licensing agreements. For example, General Electric continues to maintain "licensing and other arrangements" for its products in South Africa. The Fluor Corporation sold its assets with a "buy-back" clause to a Western European company and put some of its employees at the "disposal" of the new company. In 1986, Eastman Kodak sold its operations in South Africa and announced that it would not supply the South African market with its products. However, it was recently reported that South African Druggists, a Johannesburg company, had bought all Eastman Kodak inventories in South Africa and had secured long-term supplies from abroad. 58/

88. On 3 June 1987, the Reverend Mr. Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Principles, a code of conduct for United States businesses in South Africa, announced that the principles had failed to attain their goal. He therefore called upon the President of the United States to end diplomatic relations with South Africa and to impose comprehensive trade sanctions against it. 59/

89. In the same month, the Ford Motor Company and Citibank announced that they would end their direct involvement with South Africa. Citibank sold its shares to the First National Bank of South Africa, a subsidiary of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa. However, its merchant banking services will still be available through the First National Bank. To date, the Ford Motor Company has still not finalized the termination of its direct involvement in South Africa. 60/

90. At its annual congress in October 1986, NACTU reaffirmed its commitment to mandatory and comprehensive sanctions (see also A/AC.115/SR.601). In July, at its annual congress, COSATU endorsed comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as the only steps that would assist in bringing about a non-violent, truly democratic and non-racial South Africa. It noted that the divestment procedure currently being carried out by multinational companies amounted to nothing more than corporate

camouflage, which often allowed those companies to increase their support for the régime. It also required adequate notice of intention from those companies planning to pull out of South Africa in order to make bona fide negotiations possible.

91. There has been increasing evidence that South Africa is taking the possible impact of sanctions seriously. Although it is still too early to comment on the results of current restrictive measures taken by some countries, South African business leaders have voiced serious concern on the possible impact. They claim that, in the long term, sanctions will result in a substantial decrease in the national wealth through misallocation of resources, even though in the short term domestic industrial production and employment might show some increase as a result of import substitution.

#### E. Sports and cultural boycotts

92. From the beginning of 1986 until August 1987, over 70 sportspersons and 40 artists have pledged that they would no longer engage in any sports or cultural contacts in South Africa and thus their names have been deleted from the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa and the Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others who have Performed in South Africa.

93. Many artists, most of whom are not internationally renowned, and sportspersons or teams, predominantly from the Western countries, still continue to perform in or tour South Africa. Thus, although considerable progress has been made by the international community in the implementation of both boycotts, much remains to be accomplished before the boycott efforts can become fully effective.

94. In 1986, the World Boxing Association suspended South Africa from membership and the World Boxing Council announced that it would break relations for two years with any manager, promoter or agent who promoted boxing in South Africa in any form. Furthermore, in October 1986, Sports ministers of the States members of the Council of Europe voted to encourage sports organizations to break all links with South Africa.

95. The adoption and opening for signature and ratification of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports represent a major step towards ensuring the total isolation of apartheid in sports. One year after the opening of the Convention to signatures, the Convention has been signed by 71 States and ratified by 21 others. Twenty-seven ratifications are needed for the Convention to enter into force.

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

96. 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. It also issued statements and appeals on developments relating to South Africa. Further efforts were made to mobilize Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and anti-apartheid groups, and new activities were launched in support of the international campaign against apartheid. In addition to the organization and sponsorship of conferences, meetings and missions, the Special Committee also provided assistance to a number of activities by anti-apartheid movements, thereby giving a new momentum to anti-apartheid action throughout the world, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

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

97. During its forty-first session, the General Assembly considered the above item in seven plenary meetings, between 5 and 10 November 1986. Based mainly on the recommendations of the Special Committee, the Assembly on 10 November adopted the following eight resolutions relating to various aspects of apartheid, namely: "Situation in South Africa and assistance to liberation movements" (41/35 A); "Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa" (41/35 B); "Relations between Israel and South Africa" (41/35 C); "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid" (41/35 D); "Status of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports" (41/35 E); "Oil embargo against South Africa" (41/35 F); "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa" (41/35 G); and "Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid" (41/35 H).

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

98. On 17 February 1987, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed the Security Council during its consideration of the question of South Africa (see S/PV.2732). He strongly condemned the continuation of the unparalleled campaign of terror and genocidal violence unleashed by the apartheid régime against the black population in South Africa and reaffirmed the Committee's view that the South African people and their national liberation movements had the right to utilize all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, necessary for the dismantling of racism and apartheid. He underlined the urgent need to impose effective comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and called upon the Council to take appropriate action. The Chairman urged the Council to demand unequivocally that South Africa lift the state of emergency, withdraw its troops from the black townships and schools and rescind its arbitrary security laws and media restrictions. He requested that the Council demand the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on ANC and PAC with a view to opening the way to negotiations among all those concerned for the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society in a united South Africa.

99. On 7 April 1987, during the consideration by the Security Council of the question of Namibia, the Chairman expressed deep concern at the continued collaboration with South Africa by some Western States, which was seen as an endorsement of South Africa's policy of racism, aggression and destabilization (see S/PV.2743).

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

100. During the period under review, the Special Committee repeatedly drew the attention of the international community to the repressive policies and actions of the apartheid régime in South Africa and its continued acts of aggression and destabilization against independent African States in the region. On various occasions, the Chairman held discussions with senior officials of a number of countries and called upon the world community to strengthen the international campaign against Pretoria and to support the struggle of the South African people led by the national liberation movements (see annex IV to the present report).

Against repression

101. The Special Committee continued its efforts to promote the campaign for an end to all repression against opponents of apartheid and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. For instance, statements were issued on the occasions of the assassination of Dr. Fabian Ribeiro of the National Medical and Dental Association and his wife, and on the fates of Mr. Jeff Masemola, a PAC member who is one of the longest-serving prisoners with a life sentence, and Dean T. S. Farisani, who was subsequently released. Deep concern was expressed about the arrests of Mr. Mohammed Valli Moosa, UDF Acting Secretary-General, and Mr. Murphy Morobe, Acting Publicity Secretary, as well as at the violence committed against members of the National Union of Mineworkers, who were on strike for legitimate trade-union rights. On 14 August, the Special Committee released a statement calling on the world-wide trade union movement and others to demonstrate their solidarity with the strikers and provide effective material and all other support to them. The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, on a proposal by the Special Committee, agreed to provide financial support for legal assistance to the striking mineworkers.

102. On 28 August, the Special Committee issued a statement in which it deplored the arbitrary application of the death sentence as part of an ongoing campaign of persecution and brutality designed to crush and suppress the struggle for liberation. It appealed to the international community to support and assist the world-wide campaign launched by the South African Youth Congress in July to save the lives of the 32 South African political prisoners on death row.

103. The Special Committee expressed its dismay about the increased polarization manifested by the results of the whites-only elections held on 6 May 1987 and denounced the racist régime's decree forbidding protest in support of South African detainees and political prisoners. It also sharply criticized newly imposed press restrictions in South Africa aimed at concealing from the world news of political unrest and State violence.

104. During the solemn meetings in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October 1986), the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1987) and the International Day of

Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (16 June 1987), on the invitation of the Special Committee, special guests from South Africa testified on the deteriorating internal situation and the escalating repression under apartheid (see annex VI to the present report). On the occasion of a special meeting in observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of ANC on 8 January 1987, the heroic struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against apartheid was highlighted. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, the Special Committee again demanded his unconditional release and that of all other political prisoners.

105. The Special Committee, furthermore, participated actively in conferences, seminars etc. organized by non-governmental organizations or anti-apartheid groups and contributed to their successful deliberations. For instance, in its support for the struggle against repression and for the release of political prisoners, the Special Committee was actively engaged in assisting the "Unlock apartheid gaols" campaign and the "Free South Africa's children" campaign in 1987.

106. The Special Committee's activities centred also on the situation of women and children under apartheid. The Committee strongly condemned the South African authorities' acknowledgements that children were being held in detention, and sent a letter of appreciation to Ms. Barbara Mikulski, a United States senator, regarding the introduction of United States Senate resolution 176 of 25 March 1987 calling for the release of all children detained in South Africa. Focusing on the situation of women and children under apartheid, the Special Committee contributed actively to the International Seminar of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, held at Brussels, and to the World Congress of Women, held at Moscow. At the invitation of the Special Committee, representatives of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and the national liberation movements testified on the plight of women and children under apartheid during the Special Committee's solemn meeting on the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1987).

107. The Special Committee sent a mission to the front-line States to conduct a concrete evaluation of the special needs of South African and Namibian refugee women and children and ways of increasing assistance to them. The mission visited Zimbabwe, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania from 28 April to 13 May and held consultations with representatives of Governments, national liberation movements and non-governmental organizations (see A/AC.115/L.646).

108. In the programme of action of the International Student Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Students of Southern Africa, which was organized by the Special Committee and held in London, the participants resolved "to campaign to expose the repressive policies of the apartheid régime, in particular as they are aimed at students and young people and their organizations" and "to call for the lifting of the state of emergency in South Africa" (see annex V to the present report).

#### Against acts of aggression and destabilization by Pretoria

109. On 5 November 1986, during the consideration by the General Assembly of agenda item 33, the Chairman expressed the Special Committee's deep concern at the suspicious circumstances of the air crash in which Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique, had been killed. The Chairman also condemned the parcel bomb attack against the foreign headquarters of PAC at Dar es Salaam on 19 December 1986 and the dastardly act of aggression against Livingstone, Zambia, on 24 April 1987. The

Special Committee supported the pledges made to fight the policy of repression and destabilization against the front-line States in the programme of action adopted by the International Student Conference and in the conclusions of the Seminar of the Association of West European Parliamentarians against Apartheid (AWEPAA) on Support to SADCC and Action against Apartheid, held at Strasbourg, France, from 13 to 15 May 1987. It also reaffirmed its full support for the plan of action of the AFRICA Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries during the Fund's meetings held at New Delhi from 4 to 7 August 1987.

#### D. Action against collaboration with the apartheid régime

110. With a view to ending all forms of collaboration with South Africa and expressing appreciation to those who had taken action in that direction, the Special Committee issued statements and sent letters and/or messages to Governments, organizations, universities, anti-apartheid groups, other institutions and individuals, and its Chairman visited a number of countries and held discussions with senior officials on these matters (see annex IV to the present report). In addition to the action against collaboration referred to in this section, the Committee continued to provide direct support and encouragement for world-wide action against apartheid (see below).

#### Military and nuclear collaboration

111. On 19 September 1986, acting on information concerning the holding of a conference on the treatment and containment of radioactive wastes and disposal in arid environments in South Africa, the Special Committee sent a message to the African Group in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) drawing attention to the question of South Africa's growing nuclear capability and continuing access to nuclear technology.

112. On 11 December, the Special Committee issued a statement on a number of transactions involving the sale of weapons and military equipment to South Africa. In bringing the reports on these transactions to the attention of the permanent missions to the United Nations of the Member States concerned, the Special Committee urged them to take firm and immediate action to halt all such transactions and to abide by the Security Council's mandatory arms embargo. On 2 October, the Special Committee addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations concerning press reports in which Israeli leaders and officials were quoted as saying that Israel would abide by United Nations resolutions against apartheid and requesting information on measures that the Government of Israel had taken or proposed to take. On 3 September, Israel sent a letter to the chairman of the Special Committee informing him that his Government was considering additional measures against South Africa (see also para. 57).

113. On 10 December, the Special Committee sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations bringing to his attention the information that the State-owned Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werft AG Shipyard at Kiel was allegedly involved in providing South Africa with blueprints of a submarine (see para. 55). On 10 February 1987, the Special Committee again addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations bringing to his attention information on the role of BASF-Aktiengesellschaft in supplying computers to the South African police. In March, the Chairman travelled to Bonn specifically to discuss these issues with the

Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany. On 15 July, the Chairman received a letter from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany informing that investigations on the infringements of the arms embargo had not yet been completed. Two months later, the Special Committee requested the Governments of Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany to investigate and halt the alleged export of all equipment related to a highly advanced new X-ray system made by "Scanray Microfocus", which was to be provided, through Isotope-Technic Dr. Sauerwein, to the South African Air Force. Furthermore, the Government of Austria was also requested to investigate and stop plans by "HB Aircraft Industries" to set up a factory in Ciskei, South Africa, to build small planes of the UB 23 type, which would be suitable for police and military activities.

114. On 15 July, the Chairman sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations requesting information on the alleged violation of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa, as mentioned in the United States State Department's report of 2 April 1987 to the Congress (see para. 59). In reply, the Acting Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations informed the Special Committee of the results of the investigation by his Government and reaffirmed that the Netherlands strictly observed the United Nations arms embargo.

115. Action against military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa was also agreed upon by the participants of the International Student Conference held in London (see para. 108) in order to strengthen the existing arms embargo against South Africa (see annex V to the present report).

#### Economic collaboration

116. On 17 and 23 September 1986, the Special Committee issued statements referring to the decisions of EEC and Japan to impose sanctions against South Africa and expressing dismay at the very limited scope of those sanctions, which were far from being comprehensive and mandatory as recommended by the General Assembly.

117. On various other occasions, the Special Committee expressed its appreciation for activities aimed at ending economic collaboration with South Africa, e.g. the withdrawal of Barclays Bank from South Africa, the analysis of the situation and the recommendation of sanctions of the United States Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on South Africa, as well as the decision of the Reverend Mr. Leon Sullivan to abandon the code of conduct for United States companies doing business in South Africa.

118. In this context, the Special Committee provided assistance to and participated in the Seminar on Support to SADCC and Action against Apartheid, organized by AWEPA, which decided to launch concrete initiatives in favour of economic sanctions to be taken by Western European parliaments, including a prohibition of coal imports from South Africa (see annex V to the present report).

119. The Special Committee supported the work of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 41/35 F (for a list of the States members of the Group, see annex I to the present report).

#### Sports and culture

120. Pursuant to a decision taken in 1980, the Special Committee published semi-annually the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa. The most recent

Register contains information on sports contacts for the period 1 July-31 December 1986 and, as the previous ones, includes a cumulative list, by country, of sportspersons who participated in sports events in South Africa and a consolidated list of sports contacts. The names of persons who undertook not to engage in further sports events in South Africa were deleted from the Register.

121. At the request of the Special Committee, the fourth Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa was published during the period under review as part of the campaign for a cultural boycott of South Africa called for in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly. The first Register was published on 23 October 1983. The Register is kept up to date and supplements are published periodically. The names of persons who undertake not to perform again in South Africa are deleted from the Register. Regarding the Seminar on the Cultural Boycott against South Africa, scheduled to have taken place from 9 to 11 September 1987, the Special Committee decided to postpone it to early 1988. It felt that the postponement would allow better preparation for a clearer delineation of the scope and objectives of the Seminar, thus assuring broader acceptance of and renewed impetus to the campaign of culturally isolating South Africa in view of its apartheid policies.

122. By letter dated 6 May 1987, the Special Committee requested the Government of Bolivia to investigate a report by the South African media on cultural exchanges between Bolivia and South Africa. In reply, the Government of Bolivia reiterated its firm commitment against the racist practices of apartheid and communicated the results of the requested investigation to the Special Committee.

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

123. 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, which are discussed below (see also annex V to the present report).

#### Consultations with international governmental and non-governmental organizations

124. At a meeting held in New York on 11 and 12 November 1986, representatives of the Special Committee and the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa reviewed their programme of activities within their respective mandates and resources and considered ways and means to strengthen the joint programme of action against apartheid in South Africa.

125. On 26 and 27 February 1987, the Special Committee held special consultations on developments in South Africa and the region as a whole with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations from different parts of the world.

#### International Student Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Students of Southern Africa

126. The International Student Conference was organized by the Special Committee and held with the assistance of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, the National Union of Students, the All-African Students Union, the Indian Youth Congress and



the International Union of Students. It was held in London from 31 July to 3 August 1987. At the end of the Conference, the participants adopted by acclamation a Declaration and a Programme of Action (see annex V to the present report).

### Support of anti-apartheid activities

127. During the period under review, the Special Committee participated in or sponsored conferences and seminars, and granted assistance to 20 international and national non-governmental organizations and anti-apartheid groups in support of their campaigns or projects aimed at mobilizing public opinion in solidarity with the struggle in South Africa.

128. Among those activities, special emphasis was placed on the promotion of the international campaign for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as on activities related to the sports and cultural boycotts against South Africa. In this regard, the Special Committee contributed actively to the deliberations of the AWEPPA Seminar on Support to SADC and Action against Apartheid. The estimated 150 participants discussed a broad range of issues related to the situation in southern Africa and resolved to launch an initiative to persuade Western European parliamentarians to introduce sanctions, including a prohibition on coal imports from South Africa. The Seminar provided a useful opportunity for consciousness-raising, the mobilization of parliamentary opinion and a fruitful exchange of views among parliamentarians, non-governmental organizations and representatives of Governments and national liberation movements of southern Africa on the situation, prospects and required actions.

129. On 8 January 1987, the Chairman attended and addressed the International Youth Conference against Apartheid at New Delhi, which was organized by the Indian Youth Congress. The Conference was attended by delegations from 85 countries representing 92 youth organizations and 6 regional and continental movements. It declared the resolve of the youth to fight apartheid and adopted a programme of action to mobilize public opinion in support of the struggle and to make a practical contribution by providing material assistance to the national liberation movements of South Africa.

130. An equally important meeting will be the Conference against Apartheid Sport, organized by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) and scheduled to be held at Harare from 4 to 6 November 1987, for which the Special Committee has already expressed its moral and financial support.

131. In the cultural field, the Special Committee actively contributed to the International Literary Symposium against Apartheid, held at Brazzaville from 25 to 30 May 1987. The Symposium was attended by more than 200 participants and was opened by Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the Congo and the then Chairman of OAU. In their final declaration, among other things, the participants appealed to the mass media and international public opinion to intensify the campaign for the eradication of apartheid and called upon all States to sever relations with South Africa in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations and OAU.

132. Furthermore, the Special Committee actively participated in the Seminar on Collaboration between Israel and South Africa, organized by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and held at Helsinki from 22 to 24 May, and

contributed to the successful outcome of the conferences organized by the World Federation of United Nations Associations at Accra and Ottawa.

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

133. In his efforts to promote the anti-apartheid struggle, the Chairman visited a number of countries and met with senior officials. The Chairman visited Pakistan from 16 to 18 November 1986; he met with President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq and the Acting Foreign Secretary and gave interviews to the press and television of Pakistan. From 21 to 23 November 1986, he visited Nepal, where he held extensive consultations with Mr. Marich Man Singh Shrestha, Prime Minister of Nepal, and with the Foreign Minister, and addressed the Nepal Council for World Affairs.

134. During the period from 20 February to 11 March 1987, the Chairman visited the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Portugal. He held consultations with the authorities in these countries.

135. The Chairman also visited the Philippines from 8 to 10 July 1987. He held extensive consultations with Mrs. Corazon Aquino, President of the Philippines, and with Mr. Salvador Laurel, Vice-President and Foreign Affairs Secretary. During the Chairman's visit, the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports was ratified by the Government of the Philippines. He also addressed women's groups and students at the University of the Philippines and members of the Rotary Club, as well as other diplomatic, governmental and non-governmental officials.

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

136. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with other United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa, particularly the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

137. The Special Committee continued its active co-operation with the Economic and Social Council. In this connection, a report was issued by the President of the Council on consultations held with the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (E/1987/85). The Special Committee also continued to co-operate with ILO and participated in the deliberations of the Committee on Apartheid during the seventy-third session of the International Labour Conference and held consultations with ILO officials in June and August 1987. The Special Committee also co-operated with the Commission on Human Rights, particularly its Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa. OAU was invited to attend meetings of the Special Committee as an observer and its representatives addressed several special meetings and conferences of the Special Committee. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and with other intergovernmental, non-governmental and anti-apartheid organizations and send representatives to attend and address conferences, meetings and other events organized by them.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

138. During the past 12 months, rapid developments have taken place in South Africa that indicate the hardening of the intransigent position of Pretoria towards the opponents of apartheid inside and outside the country, as well as an escalation of aggression and destabilization against independent African States. Generalized and mounting repression, under successive states of emergency, massive arrests of children and an increasing use of its surrogate forces such as vigilantes and death squads have grown to an unprecedented extent. Efforts to co-opt, through various means, segments of the black population have failed. Notwithstanding the disruptive impact of repression on the political activities of the opponents of apartheid, the overwhelming majority of the people have reaffirmed their determination to continue fighting the system and to exercise their right to self-determination in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

139. The national liberation movements have been able to strengthen the opposition to apartheid inside the country, have mobilized broad sections of the population and have gained further recognition abroad, despite their presentation by some media as terrorist organizations. Their prominence demonstrates the centrality of their role in any solution to the conflict. Despite the results of the "whites only" May election, which Pretoria appears to interpret as a mandate to promote its power-sharing plan based on ethnicity and the maintenance of the basic tenets of apartheid, fissures in the white community, including the Afrikaners, have become evident. A new dynamic development in South Africa is the strengthening of the black trade union movement, which has been able to survive the repression of the régime. The recent strike of the mine workers under the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers reveals the degree of advancement of the black labour movement and its serious challenge to the apartheid régime. Opposition groups have been reorganizing and consolidating in preparation for the long struggle.

140. To strengthen its grip on the country and to keep the front-line States in a state of economic dependence on South Africa, Pretoria has intensified its aggression and terrorism directly, or indirectly through the UNITA and RENAMO bandits, against the neighbouring countries. By insisting on irrelevant conditions it has stalled the independence of Namibia, and has waged war against the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the authentic representative of the Namibian People, and Angola. At the same time, Pretoria has attempted to strengthen its military power to an unprecedented degree in order to oppress the opponents of apartheid. Regrettably, foreign accomplices have been found, be they war merchants or Governments which, disregarding catastrophic consequences, provide Pretoria with assistance critical to achieving its objectives. In fact, repeated violations of the mandatory arms embargo have been reported.

141. Pretoria has also been able to benefit from the glut on the oil market and thus circumvent repeatedly the oil embargo, as well as from the rising price of gold and its ability to reach agreement for debt rescheduling. However, the economy has remained slack, undermined by its structural constraints and a diminished confidence on the part of the business community in the ability of the régime to surmount the political crisis.

142. In its attempt to isolate South Africa and put pressure on the authorities to dismantle apartheid, the international community has taken a number of positive steps. Yet, the action is far from concerted; the existing loopholes are cunningly

exploited by Pretoria. The lack of concerted action and the effect of the piecemeal approach allow Pretoria, even at some higher cost, to adjust to a certain degree to these measures by shifting to new markets and identifying new sources of supply.

143. During the period under review, several of the traditional and main trading partners of South Africa have come under increasing pressure from public opinion and their legislative organs to take meaningful action against it. Some Governments, in response to such pressure, and some on their own initiative, have taken a number of important measures against South Africa. Of all the measures taken during the period by countries that had relations with Pretoria, those of Finland, Norway and Sweden contain serious and effective elements that have had a negative impact on South Africa's dealings with the outside world. The measures adopted in 1986 by the United States, EEC and Japan need to be expanded and co-ordinated significantly in order to become more effective. The exclusion of coal from the list of banned import items from South Africa, adopted by EEC, has caused great concern to the opponents of apartheid.

144. Non-governmental organizations have intensified their efforts to monitor collaboration with South Africa, particularly violations of the oil and arms embargoes and transgressions of the sports and cultural boycotts, and have strengthened their divestment campaigns and their efforts to publicize events in South Africa. The latter contribution is considered by the Special Committee to be of particular importance given the Draconian press restrictions imposed by Pretoria, which have managed to put developments in South Africa in a secondary place in much of the world media.

145. As a result of the world-wide campaign for the imposition of economic and other sanctions, issues of divestment and disinvestment, bank loans and trade with South Africa have become dominant in political and business communities all over the world and special attention has been devoted to economic collaboration between certain States, as well as transnational corporations, and South Africa. The techniques adopted by some corporations to disinvest while maintaining their links with and profits from the South African market through licensing and other agreements have attracted attention and criticism.

146. The Special Committee considers the total isolation of South Africa as an urgent target of the international community. Accordingly, the arms embargo, the oil embargo, the prohibition on imports of coal and agricultural products from South Africa, a ban on technology and loans, the termination of air and sea links and an expanded sports and cultural boycott should constitute an integral part of the strategy of the United Nations to combat apartheid until comprehensive and mandatory sanctions are imposed by the Security Council. Such measures, backed by determination to monitor their implementation and to punish violators, will force the régime to accept the inevitable course of events as soon as possible and to undertake negotiations with the leaders recognized by the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa.

147. In this context, the Special Committee is concerned by reports of the sale of blueprints of a submarine by business concerns in the Federal Republic of Germany to South Africa, as well as the large shipment of arms through certain countries. It is equally concerned by the continued relations of Israel with South Africa, despite Israel's recent announcements of restrictions on future defence contracts, as well as by the increasing ties of South Africa with Japan and other countries in the Far East.

148. At a time when the struggling people of South Africa are putting up a heroic resistance against the apartheid régime, the Special Committee considers it essential that the international community should continue to press with a steadfast determination for the imposition of enforceable sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. While the Special Committee strongly supports measures adopted by States, individually and collectively, and commends those Governments that have taken such measures, it emphasizes the urgency of the imposition of concerted, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions since selective and unco-ordinated sanctions give the régime the opportunity to absorb, to a certain degree, the cost involved and to design defensive action.

149. Continued pressure by the international community remains a way to bring the authorities in Pretoria to their senses and to make them realize that an unconditional amnesty for political prisoners and detainees is a necessary ingredient to usher the country into meaningful negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people. In the mean time, the international community should use all means available to alleviate the suffering of detainees, women and children, and to expose to world opinion the crimes that the régime has committed and which it has attempted to hide through its severe restrictions on the freedom of the press.

150. In the light of the developments during the period under review and the need to give new impetus to concerted international action against apartheid, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Reaffirm its condemnation of the policy and practices of apartheid, which constitute a crime against humanity, and the South African régime's resort to repression in the country, as well as South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization in the region, which are a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security;

(b) Reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa by all means, including armed struggle, for the elimination of apartheid and the exercise of their right to self-determination in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and deplore any misinterpretation of the liberation struggle in southern Africa as terrorism;

(c) Demand that the Pretoria régime lift the state of emergency, release Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners and detainees, guarantee the safe return of all political exiles and rescind the ban on the national liberation movements, political organizations and individuals;

(d) Condemn the execution of captured freedom fighters' in South Africa and demand the prevention of the execution of those now on death row;

(e) Demand that the apartheid régime abide by the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol I of 1977 and accord prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters;

(f) Emphasize that only negotiations with the genuine leaders of the oppressed people can bring about a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the racial conflict in South Africa;

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

(h) Condemn all forms of collaboration with the apartheid régime and any assistance to the UNITA and RENAMO bandits;

(i) Encourage States that have taken measures against the régime to take fully effective actions and call upon all States, pending the adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to terminate all military, nuclear, trade, financial, technological, cultural, sports, academic, air links and other relations with South Africa and to monitor the strict implementation of their own measures;

(j) Urge the international community to extend its full co-operation in the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the cultural, sports, consumer and other boycotts, which are proving to be effective means of applying pressure on the apartheid régime;

(k) Urge those States which have not yet done so to ratify all international conventions on racial discrimination and apartheid, including the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports;

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

(m) Authorize the Special Committee against Apartheid to continue to mobilize international action against apartheid through publicity, meetings, seminars, conferences, hearings, consultations, missions and other related activities and in particular:

- (i) To hold in 1988, along with its other activities, an African regional students conference against apartheid, an international meeting of parliamentarians, an international seminar on the cultural boycott, a meeting of the anti-apartheid movements of the countries of the European Community and hearings on appropriate topics;
- (ii) To prepare a study on national measures adopted by States and their impact, another study on the critical links of the South African economy with the outside world and a study, in co-operation with the Commission on Transnational Corporations and the Commission on Human Rights, on divestment.

## Notes

1/ The tip of NSMS 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 level by Joint Management Councils, which assess the security situation in each region and recommend to the authorities appropriate solutions, ranging from security force action to the upgrading of living conditions. The Joint Management Councils and their substructures include representatives from business, community councils, the South African police and the South African Defence Force (SADF).

2/ Work in Progress (WIP) 46 (Braamfontein, South Africa), February 1987; and Africa Confidential (London), vol. 28, No. 14, 8 July 1987.

3/ One of the main leaders of the Alexandra Action Committee, trade union leader Moses Mayekiso, is at present on trial on charges of treason along with 12 other members of the Committee (Africa Confidential, vol. 28, No. 14, 8 July 1987).

4/ Wall Street Journal and The Guardian (London), 13 April 1987.

5/ "Mission to South Africa", press release issued by the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 16 March 1987.

6/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 12 September 1986; and South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) News (Johannesburg), vol. 49, No. 2, July 1987.

7/ La Repubblica (Rome), 2 December 1986; and "Morning News Programme" National Public Radio, Washington, D.C., 12 December 1986.

8/ Weekly Mail (Johannesburg), 28 November-4 December 1986; and Sowetan (Johannesburg), 6 March 1987.

9/ Briefing documents issued by COSATU relating to attacks on COSATU (Johannesburg), June 1987; and The Economist (London), 1 August 1987.

10/ Cape Times (Cape Town), 29 May 1987.

11/ Statement by Ms. Gail Elliott, representative of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, before the solemn meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia held at United Nations Headquarters on 10 August 1987 (A/AC.115/PV.607).

12/ S.A. Barometer (Johannesburg), vol. 1, No. 2, 27 March 1987.

13/ "Sixth special report on the state of emergency" (Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Johannesburg), 30 April 1987.

14/ Briefing documents issued by COSATU relating to attacks on COSATU (Johannesburg), June 1987; and The New York Times, 29 August 1987.

15/ S.A. Barometer, vol. 1, No. 1, 11 March 1987.

Notes (continued)

- 16/ "Mission to South Africa", press release issued by the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 16 March 1987; and The Guardian, 21 August 1987.
- 17/ Financial Times (London), 16 June 1987.
- 18/ Cape Times, 22 August 1987; and Weekly Mail, 4-10 September 1987.
- 19/ Hansard (Cape Town), 23 February 1987.
- 20/ Sowetan, 27 September 1987.
- 21/ S.A. Barometer, vol. I, No. 11, 31 July 1987.
- 22/ Ibid., No. 9, 3 July 1987.
- 23/ Cape Times, 8 June 1987.
- 24/ Sowetan, 7 April 1987; and Financial Mail, 19 June 1987.
- 25/ Reuter dispatch, 28 July 1987.
- 26/ The Guardian, 6 July 1987; and The New York Times, 26 August 1987.
- 27/ The Guardian, 1 May 1987.
- 28/ See A/42/425-S/19003, annex; and The Guardian, 13 August 1987.
- 29/ The Guardian, 16 May 1987.
- 30/ See A/42/332-S/18908, annex.
- 31/ The Guardian, 1 May 1987.
- 32/ Christian Science Monitor, 18 August 1987.
- 33/ S.A. Barometer, vol. I, No. 4, 24 April 1987.
- 34/ Children on the front line: the impact of apartheid, destabilization and warfare on children in southern Africa, A Report prepared for UNICEF by Reginald Herbold Green et. al., March 1987, pp. 10-11.
- 35/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 5 June 1987; South African Digest (Pretoria), 12 June 1987; and Military Balance (London), International Institute of Strategic Studies, 1986 and 1987.
- 36/ According to Swiss authorities, the Swiss Government has no knowledge about the arms shipment from Switzerland.
- 37/ Based on information received from the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.
- 38/ The New York Times, 29 April 1987.



Notes (continued)

39/ The New York Times, 19-20 March and 3 April 1987; Financial Times, 20 March 1987.

40/ The New York Times, 15 March 1987.

41/ Report to Congress pursuant to Section 508 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act 1986: Compliance with the United Nations Arms Embargo (Washington, D.C.), 2 April 1987.

42/ Quarterly Reports, South African Reserve Bank, March and June 1987.

43/ S.A. Barometer, vol. I, No. 3, 10 April 1987.

44/ Cape Times, and Citizen, 26 August 1987

45/ Financial Times, 30 April 1987.

46/ South African Labour Bulletin, SALB (Braamfontein, South Africa), vol. 12, No. 1, November-December 1986, and vol. 12, No. 5, 5 July 1987.

47/ S.A. Barometer, vol. I, No. 2, 27 March 1987.

48/ In 1986, exports to the United States amounted to \$US 2,450 million, Japan \$US 1,891 million, the United Kingdom \$US 1,319 million and the Federal Republic of Germany \$US 1,079 million. Imports from the Federal Republic of Germany totalled \$US 1,955 million, Japan \$US 1,380 million, the United Kingdom \$US 1,270 million and the United States \$US 1,173 million.

49/ A/AC.115/L.642; ANC News Briefings (London), No. 6, vol. II, 15 February 1987; Financial Times (London), 25 and 26 March 1987; The New York Times, 25 March 1987; and press release 5/87 of 27 March 1987 issued by the Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations.

50/ Press release issued by the Permanent Mission of Norway to the United Nations on 21 March 1987; and The New York Times, 17 March 1987.

51/ African Business (London), May 1987.

52/ The report was prepared by the Advisory Committee on Africa, established in December 1985 under Executive Order No. 12532. The Co-chairmen of the Committee were Frank T. Cary, former Chairman of International Business Machines (IBM) and William T. Coleman, Jr., former Secretary of Transportation (The New York Times, 11 February 1987).

53/ Newsletter on the oil embargo against South Africa, No. 8, Amsterdam, July 1987.

54/ Public Investment and South Africa (New York, American Committee on Africa), 26 February 1987.

55/ Ibid., 1 June 1987.

Notes (continued)

- 56/ Newsweek (New York), March 1987.
- 57/ The New York Times, 9 February 1987.
- 58/ Financial Times, 20 March 1987.
- 59/ Wall Street Journal, 4 June 1987.
- 60/ The New York Times, 27 July 1987.

ANNEX I

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:

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

(b) Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information:

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 II

South Africa's budget (1986/87 and 1987/88)

(Millions of rand)

	1986/1987	1987/1988	Percentage of increase
Education	8 458	9 100	20.00 <u>a/</u>
Development planning	5 320	6 514	22.04
Foreign affairs	1 363	2 176	60.00
Trade and industry	593	1 031	73.08
Defence	5 123	6 683	40.00 <u>a/</u>
Police	1 071	1 530	42.08

Source: South African Digest (Pretoria), 12 June 1987.

a/ As quoted in the source above.

## ANNEX III

South Africa's main trading partners (1985 and 1986)

(Millions of dollars)

Country	Imports by South Africa		Exports by South Africa		Total trade	
	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986
United States of America	1 232	1 173	2 242	2 450	3 474	3 623
Japan	1 023	1 360	1 640	1 891	2 663	3 251
Germany, Federal Republic of	1 701	1 955	954	1 079	2 655	3 034
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	1 327	1 270	1 384	1 319	2 711	2 589
France	395	409	632	473	1 027	882
Italy	336	367	622	568	958	935
Belgium and Luxembourg	190	216	358	368	548	584
Netherlands	212	257	161	198	373	455
Switzerland	201	243	70	86	271	329
Canada	114	111	155	256	269	367
Spain	91		210		301	
Sweden	124	125	51	24	175	149
Australia	49	54	106	102	155	156
Total	6 995	7 540	9 585	8 814	16 580	16 354

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

ANNEX IV

Selected excerpts of 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/1760  
(10 September 1986)
- Statement by the Chairman congratulating the newly elected President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Zephania Mothopong
- "... I salute your courage and determination in your resistance against the abhorrent system of apartheid ... The cause of freedom will triumph."
- GA/AP/1761  
(17 September 1986)
- Statement by the Chairman expressing "dismay" at the "limited nature" of sanctions proposed by the European Community against South Africa
- "... The sanctions the European Economic Community have proposed to impose are of limited nature and a far cry from the mandatory comprehensive sanctions advocated by the Special Committee against Apartheid and recommended by the United Nations General Assembly. By excluding coal from the list of commodities whose import is to be banned, yesterday's European Economic Community decision reduces their impact to virtually nothing ..."
- GA/AP/1762  
(23 September 1986)
- Statement by the Chairman expressing "disappointment" at the limited sanctions announced by Japan against South Africa on 19 September
- "... The Government of Japan seems to have fallen in line with the European Economic Community (EEC) in banning the import only of iron and steel and excluding coal, which forms a major element of Japan's imports from South Africa ... Taking into account the facts that Japan is South Africa's largest trading partner and external Japanese subsidiaries are heavily involved in the South African economy ... We urge Japan to disengage itself from South Africa ..."
- GA/AP/1763  
(23 September 1986)
- Statement by the Chairman calling for wide observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October)
- "... In the past 12 months, as South Africa's crisis has deepened, the apartheid régime has intensified its oppression. Arrests, detentions, beatings, torture and deaths in detention are rampant under the reign of terror unleashed under the state of emergency prevailing in the country ..."

GA/AP/1764  
(29 September 1986)

Statement by the Chairman expressing "profound shock" over President Reagan's veto of a congressional bill on sanctions against South Africa

"... While we express our disappointment at President Reagan's action, the Committee ... applauds and welcomes the stand taken by the people of this country and their legislative representatives as well as other institutions, and is sure that the moral principles on which it is based will prevail ..."

GA/AP/1769  
(12 November 1986)

Statement by the Chairman announcing the decision of the Special Committee and the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa to expand their joint activities against apartheid

GA/AP/1772  
(24 November 1986)

Statement by the Special Committee against Apartheid expressing satisfaction over the decision by Barclays Bank to divest from South Africa

"Following the affirmation that Barclays Bank would not 'be party to any formal debt restructured until ... there are changes which confirm an end to the bankrupt policy of institutionalized racial discrimination', given by its Chairman in March 1986, the decision of Barclays Bank to withdraw from South Africa yesterday constitutes an important advancement of the international divestment campaign ..."

GA/AP/1774  
(4 December 1986)

Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the assassinations of anti-apartheid activists Dr. Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Barbara Ribeiro

GA/AP/1775  
(11 December 1986)

Statement by the Acting Chairman urging action to halt impending arms sales to South Africa

"... The Special Committee has brought these reports to the attention of the permanent missions of Member States concerned, urging their Governments to take firm and immediate action to halt these and any other such transactions which would constitute an infringement under international and national law of the Security Council's mandatory embargo on the supply of military equipment and weapons to South Africa ..."

GA/AP/1776  
(11 December 1986)

Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the detention of children in South Africa

"The Special Committee against Apartheid is shocked at the revelation, admitted by the apartheid régime itself, that 256 children between 11 and 16 years of age are in detention in South Africa. In actual fact, the number of children who have suffered detention under the current state of emergency is much higher, running in the thousands ..."

GA/AP/1777  
(11 December 1986)

Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning press  
censorship in South Africa

"Today, the apartheid régime has announced further measures of press censorship aimed at concealing all news of political unrest and the régime's brutal response ... The Special Committee vehemently condemns these oppressive press restrictions which show that the apartheid régime has opted for confrontation with the people rather than dialogue ... The Special Committee calls upon the international community, particularly the world press, to take appropriate action against the apartheid régime in the wake of this renewed fascist oppression by the racist régime against the oppressed people of South Africa."

GA/AP/1780  
(19 December 1986)

Statement by the Chairman condemning an attempted bombing of the Tanzanian headquarters of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

"The Special Committee against Apartheid today has learned with shock of a vicious attempt against the headquarters of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in the United Republic of Tanzania by means of a parcel bomb. The device, which was posted from Manzini in Swaziland, was addressed to the Administrative Secretary of the organization ... Only his vigilance and prompt attentive action by Tanzanian security forces prevented a tragedy. The Special Committee against Apartheid strongly condemns this criminal act of terrorism and, in the light of previous such attempts has no doubt that it was instigated by the racists in South Africa ..."

GA/AP/1783  
(23 January 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman expressing concern about the fate of South African political prisoners Jeff Masemola and the Reverend Dean T. S. Farisani, currently on a hunger strike

GA/AP/1784  
(27 January 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning police action against Winnie Mandela and her daughter

GA/AP/1785  
(5 February 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman announcing the decision of the Special Committee not to place the name of American singer-composer Paul Simon on its register of those performing in South Africa

"... The Special Committee wishes to make it clear that the matter of Paul Simon's visit to South Africa and the circumstances in which it took place were carefully considered. The Special Committee was in direct touch with Mr. Simon's representative as well as Mr. Simon himself ... Mr. Simon has now written to the Special Committee, pledging that he does not intend to perform in South Africa while apartheid prevails and that he will maintain this position in the context of the United Nations cultural boycott. On



receipt of this assurance, the Special Committee decided not to place his name on its Register of Entertainers, Actors, and Others who have Performed in Apartheid South Africa."

GA/AP/1786  
(13 February 1987)

Statement by the Chairman condemning the detention and torture of children by the South African authorities

"The Special Committee against Apartheid has learned that in Parliament, on 12 February, South African authorities acknowledged holding children in detention who are aged 11 years or younger. Admitting this fact, in addition to revealing that more than 13,000 persons have been in detention, demonstrates the régime's callousness, as well as its total defiance of international public opinion ..."

GA/AP/1787  
(9 March 1987)

Statement by the Chairman on a strategy session of the Special Committee calling for sustained pressure for sanctions against South Africa and support for the liberation struggle

"The Special Committee convened on 26 and 27 February a special session to consult with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations from different parts of the world. The representatives of national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia - namely, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - participated in the session. The session reviewed developments in the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and the situation in southern Africa ... The session considered the following subjects: imposition of sanctions against the apartheid régime; action in the field of information and publicity; support for the liberation movements and various organizations fighting apartheid inside South Africa; and measures to strengthen and support the front-line States ... The Chairman of the Special Committee expressed the hope that the statement adopted by the session would provide a helpful guideline to the non-governmental organizations and anti-apartheid movements for their activities aimed at total isolation of the racist régime ..."

GA/AP/1788  
RD/546  
(9 March 1987)

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

"... The tragic incident in Sharpeville represents a turning point in the struggle for liberation in South Africa and showed that the racist régime was determined to rely on brute force to suppress the legitimate struggle of the great majority of South Africans for their elementary rights and human dignity. It also testified that the oppressed people of South Africa are deeply committed to the liberation of their country and, whatever the cost, they will not rest until the goal of a non-racial and democratic society in a

united South Africa is attained. The past 12 months, in particular, have been marked by greater bloodshed than ever before in South Africa ..."

GA/AP/1793  
(14 April 1987)

Statement by the Chairman denouncing the Pretoria régime for its latest decree forbidding protest in support of South African political prisoners

"With the introduction by the apartheid régime on Friday, 10 April, of a decree forbidding even mild forms of protest in support of political prisoners, including the signing of petitions, the displaying of posters and badges and the wearing of T-shirts, etc., South Africa is sliding further into a permanent state of emergency and an oppressive dictatorship affecting the whole of its population ... The Special Committee against Apartheid calls upon all Western democracies, to which South Africa professes to belong, and particularly the United States and the United Kingdom ... to condemn unequivocally, not only with words but with actions, this latest damaging blow to the vestiges of basic freedom and democratic principles."

GA/AP/1794  
(27 April 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning South Africa's aggression against Zambia on 24 April

"... In a new episode in its series of aggression and destabilization in southern Africa, the apartheid régime's military personnel, in helicopters and on motorcycles, attacked the south-western town of Livingstone, killing four Zambians, wounding another Zambian citizen and destroying two buildings ..."

GA/AP/1795  
(11 May 1987)

Statement by the Chairman on the results of the 6 May 1987 election held in South Africa

"The Special Committee against Apartheid is dismayed, but not surprised, at the results of the election held on 6 May 1987 only among the whites in South Africa ... The election, which was held two years ahead of schedule, was called by President Botha to receive a mandate for his empty gesture of apartheid reforms and his brutal measures of suppression of the continuing black unrest. The election results were also intended to provide a signal of toughness against international pressures for the elimination of apartheid ... [but] have shown that the oppressed people of South Africa are left with no alternative but to continue their struggle ... The results have also confirmed that there is no hope for a peaceful change in South Africa so long as the National Party is in power and that it is imperative that effective mandatory sanctions should be imposed on the apartheid régime."

GA/AP/1796  
(5 June 1987)

Statement by the Chairman welcoming the Reverend Mr. Leon Sullivan's decision to abandon the code of conduct for American companies doing business in South Africa

"The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the decision of the Reverend Leon Sullivan to abandon the code of conduct for American companies doing business in South Africa and to call upon those companies to end all commercial ties with South Africa. The Committee also endorses his call addressed to the Government of the United States to impose a total embargo on trade with South Africa and to sever diplomatic relations with the apartheid régime ... The Special Committee deeply regrets that the Government of the United States chose to criticize the recent recommendations of the Reverend Sullivan and thus reject even the most restrained voices of moderation. For the transnational corporations operating in South Africa, there is no more alibi nor a justification ..."

GA/AP/1798  
(15 June 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman calling for "widest observance" of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (16 June)

"... The observance of Soweto Day will mark the eleventh anniversary of the worst massacre ever witnessed in South Africa ... Today, the situation in South Africa has been critically aggravated under the continued state of emergency. It has been reported that the Pretoria régime further announced on 10 June the extension of the ongoing national state of emergency, which was due to expire on 12 June. This characterizes the determined intransigence and defiance of the racist régime against any world public outcry for a move towards ending the apartheid system ..."

GA/AP/1803  
(23 July 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman expressing concern at the arrest of United Democratic Front members Mohammed Valli Moosa and Murphy Morobe

GA/AP/1805  
(3 August 1987)

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

"... The International Day coincides with the thirty-first anniversary of the historic demonstration by South African women in 1956 in protest against the extension of the racist régime's 'pass laws' to women. The world-wide observance of the Day is intended to publicize the unjust and brutal nature of the apartheid system, especially as it affects the women of South Africa and Namibia, and to promote increased material and moral support for their struggle ..."

GA/AP/1807  
(4 August 1987)

Statement by the Chairman in observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela

"On 5 August, Nelson Mandela, the great leader of the struggle of the South African people for a non-racial democratic society, will have spent 25 years in prison. The United Nations and the international community condemned the sentence of life imprisonment imposed on him in 1964, while he was already serving a sentence of imprisonment for opposing the inhuman policy of apartheid and leading the people in resistance ... They have declared that there can be no peaceful solution in South Africa without the freedom and active participation of the leaders of the people now in prison and exile .... I wish on this occasion to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela for his courage and sacrifice and to assure him that the Special Committee will continue to work assiduously for the release of all political prisoners and the triumph of their noble cause."

GA/AP/1808  
(4 August 1987)

Message of the Chairman to an AFRICA Fund meeting held at New Delhi on 4 August

". I must express my satisfaction that the Plan of Action of the AFRICA Fund covers the three main international aspects of assistance to which all Governments, organizations and individuals can make contribution:  
(a) assistance to the front-line States ... (b) assistance to the national liberation movements ... and  
(c) mobilization of public opinion all over the world in support of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and the front-line States.

"I wish to assure the AFRICA Fund Committee of all appropriate co-operation in promoting the Fund and in mobilizing international public opinion ..."

GA/AP/1811  
(14 August 1987)

Statement by the Acting Chairman calling for international support for a strike of South African mineworkers

"The Special Committee against Apartheid is gravely concerned that the violence committed against members of the National Union of Mineworkers, the largest affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) ... Despite the repression, the strike, involving more than 340,000 mineworkers, remains strong and is the most widely supported strike in South African history. The Special Committee calls on the world-wide trade union movement as well as non-governmental and other organizations to demonstrate their solidarity with, and to provide effective material and all other support to, the strike."

GA/AP/1812  
(28 August 1987)

Statement by the Chairman appealing for international support to prevent the executions of 32 South African political prisoners

"... the Special Committee calls upon the international anti-apartheid movement to support and assist the world-wide campaign to save the lives of the 32 South African political prisoners now on death row in Pretoria ..."

ANNEX V

Conferences and seminars organized or assisted by the  
Special Committee

A. International Student Conference in Solidarity with  
the Struggle of the Students of Southern Africa  
(31 July-3 August 1987)

1. The International Student Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Students of Southern Africa was organized by the Special Committee and was held at Goldsmiths College, University of London. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the National Union of Students in the United Kingdom were among the groups that co-operated with the Special Committee in arranging the facilities of the Conference.
2. Presided over by Mr. Bayo Lawal, Minister of Youth, Sports and Social Development of Nigeria, the Conference brought together 140 representatives and leaders from national, regional and international student and youth organizations, various United Nations bodies, national liberation movements, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations committed to the struggle against apartheid. The delegation of the Special Committee was led by its Chairman, Mr. Joseph N. Garba, who opened the Conference and delivered the final address.
3. On 3 August 1987, at the closing meeting, the Conference adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action by acclamation.
4. In the Declaration, the student and youth participants at the Conference pledged to mobilize solidarity with the students and youth of South Africa and Namibia, the newly founded South African Youth Congress and the Namibia National Students Organization, the reconstituted South African National Students' Congress and the National Union of South African Students; saluted the students and youth of the front-line States and the newly formed Zimbabwean Student Union; resolved to ensure that the contribution of women involved in the liberation struggle of South Africa and Namibia formed a major element in anti-apartheid work; paid tribute to the courageous struggle of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Union of Namibian Workers; decided to campaign for the immediate imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa by the Security Council and for the total isolation of South Africa, and for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia and a ban on all trade with and investment in Namibia; agreed to campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees and to stop the execution of the 32 activists on death row in South Africa and the illegal trials in Namibia; and agreed to work for the complete implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference.
5. In the Programme of Action, the student participants appealed to students world-wide to join with them in carrying out action in the fields of education and publicity regarding apartheid and the liberation struggle, material aid to the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, campaigning against the repressive policies of the apartheid régime, especially as they affect young people, support for the front-line States, adherence to the academic boycott of South Africa and Namibia, complete disinvestment from South Africa and Namibia for total divestment, an end to recruitment to work in South Africa and Namibia or

serve in the apartheid army, the imposition on South Africa of comprehensive mandatory sanctions as well as interim sanctions, assistance to women in southern Africa, the strengthening of the United Nations arms and oil embargoes against South Africa and other steps to help achieve the Programme of Action's aims.

**D. Seminar of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPA) on Support to SADCC and Action against Apartheid (13-15 May 1987)**

6. The Seminar on Support to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and Action against Apartheid, organized by AWEPA and assisted by the Special Committee, was held at the European Parliament, Strasbourg, France.

7. The Seminar was attended by approximately 150 participants, about one third of whom were parliamentarians and the rest representatives of African countries, European non-governmental organizations and anti-apartheid movements. It was opened by Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, President of AWEPA, and addressed by Joseph N. Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Pascoal Mocumbi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique, Mr. C. W. Blackbeard, Minister for Transport of Botswana, Mr. Didymus Mutasa, Speaker of the Parliament of Zimbabwe, Mr. Sam Nujoma, head of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and a representative of Mr. Lorenzo Natali, Commissioner of the European Community in charge of Development Co-operation, among others.

8. The topics covered by the Seminar were the situation in South Africa, particularly in view of the 6 May 1987 elections; the situation in Namibia, with emphasis on the atrocities committed against the Namibian population by South Africa and the lack of progress in attaining independence for the territory; SADCC, especially South Africa's efforts at destabilization and the requirements for assistance to the countries of the region; and Western sanctions against South Africa, including problems involved in their scope and implementation.

9. In his concluding remarks, the President of AWEPA announced that the Working Group of AWEPA had decided to launch several initiatives, such as to send a parliamentary delegation to the five Western Governments members of the "Contact Group" on Namibia, regarding implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia; to seek to persuade Western European parliamentarians to introduce sanctions such as those imposed by the United States and the Nordic countries, including a prohibition on the importing of coal from South Africa; and to hold discussions with Mr. Lorenzo Natali, Commissioner of the European Community, and the Danish Minister of Co-operation in order to speed up aid disbursements and persuade the European Governments to strengthen the defensive capabilities of the front-line States.

**C. International Literary Symposium against Apartheid (25-30 May 1987)**

10. The International Literary Symposium against Apartheid on the theme "African Writers Accuse Apartheid", organized on the initiative of African writers, was held at Brazzaville, under the aegis of Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of the Congo and then Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

11. The Symposium was attended by more than 200 participants, the majority of them Africans, including writers, journalists and representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations and the national liberation movements of southern Africa. It was opened by President Sassou-Nguesso and addressed by, among others, Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, head of the Centre against Apartheid, on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and by representatives of the Sudan and Ghana on behalf of the Special Committee.

12. At the end of the Symposium, the participants unanimously adopted a declaration, which among other things appealed to the mass media and international public opinion to intensify the campaign for the eradication of apartheid, supported efforts to strengthen the AFRICA Fund of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, suggested the creation of an international league against apartheid, and called upon all States to sever relations with South Africa in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. The Symposium also recommended other initiatives, including the creation of a Pan-African Association of Writers, which would help promote African literature committed to freedom and equality, the institutionalizing of the International Literary Symposium against Apartheid, and the creation of African literary prizes to be awarded to African writers by OAU or any other public organization.



ANNEX VI

Observance of the International Days of Solidarity by the  
Special Committee

A Day of Solidarity with South African Political  
Prisoners (11 October 1986)

1. On 10 October 1986, the Special Committee held its annual day of observance to publicize the plight of political prisoners in South Africa (all those imprisoned, interned or otherwise restricted for opposing apartheid) and to help bring about compliance by South Africa with United Nations resolutions on the question. Statements were made at the meeting by the Secretary-General, the President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, and the Chairman of the Special Committee. Among the guest speakers was Mrs. Urbania Mothopeng, wife of the imprisoned President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

B. International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination  
(21 March 1987)

2. The Special Committee held a day of solemn meetings on 20 March 1987 to observe the anniversary of the massacre in Sharpeville, South Africa, in which scores of unarmed people were killed while staging a peaceful protest against the "pass laws" on 21 March 1960. The meeting was addressed by the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council, the Chairman of the Special Committee, and representatives of liberation movements and non-governmental organizations, among others.

C. International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People  
of South Africa (16 June 1987)

3. The Special Committee held a meeting on 16 June 1987 to commemorate the massacre in Soweto, South Africa, when on that day in 1976 hundreds of unarmed school children were brutalized and killed by the police as they demonstrated against the imposition of Afrikaans and the Bantu system of education. Statements were made on the occasion by the Secretary-General, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee, representatives of liberation movements, and others.

D. International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of  
Women in South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1987)

4. The Special Committee held a meeting on 10 August 1987 to commemorate the demonstration by South African women on 9 August 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 of the Centre against Apartheid, and special guests, including Mrs. Margarita Papandreou, head of the Women's Union of Greece, and Ms. Gail Elliott, observer of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee of South Africa.

ANNEX VII

List of documents of the Special Committee

- A/AC.115/L.640                    Messages received on the occasion of the Day of  
Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners
- A/AC.115/L.641                    Recent Developments in South Africa (July to  
December 1986)
- A/AC.115/L.642                    Review of Developments in 1986 on International Economic  
Action Against South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.643                    Statement adopted by the Special Committee against  
Apartheid at the conclusion of its strategy session and  
consultations with non-governmental organizations, held  
at its 600th to 603rd meetings, on 26 and 27 February 1987
- A/AC.115/L.644                    Messages received on the occasion of the International  
Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- A/AC.115/L.645                    Messages received on the occasion of the International  
Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South  
Africa - Soweto Day
- A/AC.115/L.646                    Report of the mission of the Special Committee against  
Apartheid to Zimbabwe, Zambia and the United Republic of  
Tanzania (28 April-13 May 1987)

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