

REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST *APARTHEID*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/35/22)



UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1980

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/14156.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

17 September 1980

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, adopted unanimously by the Special Committee on 11 September 1980.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2071 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 34/93 A to R of 12 and 17 December 1979.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) B. Akporode CLARK
Chairman of the
Special Committee against Apartheid

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

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee against Apartheid was established by the General Assembly by resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962 as the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In resolution 2071 A (XXV), adopted on 8 December 1970, the Assembly requested the Special Committee constantly to review all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions and to report from time to time, as appropriate, to the General Assembly or the Security Council or both.

2. In its resolution 34/93 R of 17 December 1979, the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue and to intensify its activities, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and with particular reference to:

(a) Reviewing all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions;

(b) Promoting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa;

(c) Encouraging full implementation of relevant resolutions of the United Nations by all Governments and organizations;

(d) Promoting public action and campaigns supporting the national liberation movement of South Africa, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

(e) Promoting concerted action by Governments and intergovernmental organizations in the international mobilization against apartheid.

3. The Special Committee is now composed of the following 18 Member States:

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

4. At its 446th meeting on 18 January 1980, the Special Committee unanimously re-elected Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria) as its Chairman and Mr. Vladimir Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) as its Vice-Chairman. It also elected Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal) as its Vice-Chairman.

5. The Special Committee also re-elected Mr. Kwado Faka Nyamekye (Ghana) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations

Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa and re-elected Mr. Abdel Hamid Semichi (Algeria) as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information.

6. The Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa is now composed of Ghana (Chairman), Hungary, India, Peru and the Sudan, and the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information is composed of Algeria (Chairman), the German Democratic Republic, Nepal, Somalia and Trinidad and Tobago.

7. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 33/183 J of 24 January 1979, the Special Committee prepared and submitted for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council a special report on implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid by Governments and intergovernmental organizations concerned (A/35/22/Add.1-S/14156/Add.1), 1/ and a special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa (A/35/22/Add.2-S/14156/Add.2). 1/

8. At its meeting held on 11 September 1980, the Special Committee decided to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. It consists of:

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

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

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

1/ The final text of the special reports will be issued in Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/35/22/Add.1-3).

II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

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

11. During its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly considered the item entitled "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" in 12 plenary meetings between 6 November and 17 December 1979. 2/ It adopted 18 resolutions relating to various aspects of apartheid and based mainly on the recommendations of the Special Committee.

12. In resolution 34/93 A, on the situation in South Africa, the General Assembly strongly condemned the illegitimate minority racist régime of South Africa for its criminal policies and actions, proclaimed its full support of the national liberation movement of South Africa as the authentic representative of the South African people in its just struggle for freedom and reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement - by all available and appropriate means, including armed struggle - for the seizure of power by the people, the elimination of the apartheid régime and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South Africa as a whole. It further condemned continuing political, military, nuclear, economic and other collaboration of certain States with the racist régime of South Africa in disregard of United Nations resolutions - in particular the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Belgium, Israel and Italy - and the transnational corporations and other institutions which assist the racist régime, and requested the Security Council urgently to consider mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa and take action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

13. In resolution 34/93 B, on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the General Assembly expressed its grave concern over the continued and increased repression against opponents of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, and the institution of numerous trials under arbitrary security legislation, as well as continued repression in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and appealed for generous and increased contributions to the Trust Fund and to the voluntary agencies concerned.

14. In resolution 34/93 C, on the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that economic and other sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, universally applied, are essential to resolve the grave situation in South Africa and avert a wider international conflict. It decided to organize, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, an International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa in 1980. It authorized the Special Committee against Apartheid to take all necessary steps for the organization of the Conference and preparatory meetings.

15. In resolution 34/93 D, on the arms embargo against Africa, the General Assembly again requested the Security Council to declare that any military or nuclear collaboration with South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and

2/ See A/34/PV.49, 54-60, 69, 100, 101 and 106.

security, and urgently to take mandatory measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to end all military and nuclear collaboration with the apartheid régime and all supplies of materials or technology to or from South Africa which may be used for military purposes or for the development of nuclear-weapon capability. It further requested the Security Council to take mandatory measures to ensure that all States: (a) revoke all licences granted to South Africa for the manufacture of arms and equipment; (b) prohibit corporations within their jurisdiction from any involvement in the manufacture in South Africa of arms and related equipment for the use of the military and police forces, and in the transfer of technology and capital for that purpose; (c) terminate the exchange of military, air, naval and scientific attachés with the apartheid régime; (d) prohibit the supply of aircraft, aircraft engines, aircraft parts, electronic and telecommunications equipment and computers to South Africa; and (e) take effective legislative and other measures to prevent the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries for assistance to the apartheid régime, and to punish such mercenaries.

16. In resolution 34/93 E, on nuclear collaboration with South Africa, the General Assembly requested the Security Council urgently to consider mandatory measures to prevent the racist régime of South Africa from detonating, developing or acquiring nuclear weapons, and to warn that the acquisition or testing of nuclear weapons by it would be met with enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter. It further called upon all States which have not yet done so, in particular France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America: (a) to cease forthwith all collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and to terminate all supply of nuclear material and equipment or components thereof, transfer of nuclear technology, training and exchange of nuclear scientists and financial, technical or other assistance to the nuclear programme of South Africa, including the uranium enrichment facilities; (b) to refrain from purchasing uranium or enriched uranium from South Africa; (c) to take measures to prevent such collaboration and purchases by corporations, institutions and other bodies and individuals within their jurisdiction; and (d) to convey to the Secretary-General all information available to them on the efforts of the racist régime of South Africa to acquire nuclear-weapon capability.

17. In resolution 34/93 F, on the oil embargo against South Africa, the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that an embargo on the supply of petroleum, petroleum products and other strategic materials is an important measure in international action for the total eradication of apartheid; and requested the Security Council to consider urgently a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. It also requested all States, inter alia, to enact legislation to prohibit the sale or supply of petroleum and petroleum products to any person or body in South Africa and to take effective legislative and other appropriate measures to prevent petroleum companies and shipping companies, as well as banks and other financial institutions, from giving any assistance to the South African régime in circumventing the oil embargo, including the seizure of vessels which violate the embargo and their cargoes.

18. In resolution 34/93 G, on bantustans, the General Assembly denounced the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policy of apartheid, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to deprive the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights. It also denounced the declaration of the so-called "independence" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, and any other bantustans which may be created by the racist régime of South Africa, and declared them totally invalid. It called upon all Governments to continue to deny any form of recognition to the so-called "independent" bantustans, to refrain from any dealings with them and to reject travel documents issued by them.

19. In resolution 34/93 H, on political prisoners in South Africa, the General Assembly demanded that the racist régime of South Africa end violence and repression against the black people and other opponents of apartheid; release all persons detained, imprisoned, restricted or charged under arbitrary repressive laws for their opposition to apartheid; and abrogate the bans on organizations and news media opposed to apartheid. It declared that freedom fighters captured during the struggle for liberation must be entitled to prisoner-of-war status and treatment in accordance with the relevant Geneva Conventions.

20. In resolution 34/93 I, on assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, the General Assembly appealed to all States to provide increased humanitarian, educational, economic and other forms of assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as all appropriate assistance to the South African national liberation movement in its legitimate struggle for the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South Africa as a whole. It drew attention, in particular, to the necessity of assisting the educational and self-help projects of the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and of meeting the special and pressing needs of refugee women and children. The Assembly also decided that an adequate financial provision shall be made in the budget of the United Nations for purposes of maintaining the offices in New York of the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - in order to ensure the due and proper representation of the people of South Africa through their national liberation movements.

21. In resolution 34/93 J, on the dissemination of information on apartheid, the General Assembly requested all Governments and organizations to co-operate with the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid of the Secretariat towards the production and widest possible dissemination of information material on apartheid. It also invited all Governments, information media and organizations to counteract the propaganda of the apartheid régime and to co-operate with the Special Committee in exposing the activities of groups which assist in such propaganda.

22. In resolution 34/93 K, on women and children under apartheid, the General Assembly requested Governments and organizations to take all appropriate action in pursuance of the conclusions and recommendations of the International Seminar

on Children under Apartheid, and appealed to all Governments and organizations to contribute generously towards assistance to the special needs of women and children oppressed by apartheid, including refugees.

23. In resolution 34/93 L, on the role of mass media in international action against apartheid, the General Assembly urged all States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to take all necessary measures to use all the mass media effectively for mobilizing world public opinion with a view to eliminating the criminal system of racial domination and exploitation pursued by the white minority régime in South Africa, and to prevent the South African racist régime and its supporters from using the mass media in the interest of that régime as well as to counter actively the propaganda activities of the South African racist régime and its supporters. It further appealed to all journalists and others to demonstrate their solidarity with their colleagues persecuted by the racist régime of South Africa for their opposition to apartheid and to denounce the restrictions on the freedom of the press.

24. In resolution 34/93 M, on the role of non-governmental organizations in international action against apartheid, the General Assembly noted that the international mobilization against apartheid required concerted action by anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, trade unions, religious bodies, student and youth organizations and other non-governmental organizations in isolating the apartheid régime, assisting the South African national liberation movement and educating world public opinion. It invited all Governments to take appropriate steps to encourage and assist such non-governmental organizations.

25. In resolution 34/93 N, on apartheid in sports, the General Assembly requested the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports to continue its work with a view to completing a draft convention in 1980.

26. By resolution 34/93 O, the General Assembly adopted a "Declaration on South Africa".

27. In resolution 34/93 P, on relations between Israel and South Africa, the General Assembly strongly condemned Israel's continuing and increasing collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa; and demanded that Israel desist from and terminate all forms of collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

28. In resolution 34/93 Q, on investments in South Africa, the General Assembly again urged the Security Council to consider the matter at an early date with a view to taking effective steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in, and financial loans to, South Africa.

29. In resolution 39/93 R, on the programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the General Assembly approved the relevant recommendations contained in the annual report of the Special Committee. It authorized the Special Committee to send missions to Member States and to the headquarters of the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations, as required, to promote international action against apartheid; to intensify co-operation with the movement of

non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity and other appropriate organizations; to participate in conferences concerned with action against apartheid; to organize, or participate in the organization of, symposia and other events in the home countries of transnational corporations with a view to educating the general public on the activities of those corporations in South Africa; and to hold sessions away from Headquarters as necessary. It also requested and authorized the Special Committee to co-sponsor and promote the organization of conferences and seminars against apartheid in co-operation with Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

30. The General Assembly also requested the President of the General Assembly, in consultation with the regional groups, to expand the membership of the Special Committee, bearing in mind the principle of equitable geographical distribution.

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

(a) Resolution 34/24, "Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination";

(b) Resolution 34/27, "Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid";

(c) Resolution 34/41, "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa";

(d) Resolution 34/44, "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights";

(e) Resolution 34/76 A, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa";

(f) Resolution 34/76 B, "Nuclear capability of South Africa";

(g) Resolution 34/94, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples";

(h) Resolution 34/174, "Assistance to student refugees from Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa".

B. Military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa

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

33. It repeatedly stressed the importance of full implementation and reinforcement of the embargo and encouraged appropriate action by non-governmental organizations in support of the embargo. It continued close co-operation with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) on the question of South Africa, by communicating information on alleged violations of the embargo, by encouraging anti-apartheid movements and other groups to communicate such information and by facilitating hearings before that Committee.

34. On 22 October 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, a paper prepared for the Special Committee against Apartheid by Mrs. Ann Seidman and Mrs. Neva Makgetla entitled "Transnational corporations and the South Africa military-industrial complex". 3/

35. On 13 February 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee transmitted to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee a transcript of a television documentary entitled "Hot Shells - US Arms for South Africa" for the urgent attention of the Security Council Committee.

36. On 8 May 1980, the Chairman transmitted to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee a copy of a letter dated 25 April 1980 and enclosed documents received by the Special Committee from Mr. Peter Bakvis of the Confédération des syndicats nationaux de Montréal, concerning the illegal shipments of military equipment by the Space Research Corporation to South Africa in violation of the arms embargo against South Africa.

1. Nuclear collaboration with South Africa

37. In connexion with the news report that South Africa had detonated a nuclear device in September 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee made a statement at the 47th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, on 26 October 1979, expressing the serious concern of the Special Committee and urging the Assembly to act decisively.

38. On the same day, he issued a press statement stressing that the sole objective of the apartheid régime in its nuclear plans was to consolidate racist domination, to threaten independent African countries which oppose its inhuman policy of

3/ Centre against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 24/79.

apartheid and to threaten international peace and security. He appealed to organizations and public opinion in all countries to call for the implementation of the recommendations of the International Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London on 24 and 25 February 1979 (see S/13157).

39. On 10 November 1979, the Special Committee received the following telegram from three employees of the Argonne National Laboratory:

"We, as black American citizens employed at Argonne National Laboratory, protest the participation of two white South African engineers in the International Atomic Energy Agency's nuclear technology transfer programme conducted by Argonne National Laboratory at the expense of taxpayers.

"The fact that our Government through its State Department is host to citizens of a nation which symbolizes the negation of black people in particular, and humanity in general, is abhorrent. The Union of South Africa's acts of murder are considered a crime by the world's court of public opinion. As American citizens we demand the immediate expulsion of these South African nuclear trainees, especially in light of the alleged recent South African atomic explosion."

40. On 14 November 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency requesting information on the employment and training of South African nationals under IAEA programmes.

41. In a letter of 31 December 1979, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Dr. Sigvard Eklund, Director-General of IAEA, stated the following:

"The two South African nationals in question participated at their own expense in a six-week interregional training course, filling two vacancies left after all other applicants had been accommodated. The purpose of the course, which was entitled 'Safety and reliability in nuclear-plant operation' and which is one of several which the Agency is organizing pursuant to guidance received from the Board of Governors after the Three Mile Island accident, was to assist Member States in this particular field."

42. In connexion with information received by the Special Committee from the Anti-Apartheid Movement of West Germany that Varian MAT of Bremen was supplying essential equipment (MAT511) to the uranium enrichment plant in South Africa, the Chairman sent a letter on 21 November 1979 to the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany expressing the hope that his Government, in the light of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, would prohibit the supply of any equipment for the uranium enrichment plants in South Africa.

43. On 28 November 1979, he transmitted the telegram above from the employees of the Argonne National Laboratory (see para. 39 above) and the letter to the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa for appropriate action.

44. The International Atomic Energy Agency decided, at its annual conference held from 4 to 10 December 1979 in New Delhi, to expel the representative of the racist régime of South Africa from the Conference. In this connexion, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 5 December 1979, which read:

"The Special Committee highly appreciates and commends the timely and wise decision of the Annual Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) being held in New Delhi, India, to expel the representative of the racist régime of South Africa from the Conference. The continuing membership of, and participation of, the apartheid régime in IAEA has provided an opportunity for that régime to acquire scientific know-how and other material advantages in the nuclear field which strengthen its nuclear military capabilities.

"I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to reiterate once again my appeal to all States to refrain from providing any assistance whatsoever to the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and to impose an embargo on all forms of nuclear collaboration with that régime in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and with the earnest appeals of world public opinion."

45. In December 1979, the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to the fact that the South African Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) had been placing advertisements in the Swedish press for nuclear engineers and other skilled personnel in nuclear technology.

46. On 26 December 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement in which he stressed that this was a deliberate and mischievous attempt by the South African authorities to undermine the efforts of the United Nations to secure an end to all nuclear collaboration with South Africa and thereby avert a grave danger to international peace and security.

47. He expressed the hope that the Government of Sweden would take appropriate action, in accordance with its support for the relevant United Nations resolutions, to prevent the involvement of Swedish nationals in South Africa's nuclear programme. He appealed to the Swedish press to reject further advertisements and to Swedish scientists to denounce the enticements of the racist régime of South Africa.

48. He further called on all Governments and the mass media to prohibit any advertisements by the racist régime of South Africa for nuclear technicians and other skilled personnel.

49. By a letter dated 3 January 1980, the Permanent Representative of Sweden informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that the Prime Minister of Sweden, Thorbjorn Falldin, had stated on 27 December 1979: "I certainly hope that no Swedish engineer will offer to accept any offers of work in South Africa". The Prime Minister also said that the technicians must be urged not to place themselves in the service of the South African Government.

50. In a press statement issued on 15 January 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee expressed great appreciation for the statement of the Prime Minister of Sweden as a further manifestation of the support of Sweden to a total embargo on military and nuclear collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa.

2. Hearing of experts on violations of the arms embargo against South Africa and on mercenary activities

51. At its 447th meeting, on 11 February 1980, the Special Committee held a hearing on violations of the arms embargo against South Africa.

52. Statements were made by Mr. Sam Hemingway and Mr. Scott Malone, authors of a series of articles in the Burlington Free Press on violations of the arms embargo by the Space Research Corporation.

53. Mr. Sam Hemingway said that the violation of the arms embargo against South Africa by the Space Research Corporation was the largest documented violation. The company, located on the border between Vermont and Quebec, had sold 53,000 long-range artillery shells to South Africa. It had also sold dozens of air shipments of testing equipment. In addition to the shells, the corporation had sold a 155-millimetre artillery system and dispatched the company's technicians and photographers to South Africa.

54. He claimed that the United States Government had collaborated in the transactions. That collaboration had taken place at the level of the Departments of State, Defense, Commerce and Treasury, as well as of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). There was also, he said, documented complicity by Canada and Spain.

55. The ships transporting the equipment were owned by South Africa, the Netherlands and West Germany, and in one case a chartered United States Navy ship had been involved.

56. Mr. Scott Malone said that the so-called arms sale was merely a part of a much larger-scale effort to supply South Africa with military equipment. South Africa now had a more advanced artillery system than any other country. The sales of the Space Research Corporation to South Africa had been supported by a United States bank and various international companies. Such well-known companies would not

take such risks without the backing of their Governments, he declared. The CIA, for example, had been fully aware of what was going on. The arms sales had taken place in Belgium. The Space Research Corporation had profited from the fact that sending experts and technology to South Africa was legal under Belgian law. The arms were sent from the United States to Canada, then sold by a Belgian company, which was partly owned by the Space Research Corporation.

57. He also said that other United States companies had had visits from South African arms experts and had sent, through European countries, arms to South Africa.

58. In pursuance of the decision taken by the Special Committee, the statements made by Mr. Sam Hemingway and Mr. Scott Malone were transmitted to the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa. On 13 February 1980, the Chairman also wrote letters to the Permanent Representatives of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America inviting any comments or information concerning the references to respective countries. 4/

59. The Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Canada had informed the Chairman in a letter dated 19 August 1980 that on 13 August 1980, after an exhaustive investigation, seven charges were laid in the Court of Session of the Peace in Montreal against the Space Research Corporation (Quebec) under the Export and Import Permits Act, in connexion with the shipment of arms to South Africa and the falsification of documents to obtain export permits. On 14 August 1980, the firm entered a plea of guilty on all charges.

60. At the same meeting, the Committee heard Mr. Robert Schware, Co-ordinator, Committee of Concerned Citizens on Mercenary Activities in Denver, Colorado, and Miss Deborah A. Jackson, Co-Chairperson, International Affairs Task Force, National Conference of Black Lawyers, New York, on mercenary activities in southern Africa.

61. Mr. Robert Schware said that his organization had been founded in May 1979 with the purpose of exposing the widespread murders and brutalities committed by United States mercenaries. The guiding principle of the organization was the belief that mercenary activities posed a threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries and jeopardized Afro-American relations. He said that United States nationals were serving as "hired killers and hit-men in southern Africa", and that although countless mercenaries had been identified, none had been indicted or prosecuted in the United States.

62. He further stated that if Soldier of Fortune magazine, a mercenary recruitment publication, was to be trusted, Namibia would become the next arena for the "barbarian adventures".

63. Miss Deborah Jackson said that mercenary recruitment had been carried out openly in various United States magazines, including Gun Week, Sports Afield, Shot Gun News, Shooting Times and Guns. It was also common to learn about serving in Rhodesia through individually addressed letters. She pointed out that neither recruiters nor mercenaries had been prosecuted. The recruitment of the "dogs of war" continued unabated.

4/ Replies were received from the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands on 28 February 1980 and from the Chargé d'Affaires of Canada on 19 August 1980.

64. At its 448th meeting, on 6 March 1980, the Special Committee held consultations with Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, on matters relating to the implementation and reinforcement of the arms embargo against South Africa.

C. Condemnation of South Africa's acts of aggression against neighbouring States

65. On 26 November 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement in connexion with the escalation of the acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia. He stressed that criminal acts of aggression committed by the illegal régime in Salisbury against the Republic of Zambia, in collusion with the South African armed forces, constituted a grave and urgent threat to international peace and security. He added that the recent escalation of these acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia and other front-line States was part of the sinister manoeuvres of the South African régime to secure the installation of a puppet régime in Southern Rhodesia and to establish a so-called "constellation of States" under its hegemony.

66. In connexion with the armed aggression committed by the racist régime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 26 June 1980 condemning the criminal and massive aggression by the South African racist régime against the People's Republic of Angola. He declared that the Security Council must adopt decisive sanctions to force South Africa from Angola, as well as the Territory of Namibia which it illegally occupied, and to assist the South African people to eliminate apartheid.

D. Economic collaboration with South Africa

67. The Special Committee continued to follow developments concerning economic and other collaboration with South Africa. It gave particular attention to promoting the implementation of an embargo on the sale or supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa in pursuance of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. It co-sponsored two seminars on the question of economic collaboration with South Africa and took other steps to promote an end to such collaboration.

68. On 24 October 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to all oil-exporting countries requesting information on measures taken by oil-exporting countries on their policies and regulations with regard to the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, and on any provisions included in sales contracts prohibiting direct or indirect sales of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. Replies were received from a number of Governments (see A/AC.115/L.523).

1. International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, held in London from 2 to 4 November 1979

69. The Special Committee co-sponsored an International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement in London from 2 to 4 November 1979.

70. The agenda of the Seminar was as follows:

1. The role of transnational corporations and the apartheid economy.
2. The role of the transnational corporations in financing apartheid.
3. The role of transnational corporations in South Africa's military and nuclear build-up.
4. South Africa as a base for transnational corporations' operations and the implications.
5. The international campaign against transnational corporations' collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

71. The Special Committee was represented at the Seminar by Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria), Chairman, Mr. Mohan P. Lohani (Nepal) and Mr. Laszlo Hadas (Hungary).

72. The participants in the Seminar included representatives of relevant United Nations organs, agencies within the United Nations system, the non-aligned movement, the Organization of African Unity, front-line States in Africa, southern African liberation movements, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, and other organizations active in support of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa, as well as a number of individual experts.

73. The Seminar elected Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, Ambassador of the Republic of Algeria to France, as Chairman; Mr. Luis de Almeida, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Angola to Belgium, Mr. Kalenga Kangwa, Chairman of the OAU Sanctions Committee and Ambassador of Zambia, Mr. Mohan Lohani, representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mrs. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Secretary, Comité contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, Belgium, and Mr. Kotsho Dube, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, as Vice-Chairmen; and Mr. Robert Hughes, M.P., Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, as Rapporteur.

74. The participants in the Seminar expressed their conviction that transnational corporations bear a major share of responsibility for the maintenance of the system of apartheid, for strengthening the repressive and military power of the racist régime and for the undermining of international action to promote freedom and human dignity in South Africa.

75. The Seminar recognized the need for an urgent campaign for total sanctions against South Africa.

76. At the 445th meeting of the Special Committee, on 14 November 1979, Mr. Robert Hughes, M.P., Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and Rapporteur of the International Seminar, presented the report of the Seminar.

77. The Special Committee transmitted the Declaration of the Seminar for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council (A/34/655, annex).

2. International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa

78. The Special Committee co-sponsored with the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and Working Group Kairos an International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, held in Amsterdam from 14 to 16 March 1980.

79. A delegation of the Special Committee consisting of Mr. B. Akporode Clark, Chairman, Mr. Wisber Loeis (Indonesia) and Mr. Gerhard Schroter (German Democratic Republic) participated in the Seminar.

80. Participants in the Seminar included representatives of United Nations bodies and agencies, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and southern African liberation movements, as well as a number of individual experts.

81. The Seminar elected Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun, Ambassador of Algeria to France, as Chairman; Mr. C. Groenendijk, Chairman of the Working Group Kairos, Mr. Wisber Loeis (Indonesia), member of the delegation of the Special Committee, Miss Marit Karlsen, Norwegian Council for Southern Africa, Mr. Fernando J. de Franca Dias Van-Dunen, Ambassador of Angola in Brussels, Mr. Kapuka Nauyala, South West Africa People's Organization, and Mr. Martin Bailey, as Vice-Chairmen; and Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, as Rapporteur.

82. Messages were received from the President of the General Assembly and Secretary-General of the United Nations.

83. On 16 March 1980, at the concluding session, the Seminar adopted a Declaration (A/35/160-S/13869, annex) stressing the urgent need for positive and effective international action to secure the implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/93 F of 12 December 1979 on an oil embargo against South Africa, and making a number of recommendations for action. 5/

5/ For the report of the Seminar, see A/AC.115/L.521.

84. At the 452nd meeting of the Special Committee, on 26 March 1980, the Special Committee fully endorsed the Declaration of the International Seminar. In pursuance of a decision taken at that meeting, the Chairman sent the Declaration to the General Assembly and the Security Council for urgent consideration. He also transmitted the Declaration to the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the League of Arab States and the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, and to all oil-exporting countries, including the Western countries which export refined oil to South Africa, and the home countries of the companies involved in the oil industry in South Africa.

85. In his letter, the Chairman stressed the urgent need for an effective oil embargo against South Africa and expressed the hope that the Governments and organizations concerned would take necessary action in the light of the Declaration of the International Seminar. The Special Committee received replies from a number of Governments (see A/AC.115/L.530).

3. International Day for an Oil Embargo against South Africa

86. One of the recommendations made by the International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa was the observance of 20 May 1980 as the International Day for an Oil Embargo against South Africa.

87. On 31 March 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued an appeal to all Governments and organizations to observe the International Day, and to launch on that occasion an international campaign to:

(a) Secure an urgent and mandatory decision for an oil embargo against South Africa by the Security Council;

(b) Encourage all States immediately to enact effective legislation and other measures to implement an oil embargo, including strict penalties against companies, institutions and individuals violating the embargo;

(c) Prevent, by public action, the continued collaboration by multinational companies with the racist régime of South Africa in obtaining crude oil and refined oil products, as well as in its oil and related industries.

88. The Chairman stressed that this campaign should aim at persuading all Governments which had so far opposed the oil embargo to co-operate in facilitating international action. It should call for an end to all collaboration with the South African régime in obtaining oil or oil products or in developing its petroleum industry or alternative fuels.

89. He also urged all Governments to issue statements on the International Day in support of an oil embargo against South Africa and to demonstrate their support by concrete action in the light of the Declaration. He urged trade unions, religious bodies, anti-apartheid movements and other groups to organize demonstrations on that day against companies which continued to violate the oil embargo or to participate in the oil and related industry in South Africa.

90. In connexion with the decision taken by the Netherlands Parliament in favour of an oil embargo against South Africa, the Acting Chairman issued a press statement on 20 June 1980, expressing satisfaction at the decision. He also commended the anti-apartheid groups and other public organizations in the Netherlands which had campaigned for the embargo.

91. On 4 September 1980, the Chairman met Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, Member of Parliament of the Netherlands for consultations on action to promote an effective oil embargo against South Africa. The Chairman stressed the importance of action by Parliaments in support of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia and agreed that the Special Committee would co-sponsor a meeting of Parliament Members from Western European countries to consult on co-ordinated action on an oil embargo against South Africa.

E. Diplomatic and other official relations with South Africa

92. The Special Committee took every opportunity to stress the importance of severing diplomatic and consular relations with the racist régime of South Africa.

93. In a press statement issued on 6 December 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee welcomed the announcement by the Revolutionary Junta of El Salvador that it had severed diplomatic relations with South Africa and acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. He also recalled that action had been taken by Grenada and Nicaragua to break all relations with South Africa.

94. While commending El Salvador, Grenada and Nicaragua, the Chairman appealed to other friendly Latin American countries which maintain diplomatic relations with the South African régime to terminate such relations.

F. Repression against opponents of apartheid

95. The Special Committee devoted special attention during the period under review to the continuing repression of opponents of apartheid in South Africa and to the campaign for the release of political prisoners.

1. Increased repression and police violence

96. On 15 November 1979, 12 members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) were sentenced in Pietermaritzburg on charges of high treason and under the notorious Terrorism Act. James Mange was sentenced to death and his 11 colleagues to imprisonment ranging from 17 to 19 years.

97. On 16 November 1979, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement expressing shock and indignation at the savage sentences imposed on the 12 freedom fighters. He appealed to all Governments and organizations to take urgent action to save the life of James Mange and secure prisoner-of-war status and treatment for captured freedom fighters.

98. On 13 December 1979, the South African police arrested Victor Matlou, an ANC militant, who was on a commercial airliner en route from Maputo to Maseru. The Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 18 December 1979 condemning this act as a flagrant violation of international law and appealing to the international community to take energetic measures to secure the immediate release of Mr. Matlou and to stop acts of piracy and kidnapping by the desperate and criminal régime in Pretoria.

99. The Reverend David Russell, an Anglican priest in the African township of Nyanga, who had been highly respected for his opposition to apartheid, was sentenced on 28 February 1980 to one year in jail for the contravention of banning orders served on him by attending a church synod, and for possession of a book entitled Biko, by Donald Woods, which had been sent to him. The Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 29 February condemning the brutal sentence imposed on Reverend Russell, and appealed to Governments and individuals of conscience to join in denouncing the sentence and to redouble action for the elimination of apartheid.

100. In March 1980, the racist régime of South Africa withdrew the passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches. On 11 March 1980, the Chairman issued a press statement expressing the shock and indignation of the Special Committee at this act of brutality. He noted that Bishop Tutu was not only a leading churchman but a trusted spokesman of the aspirations of the black people of South Africa, who had persistently tried to persuade the régime to abandon apartheid and seek a peaceful solution in consultation with the genuine representatives of the great majority of the people. The Chairman stated that by restricting and attempting to silence Bishop Tutu, the apartheid régime had again shown its unwillingness to heed the opinion of the people of South Africa and of the world. It was also proceeding towards a confrontation with the churches in South Africa. He called upon all concerned to condemn the persecution of Bishop Tutu and demand that the South African régime cease repression against opponents of apartheid.

101. On 20 June 1980, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement appealing to all men and women of conscience to denounce the violence against, and killings of, schoolchildren in South Africa, and the repression against trade unionists, churchmen and others. He addressed an urgent appeal to students, youth, trade unions, churches, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements and other organizations all over the world to demonstrate by action their solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

102. The Chairman and delegations of the Special Committee, in their various missions, constantly drew attention to repression in South Africa and urged the widest international condemnation of such repression.

2. Hearings on repression, political prisoners and related matters

103. At its 444th meeting, on 31 October 1979, the Special Committee heard Mr. Shunmugan N. Chetty, a South African attorney who had escaped from South Africa.

Mr. Chetty had handled defence in a number of political trials, including the "SASO-BPC" trial of 1975-1977 and the PAC trial in Bethal in 1979. He was instructing attorney in the Steve Biko inquest.

104. Mr. Chetty informed the Special Committee of the brutal repression against the opponents of apartheid in South Africa and of his activities in defence of those who stood trial under the racist repressive laws.

105. On 26 March 1980, the Special Committee organized a hearing on repression, political prisoners and related matters with the participation on the non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid movements and experts in order to hold a full discussion and consultations as a basis for further international action.

106. At the meeting, statements were made by the following: Mr. Martin Ennals, Secretary-General of Amnesty International; Mrs. Phyllis Altman, General Secretary of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa; Mr. Kader Asmal, Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mrs. Gay MacDougall; and Mr. Millard Arnold, representative of the International Commission of Jurists and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

3. Campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa

107. In connexion with the campaign launched in South Africa for the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the people, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 21 March 1980, appealing to the international community to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre by an even wider international effort for the release of political prisoners and for the participation of the genuine leaders of the people in the determination of the destiny of South Africa.

108. On 28 March 1980, in connexion with the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples Struggling against Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Chairman sent greetings and a pledge of solidarity to all the political prisoners, banned persons and their families in South Africa.

109. He stated that the Special Committee fully supported the demand of the great majority of the South African people for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other political leaders and pledged to intensify its efforts, in co-operation with Governments and organizations all over the world, towards that end

110. On 9 September 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement appealing to all Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and individuals to observe 11 October, Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, for the cause of human dignity, freedom and equality for which the political prisoners in South Africa are languishing in gaol or in indefinite detention without trial.

111. He stressed that it was most appropriate that the international community intensify the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees in South Africa and give all possible support to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement who are struggling for the establishment of a non-racial society.

G. International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid

112. The Special Committee continued its efforts to promote the ratification of, or accession to, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which came into force on 18 July 1976.

113. Since the last report of the Special Committee, El Salvador, Gabon, Mexico, Nicaragua, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago have deposited ratifications or accessions to the Convention.

114. As at 11 August 1980 the following 58 States were parties to the Convention: Barbados, Benin, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia and Zaire.

H. Apartheid in sports

115. The Special Committee continued to promote the international campaign to achieve the total boycott of apartheid sports teams.

116. On 23 October 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee received a letter from the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands concerning the decisions of the Second Chamber of the Parliament and the Council of Ministers of the Netherlands as regards the participation of the South African team in the Para-Olympics in 1980 and the decision of the Organizing Committee of the Para-Olympics against extending an invitation to South Africa. The same day, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of the Netherlands conveying his great appreciation to the Government of the Netherlands and to the Organizing Committee of the Para-Olympics.

117. On 8 November 1979, the Chairman issued a press statement expressing the satisfaction of the Special Committee that the Government of Greece had decided, in response to an appeal by the Special Committee, to exclude South Africa from the World Cup Golf Tournament in Athens and commended the Government of Greece for its action in implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid in sports.

118. In connexion with reports that the rugby unions in the United Kingdom and Ireland were due to decide on a tour by the Lions rugby team to South Africa, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 16 November 1979, appealing to them to cancel the projected tour, which would be in contravention of the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports and other resolutions of the United Nations and, indeed, a hostile act against the great majority of the people of South Africa.

119. He expressed the hope that the Governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland would take firm measures to prevent this tour.

120. On behalf of the Special Committee, he also called on public organizations in the United Kingdom and Ireland to exert all their influence to prevent the Lions tour of South Africa.

121. On 14 January 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement expressing serious regret that the Four Home Unions (the rugby unions of the United Kingdom and Ireland) had decided on a tour of South Africa by the Lions rugby team.

122. He noted that they had ignored the appeals and warnings from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, the non-racial South African Council on Sport, the United Nations and numerous organizations in the United Kingdom and the world. They had even rejected the advice of the United Kingdom Government, motivated partially by its obligations to the Gleneagles Declaration of the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government.

123. He said that the Lions rugby tour would be a flagrant defiance of the United Nations resolutions against apartheid in sports, and a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle against racist tyranny.

124. On 11 March 1980, the Chairman sent a message to the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement commending it for the campaign initiated by it to stop the Lions rugby tour of South Africa and for the planned demonstration against the tour on 15 March. He stated that the Lions tour was not an isolated event but must be seen as a deliberate move to provide comfort and support to the apartheid régime. It was an act of contempt against millions of oppressed people struggling against racist tyranny in southern Africa and an affront to humanity.

125. On 1 December 1979, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement in connexion with the decision of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa to terminate all sports contacts with the United Kingdom if the Lions rugby team toured South Africa. He noted the series of sports exchanges between the United Kingdom and South Africa in contravention of relevant United Nations resolutions, and condemned the actions of British sports bodies which had colluded with the racist régime of South Africa in its manoeuvres to gain acceptance for apartheid sport.

126. He expressed the hope that the United Kingdom Government and sports bodies would be persuaded to cease all sports exchanges with South Africa and to abide by the relevant United Nations resolutions. He also appealed to all Governments and sports bodies to exert their influence towards that end.

127. In connexion with the report that Mr. Kalula, originally from Uganda, who was living in Denmark, was scheduled to have a boxing match with Mr. Basteo of South Africa at Aarhus, Denmark, on 6 September 1980, the Chairman, on 26 August 1980, sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of Denmark drawing his attention to the fact that this event would be a violation of the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and expressed the hope that the Danish Government would take the necessary measures to stop the match.

128. In connexion with the report concerning the decision taken by the Presidium of the International Sports Fishing Council on the readmission of the South African National Federation to the Council and the extension of an invitation to South Africa to participate in the 1980 World Championships scheduled to be held at Ketsch, Federal Republic of Germany, the Chairman of the Special Committee, on 12 September 1980, sent a cable to the International Sports Fishing Council and to the National Federation of the Federal Republic of Germany stating that the decision by the Presidium of the International Sports Fishing Council was an action in violation of the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports and other United Nations resolutions, and urged them to take action to prevent South Africa's membership and its participation in the 1980 World Championships.

129. By a letter dated 19 August 1980, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Argentina informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that the Argentine Government had denied participation of a group of players and officials of the South African Rugby Association in a sports competition against the national rugby team of Argentina. On 26 August 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Argentina commending action taken by the Government of Argentina.

Hearings on apartheid and sports

130. On 28 March 1980, the Special Committee devoted two meetings to hear leaders of the international and national sports organizations, anti-apartheid movements and experts in the field of sport in order to hold a full discussion and consultation as a basis for further international action against apartheid in sports.

131. At the meetings, statements were made by the following: Mr. Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa; Mr. M. N. Pather, Honorary Secretary, South African Council on Sport; Mr. Frank Dobson, M.P., representing the British Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr. Kader Asmal, Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr. Trevor Richards, National Chairman, Halt All Racist Tours (HART), New Zealand; Mr. Dennis Brutus, Chairperson of the International Campaign against Racism in Sport; and Mr. Jean-Louis Sagot-Duvaucoux, representative of the Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les Peuples (MRAP), Paris; Mr. Antoine Bouillion, representative of the French Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr. John Dommissee, Secretary-General of the American Co-ordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS); Mr. Paul Irish, representative of the American Committee on Africa; and Mr. Sam Ramsamy, Chairman, South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), London.

132. On 28 March 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations expressing the Special Committee's concern over the proposed Lions rugby tour to South Africa and appealed to the Government of the United Kingdom to take immediate action to ensure the cancellation of the tour.

133. He also sent a letter to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia drawing his attention to the Lions rugby tour to South Africa in view of the implications of the tour in the territory for Namibia.

134. In connexion with the decision by the Government of Zimbabwe to prohibit the proposed visit of the Lions rugby team to Zimbabwe, he issued a press statement on 22 May 1980 expressing the appreciation of the Special Committee to the Government of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, for its action in support of the oppressed people of South Africa and in accordance with the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports.

I. Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement

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

136. In this connexion, the Special Committee maintained contact with other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with assistance to victims of apartheid.

137. On 20 March 1980, the Chairman sent a message to Mr. Ugo Benassi, the Mayor of Reggio Emilia and Chairman of the Italian National Committee of Solidarity with the People of Southern Africa, in connexion with the dispatch of a ship of solidarity with material assistance to the national liberation movements of southern Africa. He extended his appreciation to all those who contributed to the ship of solidarity and expressed the hope that the efforts would be continued until South Africa was free.

138. During the meeting between the representatives of the Special Committee and specialized agencies held on 29 October 1979 on the co-ordination of action against apartheid, the participants stressed the importance of co-ordination of assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement by agencies and institutions within the United Nations system was the main subject of the meeting between the Chairman of the Special Committee, the President of the Economic and Social Council and the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

J. Dissemination of information against apartheid

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

140. The Special Committee has continued during the year to promote voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid, established in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3151 C (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973. The following contributions and pledges have been received during the period from 25 October 1979 to 30 June 1980:

	<u>Pledges</u>	<u>Contributions</u>
	(US dollars)	
Austria		5 000
Belgium		2 000
Brazil		20 000
Cyprus (C£100)		290
Egypt		2 000
Finland		10 779
Greece		2 000
India		500
Ireland (£1,000)		2 080
Japan	10 000	10 000
Libyan Arab Republic		10 000
Malaysia		500
Norway		50 000
Syrian Arab Republic		1 000
Trinidad and Tobago		1 000
Tunisia		5 000
Turkey		1 000
Venezuela	1 000	
	<u>13 370</u>	<u>120 779</u>

141. The Governments of the German Democratic Republic and India have contributed to the production of posters and publications, in co-operation with the Centre against Apartheid. Several non-governmental organizations, in particular the World Peace Council and the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa have extended similar co-operation.

K. Encouragement of public action against apartheid

142. During the year, the Special Committee continued to give particular attention to promoting public action by trade unions, youth and students, and all other organizations engaged in the struggle against apartheid.

1. Trade unions

143. The Special Committee maintained close contact with the international and national trade union organizations with a view to promoting concerted trade union action against apartheid.

144. On 22 January 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee met with Mr. Dennis Akumu, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), for consultations on international mobilization against apartheid.

145. The Secretary-General of OATUU assured the Chairman of "the unflicking support of all workers and trade unions of Africa in the struggle for the eradication of apartheid and for the liberation of the South African people". He invited the Chairman to visit the headquarters of OATUU in Accra to meet trade union leaders of Africa for full consultations on co-operation between the Special Committee and the trade union movement in the present stage of the liberation struggle.

146. He informed the Chairman that OATUU was organizing an African Workers Solidarity Week, beginning on 21 March 1980 (the twentieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre) when demonstrations, boycotts and other actions against apartheid would be undertaken.

147. The Chairman commended OATUU for its action in support of the struggle for liberation in South Africa and for its constant co-operation with the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid.

148. On 11 March 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement commending OATUU for launching a week of solidarity with the workers and people of South Africa who are struggling for freedom and dignity.

149. He expressed the hope that the workers in all African countries would effectively observe this week with concrete actions against the apartheid régime and in support of the national liberation movement, and that trade unions in all other continents would consider similar action, for the struggle in South Africa was a matter of vital concern to workers and peoples all over the world.

150. On 24 March 1980, the Special Committee organized a hearing on labour and trade union aspects of the situation in South Africa, with the participation of leaders of trade union organizations, anti-apartheid movements and experts in order to hold a full discussion and consultation as a basis for further international action.

151. At the meeting, representatives of the following organizations, and individuals, made statements: Mr. Claude Rossillion, representative of the International Labour Organisation; Mr. Denis Akumu, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity; Mr. Andrew Kailembo, representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; Mr. William Booth, Chairman, and Mr. George Houser, Executive Secretary, of the American Committee on Africa; Mr. William Howard, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America; Mr. D. Purnell, personal representative of the Reverend Leon Sullivan; Mr. Peter Bakvis, representative of the World Confederation of Labour; Ms. Elizabeth Schmidt of the Institute of Policy Studies; Mr. Ronald Press, member of the National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions; and Mr. Ernest de Maio, Permanent Representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions to the United Nations.

152. The representatives of the South African liberation movements - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - also made statements.

153. The Chairman and delegations of the Special Committee held consultations with many trade union leaders at meetings of the ILO in May and June 1980 and during other missions.

2. Youth and student organizations

154. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with youth and student organizations in promoting concerted action against apartheid. Towards that end, the Special Committee organized consultations with the leaders of youth and student organizations, participated in meetings and conferences organized by them, and encouraged actions taken by those organizations to promote the international mobilization against apartheid.

155. At its 445th meeting, on 14 November 1979, the Special Committee held consultations with Mr. Jon Lonn, President of the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations. He informed the Special Committee of the activities of his organization in support of the liberation struggle in southern Africa and of its plans and initiatives for the mobilization of the youth and student movement for effective action against apartheid.

156. In March 1980 the Special Committee was informed by student groups in the United States that they intended to observe the twentieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in 1980, as a time of special activity for divestment from South Africa and in support of the struggle of the national liberation movement of South Africa. It was also informed that regional

conferences of student groups would be organized to ensure co-ordination and intensification of activity against apartheid.

157. On 12 March 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement commending the student groups. He stated that the Special Committee had been greatly encouraged by the activities of student and youth groups around the world in support of the liberation.

158. Student actions in the United States and other Western countries were of particular importance since the Governments, corporations and institutions in these countries continued to collaborate with the racist régime and thereby encouraged it to persist in its inhuman and criminal system of apartheid. By their campaigns for divestment from South Africa, he said, the students were pressing their societies to live up to their moral professions and educating their communities to the real issues involved in South Africa, where the overwhelming majority of the people were struggling against a racist system and its allies.

159. In conjunction with the International Seminar on Youth and Student Solidarity with the People's Struggle in Southern Africa, organized by the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations in Stockholm from 23 to 26 May 1980, the Special Committee held consultative meetings with international and regional youth and student organizations.

160. The consultations covered means for intensification and co-ordination of international youth and student action on: (a) isolation of the South African racist régime; (b) support to the national liberation movement; and (c) solidarity with youth and students of South Africa in their struggle for liberation.

161. The following youth and student organizations participated in the consultations: International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, Geneva; International Union of Students, Prague; International Union of Socialist Youth, Vienna; International University Exchange Fund, Geneva; World Student Christian Federation, Geneva; International Young Christian Workers, Brussels; World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest; Pan African Youth Movement, Algiers; All African Students Union, Accra; Council of European National Youth Committees, Brussels; OCLAE, Havana; Asian Youth Council, Kuala Lumpur; National Union of Students of Australia (also representing Asian Students Association); and a representative from the United States student groups involved in the campaign for divestment from South Africa. The Special Committee was represented at these consultations by a delegation led by its Chairman.

162. The participants reviewed the developments since the World Conference of Youth and Students in Solidarity with Peoples, Youth and Students of Southern Africa held in UNESCO House, Paris, from 19 to 22 February 1979 under the sponsorship of several international youth and student organizations in co-operation with the Special Committee and UNESCO.

163. The participants pledged to increase efforts - both individually and in co-operation among themselves - to provide material assistance to the national liberation movements of southern Africa.

164. The participants agreed on the need for a great expansion of action in solidarity with the youth and students of southern Africa. They stressed that solidarity must be within the context of the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed people of southern Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements and in close consultation with those movements.

165. They agreed on the need for close co-operation by youth and student organizations with the United Nations and its agencies, with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity as well as all progressive and democratic forces committed to the liberation of southern Africa.

166. They welcomed the decision of the United Nations to organize, in co-operation with OAU, an international conference on sanctions against South Africa, and undertook to make their fullest contribution to it.

167. They also agreed on a series of projects to be undertaken by the youth and student organizations in support of the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. A communiqué was issued at the end of the consultations (see A/AC.115/L.526).

168. The Special Committee was represented at the next consultative meeting of the youth and student organizations held at Geneva on 2 July 1980 to consider progress on the implementation of the decisions taken at the previous consultation.

3. Other non-governmental organizations

169. As in the past, the Special Committee maintained close co-operation with the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements and other non-governmental organizations active in the struggle against apartheid. The Special Committee consulted the leaders of these organizations on international mobilization against apartheid, and invited them to participate in the meetings of the Special Committee, as well as seminars and conferences organized or co-sponsored by the Special Committee. It co-sponsored and/or attended a number of conferences and other events organized by the non-governmental organizations.

170. At its 445th meeting, on 14 November 1979, the Special Committee held consultations with the following leaders of non-governmental organizations: Mr. Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council and Chairman of the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization; Mr. Nouri Abdelrazzak, Acting Secretary-General, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization; and Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, Secretary-General, International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa.

171. During his visit to Brussels on 17 March 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee met with the Continuity Committee of the European Conference of Justice and Peace. The meeting, which was chaired by Mrs. Marga Klompe (Netherlands), President of the Committee, was attended by representatives of a number of western European Countries. They reviewed possibilities to strengthen co-operation in the future between the Special Committee and the Committee of the European Conference of Justice and Peace with a view to intensifying the struggle against apartheid.

172. The discussion covered such items as the present situation in South Africa, the campaign against loans to the apartheid régime, and ways and means to activate the campaign within western Europe, especially the European Communities, to isolate South Africa.

173. The Chairman agreed with the suggestion that a concerted strategy against apartheid would be a most crucial contribution to the action plan against apartheid. While the United Nations already had maintained co-operation with non-governmental organizations fighting apartheid, he said, efforts should be pursued to develop those links through exchange of information and frequent consultations.

174. Meetings of representatives of anti-apartheid movements were held, with the participation of the Special Committee and the Centre against Apartheid, during the International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa (Amsterdam, 14 to 16 March) and the International NGO Action Conference for Sanctions against South Africa (Geneva, 30 June to 3 July 1980) to consider co-ordination of plans for campaigns against apartheid and related matters.

175. During visits to other capitals, the Chairman met the representatives of a large number of non-governmental organizations for consultations on co-ordination of international action against apartheid.

176. During the International Seminar on Women and Apartheid, held at Helsinki from 19 to 21 May 1980, the Chairman met with representatives of a number of non-governmental organizations and had talks on means to promote concrete action against apartheid. On 19 May 1980, a delegation of Finnish organizations presented a joint Declaration against apartheid to the Chairman. The Declaration was signed by leaders of the Central Union of Women's Organizations, the Women's Union of Conservative Party, the Swedish Women's Organization of Finland, the Women's Organization of the Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Women's Organization of the Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Women's Organization, the League of Democratic Finnish Women, the Finnish Union of Students, the Finnish United Nations Association, the Finnish Peace Committee and the Central Union of Finnish Trade Unions.

177. Welcoming the Declaration, the Chairman stressed the special significance of the participation of all major political parties and popular organizations as a demonstration of wider commitment by the Finnish people for action against apartheid.

178. The Chairman also met with Ms. Freda Brown, President, and with Miriam Vire-Tuominen, Secretary-General of the Women's International Democratic Federation; Mrs. Edith Ballantyne, Secretary-General of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations; and Ms. Valentina Tereshkova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee for consultations on action against apartheid, particularly within the context of the United Nations Decade for Women.

179. During his visit to Sweden from 25 to 28 May 1980, the Chairman met with leaders of Swedish trade unions and student organizations.

180. During his visit to Norway from 28 to 30 May 1980, the Chairman addressed a meeting of non-governmental organizations and held consultations with them.

181. In the Federal Republic of Germany in June 1980, the Chairman met with the Secretary-General of the German Association for the United Nations as well as other officials of the Association. They discussed the situation in southern Africa, the efforts of the United Nations associations in informing public opinion of United Nations activities and means for closer co-operation in the dissemination of information on apartheid.

182. He also held detailed consultations with the leaders of the Federation of German Trade Unions in Dusseldorf.

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

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

184. It co-sponsored an International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, held in London from 2 to 4 November 1979 (see paras. 69-77) and an International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, held in Amsterdam from 14 to 16 March 1980 (see paras. 78-85).

185. The Special Committee co-sponsored with the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations (IYSMUN) an International Seminar on Youth Solidarity with the People's Struggle in Southern Africa, held at Sigtuna, Sweden, from 23 to 26 May 1980.

186. The Seminar was attended by over 100 representatives of international and national youth organizations all over the world. The Special Committee was represented by a delegation led by its Chairman. The representatives of the liberation movements of southern Africa also attended the Seminar. At the opening meeting, a statement was made by Mr. Olaf Johansson, Minister for Civil Service Affairs of Sweden.

187. The work of the Seminar was carried out in three Working Groups dealing with different themes covering various aspects of the evil system of apartheid; the diverse forms of Western economic, political, military and cultural collaboration with the South African racist régime; and ways and means of developing solidarity with the struggling youth and people of southern Africa.

188. The International Seminar adopted a Declaration (see A/AC.115/L.529) and reports of the Working Groups.

189. On 26 June 1980, the Special Committee co-sponsored a meeting held by the African National Congress at United Nations Headquarters on the occasion of South Africa Freedom Day and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

190. The Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization organized, in co-operation with the Special Committee and the International NGO Action Conference for Sanctions against South Africa, at the International Labour Organisation headquarters in Geneva from 30 June to 3 July 1980. The Conference was presided over by Mr. Sean MacBride, former United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. In accordance with the decision taken by the Special Committee on 26 August 1980, the Declaration of the Conference was transmitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council for their consideration (A/35/439-S/14160, annex).

191. The Conference brought together a wide spectrum of organizations and individuals interested in working for total sanctions against the South African régime. It was attended by about 200 representatives of non-governmental organizations and African liberation movements, as well as observers from a number of Governments. The Special Committee was represented by Mr. Uddhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal), Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. The ways and means of promoting international campaigns and mobilization for sanctions were discussed in three commissions, with particular reference to the following:

(a) Military and nuclear collaboration;

(b) Economic collaboration: the role of transnational corporations, oil embargo, loans, and airline and shipping connexions;

(c) Cultural and sports boycott, including research and publicity on sanctions.

192. On 3 July 1980, the International Conference unanimously adopted a Declaration calling for an international campaign, in co-operation with the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and committed Governments against collaboration with the apartheid régime, and comprehensive, mandatory and universally applied sanctions against South Africa.

193. The Conference welcomed the decision of the United Nations to organize an international conference, in co-operation with OAU, on sanctions against South Africa.

194. The Conference also adopted reports by three commissions on military and nuclear, economic and social and cultural aspects of the campaigns for sanctions.

195. It adopted three statements on: solidarity with the people of Namibia, the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the South African Freedom Charter.

196. On 4 July 1980, organizations engaged in campaigns against loans to South Africa held a meeting in Geneva, with the co-sponsorship of the Special Committee, to consider intensification and greater co-ordination of the campaigns.

L. Observance of international days

197. The Special Committee held solemn meetings at United Nations Headquarters in observance of the international days proclaimed by the General Assembly in connexion with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa: the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March), the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling Peoples of South Africa (16 June), and the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October).

198. It invited all States Members of the United Nations, the United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa, the specialized agencies, OAU and the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU, as well as non-governmental organizations active against apartheid, to these special meetings.

199. The Special Committee addressed appeals to Governments and organizations in order to promote the world-wide observance of the international days referred to above.

200. As indicated earlier, the Special Committee also promoted the observance of an International Day for an Oil Embargo against South Africa on 20 May 1980.

1. International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March) 6/

201. On 21 March 1980, the Special Committee held a solemn meeting in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

202. Statements were made by the Secretary-General, the Chairmen of the regional groups in the United Nations and the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Anzania (PAC) (A/AC.115/PV.449).

203. The message from the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity was read at the meeting by the representative of Liberia. The representatives of the following States read messages of their Heads of State or Government: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Barbados, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Jamaica, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Tunisia, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

204. The Special Committee also received messages from Governments and/or Foreign Ministers of the following Member States: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy (on behalf of the European Economic Community), Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Philippines, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey and Venezuela. It also received a message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea.

6/ For observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, see the Committee's report to the thirty-fourth session (Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/34/22)).

205. The Special Committee also received messages from the Directors-General of UNESCO and FAO, and from a number of non-governmental organizations and solidarity movements (see A/AC.115/L.522).

206. At the request of the Special Committee, the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva organized a ceremony on 21 March in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The Special Committee was represented at the ceremony by its Vice-Chairman, Mr. Uddhav D. Bhatt (Nepal).

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

207. On 18 June 1979, the Special Committee held, in co-operation with the Group of African States, a solemn meeting in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 31/6 I in 1976.

208. Statements were made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, representatives of the regional groups in the Special Committee, representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Anzania - and the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Messages of solidarity were received from the President of Venezuela, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, and the Government of Pakistan.

M. Women and children under apartheid

209. The Special Committee paid particular attention during the past year, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 34/93 K, to the plight of women and children under apartheid.

210. It co-sponsored two seminars on women under apartheid and was represented at a seminar in the Netherlands organized by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement.

211. It sent a delegation to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (Copenhagen, July 1980).

1. Hemispheric Seminar on Women under Apartheid, Montreal

212. The Hemispheric Seminar on Women under Apartheid - organized by the Ligue des femmes du Québec and other Canadian organizations, in co-operation with the Special

Committee against Apartheid and the secretariat of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women - met in Montreal from 9 to 11 May 1980.

213. The participants included representatives of United Nations bodies, the Organization of African Unity, the southern African liberation movements recognized by OAU and 160 non-governmental organizations. A number of Governments from the Western Hemisphere were represented as observers. The Special Committee was represented by a delegation composed of Mrs. Lenore Dorset (Trinidad and Tobago) and Mr. Pepe Dramou.

214. At the opening session, the Seminar heard statements by the Secretary-General of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, and the representatives of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Organization of African Unity, the Ligue des femmes du Québec and the South African liberation movements - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

215. The Seminar adopted a Declaration and a number of resolutions and reports of commissions.

216. On 6 June 1980, at the 456th meeting of the Special Committee, a representative of the Ligue des femmes du Québec presented a report on the Seminar. The Special Committee decided to issue the Declaration as a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/AC.115/L.525).

2. International Seminar on Women and Apartheid, Helsinki

217. The International Seminar on Women and Apartheid was organized by the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the secretariat of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, and held at the Dipoli Conference Centre near Helsinki from 19 to 21 May 1980.

218. The Seminar was convened in pursuance of the objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women and the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It was intended particularly to contribute to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980) by providing a useful basis for the consideration of one of its main agenda items concerning the effects of apartheid on women in southern Africa and measures of assistance to them.

219. Participants in the Seminar included representatives of Governments, United Nations bodies and agencies, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and southern African liberation movements, as well as a number of individual experts. The Special Committee was represented by a delegation led by its Chairman.

220. Madame Jean-Martin Cissé, Minister for Social Affairs of Guinea and former Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, was elected Chairman of the Seminar.

221. The agenda of the Seminar was as follows:

1. Economic and social effects of apartheid on women:
 - Health;
 - Education;
 - Employment;
 - Family life;
 - Psychological implications.
2. Political effects of apartheid on women:
 - Plight of women refugees;
 - Repression against women resisting apartheid;
 - Legal framework.
3. Women in the struggle for liberation.
4. Women in the struggle for trade union rights.
5. National, regional and international action.

222. Opening statements at the Seminar were delivered by: Madame Jean-Martin Cissé, Chairman of the Seminar; Mrs. Helvi Sipila, Assistant Secretary-General for Humanitarian and Social Affairs, who delivered a statement on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations; Mrs. Eva-Christian Makelainen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland; Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid; Mrs. Lucille Mair, Secretary-General of the 1980 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women; Mr. Eric Amerding, Chief of Section of Relations with Non-Governmental Organizations, UNESCO; Ms. Valentina Tereshkova, Soviet Women's Committee; Ms. Marcia Margarita Rodriguez, representing the non-aligned countries; Ms. Freda Brown, Women's International Democratic Federation; Mrs. Edith Ballantyne, Secretary-General of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Mrs. Lindiwe Mabuza on behalf of ANC; and Mrs. Elizabeth Sibeko, on behalf of PAC.

223. After a full discussion of the agenda items, the Seminar unanimously adopted a Declaration and Recommendations, which were transmitted to the Special Committee.

224. On 6 June 1980, at the 456th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mrs. Maria Lourdes Ramiro-Lopez (Philippines), member of the delegation of the Special Committee and Rapporteur of the Seminar, introduced the report of the Seminar. 7/ The Special Committee decided to transmit the Declaration and

7/ Report of the International Seminar on Women and Apartheid, Helsinki, Finland, 19-21 May 1980 (A/AC.115/L.528).

Recommendations of the Seminar to the General Assembly and to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, Copenhagen (A/35/286, annex).

N. Missions to Governments

225. In accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Special Committee gave great importance during the past year to consultations with the Governments of Member States to promote the international mobilization against apartheid. It sent missions for consultations with the Governments of the following Member States: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany (Federal Republic of), Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The Chairman and delegations of the Special Committee also took the opportunity of missions to conferences to consult with a number of Governments.

1. Mission by the Chairman to the Netherlands

226. At the invitation of the Government of the Netherlands, the Chairman of the Special Committee visited The Hague on 13 March 1980 for consultations on international action against apartheid.

227. During that mission, he met the members of the Standing Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Second Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament, as well as senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. The consultations covered an exchange of views on the present situation in South Africa and all aspects of international action against apartheid, with particular reference to sanctions against South Africa and the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa to be organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity.

228. The Chairman of the Standing Committee recalled that the Dutch Parliament had adopted a resolution requesting the Dutch Government to promote an oil embargo against South Africa within the European Communities. He thanked the Chairman of the Special Committee for his visit which, he said, would contribute to the Parliament's struggle against apartheid.

2. Mission by the Chairman to Belgium

229. The Chairman of the Special Committee visited Brussels on 17 March 1980 for consultations with the Government of Belgium and Belgian organizations on international action against apartheid.

230. During that visit, he held discussions with officers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium in Brussels led by the Chef de Cabinet, Mr. Andre Adam;

Mrs. Anne-Marie Lizin and Mr. Ernest Glinne, members of the European Parliament; Mrs. Wivina Demeester-de-Meyer, member of the Belgian Parliament; and Mrs. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Secretary of the Comité contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, Brussels.

231. The discussions covered an analysis of the present situation in southern Africa and international action for the elimination of apartheid, with particular reference to implementation of an arms embargo and imposition of an oil embargo against South Africa. The participants also exchanged views on discussion in the European Parliament on southern Africa on the code of conduct for European Community companies with subsidiaries branches or representations in South Africa and on possibilities of further action by the European Communities.

232. Mr. Adam assured the Chairman that Belgium was firmly committed, together with its partners in the European Communities, to use their combined weight to promote radical and peaceful change in the situation in southern Africa.

3. Mission by the Chairman to the Nordic countries

233. The Chairman of the Special Committee visited Finland, Norway and Sweden between 18 and 30 May 1980, at the invitation of the three Governments for consultations on international action against apartheid.

Finland

234. In Finland, the Chairman met with Mr. Matti Jucvinen, Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs, and held detailed discussions with senior officials of the Foreign Ministry on all aspects of the situation in South Africa and southern Africa. He also met with the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Finnish Parliament under the Chairmanship of Mr. Kalevi Sorsa, former Prime Minister and leader of the Social Democratic Party.

235. The Chairman expressed great appreciation to the Finnish Government and Parliament for their assistance to the oppressed people of southern Africa and their liberation movement.

Sweden

236. In Sweden, the Chairman met with Mr. Ola Ullsten, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Hans Blix, Under-Secretary of State for International Development and Co-operation, and senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also met a number of members of Parliament, including the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Mr. Olof Palme.

237. During the talks, the Chairman was assured that Sweden would continue to co-operate in international action for freedom in southern Africa and would continue assistance to front-line States and the liberation movements. He was also assured of co-operation by Sweden in preparations for the International Conference on Sanctions against Apartheid.

238. The Chairman commended Sweden for its co-operation in international action against apartheid and expressed confidence that Sweden would continue to be involved in the struggle against apartheid.

Norway

239. In Norway, the Chairman was received by Mr. Odvar Nordli, the Prime Minister. The Chairman expressed his appreciation for Norway's contribution to international action for the elimination of apartheid. The Prime Minister assured the Chairman of Norway's continuing support to the Special Committee and for the aspiration of African nations for freedom and development.

240. The Chairman also held discussions with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Knut Freydenlund, with members of Parliament and senior government officials on a number of matters, including the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

4. Mission by the Chairman to the Federal Republic of Germany

241. At the invitation by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Chairman of the Special Committee visited the Federal Republic from 8 to 14 June 1980. The Chairman was received by Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, and by Mr. Gunther van Well, State Secretary. He also met with Mr. Wilhelm Haas, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, at the Federal Foreign Office; Mr. Walter Gozenflos, Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, and other officers, and held detailed discussion on all aspects of the situation in South Africa and international action against apartheid.

242. He also held discussions with the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Parliament, led by its Chairman, Mr. Gerhard Schroter.

243. During the discussions, the Chairman stressed the importance of urgent international action. In particular, he called for solidarity with the schoolchildren, churchmen and trade unionists struggling heroically against racial discrimination, for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and for sanctions against South Africa. He also emphasized the need for urgent efforts for the independence of Namibia.

244. He was assured of the firm opposition of the Federal Republic of Germany to apartheid and its willingness to contribute to international efforts for the elimination of apartheid.

0. Conferences

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

1. Representation at conferences

246. The Special Committee was represented at the following conferences, seminars and meetings:

- 12th World Conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Madrid, 19 to 23 November 1979 --
Mr. Arpin D. J. Blankson (Nigeria)
- Meeting of the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, Geneva, 8 and 9 November 1979 - Miss Salwa G. Berberi (Sudan) and Mrs. Maria Lourdes Ramiro-Lopez (Philippines)
- Executive Committee Meeting of the International Union of Students, Prague, 16 to 18 November 1979 - Mr. Gopi Nath Dawadi (Nepal)
- Session of the OAU African Liberation Committee, Dar-es-Salaam, 21 to 25 January 1980 - Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)
- Campaign Meeting on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 3 February 1980 -
Mr. Vasant V. Nevrekar (India)
- Preparatory Meeting for the Regional Seminar on Women in Southern Africa, Montreal, 7 February 1980 - Mr. Mohamed S. Mohamud Malingur (Somalia)
- Annual General Meeting of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Dublin, 15 February 1980 - Mr. Kumar P. Gyawali (Nepal)
- Meeting of the Bureau of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, Addis Ababa, 28 February to 4 March 1980 -
Mr. Vladimir A. Kravets (Ukrainian SSR)
- Meeting of the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, Geneva, 10 March 1980 -
Mr. Kwado F. Nyamekye (Ghana)
- Third session of the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, Stockholm, 11 to 13 April 1980 -
Mr. Laszlo Hadas (Hungary)
- Conference on Women under Apartheid, organized by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, Amsterdam, 12 April 1980 - Mrs. Marina Annette Valere (Trinidad and Tobago)
- "Southern Africa after Zimbabwe" National Action Conference organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 31 May 1980 -
Mr. B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria)

- Seminar on Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, organized by the Institute of Studies of Developing Countries, in co-operation with the United Nations Information Centre in Brazil, the Centre of Afro-Asian Studies of the Candido Mendes University and the Society of Exchange Brazil-Africa, Rio de Janeiro, 26 to 30 May 1980 - Miss Akenjinka U. Wadibia (Nigeria)
- International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, Paris, 11 to 13 September 1980 - Mr. Efim Kachurenko (Ukrainian SSR) and Miss Maria Lourdes Ramiro-Lopez (Philippines)

2. Messages to conferences

247. The Chairman sent messages to the following conferences and other events:

- Conference on Humanitarian and Material Aid to Southern African Liberation Movements, organized by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Dublin, 20 November 1979
- Ninth General Assembly of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, Yaoundé, 26 November 1979
- Assembly of International University Exchange Fund, Geneva, 29 November to 3 December 1979
- Colloquy on Human Rights and Union Action organized by the World Confederation of Labour, Quebec, 17 to 21 March 1980
- Congress of the Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples, Paris, 21 to 23 March 1980
- Solidarity Conference on the Struggle of the Peoples of South Africa, organized by the Council of European National Youth Committees and the Pan African Youth Movement, Bonn, 23 to 28 March 1980
- Meeting organized by the International Union of Students and All African Student Union on follow-up action of the World Conference of Youth and Students on the Struggle of Peoples, Youth and Students of South Africa of 1979, Accra, 27 and 28 March 1980
- Annual Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, Oslo, 7 to 12 April 1980
- Third session of the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, Stockholm, 11 to 13 April 1980
- Regional Student Anti-Apartheid Strategy Conference for Northeast, New York, 12 April 1980
- Regional Student Anti-Apartheid Strategy Conference for Midwest, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 12 April 1980

- Colloquium on the Relations between the Countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Pretoria Régime, organized by the Association française d'amitié et de solidarité avec les peuples d'Afrique (AFASPA), in co-operation with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, Strasbourg, 19 and 20 May 1980.
- Public rally of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and the Working Group Kairos on the occasion of the International Day for an Oil Embargo against South Africa, The Hague, 20 May 1980
- Meeting in observance of the Day of Action to free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and associated organizations, London, 11 June 1980
- International Student Seminar on Struggle against Apartheid, Fascism and Reaction, organized by the International Union of Students, the Continental Latin America Organization of Students (OCLAE) and the National Student Council in Grenada, 26 to 30 June 1980
- International NGO Action Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Geneva, 30 June and 1 July 1980
- World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980
- 24th General Conference of the International Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN), Nicosia, 11 to 16 August 1980

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

1. United Nations organs

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

249. The Special Committee also maintained close relations with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

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

251. On 11 January 1980, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent to the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights a supplementary paper prepared by a consultant to update the paper entitled "Some cases of murder, torture and deprivation of liberty in South Africa", which had been transmitted to the Commission in 1979.

252. At the request of the Special Committee, a paper entitled "Some cases of murder, torture and deprivation of liberty in South Africa" was prepared by an expert and transmitted by the Chairman of the Special Committee to the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights on 20 February 1980.

253. A delegation of the Special Committee attended the session of the Preparatory Committee for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women held from 7 to 18 April 1980. Miss Nkenjinka Wadibia (Nigeria), member of the delegation, made a statement at the meeting on 14 April 1980.

254. A delegation of the Special Committee composed of Miss Salwa Gabriel Berberi (Sudan) and Mrs. Ligaya T. Lara (Philippines) attended the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980.

2. Specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system

255. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), with a view to promoting co-ordination in action against apartheid during the International Mobilization against Apartheid.

256. On 29 October 1979, the Special Committee held a meeting with the representatives of specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system for the co-ordination of action against apartheid. The meeting was attended by the representatives of FAO, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the ILO, the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).

257. The representatives of the agencies provided information on the activities of their organizations relating to apartheid. There was then an exchange of views on the ways and means of better co-ordination of the efforts of all agencies and organizations within the United Nations system. The participants agreed to continue such consultations.

258. The Chairman of the Special Committee met the Director-General of the International Labour Office at Geneva on 16 November 1979 for consultations on international action against apartheid.

259. The Chairman congratulated the ILO for its efforts to intensify action against apartheid. He noted in particular the decisions of the ILO Governing Body: (a) to convene a meeting in May with the participation of the Special Committee, OAU and others to consider action against apartheid; and

(b) to recommend the establishment of a tripartite Conference Committee to meet before each ILO General Conference to examine the annual report of the Director-General on apartheid and submit recommendations to the Conference.

260. At the 448th meeting of the Special Committee, on 6 March 1980, the Director of the Liaison Office of UNESCO with the United Nations presented to the Special Committee a study by UNESCO entitled "Apartheid -- power and historical falsification". The Chairman highly commended UNESCO for its continuing contribution to international action against apartheid.

261. A delegation of the Special Committee headed by its Chairman participated in the Tripartite Meeting on Apartheid of the ILO, held at Geneva from 22 to 26 May 1980. It presented a number of proposals for consideration by the meeting.

262. A representative of the Special Committee also participated in the meetings of the ILO Committee on Apartheid and the General Conference of the ILO held at Geneva from 9 to 18 June 1980.

263. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, with financial assistance by the Special Committee, published in May 1980 a booklet entitled "The effects of apartheid on African rural family life and nutrition in South Africa", which was introduced at the International Seminar on Women and Apartheid (Helsinki, 19 to 21 May 1980).

3. Organization of African Unity

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

265. The Chairman of the Special Committee represented it at the session of the OAU African Liberation Committee held at Dar-es-Salaam from 21 to 25 February 1980.

266. During his visit to Addis Ababa in March 1980, Mr. Vladimir Kravets (Ukrainian SSR), Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee, met with Mr. Peter Onu, Assistant Secretary-General of OAU, for consultations on the International Mobilization against Apartheid and on the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa.

267. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended the thirty-fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June 1980.

4. Conference of Non-Aligned Countries

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

5. South African liberation movements

269. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with the two South African liberation movements recognized by OAU - the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) - which are represented in the Special Committee as observers. They were also invited to address several special meetings of the Committee.

270. The Special Committee invited representatives of the two movements for consultations during the sessions of the General Assembly. It also invited them to special meetings of the Special Committee as well as to conferences and seminars for action against apartheid, co-sponsored by the Special Committee.

271. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the South African Freedom Charter, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter on 17 June 1980 to the President of the African National Congress of South Africa. In his reply to the letter, the President of ANC commended the activities of the Special Committee (see A/AC.115/L.531).

272. On 17 July 1980, in connexion with the sixty-second birthday of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Chairman sent a telegramme to Mrs. Winnie Mandela.

III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Introduction

273. The past year has witnessed momentous developments in southern Africa which demand from the international community a determined effort in fulfilment of its commitment to eliminate apartheid and enable the South African people as a whole - irrespective of race, colour or creed - to exercise their inalienable right to genuine self-determination.
274. The people of Zimbabwe obtained their independence in April 1980 after a long and difficult struggle against colonial and racist domination, including an armed struggle against an illegal minority racist régime, culminating in an election in which the national liberation movement emerged triumphant.
275. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe isolated the apartheid régime in South Africa and constituted a challenge to the international community to redouble its efforts for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa.
276. The resistance of the people of Namibia - and the armed struggle under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO - registered further advances despite the expansion of military operations and increasing terror by the illegal occupying power.
277. In South Africa itself, there has been a tremendous advance of the movement against apartheid and for national liberation, reflecting a rise in the political consciousness of the oppressed people and their determination to destroy apartheid and establish a democratic State.
278. There was a nation-wide uprising by black students against racial discrimination in education. It encompassed wider areas and larger segments of student population than the uprising which followed the Soweto massacre of 1976. The students were supported by their parents and teachers, as well as significant sections of students in white universities.
279. There were strikes by black workers on an unprecedented scale for better wages and other legitimate demands.
280. There were mass demonstrations and struggles by the black people against increases in bus fares and rents, and against forcible removals of communities.
281. Large numbers of black traders and businessmen joined the observance of the anniversary of the Soweto massacre by closing their shops and businesses.
282. While the student, trade union and other struggles were focused on particular grievances, it was clear that they were all linked to a rejection of apartheid and the urge for a democratic society.
283. Meanwhile, the national liberation movement greatly expanded its underground activity and its armed struggle. Its freedom fighters launched a series of engagements, the most significant of which was perhaps the attack on the SASOL oil-from-coal plants on 1 June 1980.

284. Thousands of people attended the funerals of freedom fighters who were slain and of other victims of police violence, thus demonstrating the overwhelming support of the oppressed people for the liberation struggle.

285. Trusted spokesmen of the black people urged the régime and the white community to learn the lesson of Zimbabwe and seek a peaceful and just solution. The campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, as a prelude to a genuine national convention, received overwhelming support by the people of South Africa.

286. The apartheid régime, however, spurned a peaceful solution and resorted to repression and terror, coupled with insidious propaganda manoeuvres, to divide the people and deceive the world.

287. It met demonstrations of schoolchildren with gun fire and baton-charges, resulting in many deaths and injuries.

288. It met the strikes of black workers with intimidation, mass arrests and deportations to reserves.

289. Many respected spokesmen of the black people and many churchmen opposed to apartheid were jailed, banned or deprived of passports.

290. While pretending to favour reforms to alleviate racist oppression, the racist régime enacted more repressive legislation and continued mass population removals and other obnoxious practices of apartheid.

291. It proposed a new constitutional dispensation which would retain the white minority's monopoly of power, co-opt Coloured people and Indians into a merely advisory role and, in essence, exclude the African majority. These proposals were totally rejected by all the black people.

292. In its efforts to reinforce white domination in South Africa, the apartheid régime proceeded with its plans for a "constellation of southern African States" but the project was rejected by all but the dependent régimes in the bantustans, which were granted so-called independence.

293. At the same time, the racist régime escalated threats and acts of aggression as well as subversion against independent African States, causing extensive loss of life and property.

294. South Africa is thus at the crossroads between a genuine solution through an end to all repression and a process of self-determination by all the people, and an escalation and widening of conflict precipitated by the racist régime. The danger of conflict has greatly increased as a result of the continued military build-up by the régime and its frantic efforts to acquire nuclear-weapon capability.

295. The Special Committee considers that the international community cannot permit the racist régime to aggravate the tension and conflict in southern Africa. The independence of Zimbabwe must be followed by greater international action against the Pretoria régime until Namibia and South Africa are free.

296. The United Nations must take urgent measures to step up the international mobilization against apartheid proclaimed in 1979 - for the total isolation of the apartheid régime and for full support to the national liberation movement of South Africa.

297. The Special Committee considers, in particular, that urgent action should be taken to institute comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in the face of its defiance of the world and the menace it poses to international peace and security.

298. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that apartheid is not merely a gross violation of human rights, nor simply a forcible imposition of racial discrimination and segregation. It is, above all, a system of oppression, exploitation and dispossession of indigenous people of South Africa, who constitute the great majority of the population of the country, by a racist minority which holds the monopoly of political and economic power. In its efforts to consolidate this power, it seeks to deprive the great majority of the people even of their right to citizenship through the system of bantustans and other structures of apartheid.

299. Apartheid is a criminal system which cannot be "reformed". The liberation movements have, therefore, stressed that the task is no less than the seizure of power by the people, the destruction of all the structures of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic non-racial society, ensuring equal rights for all men and women.

300. Only then can the millions of oppressed Africans be freed from the tyranny and terror of the apartheid régime, and the independence and sovereignty of neighbouring African States be truly secured.

301. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that the struggle of the South African people is not only legitimate but is for noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The United Nations has recognized that the liberation movements and other opponents of apartheid have made a significant contribution to the purposes of the United Nations.

302. While the primary responsibility for the elimination of apartheid rests with the people of South Africa, the international community has a vital interest in promoting the speedy elimination of that system. It must promote collective action by all Governments and people committed to peace, freedom, human dignity and international co-operation in support of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

303. Apartheid is an affront to humanity as a whole. There can be no justification for collaboration with the apartheid régime nor for any hesitation to support the struggle of the South African people to eradicate that system.

304. The Special Committee again affirms its conviction that the apartheid régime is defying world opinion and continuing to commit crimes against the South African people and humanity. It is able to do so because of the refusal of the major trading partners of South Africa - particularly the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France and the Federal Republic of Germany - to respect the resolutions of the United Nations and because of the activities of transnational corporations, which continue to collaborate with the apartheid régime and to hinder and frustrate international sanctions.

B. Threat to international peace and security

305. The Special Committee notes that in the past year the Pretoria régime has resorted to increasing brutality against the oppressed people of South Africa - as evidenced by the killing and maiming of unarmed schoolchildren; the arrests and other repressive actions against thousands of black trade unionists; the harassment of churchmen, lawyers and journalists; the increasing trials under the Terrorism Act and other arbitrary legislation; and the enactment of new repressive legislation. These actions have further aggravated the tension and conflict in South Africa and threaten to lead to greater violence.

306. The Pretoria régime has continued its war against the liberation movement in Namibia and has defied Security Council resolutions for a peaceful settlement.

307. It has embarked on a series of acts of aggression against neighbouring States. Its blatant acts of aggression against Angola in October 1979 and June 1980, and against Zambia in April 1980 - involving occupation of the territory of these States for long periods of time and large-scale loss of life - have been condemned by the Security Council. Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have been subjected to threats, subversion and destabilization.

308. There can be little doubt that the racist régime of South Africa is acting increasingly as a desperate outlaw bent on precipitating a catastrophic conflict in the vain hope of perpetuating white domination in southern Africa. Its nuclear plans and capability pose an enormous danger and an inescapable challenge to the international community.

309. The Special Committee wishes to reiterate that the failure of the Security Council, because of the obstruction of three of its permanent members, to recognize that the policies and actions of that régime constitute a threat to international peace and security, has encouraged the racist régime of South Africa to pursue its suicidal course and escalate its criminal actions.

310. The Special Committee considers that the Security Council must, without any further delay, determine that the situation constitutes a clear and grave threat to international peace and security under Chapter VII of the Charter, and consider appropriate measures under the Charter to meet that threat.

311. It hopes that all States concerned will exert their influence to persuade the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America to desist from continuing to prevent the Security Council from discharging its responsibilities in relation to the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

C. Sanctions against South Africa

312. The Special Committee considers that in view of the grave situation in southern Africa and its implications, the Security Council must, without further delay, impose

comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, under Chapter VII of the Charter, and ensure that the sanctions are universally applied and effectively monitored.

313. It notes with utmost regret that certain States which profess abhorrence of apartheid and commitment to peaceful change have consistently and stubbornly refused to support peaceful measures such as sanctions which can greatly reduce violence and suffering in the process of liberation. Indeed, they continue their collaboration with the apartheid régime, thereby encouraging it in its policy of violence and aggression.

314. The Special Committee considers, in view of the enormous threat posed by the racist régime of South Africa and its constant defiance of the United Nations, that the isolation of that régime must be total. Sanctions and boycotts should cover arms and ammunition, nuclear co-operation, investment, trade, transfer of technology, and airline and shipping links, as well as scientific, cultural and sports exchanges.

315. There is an imperative need for concerted action by the United Nations organs, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement, as well as all Governments and organizations committed to peace and freedom, to persuade the major Western Powers and other Governments concerned to cease their opposition to such sanctions and to terminate their collaboration with South Africa.

316. The Special Committee emphasizes that, pending Security Council action, all Governments should be encouraged to take unilateral measures against South Africa.

317. It recognizes the crucial importance of the activities of anti-apartheid groups, trade unions, political parties, parliamentarians, religious and legal bodies, student and youth groups and others in countries collaborating with the South African régime in enlightening public opinion and in launching public campaigns for disengagement from South Africa.

318. It considers that the proposed International Conference for Sanctions against South Africa can make an important contribution towards effective international action. It draws attention to its special report on the Conference (A/35/22/Add.3-S/14156/Add.3).

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

(a) Urge the Security Council to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter and take steps towards effective monitoring of such sanctions;

(b) Reaffirm that any collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as a flagrant violation of resolutions of the United Nations;

(c) Call upon all Governments to exert their influence to persuade Western and other Powers concerned to facilitate such sanctions;

(d) Declare that continued obstruction of effective action by the Security Council to resolve the situation in South Africa undermines the authority of the United Nations and constitutes a danger to international peace;

(e) Urge all Governments, pending a mandatory decision by the Security Council, to take individual and collective action to terminate all relations with South Africa;

(f) Urge all intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concerned to take appropriate action to promote the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa and mobilize public opinion for comprehensive sanctions against that régime.

320. The Special Committee further recommends that the General Assembly should commend to the attention of all Governments and organizations the conclusions and recommendations of the relevant conferences and seminars organized by the Special Committee, namely:

(a) International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, London, 2-4 November 1979;

(b) International Seminar on an Oil Embargo against South Africa, Amsterdam, 14-16 March 1980;

(c) International Non-Governmental Organizations Action Conference for Sanctions against South Africa, Geneva, 30 June-3 July 1980.

1. Arms embargo against South Africa

321. The Special Committee again expresses grave concern over the continued military build-up of the racist régime of South Africa and the enormous danger posed by its nuclear plans. It notes with serious concern that several countries have employed restrictive interpretations of the arms embargo and have failed to take adequate legislative and other measures to implement it. A number of transnational corporations and shipping companies have assisted in secret shipments of arms to South Africa.

322. South Africa has further increased its military budget during the period under review and has been able to obtain military equipment, supplies and technology from other countries despite the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977).

323. The Special Committee notes with particular concern that South Africa was able to acquire a powerful artillery system and missiles owing to the arms embargo.

324. It commends the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, the anti-apartheid groups, trade unionists, journalists and others who have uncovered violations of the arms embargo. It expresses regret,

however, that not all States have taken prompt action to punish the violators and effectively prevent recurrence of such violations.

325. The Special Committee recommends urgent attention to the strengthening of the machinery for the supervision of the arms embargo. It also considers it imperative that the embargo should be reinforced in accordance with the request made by the General Assembly to the Security Council, in resolution 34/93 D of 12 December 1979, so that all States:

"(a) Shall revoke all licences granted to South Africa for the manufacture of arms and equipment;

"(b) Shall prohibit corporations under their jurisdiction from any involvement in the manufacture in South Africa of arms and related equipment for the use of the military and police forces, and in the transfer of technology and capital for that purpose;

"(c) Shall terminate the exchange of military, air, naval and scientific attachés with the apartheid régime;

"(d) Shall prohibit the supply of aircraft, aircraft engines, aircraft parts, electronic and telecommunications equipment and computers to South Africa;

"(e) Shall take effective legislative and other measures to prevent the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries for assistance to the apartheid régime, and to punish such mercenaries."

326. The Special Committee further recommends that there should be a total prohibition of all military collaboration and liaison with South Africa; an embargo on all supplies to military and police forces of South Africa, and of all supplies which can be used by the military and police forces in their operations, such as four-wheel-drive vehicles; an embargo on the import of arms from South Africa, since such imports enable South Africa to develop its arms industry; cessation of all training to South African military and police personnel; and termination of all exchanges of visits by military and police personnel experts in weapons technology and employees of arms factories between South Africa and other countries.

327. It reiterates its conviction that an oil embargo is an essential complement to the arms embargo against South Africa.

328. It notes the growing resistance to service in the armed forces of South Africa, because of opposition to apartheid, and urges that genuine war resisters be granted asylum and other facilities by all States in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 33/165.

329. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that the Security Council, in resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980, called upon all States strictly and scrupulously to implement resolution 418 (1977) and enact, as appropriate, effective national legislation for that purpose; and requested the Committee

established under resolution 421 (1977) to redouble its efforts to secure full implementation of the embargo by recommending, by 15 September 1980, measures to close all loopholes in the arms embargo, reinforce and make it more comprehensive.

330. It also welcomes the decision of the General Assembly, in resolution 34/140, to consider the drafting of an international convention to outlaw mercenarism in all its manifestations.

331. The Special Committee will continue and intensify its activities to promote the full implementation and reinforcement of the arms embargo by studies, investigations, seminars and conferences, as well as consultations with Governments concerned and encouragement to anti-apartheid movements, trade unions and journalists. It will continue close co-operation with the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa.

332. It considers it essential to organize as soon as possible a seminar on the implementation and reinforcement of the arms embargo against South Africa, with the participation of Governments, experts, anti-apartheid groups and other bodies.

2. Cessation of nuclear collaboration

333. The Special Committee has repeatedly drawn attention to the grave danger posed by the frantic efforts of the racist régime of South Africa to acquire nuclear-weapon capability. It has pointed out that South Africa has been able to acquire this capability because of the collaboration by a number of Governments, transnational corporations and institutions, and warned that such collaboration constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security.

334. The racist régime has embarked on its nuclear plans in the hope of entrenching apartheid by blackmailing and intimidating African and other States. Nuclear weapons under its control - with its record of massacres and aggression and of defiance of the international community - constitute an enormous danger to humanity.

335. The Special Committee notes with dismay that certain States, corporations and institutions have continued nuclear collaboration with South Africa in total disregard of appeals by the General Assembly. It considers, therefore, that a mandatory decision by the Security Council is imperative and urgent.

336. It recalls that the General Assembly, in resolution 34/93 E of 12 December 1979, requested the Security Council

"urgently to consider mandatory measures to prevent the racist régime of South Africa from detonating, developing or acquiring nuclear weapons, and to warn that the acquisition or testing of nuclear weapons by it would be met with enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter."

337. It also notes that the General Assembly, in resolution 34/76 B of 11 December 1979, requested the Secretary-General to prepare a comprehensive report

on South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field. It expresses the hope that the report (A/35/402 and Corr.1) will lead to early and effective action by the United Nations organs concerned.

338. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly reiterate its resolution 34/93 E on nuclear collaboration with South Africa; stress the urgent need for total cessation of any collaboration in the nuclear field with South Africa by Governments, corporations, institutions or individuals; and request all States to enact legislative and other measures for this purpose.

339. It further recommends that the General Assembly should request the International Atomic Energy Agency to suspend all co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field.

3. Oil embargo

340. The Special Committee attaches particular importance to an oil embargo against South Africa as a feasible, effective and imperative measure in the present situation in South Africa.

341. The acts of violence by the racist régime against the people of South Africa and Namibia, and its acts of aggression against neighbouring States, are only possible because of its ability to fuel its machinery for repression and war. The supply of oil and oil products to South Africa is, in effect, collusion with that régime in its crimes.

342. A total embargo on the supply of crude oil and oil products to South Africa is essential as a reinforcement and extension of the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977. It is a crucial element of international sanctions against South Africa, and hence of international action for the elimination of apartheid and support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia for liberation.

343. An embargo has become fully feasible since all the member States of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and other major oil-exporting countries have now prohibited export of their oil to South Africa. It can seriously weaken the racist régime, which is dependent on imported oil, because the shipping of oil cannot easily be disguised.

344. The Special Committee stresses the need for action not only by countries exporting crude oil but also by countries which export refined oil products to South Africa, and by countries which have jurisdiction over companies involved in the oil industry of South Africa or in the transporting of oil and oil products to South Africa.

345. It condemns the secret arrangements made by some transnational oil corporations and tanker companies to supply South Africa with oil and oil products, by illegal shipments of oil from countries which prohibit export of their oil to South Africa and by "swap" arrangements.

346. It commends the countries and organizations which have taken measures for an effective oil embargo against South Africa. It expresses satisfaction at the decision of the Netherlands Parliament calling for an oil embargo against South Africa. It also commends the anti-apartheid groups and the seamen who have exposed secret shipments of oil to South Africa.

347. The Special Committee considers that a mandatory decision by the Security Council for an oil embargo against South Africa is essential and urgent. It therefore hopes that the Council will consider the matter without delay in accordance with resolution 34/93 F adopted by the General Assembly on 12 December 1979.

348. It recognizes that the international community should take necessary measures to assist independent African States neighbouring South Africa and Namibia and likely to be adversely affected by an oil embargo against the apartheid régime. In this connexion, it welcomes the decision of the thirty-fifth session of the OAU Council of Ministers to request:

"as a matter of urgency the OAU Standing Committee on Sanctions, in collaboration with the OAU Committee of Nineteen on Assistance to the Frontline States, the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, the Boycott Bureau of the League of Arab States, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other experts on sanctions, to convene a meeting with all affected OAU member States in southern Africa to study the effects on these States of a total oil embargo and other forms of sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa and recommend remedial measures, particularly the possibility of establishing an oil reservoir which shall be made available to them".

349. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize the need for comprehensive national legislative and other measures to ensure the maximum effectiveness of an oil embargo. These measures should include:

(a) Enforcement of "end-user" agreements to stop the supply of oil to South Africa directly or through third parties;

(b) Prohibition of transport to South Africa of all crude oil or oil products, wherever they originate;

(c) Action against any companies or individuals that supply or transport crude oil or oil products to South Africa;

(d) Seizure of tankers owned by their nationals or registered in their countries which are used to transport oil or oil products to South Africa;

(e) Prohibition of all assistance to South Africa in the construction of oil-from-coal plants, through finance, technology, equipment or personnel;

(f) Prohibition of import of oil-from-coal technology from South Africa;

(g) Prevention of the efforts of South African corporate interests to expand their holdings in oil companies or properties outside South Africa;

(h) Ban on participation of corporations and individuals within their jurisdiction in the oil industry in South Africa, including exploration, storage, refining, transport and distribution;

(i) Enforcement of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. 8/

350. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Reaffirm resolution 34/93 F of 12 December 1979;

(b) Again urge the Security Council to adopt a mandatory decision, under Chapter VII of the Charter, for an oil embargo against South Africa, and to establish effective machinery to monitor the implementation of the embargo;

(c) Commend all Governments which have imposed an oil embargo against South Africa;

(d) Request all other States immediately, pending a mandatory decision of the Security Council, to take unilateral and collective measures for the implementation of an oil embargo against South Africa to cover the supply of crude oil, refined oil products, technology and know-how, equipment, capital and personnel;

(e) Urge all States which have not yet done so to enact effective national legislation and other measures to implement an oil embargo, including strict penalties against companies, institutions and individuals violating the embargo;

(f) Urge all States to enact legislative and other measures to prevent companies and individuals within their jurisdiction from supplying South Africa with oil originating in countries which have prohibited supply to South Africa;

(g) Condemn all countries which are sustaining the apartheid régime by continuing to supply South Africa directly or indirectly, with crude oil and oil products;

(h) Condemn the continued collaboration by multinational companies with the racist régime of South Africa in obtaining crude oil and refined oil products, as well as in its oil and related industries;

(i) Encourage organizations and public opinion, especially in the countries where the multinational oil corporations are based, to take action so that their Governments and the oil companies stop supplies of crude oil and oil products to the racist régime;

(j) Encourage workers in the oil fields, refineries and ports, as well as seamen, to take action that will prevent the supply of crude oil and oil products to the apartheid régime.

8/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A (A/9624/Add.1), para. 84. The Decree has been issued in final form in Namibia Gazette No. 1.

351. The Special Committee further recommends that a special appeal be addressed to France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America to persuade companies within their jurisdiction to withdraw from all participation in the petroleum and oil-from-coal industries in South Africa and Namibia.

4. Cessation of investments and loans

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

353. The Special Committee notes with regret that the Security Council has failed to take such action. It further notes with serious concern that South Africa has recently been able to raise substantial loans, which it regards as an expression of confidence in the apartheid system. It also notes with regret the flow of large-scale investments to South Africa from a number of Western countries.

354. It considers that action should be taken as a matter of utmost priority to stop loans to, and investments in, South Africa. It recommends active encouragement by the United Nations of campaigns against banks and other financial institutions which continue to make loans to South Africa, as well as against corporations which increase their investments in South Africa.

355. It recommends:

(a) That the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank be urged to terminate loans and credits to South Africa, to end all other forms of collaboration with South Africa and to suspend South Africa from membership;

(b) That the United Nations and its specialized agencies terminate all relations with banks which provide loans to South Africa;

(c) That the United Nations and its specialized agencies withdraw investments of their pension funds from corporations and banks continuing investments in South Africa.

5. Other economic and related sanctions

356. The Special Committee recalls that the General Assembly declared, in resolution 34/93 A of 12 December 1979 "that any collaboration with the racist régime and apartheid institutions is a hostile act against the purposes and principles of the United Nations and constitutes a threat to international peace and security". It also called upon all Governments concerned:

"(a) To sever diplomatic, military, nuclear, economic and other relations with the racist régime of South Africa;

(b) To take measures to prevent transnational corporations, banks and all other institutions under their jurisdiction from collaborating with the apartheid régime;

(c) To take all necessary action to terminate credits by the International Monetary Fund and other bodies to South Africa;

(d) To prohibit the sale of krugerrands;

(e) To deny any facilities to airlines or ships travelling to and from South Africa;

(f) To terminate all government promotion of, or assistance to, trade with or investment in South Africa;

(g) To support effective international sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa."

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

358. It strongly supports the efforts of OAU for the termination of air links with South Africa.

359. It commends the campaigns launched by anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, trade unions, churches, youth and student organizations and other organizations in support of economic sanctions against South Africa. It recommends that the General Assembly should welcome such campaigns and call upon Governments and organizations to support them by all appropriate means.

6. Role of transnational corporations

360. The Special Committee expresses grave concern over the activities of transnational corporations, banks and financial institutions which continue to collaborate with South Africa and their role in facilitating the maintenance of the system of apartheid, in strengthening the repressive and military power of the apartheid régime and in undermining international action for the elimination of apartheid.

361. It draws attention to the following conclusions of the International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa:

"The transnational corporations have enabled the apartheid régime to circumvent international action by establishing an arms industry in South Africa in partnership with the racist régime, by facilitating its nuclear plans, by developing sources of energy, by the transfer of technology and by providing capital through investments and loans.

"They have made incessant efforts to mislead public opinion in their home countries and exerted powerful pressures to prevent the major Western Powers from any effective action to undermine apartheid, thereby supplementing the nefarious operations of the racist régime.

"They have negated the sacrifices made by many States, especially developing States, as well as men and women of conscience in Western countries, who have demonstrated their commitment to freedom and their loyalty to the decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

"Moreover, they have enabled and encouraged the racist régime to become a menace to independent African States by its constant threats and acts of aggression.

"The recent reports on the detonation of a nuclear device by the racist régime - with all its consequences to international peace and security - underline the grave responsibility of the transnational corporations which have made a crucial contribution to the nuclear plans of that régime.

"Participants in the seminar agreed that the home Governments of the transnational corporations, which have permitted and facilitated this collaboration by the corporations under their jurisdiction with the racist régime in South Africa deserve condemnation ...

"They totally rejected the contention that the transnational corporations can become instruments for the promotion of freedom and equality through their economic involvement in South Africa."

362. It also draws attention to the "Declaration on Foreign Investment in South Africa", adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at its thirty-fifth ordinary session, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June 1980, which stated that foreign investments and bank loans help to bolster the apartheid régime and encourage its intransigence and defiance of world opinion. The Declaration added:

"2. The Council further finds that the measures adopted by the apartheid régime in the wake of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo render foreign companies operating in South Africa susceptible to being integrated into the apartheid régime's military programme. Already such Western corporations provide South Africa with virtually all of its petroleum, computer, automotive, and high technology supplies. Hence any action short of total Western corporate withdrawal would be inadequate.

"3. More particularly, it finds the so-called fair employment measures such as the European Economic Community Code and the Sullivan Principles harmful to the liberation struggle regardless of the argument that such measures are purported to be designed to create a possible constructive role for foreign investment in South Africa.

"4. No such constructive role can exist. Any social benefits that might accrue from corporate compliance with such employment standards would continue to be more than offset by the inestimable support that Western corporations provide to the South African régime by reason of their enormous technical and financial presence.

"5. The Council of Ministers, therefore, reiterates its appeal to Western countries to withdraw their investments from South Africa and also reaffirms its total opposition to foreign investments in South Africa."
(A/35/463, annex I)

363. The actions of a number of transnational corporations in South Africa in denying recognition to black trade unions and in resorting to mass dismissals and other acts of victimization during recent strikes by black workers, as well as their collusion with the security police of the racist régime in repression against workers, underscore the above conclusions.

364. The Special Committee, therefore, welcomes the actions taken by certain African States against transnational corporations which persist in collaboration with South Africa despite repeated warnings, and the campaigns by anti-apartheid movements and other organizations against the activities of transnational corporations in South Africa.

365. The Special Committee draws attention to the fact that South African economic interests have been expanding their capital investment in other countries, especially to gain access to strategic commodities such as petroleum, and to disguise the point of origin of South African products. It considers that such investment should be exposed and prevented.

366. It also notes that several transnational corporations have been expanding investments in South Africa with a view to utilizing South Africa as a base for exports to other countries, in flagrant defiance of international efforts to isolate the racist régime of South Africa.

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

(a) Invite all Governments to take action to stop collaboration by transnational corporations with South Africa and prohibit investments by South African interests in their countries;

(b) Encourage non-governmental organizations engaged in campaigns against collaboration by transnational corporations with South Africa.

368. The Special Committee also considers it essential to expose the influence of transnational corporations operating in southern Africa on news media in other countries and their control over such media.

369. In this context, the Special Committee has reviewed the work carried out to date by various United Nations organizations and agencies, in particular the Centre against Apartheid and the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations. In order to promote campaigns against the operations of transnational corporations in South Africa, the Special Committee recommends: (a) that the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations intensify its useful research and information activities on matters related to transnational corporations in South Africa; (b) that the Centre against Apartheid collaborate with the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations and other United Nations organizations and agencies, as well as the Organization of African Unity, the anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations, in monitoring the work being undertaken; that it intensify publicizing, in collaboration with the Department of Public Information, all relevant information and studies on the activities of transnational corporations; and (c) that it assist all Governments and organizations engaged in actions against collaboration with South Africa. The Special Committee recommends that adequate resources be made available for these tasks. The Special Committee requests that its recommendations on this matter be transmitted to the Commission on Transnational Corporations for its consideration.

D. Other measures to isolate the South African régime

370. While emphasizing the primary importance of military and economic sanctions, the Special Committee has attached significance to the boycott of South Africa in the sports, cultural, academic and other fields. Such boycotts are an expression of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, especially by non-governmental organizations and individuals. They demonstrate by action the abhorrence of apartheid by world public opinion.

371. The boycotts have become an important means for public education on apartheid and for mobilization of public opinion against apartheid, and have thereby promoted international action.

372. In that sense, the social and cultural isolation of South Africa is an integral part of the programme of sanctions against South Africa.

1. Sports boycott

373. The Special Committee notes with concern that leaders of several sporting organizations outside South Africa have accepted and propagated the deceitful manoeuvres of the South African régime on alleged moves away from discrimination in sport, and have advocated renewed sporting contacts with South Africa. In this connexion, it notes in particular the report of the Commission of the British Sports Council.

374. The Special Committee also expresses its strong condemnation of the tour of the Lions rugby team to South Africa and Namibia, and of all other sporting exchanges with South Africa.

375. It commends the Government of Zimbabwe for prohibiting a visit by the Lions team. It expresses its disappointment, however, that several other Governments have failed to take effective action to prevent sporting exchanges with South Africa.

376. It expresses the hope that the proposed International Convention against Apartheid in Sport will be completed and come into force as soon as possible.

2. Cultural, academic and other boycotts

377. The Special Committee considers that the United Nations should actively discourage cultural, academic and other exchanges with South Africa.

378. It notes that the South African régime continues to operate virtually all academic, cultural and social activities on a racial basis.

379. The racist régime attaches great political and psychological importance to academic, cultural and social ties, particularly with Western countries. It spends tens of millions of dollars to promote its racist propaganda, to host conferences and influential visitors, and to promote tourism and immigration, with a view to obtaining greater acceptability for its criminal policies. Its cosmetic adjustments in apartheid are largely meant to counter boycotts and to deceive world opinion.

380. The Special Committee draws attention to the following recommendations of the Commission of the International Non-Governmental Organizations Action Conference for Sanctions against South Africa, held at Geneva from 30 June to 3 July 1980:

"Oppose all tourism to South Africa, encouraging trade unions for example to refuse to co-operate with South Africa Airways and other airlines ferrying tourists to and from South Africa;

"Stop student and academic 'study tours' to South Africa, training and university research programmes which assist South Africa to obtain critical technology and scientific know-how, and halt discriminatory advertisements and recruitment for academic and other posts in South Africa;

"Cancel all cultural agreements and exchange programmes entered into between Governments and the South African régime and expel South Africa from international cultural bodies;

"Encourage artists, actors, journalists, writers, performers, musicians and sports personalities to publicly pledge that they will have no cultural association with South Africa;

"Urge all churches with direct ties to the racist Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa to sever those ties and urge protest against the recent trial of the 52 clergy sentenced for support of student strikes;

"Expose ever deeper levels of the secret South African propaganda plans in the mass media and the collaboration of the major news agencies;

"Counter the distribution at no cost of publications of the South African Government to school systems and libraries."

381. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should request the States concerned to abrogate any cultural agreements with South Africa and terminate visa-free entry privileges to South African nationals. It further recommends that the Assembly:

(a) Appeal to States to terminate all cultural, academic and other exchanges with South Africa, and discourage emigration and tourism to South Africa;

(b) Appeal to writers, artists and other personalities to boycott South Africa;

(c) Urge all academic and cultural institutions to terminate all links with South Africa.

E. Political prisoners in South Africa

382. The Special Committee notes with grave concern that, despite the repeated and unanimous demands of the United Nations and the international community, the racist régime of South Africa has failed to end repression and release political prisoners and banned persons.

383. In the past year, it has sentenced James Mange to death; resorted to killings of school children demonstrating against discrimination, mass arrests of trade unionists, students and others; persecuted churchmen, attorneys, journalists and others opposed to apartheid; detained numerous persons and instituted many new trials under obnoxious security laws; and banned gatherings in most of the country. It has not ceased torture and ill-treatment of detainees.

384. It has enacted further repressive legislation, restricting reporting by the media of police actions against freedom fighters.

385. At the same time, a campaign launched by the Sunday Post for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners has obtained enthusiastic support from all over the country. It reflected the concern and conviction of the oppressed majority, as well as of an increasing numbers of whites, that the release of the leaders of the people is essential for a solution of the grave situation through the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a democratic society. This campaign has also received wide support in the international community.

386. But the racist régime has stubbornly refused to heed the demand of the South African people and the international community.

387. The Special Committee considers that, in view of the growing struggle for liberation, it is essential to ensure that freedom fighters are granted prisoner-of-war status under Additional Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949.

388. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that the General Assembly should:

(a) Again demand that the racist régime end repression against the black people and other opponents of apartheid, desist from execution of freedom fighters and grant prisoner-of-war status to captured freedom fighters;

(b) Call upon parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 to ensure respect by the South African régime for the Conventions and Additional Protocol I;

(c) Call upon Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to exert their influence towards securing the release of Nelson Mandela and all other South African political prisoners and detainees;

(d) Demand that the apartheid régime repeal all repressive legislation and lift the ban on collection of funds by organizations dedicated to the welfare of political prisoners and their families;

(e) Request all Governments and agencies within the United Nations system to publicize, as widely as possible, all acts of political repression in South Africa;

(f) Urge all Governments, judicial associations, other organizations and individuals to provide greater material, legal and other aid to South African political prisoners and restrictees and to their families;

(g) Request the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights to renew their efforts to obtain access for their representatives to visit political prisoners and detainees in South Africa so that they may ensure the safety of those concerned.

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

389. The Special Committee considers that the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement deserve commendation for their heroic struggle, which has registered a great advance during the past year.

390. In the light of the increased violence and repression by the apartheid régime, the Special Committee calls for the reaffirmation of the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid.

391. The international community should likewise reaffirm its commitment to provide all necessary assistance, both moral and material, to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement in their legitimate struggle for the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination, freedom and the establishment of a just and non-racial society in South Africa.

392. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the steady increase in contributions by Governments and organizations to the United Nations funds for assistance to southern Africa. However, it draws attention to the growing needs arising from the escalation of repression in South Africa.

393. The Special Committee emphasizes that humanitarian and educational assistance -- though essential -- is not by itself an adequate response by the international community. It urges greater assistance to the liberation movements for publicity, for attendance at conferences and for all other activities in the conduct of their legitimate struggle against a ruthless enemy.

394. The Special Committee considers it urgent that the organizations within the United Nations system expand their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, in close consultation with the Special Committee. In order to ensure greater co-ordination and consultation, the Special Committee recommends the convening of a meeting of representatives of the United Nations and all agencies and institutions associated with it and the presiding officers of the Economic and Social Council, the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Commission on Human Rights, as well as representatives of the Organization of African Unity and the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU.

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

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

396. The Special Committee expresses great admiration for the sacrifices made by front-line States in Africa in support of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. It notes in particular that the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola have been the victims of repeated acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa, involving enormous loss of human life and property. That régime has launched a series of acts of aggression in the past year, especially when the African States, the national liberation movements and the international community were engaged in serious efforts for the peaceful settlement of problems of southern Africa.

397. The Special Committee also notes that other States neighbouring South Africa have suffered hardships because of threats and subversion by the South African régime and have provided asylum to refugees from South Africa.

398. The Special Committee considers that the United Nations and the international community should provide them with generous economic and other assistance.

399. In this connexion, the Special Committee recalls that the United Nations assumed responsibility for the Territory of Namibia in 1966. Moreover, in resolution 3411 C (XXX) of 28 November 1975, the General Assembly proclaimed "that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements". The liberation of South Africa and Namibia is, therefore, the responsibility of the entire international community.

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

(a) Strongly condemn the acts of aggression, subversion and destabilization by the racist régime of South Africa against neighbouring independent States;

(b) Commend the sacrifices of the front-line States and other States in southern Africa in the cause of liberation;

(c) Declare that any act of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against neighbouring States is an affront to the United Nations and the international community as a whole;

(d) Appeal to all States and organizations to grant generous economic and other assistance to the independent States in southern Africa in consultation with OAU;

(e) Request the Special Committee to take appropriate steps to promote such assistance.

H. Women and children under apartheid

401. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/93 K, the Special Committee has continued its efforts to publicize the oppression of women and children under apartheid and their heroic resistance against that inhuman system. It organized two seminars on women and apartheid in co-operation with non-governmental organizations and the secretariat of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women.

402. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the resolution on apartheid and women in South Africa and Namibia adopted by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, 9/ and the provisions concerning assistance to women in southern Africa in the plan of action adopted by the Conference.

403. The Special Committee considers that international efforts should be greatly intensified to publicize the plight of women and children in South Africa, and to promote greater solidarity and assistance to them in the context of their heroic struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

404. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that the General Assembly should endorse the Declaration and Recommendations of the International Seminar on Women and Apartheid (Helsinki, 19-21 May 1980) and the relevant recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, and commend them to Governments and organizations for appropriate action.

405. The Special Committee draws particular attention to the following provisions of the resolution adopted by the World Conference concerning assistance to women in southern Africa:

"8. Urges all organizations of the United Nations system, Governments, international and regional intergovernmental organizations, women's and anti-apartheid groups, non-governmental organizations and other groups to give the highest priority to the question of measures of assistance to women in South Africa and Namibia during the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women;

9/ See A/CONF.94/35.

"9. Endorses the comprehensive programme for measures of assistance to women in South Africa and Namibia as contained in document A/CONF.94/6;

"...

"13. Appeals to all Governments and organizations to support the various projects of the national liberation movements and front-line States, especially those designated for women and children; (More assistance should be channelled through the South African and Namibian liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity.)

"14. Urges all concerned United Nations organizations to strengthen the existing voluntary fund to be used for the legal defence of political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia and assistance to their families;

"15. Commends the Special Committee against Apartheid for giving special attention to the plight of women and children under apartheid;

"16. Recommends the full utilization and strengthening of existing machinery to monitor, co-ordinate and follow up on the fullest implementation of the measures of assistance to women in South Africa and Namibia during the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women adopted in Copenhagen."

406. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General and the appropriate United Nations bodies - the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the Special Committee against Apartheid - to give urgent attention to these recommendations, with the assistance of the Centre against Apartheid.

407. It suggests that the Task Force of the Special Committee on Women and Children be provided necessary secretariat services to promote and monitor the implementation of the recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women.

408. Further, in the light of the recommendations of the International Seminar on the World Conference, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should:

(a) Request the Commission on Human Rights to investigate crimes against women and children in South Africa;

(b) Encourage women's organizations and other organizations concerned with women in South Africa to proclaim an International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia in order to promote the widest mobilization of world public opinion in support of the righteous struggle of the women of South Africa and their national liberation movement, as well as all necessary assistance to them to ensure the speedy triumph of that struggle;

(c) Recommend that the United Nations and specialized agencies, Governments and organizations assist women from the national liberation movements and from women's organizations in the front-line States to attend conferences, seminars and educational and other institutions in different regions of the world;

(d) Request the Special Committee to encourage regional and national organizations to hold meetings focusing on the plight of women under apartheid and their fight for liberation, and to co-sponsor such meetings as appropriate;

(e) Invite women's organizations all over the world to intensify action in solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa and consider greater co-ordination of their efforts in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid.

I. Role of institutions within the United Nations system

409. The Special Committee emphasizes the importance of total commitment of all specialized agencies and other institutions within the United Nations system to the international campaign for the elimination of apartheid.

410. Those agencies and institutions should, within their respective mandates, take all possible action to stop all assistance to the apartheid régime and support the struggle of the oppressed people and their national liberation movement.

411. The Special Committee commends the activities of several agencies towards these ends - particularly UNESCO, the ILO, FAO, WHO, UNDP and UNHCR.

412. It attaches great importance to the decision of the sixty-sixth session of the International Labour Conference in accepting the conclusions of its Committee on Apartheid which incorporated a series of proposals for action by the ILO, as well as Governments, employers' organizations and trade unions.

413. On the other hand, it notes with regret that some agencies have failed to take action. In particular, it expresses regret and concern at the role of the International Monetary Fund in providing financial assistance to the apartheid régime.

414. It suggests that the General Assembly request the Secretary-General and Member States to take appropriate action, in consultation with the Special Committee:

(a) To promote greater contribution by the agencies and institutions within the United Nations system to international action against apartheid;

(b) To ensure greater co-ordination of action by the agencies and institutions.

J. International mobilization against apartheid

415. In its efforts to promote international mobilization against apartheid, the Special Committee has intensified co-operation with anti-apartheid solidarity

movements, the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, the Non-Governmental Organizations Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, and many non-governmental organizations active in the international campaign against apartheid.

416. The Special Committee has also developed closer relations with trade unions, religious bodies, youth and student organizations and mass media.

417. It wishes to commend them for their activities against apartheid and their co-operation with the Special Committee.

1. Trade unions

418. The Special Committee has always emphasized the importance of action by the trade-union movement, at the international and national level, for the elimination of apartheid.

419. It commends the activities of trade unions in this respect and wishes to make particular reference to the recent contribution of seamen and other trade unionists in exposing violations of the arms embargo against South Africa and the illegal supply of oil to South Africa by shipping companies.

420. The Special Committee draws attention to the growing struggles of workers in South Africa for their elementary rights, in the face of brutal repression, and considers that solidarity actions by trade unions all over the world should be encouraged and promoted.

421. In this connexion, it welcomes the conclusions of the Committee on Apartheid, endorsed by the sixty-sixth session of the International Labour Conference, which called for a series of actions by trade unions the world over, as follows:

"1. To put maximum pressure on their respective Governments for the implementation of the above recommendations;

"2. To put maximum pressure, with recourse to industrial action, on companies investing in South Africa which do not recognize African trade unions and act in contradiction with internationally recognized labour standards;

"3. To organize meetings with shop stewards, workers' rallies within companies, the distribution of leaflets and posters, study circles and seminars and special features in trade union journals in order to mobilize the rank-and-file in solidarity action with the workers in South Africa;

"4. To give financial and moral support to the African trade unions inside South Africa, including assistance to organization campaigns and educational programmes and legal and relief assistance to imprisoned and restricted trade unionists and their families;

"5. To organize campaigns to ensure that trade union members do not emigrate to South Africa and to withdraw trade union membership cards as a sanction against such emigrants; to introduce a ban on advertisements for jobs in South Africa and exert pressure for the closure of South African recruitment offices;

"6. To withdraw all trade-union funds from any company or investment scheme with interest in South Africa;

"7. To insist on the establishment of tripartite monitoring machinery in cases where codes of conduct for companies have been adopted for companies investing in South Africa and to exert the strongest pressure for sanctions in this respect;

"8. Trade union representatives in delegations to the United Nations and the specialized agencies to press for the fullest implementation of the Programme of Action against apartheid;

"9. To take all measures aimed at further isolating the South African régime and to support general anti-apartheid activities;

"10. To co-ordinate trade-union action against apartheid in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Second World Trade Union Conference against Apartheid in 1977".

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

(a) Condemn the repressive actions against workers and trade unionists in South Africa;

(b) Demand that the South African régime desist from all such acts of repression, release all trade unionists in prison, withdraw all banning orders and other restrictions on trade union leaders, and recognize full trade union rights for all African workers, including migrant workers;

(c) Encourage actions by trade unions all over the world in solidarity with the oppressed workers of South Africa and their unions;

(d) Appeal to all Governments to facilitate such solidarity action;

(e) Appeal for assistance to workers subjected to repression and victimization in South Africa.

2. Churches and other religious bodies

423. The Special Committee commends the actions of churches and other religious bodies in the international campaign against apartheid, especially with regard to mobilization of opinion against apartheid, campaigns against investment in South Africa and assistance to the oppressed people and their liberation movements.

424. It suggests the organization of a colloquium of religious leaders to highlight and promote such actions.

3. Youth and student organizations

425. The Special Committee has devoted special attention to encouraging youth and student solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa, and to promoting intensification and co-ordination of youth and student action against apartheid.

426. It considers that action by youth and student organizations all over the world deserves special importance in view of the heroic struggle of the youth and students of South Africa in the face of barbaric killings and repression. It notes with satisfaction the contribution already made by youth and students both through their own organizations and through their participation in anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, trade unions, churches and other bodies.

427. The Special Committee wishes to express satisfaction at the results of the consultations it held with leaders of international and regional youth and student organizations at Sigtuna, Sweden, from 23 to 26 May 1980. The organizations decided on a series of concrete actions and agreed on consultative machinery to ensure greater co-ordination.

428. The Special Committee noted with appreciation that the youth and student organizations decided to appeal to the youth of South Africa to refrain from participating in the armed forces of the racist régime. It considers that this appeal deserves the widest dissemination in South Africa.

429. The Special Committee considers it essential that the United Nations should encourage and assist the youth and student organizations in their campaigns against apartheid and for the liberation of South Africa. It takes note of the proposal for the convening of a Second World Youth and Student Conference in Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, and considers that appropriate assistance and co-operation should be provided by the United Nations and other organizations concerned to promote the Conference.

4. Mass media

430. The Special Committee attaches great importance to the role of mass media in the struggle against apartheid.

431. It recommends the organization of a seminar on this subject with the participation of representatives of mass media, liberation movements and anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, as well as the United Nations and UNESCO.

K. Dissemination of information on apartheid

432. The Special Committee again emphasizes the importance of the widest dissemination of information on the inhumanity of apartheid, the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of their national liberation movements, and the efforts of the United Nations for the elimination of apartheid.

433. It commends the Centre against Apartheid and the Department of Public Information for their efforts in this respect, in consultation with the Special Committee.

434. It appeals for generous contributions by all States to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

L. Programme of work of the Special Committee

435. The Special Committee recalls that, in its resolution 34/93 R of 17 December 1979, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee:

"(a) To send missions to Member States and to the headquarters of the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations, as required to promote international action against apartheid;

"(b) To intensify co-operation with the movement of non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity and other appropriate organizations;

"(c) To participate in conferences concerned with action against apartheid;

"(d) To organize, or participate in the organization of, symposia and other events in the home countries of transnational corporations with a view to educating the general public on the activities of those corporations in South Africa;

"(e) To invite representatives of the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and those of other organizations active in opposition to apartheid, as well as experts, for consultations on various aspects of apartheid and on international action against apartheid;

"(f) To associate representatives of the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity with the missions of the Special Committee;

"(g) To send representatives to attend meetings of United Nations organs, as well as specialized agencies and other institutions within the United Nations system, as appropriate;

"(h) To commission expert studies on all aspects of apartheid and its international repercussions;

"(i) To hold sessions away from Headquarters as necessary;

"(j) To co-sponsor and promote the organization of conferences and seminars against apartheid in co-operation with Governments and intergovernmental non-governmental organizations."

436. The Special Committee has tried to discharge its tasks, within its resources, in the context of the ever-growing seriousness of the situation in South Africa. It has established close co-operation with numerous intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, initiated several projects in co-operation with them, encouraged greater action by them in solidarity with the national liberation movement of South Africa, and promoted co-ordination in such action. It is gratified by the co-operation and encouragement it has received from Governments, liberation movements and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

437. Considering the need for continuing and expanding its activities in the light of the recommendations in this report, the Special Committee recommends that these authorizations should be renewed and that adequate financial provision be made for that purpose. It recommends, in particular, that an annual allocation of \$150,000 for special projects be continued and that the Committee be authorized to seek and receive voluntary contributions for such special projects.

438. The Special Committee stresses again that the services of the Centre against Apartheid in assisting the Special Committee and executing its decisions are indispensable for the discharge of its responsibilities. It recommends that the Centre be provided with all necessary resources for the discharge of its responsibilities in connexion with the recommendations in the present report.

ANNEX I

Review of developments in South Africa since October 1979

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The crisis in South Africa, caused by the stubborn determination of the racist régime to consolidate and perpetuate white domination - in defiance of the demands of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country and the universal condemnation of the international community - has assumed new proportions in the past year.

2. The oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement have stepped up their struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination in all its manifestations. They have demonstrated greater unity of action and more effective organization. There has been a great increase in political consciousness and mobilization of all segments of the population.

3. The victory of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe has enthused and encouraged the oppressed people of South Africa and reinforced their confidence in the triumph of their own long struggle for freedom.

4. Describing the advance of this struggle and the growing international solidarity with it as a "total onslaught", the racist régime has espoused a "total strategy". But its move to balkanize the country through bantustans, to deprive the African majority of their citizenship, to consolidate white domination over most of the country and to establish hegemony over the region, proved abortive.

5. The so-called "independence" granted to the bantustans of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda has continued to be totally rejected by the international community. The experience of the sham "independence" of these territories has convinced even the leaders of the so-called self-governing homelands (now termed "national states" by the racist régime) to spurn independence. 1/

6. The plans of the régime to establish constitutional frameworks under which the Coloured people and Indians would be granted a phantom sharing of power, with the exclusion of all rights to the African majority, have been rejected by the Coloured and Indian communities, which have espoused a non-racial society.

7. Indeed, no representative of the black communities is willing to collaborate with the racist régime in its plans, since such collaboration is regarded by the people as a badge of betrayal. The régime is, therefore, building its façade through discredited and unpopular "leaders" willing to follow its wishes.

1/ The authorities in Ciskei are alone in considering "independence" but on certain conditions, especially the retention of South African citizenship, the granting of additional territory and assurance of financial aid. A survey by Professor L. Schlemmer disclosed that 70 per cent of Ciskeians were not impressed with the territory being granted so-called "independence" and that over 80 per cent saw Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of Ciskei, as nothing but Pretoria's tool (Sunday Post, Johannesburg, 17 February 1980).

8. The régime has also publicized, in order to divide the oppressed people and deceive the world, its intention to institute "reforms" to eliminate "hurtful" and "unnecessary discrimination". These "reforms" are not intended to dismantle apartheid. They are no more than adjustments within the framework of apartheid and have largely been stillborn because of divisions within the National Party. Those which have been instituted have proved to be largely measures for streamlining control over the African people.

9. Meanwhile, despite the great improvement in balance of payments, due to the rise in the price of gold, the living conditions of the black people have worsened. The régime has utilized the additional resources for strengthening its military and repressive apparatus, and for the benefit of the white people and their businesses. The black people have suffered from large-scale unemployment and rises in the cost of food, rent and transport, aggravated by severe drought in many reserves.

10. The régime's response to the growing crisis and resistance has been a further escalation of repression. The killings of schoolchildren and the arrests of thousands of students, workers, churchmen and others have further disturbed world opinion. In June 1980, the régime prohibited even indoor public meetings so that the virtual state of emergency under which South Africa has lived for many years has been made even more intolerable.

11. The grave concern of the international community over this situation was reflected in Security Council resolution 473 (1980) of 13 June 1980. The Council strongly condemned the racist régime of South Africa for further aggravating the situation and its massive repression against all opponents of apartheid; called for an end to violence against the African people and for the cessation of repression and the elimination of apartheid; and urgently called upon the racist régime "to release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders with whom it must deal in any meaningful discussion of the future of the country".

12. The régime has failed to heed this resolution. It has devoted further resources to the military establishment and resorted to an escalation of aggression and subversion against independent African States. The military-industrial complex was strengthened and the military establishment has increased its influence in the decision-making processes of the régime. 2/

13. The South African régime has repeatedly attacked and invaded Angola and Zambia, causing an enormous loss of lives and property. Its forces have occupied large areas of these sovereign States for lengthy periods. The Governments of Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have accused the racist régime of serious acts of subversion.

2/ One of the main channels for military influence is the State Security Council, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, which has been activated by Prime Minister Botha in 1980. The Council includes the chief of the Defence Force in its membership, while its secretariat is headed by military men. The elevation of General Magnus Malan from Chief of Defence Force to Minister of Defence in September 1980 is also indicative of the trend.

14. The Security Council adopted resolution 454 (1979) of 2 November 1979 and resolution 475 (1980) of 27 June 1980 condemning aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and resolution 466 (1980) of 11 April 1980 condemning aggression against Zambia.

15. In the context of the escalation of repression in South Africa and the acts of aggression against independent States, the further increase of South Africa's military budget and the régime's nuclear plans have caused grave international concern.

16. The Pretoria régime continued to be sustained by the unwillingness of its main trading partners to support effective sanctions, by the rising price of gold and by the increasing collaboration of transnational corporations and financial institutions. It has been able to obtain military equipment and technology through illicit means, benefiting from the loopholes in the enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo by some countries. Foreign investment in South Africa has substantially increased, as did South Africa's foreign trade.

17. There has been some further progress in the isolation of the South African régime. The independence of Zimbabwe and its termination of diplomatic relations with South Africa was the main development in this context. El Salvador and Nicaragua broke relations with South Africa. The campaign for sanctions against South Africa made some advances. But the major trading partners of South Africa have taken no significant new measures to terminate collaboration with South Africa.

18. In sports, the régime has made no substantive changes towards racial equality despite its misleading propaganda. Sporting in South Africa is still on a racial basis. Some countries have continued to collaborate with apartheid sports in defiance of United Nations resolutions calling for an end to such collaboration.

II. ADVANCE OF RESISTANCE AGAINST APARTHEID

19. The past year was characterized by a new level of national resistance against apartheid. It saw a nation-wide uprising by black students against racial discrimination in education; an unprecedented wave of strikes by black workers for a living wage and trade union rights; bus boycotts and rent strikes by black communities in protest against increases in bus fares and rents; struggles against forced removals of African communities; and a nation-wide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.

20. These manifestations of growing mobilization and increased political consciousness of the oppressed people were accompanied by a great advance in the underground and armed resistance by the freedom fighters of the national liberation movement.

21. Within the black community, new organizations emerged and new leaders came forth to give expression to an uncompromising opposition to apartheid, the rejection of all apartheid institutions, and the demand for a truly democratic State. The Soweto Civic Organization, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, the Azanian People's Organization, the Azanian Students Organization,

the Congress of South African Students, the Writers Association of South Africa, the Natal Indian Congress and the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, as well as a number of black trade unions, were outspoken despite intimidation and repression, as were Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, Percy Qoboza, Editor of the Sunday Post, and others who acted as the spokesmen of the aspirations of the oppressed people in the absence of the leaders of the national liberation movement in prison or in exile.

22. The tribal chiefs, the leaders of "homelands", and the members of the Community Councils and the South African Indian Council, whom the racist régime had held up as "leaders" of the black people were further discredited and rejected by the people. The advance of the struggle also appears to have undermined the influence of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, especially as he opposed the widespread school boycott and expressed reservations on the campaign for the release of political prisoners.

23. The prestige and influence of the national liberation movement reached new heights and it became increasingly clear that the great majority of the people of South Africa identify themselves with the freedom fighters.

A. Revolt of students against racial discrimination

24. The resistance of black students against racial discrimination in education developed into a national student revolt reminiscent of the uprising following the Soweto massacre of 1976.

25. It may be recalled that the racist régime tried to suppress the upsurge of 1976-1977 by killing a thousand or more schoolchildren, injuring several thousands and instituting a reign of terror. Many of the student leaders were detained for long periods, tortured and sentenced to long prison terms. Hundreds of African teachers resigned in protest and many schools were closed for long periods. Thousands of student militants fled from the country to join the ranks of freedom fighters.

26. After a short period of apparent calm, other student groups such as the Soweto Students League (SSL) were formed. The SSL was involved in the organization of massive demonstrations, at funerals of young freedom fighters and other martyrs, to keep alive the resistance against apartheid. It too was suppressed by the detentions and trials of its leaders.

27. In 1979, two groups emerged. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed in June 1979 to unite students at the secondary school level. The Azanian Students Organization (AZASO), for university students, was formed in November 1979 and held its first conference in January 1980.

28. These two student groups protested against continuing racial discrimination in education, despite the promises made by the régime in 1976 to redress grievances. On 22 February 1980, they jointly convened a meeting in Soweto, attended by 1,500 students, to protest enforced school uniforms, increases in school fees and the employment of white national servicemen in the Soweto schools in place of African teachers who had resigned in 1977. They organized sporadic strikes and demonstrations with the support of the respected leaders of the black community, and were subjected to repression.

29. Already in November 1979, the racist régime detained the president of COSAS, Mr. Ephraim Mogale, and six other executive members under the Terrorism Act. Several more were detained in ensuing weeks. ^{3/} In February 1980, several leaders of AZASO, including its president, Mr. Tom Nkoane, were expelled from the University of the North. As student protests followed, about 300 students were arrested at the University on 6 May.

30. Meanwhile, students from a number of schools in the Western Cape, organized under the leadership of an anonymous Committee (which came to be known as "Committee of 81"), began protests against continued racial discrimination in education and the deterioration of their schools. They demanded free textbooks, repair of schools which had been left in deplorable state since the uprising of 1976, the right to establish Student Representative Councils, abolition of corporal punishment, and an end to racial discrimination in the salaries of teachers. Their resentment was also sparked by the arbitrary dismissal of three teachers in a school for the Coloured people, one of them white.

31. As the régime paid little attention to their grievances, though the leaders of the Coloured community had warned it repeatedly of increasing tensions, they decided to launch a strike from 14 April. Tens of thousands of students boycotted classes in Cape Town.

32. The régime then admitted that the grievances were legitimate, and made vague promises of improvement, but proceeded to victimize the students. As a result, what was apparently intended as a limited boycott to obtain redress of specific grievances developed into a massive resistance against apartheid, lasting three months.

33. The Committee of 81 received overwhelming support from black students and teachers in the Cape. The Athlone District Principals Association declared its full support to students on 23 April 1980, while the Cape Professional Teachers Association, representing 1,200 Coloured teachers, decided on 1 May to join the boycott.

34. The strike quickly spread to Coloured schools in Johannesburg; to the University for Indians in Durban; to the medical school for blacks at the University of Natal; and to African schools in Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Transkei, Qwaqwa, Ciskei and other areas. African students in Kwa Mashu and at the University of Zululand joined the strike in thousands despite opposition and intimidation by the Kwa Zulu authorities. The University of Fort Hare was closed because of student resistance. According to very conservative estimates, 100,000 students were involved in the strikes.

35. Parents, teachers and black organizations supported the students. In the Indian location of Lenasia, near Johannesburg, for instance, 2,000 parents met and set up a parent-pupil action committee. One hundred Indian teachers in Lenasia joined the strike.

^{3/} Mr. Mogale and Mr. Thabo Makunyane, a student at the University of the North, were charged on 21 April 1980 under the Terrorism Act. They were accused of promoting the objects of the banned African National Congress. Twelve other COSAS members were then released after several months in solitary confinement.

36. This struggle of the black students received significant support from a section of white students. Nearly a thousand students at the University of Stellenbosch, 200 at Cape Town private schools and 500 at white schools in Johannesburg sent petitions to Prime Minister Botha calling for an end to inequalities in education. Students at the University of Witwatersrand held meetings of solidarity, while some white students at the University of Natal joined the strike in sympathy.

37. The régime resorted to a massive show of force. Police used batons and tear-gas, bird-shots and dogs to disperse numerous demonstrations and meetings. Thousands of students were arrested, and bursaries of boycotting students were cancelled.

38. On 23 April 1980, police baton-charged Coloured pupils in Kliptown and used tear-gas to disperse 4,000 students in Durban. On 29 April, 845 Coloured high school students were arrested in Nosmont, Johannesburg, and many were beaten.

39. On 24 May, many were injured when police attacked 3,000 Coloured students staging a sit-in in central Cape Town. Dozens were injured on the same day when the police broke up a demonstration at the University of Zululand; hundreds were arrested.

40. On 27 May, police fired at a demonstration of 400 students at Elsie's River near Cape Town: two schoolchildren were killed and three seriously injured. On the same day 275 African students were arrested in Uitenhage. Fifty students were arrested in Cape Town on 9 June, and 250 on 10 June, after police dispersed demonstrations by baton-charges.

41. At the end of May, about 65 persons, including student leaders as well as members of the faculty at the University of the Western Cape and leaders of the Natal Indian Congress, were detained.

42. Police attacked a demonstration in Grahamstown on 10 July; many were injured and 27 arrested.

43. The régime also cancelled bursaries of hundreds of students boycotting classes. After the killings of blacks on the anniversary of the Soweto massacre, and the banning of all meetings, the student groups decided to suspend the strike and to resume it if the régime did not meet their demands in a reasonable time.

44. The black students at the University of Natal Medical School returned to classes on 29 June after a boycott of more than eight weeks. Students at the University of Durban-Westville (for Indians) returned to classes on 29 June after a seven-week strike. The students in Cape Town ended their strike in mid-July after a three-month boycott.

B. Observance of Soweto Day

45. The rising militancy of the black people was reflected in the widespread observance of the anniversary of the Soweto massacre, 16 June.

46. On 13 June 1980, the Government issued an order banning political gatherings of more than 10 persons in all major centres until the end of June. The ban covered

any meeting at which any policy or action of the Government or a political party or political group was discussed. 4/

47. The ban appeared as a provocation to blacks who had planned many memorial meetings, especially in churches, in observance of Soweto Day. Nevertheless the Day was marked by effective strikes and boycotts in Cape Town and Bloemfontein and other manifestations elsewhere. Textile factories in the Cape Peninsula employing 75,000 workers reported less than a 10 per cent turn-out. Most African, Coloured and Indian shops were closed in Johannesburg, Pretoria and the Reef, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and the whole of Natal. The show of support by the black business community for the struggle against apartheid was reported to be unprecedented, except for the resistance campaigns from 1946 to 1953.

48. Police attacked several peaceful gatherings of people on that Day. In Noordgezicht, a Coloured township near Johannesburg, they attacked a crowd of 200 people: 20 were reported injured. A spokesman at Coronationville Hospital, Johannesburg, where some of the injured were treated, said that the victims included children as young as 7 and 10. 5/ In Soweto, Johannesburg, police used an irritant gas to disperse Africans who had gathered for prayer at a church. One youth was shot in the leg. In Bloemfontein, 15 Africans were injured.

49. Later on 16 June, the Commissioner of Police banned foreign correspondents from black areas and said that only "a select group of local journalists under police escort" would be allowed into troubled areas.

50. The police violence only provoked more demonstrations. On 17 and 18 June, in disturbances at Elsies River and other townships near Cape Town, 30 persons were killed and 174 injured according to official figures. Press reports indicated that at least 42 people were killed and 200 injured. On 19 June, two persons were injured when the police fired bird-shot at a crowd of 150 youths at Uitenhage.

C. Struggle of the workers for a living wage and trade union rights

51. Rising prices and large-scale unemployment, as well as greatly increased political awareness of the black people, led to a series of strikes in all major industrial centres in South Africa, surpassing the strike wave of 1973 in Natal. The strikes were mainly for the recognition of genuine African trade unions and for a living wage.

52. The firm support of the black community for the legitimate demands of the African workers, as well as the solidarity of the international trade union movement, enabled them to win some significant victories.

53. In March 1979, Monis and Fattis, a bread and pasta manufacturing firm in Cape Town, fired 50 workers for supporting the African Food and Canning Workers Union.

4/ Already, since August 1976, the Government had issued bans, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, on outdoor gatherings - except for sports meetings - unless authorized by the Minister of Justice or the local magistrate. The new order covered indoor gatherings.

5/ The Sun, Baltimore, 17 June 1980.

After an eight-month consumer boycott, in which African and Coloured shopkeepers joined, the company was obliged to agree in November 1979 to rehire the workers in their original jobs.

54. The Western Province General Workers' Union (WPGWU) charged that Dura Construction, Cape Town, had underpaid migrant workers and sought a meeting with the management, but the latter refused to meet the union representatives. After pressure from Dura workers in the Netherlands, it was obliged in November 1979 to pay the claim, plus interest and legal costs.

55. The Western Province General Workers' Union also led a strike at Table Bay docks in 1979 after the management refused to meet an elected stevedores committee. After a prolonged strike, the management signed an agreement with the committee on 2 April 1980, providing for a substantial increase in wages.

56. Six hundred workers struck work in November 1979 at the Ford plant in Port Elizabeth when Mr. Thozamile Botha was forced to resign under management pressure for refusing to give up his activities as leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO). Not only was he reinstated, but the strikers were paid in full for the three days of strikes. Another dispute led to a strike at Ford's Cortina plant from November 1979 to January 1980. The management dismissed 400 workers, but after pressure by the black community in Port Elizabeth and from the United States of America, it agreed to reinstate them. 6/

57. Alarmed at the growing strength of African unions, the Pretoria régime called on the employers to refuse to deal with unregistered unions. 7/ It resorted to the use of its security apparatus to break strikes. Mass dismissals by employers, arrests of union leaders, use of police violence to disperse workers and deportation of workers to reserves became a frequent occurrence.

58. The régime also tried to undermine African trade unions and solidarity with them by the black communities and the international trade union movement, by prohibiting the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the largest co-ordinating body of African unions, from any form of fund-raising. It refused passports to FOSATU leaders, including its General Secretary, Alec Erwin.

59. These actions of the régime showed the hypocrisy of its propaganda concerning the granting of trade union rights to African workers. The intervention of the repressive security apparatus of the régime in industrial disputes also heightened political awareness of the workers and made their struggles part of the mobilization for freedom. An account of some of the recent strikes is illustrative.

6/ The police detained Mr. Botha and other leaders in January. On release, they were served with stringent banning orders which prevented Mr. Botha from re-employment in the Ford factory. The régime also charged 24 employees of Ford in December 1979 under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

7/ Mr. Jaap Cilliers, Director-General of Manpower Utilization, warned employers on 23 May 1980: "Employers should put their foot down and refuse to negotiate with unregistered unions". (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 24 May 1980).

60. In May 1980, 75 black workers at the Table Bay Storage Company in Cape Town went on strike to protest the management's refusal to recognize the workers' committee. When the management was adamant, 800 workers in 17 Cape Town meat factories struck work in solidarity. All the workers were then dismissed by their employers, and police with dogs were at the factories to disperse them. On 12 June, 42 strikers were arrested, charged with being in the area illegally, and deported to the Transkei. The black community of Cape Town, including Coloured and African butchers, showed solidarity with the workers by boycotting red meat; sales of meat in Cape Town fell by 60 per cent. The police detained six leaders of WPGWU to suppress the strike, but it continued.

61. Also in May, over 5,000 black textile workers at factories of the Frame Textile Group in New Germany, near Durban, went on strike. The management dismissed all the workers, while the police arrested the leaders of the workers and of the National Union of Textile Workers in order to break the strike. The management subsequently increased wages by 15 per cent and rehired the workers, but 117 workers - including shop stewards and other active unionists - were refused re-employment.

62. Also in May, 55 workers of the Rely Precision Castings in Boksburg, near Johannesburg - constituting the entire work-force of the company - were arrested by the police at the instigation of the employers. They had been organized by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union.

63. On 13 June, about 4,000 black workers at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage, near Port Elizabeth, went on strike for an increase in minimum wage. The strike spread soon to other factories and covered nearly 10,000 workers. The police used tear-gas, clubs and dogs to disperse demonstration of the black workers. The town was declared an operational area and Army units moved in, while the press was prohibited to enter "disturbed areas". The ban on meetings and the police violence prevented union leaders from reporting to rank-and-file on the negotiations and prolonged the strike. It was settled on 14 July with a substantial increase in minimum wages.

64. Since June, there have been sporadic strikes at the Sasol oil-from-coal plants in protest against high-handed security measures and for increased wages. About 18,000 workers were involved. Police used tear-gas to disperse workers, and arrested several of them. Two whites lost their lives and two Coloureds were injured during the unrest.

65. In the last week of July, nearly 10,000 African workers of the Johannesburg City Council, led by the Black Municipal Workers' Union, went on strike for union recognition and increased wages. The City Council refused to talk to the union, though it represented 80 per cent of the workers. It fired more than a thousand workers who were then transported with police escort to the "homelands". They were replaced by new recruits from Venda. The police detained Mr. Joseph Mavi, the leader of the union, and the strike was broken after six days.

D. Resistance by other segments of the population

66. The struggles of the students and workers took place in the context of resistance to apartheid and its manifestations by all segments of the population.

67. Boycotts of buses in protest against fare increases - which hurt the impoverished black people forced to live in segregated townships far from their places of employment - involved tens of thousands of people. Numerous black communities refused to pay the large rent increases decreed by unpopular community councils and other authorities. Many African communities resisted forcible removals.

68. Special reference may perhaps be made to the resistance of churches and churchmen. They have repeatedly called for the elimination of apartheid, the release of political prisoners and an end to repression. They incurred the particular wrath of the régime by defending the right of youth to refuse to serve in its armed forces on grounds of conscience. Many of them have espoused civil disobedience against unjust laws.

69. The meeting of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in Hammanskraal in May 1980 decided to "actively, visibly and sacrificially identify with the people's liberation struggle".

70. The mission churches of the Dutch Reformed Church for Indians, Coloured people and Africans have threatened to break away from the white "mother" church unless it re-examined its stand on apartheid. In February 1980, several prominent whites resigned from the white Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK): Dr. Beyers Naude, Director of the banned Christian Institute, joined the African NGK.

71. On 26 May 1980, 53 church leaders, including two bishops, were arrested when they marched in Johannesburg in protest against the detention of the Reverend John Thorne for supporting the student struggle. They spent a night in jail and were subsequently tried under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

72. An important role in the opposition to apartheid by religious leaders is played by black churchmen such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of SACC; Reverend Sam Buti, head of the African NGK and President of SACC; and Allen Boesak, a leader of Broederkring, a body embracing the black NGK churches.

73. Bishop Tutu was denounced and threatened by the régime for a statement in Copenhagen in September 1979 criticizing Denmark for increasing dependence on South African coal. He refused to withdraw his statement and was supported by SACC. The régime then seized his passport on 6 March 1980.

E. Advance of the armed struggle

74. The mobilization of the oppressed people against apartheid was accompanied by a great advance of the underground and armed struggle by the national liberation movement. It involved attacks against police stations, including one in a white neighbourhood of Johannesburg, and a sophisticated operation to sabotage a major industrial installation, the SASOL oil-from-coal plants. Most of these operations were attributed by the régime to the African National Congress of South Africa. Despite massive police searches, it failed to capture the freedom fighters involved in many of the incidents.

75. The armed struggle appears to be linked closely with the political struggle, as evidenced in the timing of guerrilla operations demanding the release of

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu when a national campaign for the release was in progress. It is directed at the repressive institutions of the régime and the sources of its power, with a minimum loss of life. The incidents were as much in rural areas as in large urban centres, far from the borders with the independent African States. A public opinion poll showed that freedom fighters killed in the operations enjoyed massive support in the black community. Thousands of Africans attended their funerals despite police intimidation.

76. A chronology of incidents in the past year, based mainly on statements by the régime and South African press reports, is included in appendix I to this review.

77. In view of the extent and scale of operations by the freedom fighters, the régime was obliged to abandon its earlier policy of minimizing resistance in order not to alarm its supporters and foreign investors. It was compelled to take extraordinary measures to cope with the situation.

78. U.S. News and World Report reported from Pretoria on 17 March 1980:

"The escalation in terrorism has forced officials in the capital of Pretoria to order the mainly white army onto a war footing for the first time in the confrontation between blacks and whites.

"Some rural areas already resemble battle zones, just as did regions in neighbouring Rhodesia at the height of that country's civil war.

"Schools in the Middelburg area, 100 miles east of Johannesburg, have been issued sandbags. In northern Natal Province, close to the border with Mozambique, farmers carry weapons wherever they go and keep in contact with each other by radio. Police stations on the isolated frontier with Botswana have been attacked, and many farms in the region have been deserted by whites fearful of guerrilla raids.

"Even in the cities, black terrorism has become a fact of life, particularly in the Pretoria-Johannesburg area.

"Additionally, the country's wide-open borders are being strengthened by a new network of military-designed roads. A thick fence of sisal plants is being grown along a 100-mile stretch of the boundary with Rhodesia to block infiltration. The Army also has moved into the Kruger National Game Park, which runs for 200 miles along the eastern border with Mozambique.

"On the drawing board is a sizable expansion of South Africa's standing army of 48,500 ..."

III. REPRESSION OF OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID

79. In the face of growing resistance against apartheid, the racist régime resorted to massive repression.

80. A number of schoolchildren and others were killed and injured, while thousands of students and workers, as well as scores of churchmen, were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act during demonstrations and boycotts. Many leaders of students, trade unions and other organizations were detained for long periods

and served with severe banning orders. A number of new trials were instituted under the obnoxious Terrorism Act and other laws providing for death sentences. One freedom fighter, James Mange, was sentenced to death.

81. All meetings of a political nature of more than 10 persons, indoor and outdoor, have been prohibited since June 1980, except with official permits.

82. New legislation was enacted, further restricting the press, and several black newsmen were subjected to repression.

83. The net of repression has spread wider and wider. Mr. Arthur McGiven, who recently defected from the South African Department of National Security (DONS), formerly the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), disclosed in December 1979 that the agency had been intercepting the mail and tapping the private telephones of "suspected" politicians, churchmen, students and others, including Members of Parliament.

84. Prime Minister Botha warned in the House of Assembly in February 1980 that if the voteless majority and their national liberation movement resist its plans the racist régime would strike back. He said:

"We shall change those things which must be changed in this country and we shall do so because it is right, because it is Christian, because it is fair. The people who take the law into their own hands or further terrorism are going to get hurt. They are being warned in advance. Also those who operate across the South African borders are being warned in advance.

"If all our efforts to ensure peace should fail ... and people try to dictate to us by means of violence, something will happen to the West on this subcontinent which they cannot imagine at the moment. I am saying this with all the responsibility I have at my disposal. If people drive us until we have our backs to the wall, we shall strike and the consequences even the West cannot imagine today." 8/

85. Some of the developments concerning the escalation of repression are briefly reviewed below.

A. Political trials

86. A few of the numerous political trials during the past year are illustrative.

87. On 23 October 1979, two members of the Soweto Students League, Mr. Hlubi Keith Putyana and Mr. Douglas Dalisile, were sentenced to five and seven years' imprisonment respectively, under the Terrorism Act, for having undergone military training to endanger the maintenance of "law and order" in South Africa.

88. On 15 November, savage sentences were imposed on 12 freedom fighters of ANC at the Pietermaritzburg Court on a charge of high treason and 43 counts of participating in terrorist activities. Mr. James Mange, 24, one of those found guilty of treason, was sentenced to death while the others were sentenced to

8/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 6 February 1980, ccls. 247-254.

imprisonment ranging from 14 to 19 years. Mr. Mange was alleged to have undergone military training abroad and to have brought arms into the country. 9/

89. Also in November, Mr. Mandela J. Magudela, 41, was convicted under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He was charged with having received military training abroad. He told the court that he had been tortured with electric shocks.

90. In the same month, the Appeal Court dismissed the appeal of Mrs. Ilona Kleinschmidt and Ms. Jacqueline Bosman against their prison sentences for refusing to answer questions about their visit to Mrs. Winnie Mandela.

91. On 27 February 1980, four African men from Sebokeng were sentenced to four to five years' imprisonment on the charge of involvement in the burning of two schools in 1977.

92. On 28 February, the Reverend David Russell was found guilty of possessing a banned publication on Steve Biko and of having violated his banning orders by attending a church synod. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. 10/

93. On 10 March, Mr. Bhekizitha Nqubelani, ANC, was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for planting a bomb in the Cape Town Supreme Court and on related charges.

94. On 12 March, Mr. Thami Mkhwanazi, a journalist, and eight other young men were sentenced to five to seven years' imprisonment on the charge of encouraging people to undergo military training abroad. The accused denied the charges. The youngest accused was 16 years old.

95. On 13 March, two Coloured men from Hermanus were sentenced to two years' imprisonment for burning a hall to prevent a meeting of a member of the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

96. On 24 April, four members of the Soweto Students League (SSL) were sentenced on various charges connected with the student uprising.

97. On 25 April, four members of the Soweto Students League were sentenced to five to nine years' jail terms under the Terrorism Act. They were refused leave to appeal.

98. On 6 June, Dr. Renfrew Christie, 30, head of a research programme at the University of Cape Town and former Deputy President of the National Union of South African Students, was sentenced to an effective jail term of 10 years. He was charged with having conspired to gather information on all aspects of energy in South Africa and with having attempted to pass the information on to ANC with the intent of endangering the maintenance of law and order.

9/ On 21 January 1980, Mr. Mange was granted leave to appeal. On 11 September, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court set aside the death sentence and substituted a term of imprisonment for 20 years (Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, South African News Review, 12 September 1980).

10/ He had been banned in 1977 for five years and restricted to Cape Town. In December 1979, he defied the banning orders to attend the Anglican Synod.

99. On 1 July, 52 churchmen, including two bishops, were sentenced under the Riotous Assemblies Act. They had been arrested on 26 May for marching in protest against the detention of the Reverend John Thorne, former Secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

100. In September, the trial of nine members of ANC, charged with treason, was still in progress. The charges were connected with the bank siege in Silverton and the armed attack on the Soekmeaar police station. Similarly, the cases of Miss Thandi Modise and Messrs. Moses K. Nkosi and Aaron Slim Mogale, charged under the Terrorism Act with having received military training and having propagated the aims of PAC, were still under trial. So was the case of Mr. Joseph Mavi, leader of the Black Municipality Workers' Union, Mr. Phillip Dlamini, Secretary of the Union, and Mr. Gatsby Mazwi, another executive of the Union, charged with sabotage under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

B. Detentions and bannings

101. Numerous leaders of the people were detained and served with stringent banning orders by the racist régime in its efforts to suppress opposition to apartheid.

102. In February, the Minister of Police disclosed that 48 teen-agers under 18 years of age were in detention without trial under the General Law Amendment Act and the Terrorism Act. 11/ On 1 July, the Minister of Justice published the names of 133 people detained since the beginning of May under section 10 of the Internal Security Act. The South African Institute of Race Relations issued its own list of 400 people detained under various laws from 14 March to 24 June, including those detained under the General Law Amendment Act and the Terrorism Act. 12/ Those detained included teachers and students, trade union leaders, journalists and leaders of public organizations.

103. Fourteen leaders of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) were detained in November 1979. Two were charged in April 1980 and the others released. Mr. Titi Mohanjane and Mr. Wantu Zenzile, members of COSAS, were detained on 2 May 1980.

104. Mr. Andrew Boraine, President of the National Union of South African Students, and two students at the University of Cape Town, Mr. Edwin Angless and Mr. Frans Kruger, were detained in June 1980.

105. About 300 students were reported to be in detention by early June in connexion with the school boycott. 13/

106. Mr. Theo Andrew, a student at the University of Durban-Westville, was detained on 10 June.

11/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 21 February 1980.

12/ Ibid., 2 July 1980.

13/ Post, Johannesburg, 3 June 1980.

107. Seven staff members of the University of the Western Cape were detained on 27 May. 14/

108. The detainees have included a number of trade union leaders. Mr. Thozamile Botha and other civic leaders of Port Elizabeth were detained in January 1980 in connexion with the strike at the Ford plant and protests against evictions of Africans.

109. On 28 May, police detained three representatives of the 6,000 striking workers of the Frame Group textile plants near Durban as they were leaving a meeting with the management. Mr. Mike Morrison and Mr. John Frankish, trade union organizers, were detained on 13 June. During the same month, Mr. Wilson Sidina, Miss Zora Mehlomakulu and four other officials of the Western Province General Workers Union were detained, as were seven officials of the Food and Canning Workers' Union in East London. Mr. Joseph Mavi, President of the Black Municipality Workers' Union of Johannesburg, was detained on 31 July.

110. Journalists were another group which suffered from arbitrary detentions. Mr. Kingdom Lolwane and Mr. Willie Bokala, reporter of the Post, and Mr. Willie Nkosi, reporter of the Star, were detained in April 1980 when they were covering the school boycott.

111. Six lawyers were detained in June 1980. They included Mr. Rashid Khan, an attorney in Athlone who represented people arrested during the school boycotts.

112. Others detained during the past year included:

David, Mr. Paul. A leader of the "Release Mandela" campaign in Natal. Detained in June 1980.

Naidoo, Mr. M. J., Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress. Detained after 14 March 1980 under section 10 of the Internal Security Act.

Nkondo, Zinjiva, alias Victor Matlou, black poet and ANC member. Arrested on 12 December 1979 during his flight from Swaziland to Maseru, Lesotho. On 14 May 1980, he was handed over to Lesotho authorities. On 13 March, the President of the Security Council made an urgent appeal to South Africa to release Mr. Nkondo immediately and unconditionally. 15/

Nkondo, Mr. Curtis. Chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee. Detained for several days in May 1980 and then served with three-year banning orders.

Nqakula, Mr. Charles, Eastern Cape, Vice-President of the Writers Association of South Africa. Detained in June 1980 for a week.

Sekoere, Mr. Zacharia. An official of AZAPO in Bloemfontein. Detained in June 1980.

14/ Five of them were released on 4 July.

15/ S/13842, 13 March 1980.

Sewparshad, Mr. George, leader of the Natal Indian Congress. Detained after 14 March 1980 under section 10 of the Internal Security Act. He was released in July.

Variava, Dr. Yusuf. A leader of AZAPO in Johannesburg. Detained in May 1980.

113. The régime has continued to use banning orders to silence and harass opponents of apartheid. A list of persons served with banning orders during the past year appears in appendix II.

C. Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees and prisoners

114. There have been continued reports of torture and maltreatment of prisoners and detainees.

115. Mr. Kedibone Christopher Methabe, 21, General Secretary of the Soweto Students League and one of the accused under the Terrorism Act in Kempton Park Circuit Court, told the court in February 1980 that a wet canvas had been put over his head and that he had been assaulted until he had lost consciousness. He had been threatened with death. He appeared in court with marks on his back, which had been examined by a Johannesburg district surgeon. 16/

116. During the trial of Mr. Archibald Monty Mzinyathi, 24, and his father-in-law, William Bentley, 43, in the Johannesburg Regional Court, both claimed that they had been assaulted by members of the Security Police. Mr. Mzinyathi said that he had been taken to the tenth floor of John Vorster Square police headquarters, where he had been made to strip naked, handcuffed and made to squat. A broomstick had been placed between his knees and arms and he was then lifted by the broomstick and suspended between a table and a chair. He had been hit and pushed while hanging from the broomstick. Mr. Bentley said he had also been forced to strip naked, hit into unconsciousness by several policemen and threatened with death. 17/

117. Dr. Renfrew Christie, 30, told the court that he had been forced to remain standing for 12 hours during the all-night interrogation to which he had been subjected after his arrest. 18/

118. Mrs. Fezeka Botha, wife of Mr. Thomazile Botha, and her brother, Mr. Wukile Makanina, were assaulted and harassed during lengthy interrogation by the police in May 1980 after Mr. Botha's escape to Lesotho. 19/

119. Also in May, Mr. Zinjiva Nkondo, speaking at a press conference in Maseru, accused the South African police of having tortured him while he was held in detention from December 1979 to May 1980. 20/

16/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 and 28 February 1980.

17/ Ibid., 13 and 28 February 1980; Post, Johannesburg, 8 July 1980.

18/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 3 June 1980.

19/ Ibid., 17 May 1980.

20/ Ibid.

120. Miss Thandi Modise, 21, testifying in a Terrorism Trial in the Kempton Park Regional Court, told the court in July 1980 how she had been assaulted and threatened with death during her pregnancy, causing her a miscarriage, and forced to make a false statement. Major Cronwright was in charge of the interrogation. 21/

121. A number of women prisoners went on hunger strikes in protest against arbitrary detentions and appalling prison conditions. The Department of Prisons confirmed that four women serving prison terms under the Terrorism Act went on a hunger strike at Potchefstroom Prison for 8 days up to 5 May 1980. It refused to provide the names or other particulars. But press reports indicated that the women had undertaken the hunger strike in protest against prison conditions. They were:

Miss Feziwe Bookholoane, serving a sentence of 8 years;

Miss Sibongile Mthembu, former member of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, sentenced in 1979 to 6 years, 4 suspended, for sedition;

Miss Dorothy Nyembe, serving a sentence of 15 years since 1969;

Miss Elizabeth Nhlapo, serving a sentence of 5 years. 22/

122. Fifty-seven detainees under the Internal Security Act, held at Victor Vester Prison in Paarl, went on a hunger strike from 8 July 1980, and were soon joined by nine others. The strike lasted until 13 July. Eight detainees were hospitalized. 23/

123. The Post, Johannesburg, reported on 16 July 1980 that about 30 prisoners detained under the Internal Security Act at Modderbee had been on a hunger strike.

124. Ten women detainees, including five schoolgirls, at Pollsmoor also went on a hunger strike in July, demanding release. 24/

D. Restrictions on the press

125. The South African régime has imposed further restrictions on the press in order to curb reporting of the struggle against apartheid and repression by the police. 25/

21/ Ibid., 4 and 5 July 1980.

22/ Post, Johannesburg, 8 May 1980; Anti-Apartheid News, London, 13 June 1980.

23/ Post, Johannesburg, 10 and 16 July 1980; The Star, Johannesburg, 11 July 1980.

24/ Post, Johannesburg, 15 July 1980; The Argus, Cape Town, 17 July 1980.

25/ There were already about 100 laws curbing the freedom of the press in South Africa. In 1979, mainly as a result of the Department of Information scandal, the Advocate-General Act (No. 118 of 1979) was passed in order to suppress reports of corruption in the Government. It enables the authorities to ban publication of allegations of misuse of State money without the written permission of the

126. The second Police Amendment Act was passed in June 1980 (No. 82 of 1980) which makes it a crime to disclose the names or any other information about people arrested under the Terrorism Act, without the permission of the Minister or the Commissioner of Police. Contravention of the Act entails a fine of R 15,000 or eight years jail or both. 26/

127. After the attacks on two SASOL oil-from-coal plants by freedom fighters on 1 June 1980, the Parliament hurriedly enacted the National Key Points Act. It prohibits the disclosure of information, without proper authorization, about "terrorist" activities, sabotage, espionage or subversion at strategic places (national key points). Those who contravene the Act are liable to a fine of up to R 10,000 or to three years in jail.

E. Other repressive measures

128. The régime has seized the passports of several persons or rejected applications for passports.

129. Mr. Paul Pretorius, former President of NUSAS and member of the Durban Bar, was refused a passport in October 1979.

130. The passport of the Reverend Alan Boesak, Chaplain of the University of the Western Cape, was cancelled in February 1980 when he planned to attend an international conference of theologians in Brazil. The passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, was withdrawn on 4 March. Also in March, the application for a passport by Mr. Fanyana Mazibuko was turned down.

131. On 12 June, black trade unionists were denied passports to attend the Conference of the International Metal Workers Federation in London.

(continued)

Advocate-General. Also in 1979, the Police Amendment Act (No. 64 of 1979) was enacted requiring anyone who publishes anything relating to police anti-insurgency actions to prove that the published information is correct. This makes it virtually necessary for police clearance before publishing any matter connected with the police. On 16 June 1980, police enforced strict restrictions on press reporters entering Soweto and accused foreign correspondents of inciting black youths to riot. On the same day, police deliberately fired tear-gas at press reporters near the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. On the next day, foreign and local journalists were threatened with arrest if they entered any "trouble area" without police permission. The ban was lifted on 23 June, but the Minister of Police warned that it could be reimposed should circumstances warrant it.

26/ Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre of Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, commented: "Under this legislation it will be impossible for the Press to disclose circumstances such as those which surrounded the death of Steve Biko.

"Such a death can easily be concealed. Where the public is not aware of a person's detention, it is likely to remain unaware of his death in detention as well." (The Star, Johannesburg, weekly edition, 7 June 1980).

132. On 27 June, the Security Police confiscated the passport of Mr. M. N. Pather, Secretary-General of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), Durban.

133. In August, Mrs. Winnie Mandela was again refused a passport to go to India to accept the Nehru Award for International Reconciliation for 1980, awarded to her husband, Nelson Mandela. 27/

F. Campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners

134. This escalation of repression took place when black leaders in South Africa had launched a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners so that they can lead the country towards a democratic society and avert a disastrous conflict. The campaign was initiated in South Africa by Mr. Percy Qoboza, editor of the Sunday Post, Johannesburg, on 9 March 1980, and the racist régime, however, rejected the demand and even persecuted the leaders of the campaign.

135. Soon after, at a meeting at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, attended by black leaders and others, Miss Zindzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, said that her father's release could perhaps provide an alternative to the inevitable bloodbath. Mrs. Nokukhanya Lutuli, wife of Chief Lutuli, the former President-General of ANC, was elected patron of the "Release Nelson Mandela" campaign.

136. The campaign was immediately supported by Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, in his personal capacity, and later by the national executive of the Council. It was also supported by many other leaders such as the Reverend Sam Buti, President of the Council, Dr. Nthato Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr. Allen Boesak, a leading black theologian and chaplain at the University of Cape Town, Reverend Allen Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, Mr. George Wauchope, Publicity Secretary of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), Mr. Tom Manthata, a leading member of the Black Consciousness Movement, and Mr. Sam Motsuenyane, President of the Afribank.

137. By 5 May 1980, the Sunday Post "Free Mandela" petition had drawn 53,000 signatures. Regional committees were formed in the country for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.

138. The campaign also received international support. The International Commission of Jurists sent a cable to Prime Minister P. W. Botha asking for the release of Nelson Mandela. The Ad Hoc Monitoring Group on Southern Africa, which includes 48 members of the United States Congress, began a political prisoners' project in March 1980. The question of Mandela's release was also raised in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom on 16 April 1980. On 11 June, a campaign was launched from the grand committee room of the House of Commons, London. Speakers drew heavily on Mandela's message, which was smuggled out of Robben Island and released on the sixteenth anniversary of his imprisonment. In that

27/ Post, Johannesburg, 15 August 1980.

message, Mandela upheld the principles of the Freedom Charter, called for unity in the struggle against apartheid and expressed the conviction that victory is certain.

139. On 14 July, the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa deplored the continued imprisonment of Mandela and called for his immediate and unconditional release. On 20 June, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling on the South African régime to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

IV. REFORMS WITHIN APARTHEID

140. Prime Minister P. W. Botha tried in 1979 to divert attention from the crisis of the régime by propaganda about reforms. At the National Party congresses in August-September 1979, he advocated and advanced a 12-point plan as the basis of a "total strategy" "to improve the quality of life for all the peoples in the Republic of South Africa". South Africa, he said, must "adapt or die".

141. Dr. P. J. Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, announced on 19 June 1979, during a tour of the United States of America: "We will not rest until racial discrimination has disappeared from our Statute Books and everyday life in South Africa. These are beliefs shared by my Government".

142. The South African régime launched massive propaganda designed to persuade the world that the Botha administration was "liberal" and would make meaningful reforms, if only given some time. But developments in the past year have shown that the talk of reforms was essentially a device to divide the blacks and deceive the world. Not a single discriminatory law has been repealed. Even limited measures for the amelioration of apartheid have been deferred, ostensibly because of the resistance within the ruling National Party. The only revisions in laws and regulations, especially in the field of labour, have been designed to streamline control over the Africans.

143. The 12-point plan is based on the policy of apartheid or its euphemism "separate development", designed to perpetuate white domination. It reaffirms the exclusion of the African majority from any share in the Central Government and only envisages the "removal of hurtful and unnecessary measures which may create bad feelings".

144. Prime Minister Botha made it clear repeatedly that his régime rejected a unitary state and majority rule. 28/ The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. P. J. Koornhof, emphasized that three matters were not negotiable: residential segregation, educational segregation and autonomous governing bodies for the different racial groups. 29/

28/ He said in Parliament on 6 February 1980: "The National Party Government - and I want to make this very clear - does not think in terms of a unitary State with a system of 'one man, one vote'. We reject this for the Republic of South Africa". House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 6 February 1980.]

29/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 7 May 1980, col. 5769.

145. Dr. Koornhof added that even the measures to eliminate "hurtful discrimination" cannot be implemented unless the black people accept the essence of apartheid. He said: "until we have reached the point of separate, sovereign authority and equal status for all these peoples, we really cannot implement the things that have to be implemented". 30/

146. All that was envisaged was, therefore, the revision of apartheid laws and regulations which had become unnecessary. 31/

147. Dr. Andries Treurnicht, Transvaal leader of the National Party, made it clear in a letter to his constituents in April 1980: "There will be no political power-sharing between whites and blacks, nor will there be any social integration, for example in residential areas or schools". 32/

148. The differences within the National Party are between those who hold that any revisions of the basic laws of apartheid would undermine white domination and those who consider that certain petty apartheid measures should be abolished or camouflaged for the survival of white domination.

149. In the context of the régime's continuing efforts to deprive most of the African majority of even their citizenship under the principle of "separate development", measures to alleviate the oppression under racist laws have become hardly meaningful. The purpose of these measures is to contain resistance and try to secure the collaboration of tribal chiefs, small traders and some others by offering them certain privileges.

150. The prospect of "reforms" is, moreover, accompanied by the threat of repression against political action by the oppressed and voteless majority. Speaking in Parliament on 29 April 1980, during the strike of black students against racial discrimination in education, Prime Minister Botha declared that any changes in South Africa must be made by the Parliament, the all-white body. He continued: "We shall fight every extra-parliamentary action with all the power the State possesses. That is the standpoint of the Government". 33/

151. The strategy of the régime has, therefore, been rejected by the leaders of the black people. Mr. Mthato Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, commented early in 1980:

"... all the reforms (which in any case are not being actually made - merely proposed and talked about) are based on a continuing commitment to separate development.

"Change within the framework of separate development is no change at all." 34/

30/ Ibid., col. 5782.

31/ Ibid., col. 5775.

32/ Die Transvaler, Johannesburg, 18 April 1980.

33/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 29 April 1980, col. 5062.

34/ Frontline, Braamfontein, February-March 1980.

152. Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said on 6 May 1980 that the Government's policy of total strategy as outlined in the 12-point plan had to be resisted by South Africans "with all the fibre of their being" as it was nothing but "slightly-disguised apartheid perpetuating white minority rule".

A. Constitutional amendments

153. The essence of the régime's strategy may be seen in the new "constitutional dispensation". In 1979, the régime abandoned an earlier proposal for three "parliaments" for whites, Coloureds and Indians - which would exclude the African majority from political rights and retain white domination - after it was totally rejected by the black people. Instead, it set up an all-white Commission of Inquiry into the Constitution, under the chairmanship of Mr. Alwyn Schlebusch, Minister of the Interior, and composed of five Cabinet Ministers and three members of opposition parties in Parliament. The report of the Commission was released on 8 May 1980, and the régime announced acceptance of its recommendations.

154. The Commission expressly rejected evolution towards a "one-man, one-vote" system of majority rule and proposed the following:

"(a) The existing Senate would be abolished as of 1 January 1981. In its place, the Government would appoint a State President's Council, comprising 60 members drawn from the White, Coloured, Indian and Chinese communities. The Council would be composed of 'experts' and people considered representative of their communities and would advise the State President 'on any matter which in its opinion is of public interest'. It would be purely advisory;

(b) There would be a council of Black South African citizens, for the African majority which would be merely advisory, giving its views when approached by the State President's Council:

(c) The House of Assembly would be expanded by 20 nominated members in addition to the existing 165 members;

(d) A Vice State President would be elected by Parliament and would be chairman of the State President's Council." 35/

155. The régime then rushed constitutional amendments in May and June 1980 to implement the proposals. 36/

156. The new dispensation was opposed even by those who had agreed to work in the apartheid bodies. The Labour Party, which held a majority in the Coloured Persons Representative Council, called for a boycott of the President's Council. All

35/ The Progressive Federal Party members of the Commission dissented from the recommendations of the report concerning the exclusion of Africans from the President's Council and the appointment of nominated members to the House of Assembly.

36/ Republic of South Africa, Fourth and Fifth Amendment Acts.

Indian groups, including those which collaborated with the régime rejected the Council. Mr. Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa 'homeland', commented: "Instead of abolishing apartheid, they are entrenching it even further". 37/ The recommendations of the Commission, he said, were "attempts to decorate the apartheid system". 38/

157. On 8 August, the leaders of six self-governing tribal "homelands" (now called "national states") met Prime Minister Botha and reiterated their rejection of the proposed "Council of Black South Africans". Prime Minister Botha then withdrew the proposal for the Council.

158. But the régime has proceeded with the establishment of the State President's Council. It is seen by the Pretoria régime as a step towards the possible creation of a constellation of southern African States. The latter project, advanced by the régime as a means to preserve white domination and establish hegemony over southern Africa, was rejected by all independent African States. It could only obtain the co-operation of the three bantustans granted so-called "independence" - Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda - which are totally dependent on the racist régime.

159. As explained by Prime Minister Botha, the constellation might take the form of a confederation of states, linked by a council of states. Self-governing "homelands" would be represented by South Africa as the "mother State" and could be given associate membership or observer status in the council. Urban blacks would be represented by their original "homelands" or receive a voice through their community councils. 39/

160. Even the leaders of the six self-governing homelands, in a joint statement on 20 July 1980, advised Prime Minister Botha to postpone his plans for a constellation until South Africa's internal problems had been solved. 40/

B. "Reforms" in the field of labour

161. With the coming into force of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act on 1 October 1979, the racist régime has been engaged in propaganda that African workers had been granted full trade union rights.

162. This Act, resulting from the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation under the chairmanship of Professor Nicholas Wiehahn, enables African workers to become members of registered trade unions. But registration of unions is at the discretion of the Industrial Registrar. Racially-mixed unions can only be established with the approval of the Minister of Manpower Utilization, under exceptional circumstances.

37/ Christian Science Monitor, 12 May 1980.

38/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 13 May 1980.

39/ South African Digest (Supplement), Pretoria, 20 June 1980.

40/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 July 1980.

163. The legislation has, in fact, been used in an effort to undermine independent African trade unions which had emerged in spite of the denial of registration and other difficulties. As indicated earlier, the régime has increasingly resorted to police intervention in industrial disputes to suppress the movement of African workers. As at 8 September, there was not a single independent African trade union registered among the 182 registered unions in South Africa. Only "parallel" African unions, affiliated to or established by white trade unions, had been registered. None of the independent African unions which applied for registration has been successful so far.

164. In April 1980, the régime announced a decision to allow African building workers to do skilled work in "white areas". This step was intended to ease the scarcity of skilled labour. But the Africans will not be able to become artisans for many years. The employers are reportedly planning schemes to train Africans to do parts of artisan jobs. 41/

165. In June 1980, the second part of the Wiehahn Commission's report was tabled in Parliament. It was concerned mainly with training and recommended the training of apprentices at racially separate centres.

166. Equally deceptive was the promise of reforms by the régime through the acceptance in May 1979 of the recommendations of a second commission - the Riekert Commission of Inquiry into Legislation affecting the Utilization of Manpower. This commission dealt with "influx control" and related measures which restrict the freedom of movement of the Africans.

167. The so-called "illegal" African workers in urban areas were given permission in July 1979 to register until 31 October 1979 on condition that they had approved accommodation and had worked for one employer for more than one year or for a number of employers for more than three years. Meanwhile, under the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act (1979), employers who employ unregistered workers were made liable to a fine of R 500 instead of R 100.

168. It is reported that there has, in fact, been a tightening rather than a relaxation of the hated "pass laws" under the new system.

169. The Black Sash, which runs advice offices to assist Africans with regard to influx control and related measures, said in March 1980 that conditions for blacks had become "immeasurably worse" since the Government had begun promising change. The annual report of its Johannesburg Advice Office found that the "pass laws" had never been more rigidly enforced. 42/

170. The implementation of the Riekert proposals was criticized even by the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa. It said that while uncontrolled migration of Africans to urban areas would give rise to social welfare problems, the measures implemented by the régime would not solve those problems. They would only give rise to "distortions in the labour market" and were likely to result in substantially increased unemployment in the rural areas and the homelands. 43/

41/ Ibid., 10 and 11 April 1980.

42/ Ibid., 12 March 1980.

43/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 13 March 1980.

171. It is reported that even businessmen are becoming disillusioned with the régime's reforms. The Financial Mail, Johannesburg, wrote on 25 July 1980:

"Nine months have gone by since the historic November 11 Carlton Conference at which Botha called on businessmen to support his initiatives towards change and promised widespread reform. Yet nothing has happened. In fact, if anything, there has been regression ...

"Leading businessmen accepted appointments to the Munitions Board and the Public Service Commission. Other businessmen took the message of imminent change overseas. They promised their parent companies abroad, and foreign associates, that South Africa would be transformed. They became superb public relations devices for government. How have they been rewarded? ...

"If anything, Botha has gone backwards ...

"He did nothing to remove discrimination; Group Areas Act prosecutions have continued against Coloureds and Indians starved of housing. He did not ameliorate the endorsing out of people whose only crime is that they seek an honest day's work."

172. Spokesmen of the black people, for their part, have made it clear that their right to citizenship is non-negotiable. They demand the abolition of pass laws, the repeal of Group Areas Act, the halt of forcible removals of people, the institution of non-racial education, the end to repression, and the release of political prisoners as among the minimum measures to demonstrate the good faith the régime if it seeks a just and peaceful solution. They reject mere "improvements" to apartheid laws which should never have been enacted, or exceptions to oppressive regulations by a system of permits.

V. MILITARY BUILD-UP

A. Defence budget

173. The 1980/81 budget presented by the régime to Parliament on 26 March 1980 provided a substantial increase for defence. The defence budget was R 1,890 million, and the Minister of Finance indicated that the funds available for defence would include another R 160 million from last year's Exchequer surplus, making a total of R 2,074 million. In addition, the Defence Force would have authorization to spend another R 272 million, if necessary, from other resources. This compares with a budget of R 1,612 million for 1979/80, or an increase of 17 to 45 per cent.

174. Of the budget of R 1,890 million, R 1,161 million is allocated to the Special Defence Account to finance arms purchases, and it may be assumed that a large share of this amount will be devoted to import of military equipment through circumventions of the mandatory arms embargo instituted by the Security Council.

175. Spending on foreign courses for personnel has also been increased from R 360,600 in 1979/80 to R 812,400 in 1980/81.

176. The personnel costs were increased from R 301 million to R 443 million, apparently representing both a rise in salaries and an increase in personnel.

B. Increase in military forces

177. A significant development in the past year was the stepped-up recruitment of blacks in the defence force. While the numbers of blacks in the armed forces have greatly increased in the past five years, they constitute only about 5 per cent of the total. They are paid lower salaries than the whites and do not have senior officers. The highest position so far among Africans is a sergeant.

178. Prime Minister Botha announced on 30 August 1979 that voluntary military service for Coloureds and Indians would be extended in 1980 from 12 to 24 months.

179. A spokesman for Air Force Headquarters indicated that African Coloured and Indian men can apply for pilot training in the Air Force provided they have the necessary qualifications. 44/

180. Vice-Admiral R. A. Edwards, chief of the South African Navy, said in an interview in March 1980 that Indians and Coloureds could command their own warships and shore bases in the future. He also indicated that he was investigating the possibility of using Africans in the Navy (Permanent Force) in the future. 45/ At present, Coloured people are recruited to the Army, Navy and Air Force, Indians to the Navy, and Africans almost exclusively to the infantry.

181. Prime Minister P. W. Botha told the South African Press Agency on 24 May 1980 that African regional units would be formed "for counter-insurgency and the creation of strong points on a decentralized basis at strategic places in the country".

182. Four "ethnic" battalions had been formed and were being trained. They were:

111 Battalion - Swazis being trained at Amsterdam in the Eastern Transvaal;

112 Battalion - Vendas being trained at Madimbo in the so-called "independent" state of Venda;

113 Battalion - Shangaans, being trained at Impala, near Phalaborwa, Eastern Transvaal;

121 Battalion - Zulus being trained at Jozini, Northern Natal.

183. These are in addition to the 21 Battalion, an inter-ethnic African battalion stationed at Lenz, near Johannesburg, and South African-trained ethnic armies in the so-called "independent" states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Planning

44/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly edition, 15 December 1979.

45/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 8 March 1980.

was under way for the formation of more units. Mr. Botha said that the units would also help to combat unemployment among Africans. 46/

184. The Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, commented on 27 May 1980:

"... we cannot ignore the inherent contradiction in this whole situation - that these black volunteers are being recruited to fight for a country, a South African nation, which seeks to de-nationalize them, a country which does not recognize them as its citizens." 47/

185. Brigadier T. R. Mulaudizi, a former South African security policeman and now commander of the Venda National Force (VNF) of the so-called "independent" state of Venda, announced in June 1980 that an anti-insurgency unit had been added to VNF. The authorized strength of the force had been increased by 23 per cent to 537 since its formation in September 1979, and the budget of R 3,400,000 for 1980/81 reflected an increase of 88 per cent. 48/

C. Acquisition of military equipment

186. South Africa has been able to acquire powerful new military equipment despite the arms embargo instituted by the United Nations.

187. On 22 March 1980, six Fast Patrol Boats with surface-to-surface missiles were launched at the Simonstown naval base. On 25 March 1980, The Citizen, Johannesburg, quoted a Navy spokesman as stating that more of the missile carriers were likely to be built in Durban. It reported that the boats had a range of several thousand nautical miles. Armaments include two 76-mm. cannon, machine-guns and six ship-to-ship or ship-to-air missile launchers.

188. While these missile-carriers were reported to have been built in Durban, it appears that South Africa received assistance from Israel in the construction of the boats and the missiles.

189. Prime Minister Botha said in the House of Assembly on 1 May 1980:

"... with the assistance of Armscor, we have now succeeded in perfecting a project we have been working on, viz., to develop and complete an artillery rocket launching system here in the Republic of South Africa to counteract a similar Russian system.

46/ The battalions have their headquarters near South Africa's borders with Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. The Rand Daily Mail reported on 17 June 1980: "At least two black leaders have so far rejected the concept of regional military forces which have been described by military strategy experts as a logical extension of the homelands policy. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Gatsha Buthelezi, has refused to be associated with the 'Zulu Battalion' and the Chief Executive Councillor of Kangwane, Mr. M. J. Mabuza, has also opposed what he sees as ethnic armies".

47/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 May 1980.

48/ Ibid., 17 June 1980.

"The system has already been tested and is in production at present. It has a 100 per cent local content." 49/

190. The 127-mm. artillery rocket system was demonstrated to military correspondents at a news conference on 2 May. Mr. Botha informed them that the system was ready for operational use by the South African Defence Force and would also be sold to "approved countries". It was, he said, "supplementary to the Force's artillery capability and did not replace the gun".

191. Various reports indicated that this artillery system had not been developed in South Africa but had been based on technology and material acquired from the Space Research Corporation of Canada and the United States of America.

192. Mr. Botha also indicated on 2 May that the Navy was testing a unique design of twin-hulled craft. 50/

D. Development of the armaments industry

193. South Africa has further developed its armaments industry with the assistance of foreign interests and is now the tenth largest arms manufacturer in the world.

194. Introducing the Armaments Development and Production Amendment Bill on 29 May 1980, Mr. Kobie Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Defence, said that exports would in the future form an essential and growing component of the armament industry. 51/ The bill provided for the control of exports.

E. Role of business in the Defence Force

195. A significant development in the past year was the more direct involvement of private business in military affairs and its closer co-operation with the Defence Force. 52/

49/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 1 May 1980, cols. 5309 and 5310.

50/ "The Navy is testing a revolutionary design of tin-hulled craft which, when eventually scaled up, would be capable of carrying missiles and helicopters. A 10.6-metre prototype version, which is undergoing trials, is already capable of accommodating fairly powerful weapons. The vessel, the Shirley-T, was locally designed by Mr. Bob van Niekerk and built by a Cape Town company. Because of a unique tunnel design, the boat is a stable working platform capable of operating in seas far beyond the bounds of designs of similar size. A 50-metre version of the prototype would be able to fulfil the same task as an 80-metre mono-hulled vessel. She is also designed for manoeuvrability and easy mobilization. The Shirley-T is the third and largest of three scaled models so far manufactured. These models have been developed in the search for an economic hull form for coastal operation." (The Star, Johannesburg, weekly edition, 3 May 1980).

51/ Exports are essential to reduce unit costs and facilitate the further development of the industry.

52/ Prime Minister Botha said in July 1980 that about 600 private undertakings were involved in arms production (South African Digest, Pretoria, 25 July 1980).

196. Prime Minister P. W. Botha told the House of Assembly on 1 May 1980 that the Defence Force had succeeded in obtaining the goodwill and co-operation of business leaders. He announced that he had reconstituted the Defence Advisory Board with 13 of the most prominent business leaders of South Africa. He said:

"I think that with this list of names, we have obtained some of the top business leaders in South Africa to serve on the Defence Advisory Board in order to advise me from the inside, not only about the armaments industry, but also about the best business methods to be applied within the Defence Force ... I want to unite the business leaders of South Africa, representative as they are, behind the S.A. Defence Force. I think I have succeeded in doing so." 53/

197. The 13 members are: Mr. J. G. van der Horst, Chairman of the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society; Dr. F. J. du Plessis, Chairman of Trust Bank and Managing Director of Sanlam; Dr. J. S. Hurter, Chairman of Volkskas; Dr. Frans Cronje, Chairman of Nedbank and Syfrets-UAL holdings; Dr. W. J. de Villiers, Chairman of General Mining; Mr. J. Wilkens, President of the South African Agricultural Union; Mr. Gavin Relly, Deputy Chairman of Anglo American; Mr. R. J. Goss, Managing Director of South African Breweries; Mr. I. McKenzie, Chairman of the Standard Bank; Mr. Basil Hersov, Chairman and Managing Director of Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Co.; Mr. Christopher Saunders, Chairman of the Tongaat group; Mr. Mike Rosholt, Chairman of Barlow Rand; and Mr. Richard Lurie, President of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. 54/

198. Several of these men are closely associated with transnational corporations and their acceptance of membership in the Defence Advisory Board led to protests abroad. End Loans to South Africa (ELTSA), a British organization, protested against the membership of Mr. Ian Mackenzie, Chairman of Standard Bank SA, and described his close links with the South African military establishment. It wrote to the Governments of 13 African nations in which Standard Chartered Bank operates, expressing its deep concern at Mr. Mackenzie's appointment to the Defence Advisory Board and asking for action on the matter. 55/

VI. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

199. The rise in the price of gold enabled South Africa to overcome the balance-of-payments difficulties and obtain a large surplus on current account, at \$4.2 billion in 1979. 56/ Gold exports earned R 3,860 million in foreign exchange in 1978, with an average price of \$190 per ounce, and more than R 6 billion in 1979, with an average price of \$307 per ounce. 57/ The gold revenue is expected to be even higher in 1980, at about R 9 billion.

53/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 1 May 1980, cols. 5302 and 5303.

54/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 9 May 1980.

55/ The Guardian, London, 9 June 1980.

56/ Business Week, New York, 28 January 1980.

57/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 17 March 1980. It is estimated that 70 per cent of the increased revenue goes to the South African Government in taxes (Los Angeles Times, 17 February 1980).

200. The high price of gold enabled South Africa to offset the rise in the cost of oil imports and finance the substantial increase in the military budget. 58/

201. But this "prosperity" had little effect on the life of the black people. Unemployment has continued at a high level, with an official estimate of about 500,000 and unofficial estimates of one and a half million. The budget introduced on 26 March 1980 provided for an increase in the price of bread by 4 or 5 cents a loaf. On 28 March, the price controller announced increases in the price of sugar, coal, bricks and cement. Local authorities decreed large increases in rents and bus fares. These price increases particularly affected the poorer sections of the population, especially the Africans.

A. Foreign investment

202. Meanwhile, there has been a substantial increase in foreign investments in South Africa, especially in key sectors.

203. The new SASOL oil-from-coal plants, SASOL II and SASOL III, which are described as the largest process plants ever built at one time, involved an investment of over \$6 billion. They were made possible because of large export credits, loans and stock purchases by foreign interests. 59/ The bulk of export credits are being arranged by French and West German banks.

204. Foreign interests are likely to be involved in other major projects for alternative energy sources. African Explosives and Chemical Industries, partly foreign-owned, announced plans to produce 800,000 tons of methanol from coal. Anglovaal, another South African firm, was reported to have reached a working agreement with Caltex Oil for plant designs of a methanol plant which would produce at least 800,000 tons of methanol a year. 60/

205. A notable development during the past year was the expansion of investments in South Africa by transnational corporations, with a view to utilizing South Africa as an export platform. The racist régime has encouraged these moves as they are meant to frustrate international efforts for sanctions against South Africa.

206. The West German automobile company, BMW Aktiengesellschaft, has announced that it would invest an additional R 52 million in South Africa, thus nearly doubling its investment in the country. The expansion would enable the South African subsidiary to expand exports of cars to other countries, and of components to the Federal Republic of Germany. 61/

58/ South Africa's oil imports were estimated at about R 2,500 million in 1979, an increase of about R 800 million to R 1,000 million from the previous year (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 2 April 1980).

59/ Until 1979, SASOL was wholly Government-owned. In 1979, a \$525 million stock offering was made to private interests.

60/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 25 April 1980.

61/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 10 May 1980; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 8 June 1980; The Star, Johannesburg, weekly edition, 14 June 1980.

207. Alfa-Romeo South Africa, subsidiary of an Italian company, announced that production in South Africa would be expanded from 7 000 cars in 1980 to 12,000 in 1981. The bulk of the additional production would be earmarked for export, and export earnings would exceed R 40 million in 1981, and could increase to R 120 million in the near future. 62/

208. British Leyland announced that the British sports car MG Midget will be manufactured in South Africa and much of the production exported. It would close the MG plant at Abingdon, in the United Kingdom, and ship the machinery to South Africa. 63/

B. Loans

209. With the improvement of its balance of payments, the South African régime has succeeded in raising loans from abroad. The bulk of the loans, in the form of bond issues, were managed by banks in the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland. Hill Samuel of the United Kingdom managed two large credits. 64/

210. On 4 June 1980, Finance Minister Owen Horwood announced in the Senate that a public bond issue for 120 million Deutschemarks would be floated in Europe and managed by Deutsche Bank and several other leading European banks. Apart from a small amount of \$25 million in 1976, South Africa had not floated a public bond issue in Europe since 1972. Mr. Horwood said that the new issue was a sign of overseas confidence in South Africa.

211. The 94 underwriters of the loan include banks and investment houses from the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Austria and Luxembourg. 65/

212. In June, the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) raised about R 425 million from a consortium of overseas banks, mostly British, in export credits and Eurofinance loans. 66/

213. In July, ESCOM floated a public bond issue of DM 50 million in the Federal Republic of Germany. The issue was managed by Norddeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale. Co-managers were Girozentrale-Deutsche Kommunalbank, Hamburgische Landesbank Girozentrale and Bremer Landesbank. ESCOM had not issued a public bond in West Germany for six years. 67/

214. Despite the rise in the price of gold and the increase in foreign investment, South Africa is expected to require substantial foreign loans. Present plans for large private and public sector projects involve an investment of over

62/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 4 May 1980; South African Digest, Pretoria, 4 July 1980.

63/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 27 June 1980.

64/ See appendix III for South Africa's borrowings.

65/ Bond advertisement appearing in International Herald Tribune, 19 June 1980.

66/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 21 June 1980.

67/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 27 June and 28 July 1980.

\$30 billion in the 1980s. 68/ In addition, rising oil and defence budgets continue to strain domestic sources of financing. Moreover, the extensive borrowings of the previous decade have left South Africa with a heavy debt burden. Loan repayments on foreign long-term debt of the South African régime and its parastatal corporations are estimated at over \$1.5 billion. 69/ They do not include repayments of non-guaranteed public debt, private sector debt and short-term financing.

VII. APARTHEID IN SPORTS

215. There has been no meaningful progress in the past year in eliminating apartheid in sports and it has become increasingly clear the the Olympic principle of non-discrimination cannot be implemented until apartheid is totally eliminated.

216. In June 1980, the Security Police seized the passport of Mr. M. N. Pather, Secretary-General of the non-racial South African Council on Sport, on the eve of his departure for United Nations Headquarters for consultations with the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

217. On 1 July, the Pretoria City Council refused to permit the "Arcadia" Club to play soccer against the "Dynamos" at Caledonian Grounds because of the presence of black players. 70/ As a result, on 16 July the President of the South African National Football Association (SANFA), Mr. George Thabe, banned all soccer (football) at the Caledonian stadium in Pretoria. 71/

218. Yet South Africa was able to entice some sports bodies by deceptive propaganda.

219. In October 1979, the Barbarians rugby team from South Africa toured the United Kingdom. 72/

220. In March 1980, the British Sports Council issued a report that significant progress had been made in eliminating discrimination in sports.

221. In April-May, the South American Jaguar rugby team toured South Africa. The South African Springbok rugby team is scheduled to visit South America in October. 73/

222. In April, there was a boxing match between Gerrie Koetzee of South Africa and Mike Koranicki of the United States in Johannesburg.

68/ Standard Bank Review, November 1979.

69/ Euromoney, June 1979 Supplement.

70/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 2 July 1980.

71/ Post, Johannesburg, 17 July 1980.

72/ A tour of Ireland was prevented by the Government of Ireland.

73/ In view of refusal of visas by Argentina, South African press reports indicate that the team would play in Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, and that Argentine players would take part.

223. The Lions rugby team, which represents the rugby unions in the United Kingdom and Ireland, toured South Africa and Namibia in May-July 1980 despite world-wide protests. The tour was utilized by the South African régime for propaganda purposes. It took place when students and others were engaged in a nation-wide movement against racial discrimination and when the régime was killing schoolchildren. It was seen as a callous act providing comfort to the racist régime.

224. It was reported that the Southern Cross Fund (a South African organization which raises money for members of South African armed forces and police) had been using the name of the British Lions rugby team for fund raising. 74/

225. The French Tricolor rugby team is scheduled to visit South Africa at the end of October 1980.

226. On the other hand, further action against apartheid in sports was taken by some Governments and sports bodies.

227. The new Government of Zimbabwe prohibited the proposed game between the Lions rugby team and the rugby team of Zimbabwe which was scheduled for 10 June 1980. 75/

228. The Government of Greece prevented South African golfers from participating in the Golf World Cup tournament which took place in Athens in November 1979. 76/

229. The Government of the Netherlands took action to prevent the participation of South Africans in the Paraplegic Olympics which were held in the Netherlands in May 1980. 77/

230. The South African Basketball Federation was expelled from the International Amateur Basketball Federation (FIBA) in 1980.

231. The Argentine Government refused visas to South African rugby players who were to participate in the World XV rugby team which played a match in Buenos Aires on 5 August 1980.

232. On 10 July 1980, Mr. Bill Rawlings, Opposition leader in New Zealand, took a strong stand against the proposed visit of the Springbok rugby team in 1981. He said that New Zealand must adhere to the Gleneagles Agreement by withholding all association with South Africa in sport. In August, after the monthly meeting of the New Zealand Union, Chairman Ces Blazey said that the question of whether to invite Springbok in 1981 was left for a decision at the end of the year. 78/

233. On 12 July, ACCESS launched a campaign to ban South African golfers from competing in the Eisenhower Tournament at Pinehurst, North Carolina, from 3 to 6 October 1980 (South Africa was excluded last year when Fiji was the venue).

74/ Sunday Post, Johannesburg, 18 May 1980.

75/ Reuters, Salisbury, 21 May 1980.

76/ The Star, airmail weekly edition, 17 November 1979.

77/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 12 December 1979 and 5, 7 and 25 January 1980.

78/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 9 August 1980.

234. The Canadian Government reiterated to the International Women's Bowling Board in England that it would not grant visas to any South Africans wishing to visit Canada to participate in any sporting event. This has made it impossible for the South African Women's Bowling Association to participate in the 1981 World Women's Bowling Championships in North York, Ontario.

235. The visits of delegations of the British Sports Council and a French group to South Africa to investigate discrimination in sport, and the Lions rugby tour of South Africa, led to wide public discussion of the situation in South African sport. The British and French groups, and some other sports administrators, have argued that discrimination had been eliminated in some sports and that exchanges should be resumed in those sports.

236. Leaders of non-racial sports in South Africa have firmly opposed any weakening of the sports boycott. Mr. Hassan Howa, President of the South African Council on Sport, said:

"The Lions tour is not so important to rugby as it is to the government in power. The Nationalist Party wish to persuade their electorate that the rest of the world, and especially Britain, accept their bona fides." 79/

237. The Sunday Post noted on 16 March 1980 that the régime had asked the Human Sciences Research Council to set up a commission of inquiry to investigate national sport and to give priority to "laws and ordinances that have an inhibitory effect on the normalization of sporting relations". It said that this inquiry had become necessary because the régime knew that there was something inherently wrong with the present sports set-up. It added:

"While legally speaking it might be argued that there are no laws which explicitly state various race groups cannot share facilities, it is nonetheless true that there are laws which see to it that inter-racial playing does not take place: The Group Areas Act, Liquor Act, etc., etc."

238. Mr. Eddie Barlow, the South African cricket star, pointed out on 14 January 1980: "The problem does not lie with sport but with the system". 80/

79/ The Times, London, 17 January 1980.

80/ Ibid., 15 January 1980.

APPENDIX I

Chronology of developments relating to the underground
and armed struggle in South Africa a/

- 29 October 1979: A bomb exploded in the Bushbuckridge Magistrate's Court building.
- 2 November 1979: A group of at least four men, armed with AK-47 automatic rifles and hand-grenades, attacked Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, at 12.40 a.m. Two black constables were killed and another wounded. A civilian was also wounded. The attackers then escaped into the darkness on foot. Police undertook a house-to-house search in Soweto. The Chief of Security Police, Brigadier Johann Coetzee, said that the attackers were "almost certainly" members of ANC.
- 9 November 1979: Hand-grenades were thrown into the home of a security policeman, Lieutenant Magezi Ngobeni, at Wesselton, near Ermelo, eastern Transvaal. A spokesman of the Security Branch said that while the attack appeared to be the work of "terrorists", there was no definite proof.
- 11 December 1979: Mr. Alexander Moumbaris, Mr. Stephen Lee and Mr. Timothy Jenkins, three political prisoners, escaped from the maximum security prison in Pretoria and managed to leave South Africa despite a widespread police search. They said they had been assisted by the underground machinery of ANC and the South African Communist Party.
- 4 January 1980: Three armed men attacked the police station in Soekmekaar in northern Transvaal and escaped. One policeman was wounded.
- 8 January 1980: A man was shot dead in Duiwelskloof. Police found an arms cache near the scene of attack.
- 22 January 1980: An explosion took place in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. One man was killed and two children were injured.
- 25 January 1980: Three Africans held 25 hostages at the Volkskas Bank in Silverton, a suburb of Pretoria, for seven hours, demanding the release of political prisoners, particularly Nelson Mandela and James Mange. Police fired and killed the three men. One woman hostage was killed and several persons were injured in the exchange of fire. One of the injured women died the next day. The three Africans were identified by police as ANC members: Wilfred Madela,

a/ This chronology is based mainly on statements by the Pretoria régime and on press reports which describe freedom fighters as "terrorists".

Humphrey Makhubo and Stephen Mafoko from Soweto. They had left Madibane High School in Soweto during the 1976 uprising for military training abroad.

- 30 January 1980: Police arrested three armed men near Nelspruit and seized a cache of arms. A police spokesman said that they would be charged in connexion with the attack on Soekmekaar police station on 4 January.
- 6 February 1980: Police estimated that 2,000 persons, mostly students, attended the funeral in Soweto of Wilfred Madela, killed in the Silverton incident on 25 January. The mourners sang freedom songs, gave black power salutes and shouted "Amandla (power - to the people): he was not a terrorist but a hero". Police used tear-gas to disperse the mourners.
- 9 February 1980: Several thousand blacks - estimated by police at more than 5,000 - attended the funeral in Soweto of Fannie Mafoko, who was killed in the Silverton incident on 25 January. Press estimates were 10,000 to 20,000. The people sang freedom songs, raised their clenched fists in salute and carried placards extolling Mr. Mafoko as a hero.
- When the funeral was over, police fired tear-gas at mourners and about 10 persons were treated for injuries.
- 19 February 1980: Police disclosed that between 8 and 10 guerrillas had attacked and burnt a store in Pelindaba, in the Ingwavuma area of northern Natal. The incident followed the discovery by police of several large caches of weapons and ammunition in the area. Police said: "There was enough to start a small war".
- 21 February 1980: The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr. Kobie Coetzee, revealed that the army had assumed military control of northern Natal.
- A police spokesman in Durban told the press that two ANC "terrorists" had been arrested near Durban and would eventually be tried under the Terrorism Act. They had been operating in the field for a few years. A cache of arms was seized.
- 22 February 1980: A poll of 504 Sowetans, commissioned by The Star, Johannesburg, indicated that three quarters of the people felt strong and qualified sympathy for the three men killed in the Silverton incident of 25 January: 37.9 per cent of those polled replied that the men were heroes, while 35.1 per cent thought they were "brave men desperate to bring about change".
- 6 March 1980: The Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange, disclosed that the police had uncovered a large cache of Soviet-made arms, ammunition and explosives, as well as bundles of ANC leaflets, in Kwa Thema township, near Springs, about 30 kilometres east of Johannesburg.
- 10 March 1980: Mr. Bhekizithe Oliver Nqubelani, 26, was sentenced to 20 years

in prison after pleading guilty to planting a bomb in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

- 25 March 1980: A police spokesman said that two ANC "terrorists" had been captured several days earlier at the Mondlo Township, near Vryheid, Natal. A cache of arms had been found.
- 4 April 1980: About 11 Africans attacked the Booyens Police station in a white residential area in Johannesburg, using rockets, grenades and guns. The station was damaged but no one was injured.
- Pamphlets calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were found at the scene.
- Guerrillas used rocket-propelled grenades for the first time.
- 6 April 1980: About 500 people converged on the Atteridgeville cemetery in Pretoria to commemorate the first anniversary of the death by execution of Solomon Mahlangu, ANC freedom fighter. Freedom songs were sung after the last statement of Mr. Mahlangu was read. Pamphlets stating that Mahlangu was a "martyr of the ANC" were distributed at the graveyard and in the African townships.
- 1 June 1980: Guerrillas simultaneously bombed two oil-from-coal plants of the South African Oil and Gas Corporation (SASOL) at Sasolburg and Secunda, 75 miles apart. Eight fuel storage tanks at the SASOL-I oil-from-coal plant and an adjacent Matref oil refinery at Sasolburg, 55 miles south-west of Johannesburg, were destroyed, burning gasoline, jet fuel and butadiene. The guerrillas shot and wounded a security guard.
- Several bombs exploded in the heart of the SASOL-II processing complex at Secunda, south-east of Johannesburg, but there was less damage. Police said that limpet mines had been used by the guerrillas in the operation. The damage was estimated at R5.8 million (\$7 million). The Minister of Police said that the sabotage operation was clearly the work of ANC and the South African Communist Party.
- 2 June 1980: Three bombs were discovered and defused in Springs, the headquarters of the consortium responsible for the construction of SASOL oil-from-coal plants. The consortium is led by the Fluor Corporation of the United States of America.
- Denying the opposition allegations of indiscretion by SASOL, the Minister of Minerals and Energy, Mr. de Klerk, told the House of Assembly that SASOL had spent R11 million on security. He said: "It is clear that we are faced with a sophisticated attack, which is evidenced by the fact that there were three separate attacks on three separate installations almost simultaneously".

- 16 June 1980: Police said that the railway line from Chiselhurst to the harbour in East London, used for goods trains, had been damaged by an explosion on 14 June.
- 19 June 1980: A factory that produces rugby jerseys and socks for the Springboks and Lions in Cape Town was set ablaze with a petrol bomb, causing an estimated damage of R3 million.
- 21 June 1980: A classroom was set alight at Parktown Boys High School for whites in Johannesburg. Slogans supporting ANC and SWAPO and non-racist education were found on the desks and walls of the school.
- 5 July 1980: Brigadier H. P. Riekert, so-called Minister of Defence of the Bophutha Tswana Bantustan, who had earlier described the Bantustan border with the Republic of Botswana as an "operational area," requested the introduction of anti-insurgency helicopter and mounted units in the Bantustan's force.
- 6 August 1980: In the Silverton Bank siege trial, the extracts read from alleged ANC documents included such statements as: "We are at war ... The South African revolution has started... There have been over 90 separate strikes involving more than 40,000 workers... The time to fight at all levels, using all methods, has come."

APPENDIX II

Persons served with banning orders during the past year

BADELA, Mr. Moro

Journalist. Chairman of Port Elizabeth branch of WASA. Released from detention in February 1980 and immediately served with banning orders on 27 February 1980.

Address: 2 Limba Road, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth

BOTHA, Mr. Thomazile

President of PEBCO and a leading black nationalist. Released from detention in February and immediately banned on 27 February 1980. Reportedly fled to Lesotho in May 1980 (Washington Post, 7 May 1980). An application for the relaxation of the order to allow him to work at the Ford Motor Company was refused (Post, 28 March 1980).

DANIELS, Mr. Eddie

50. Sentenced in 1964 for 15 years' imprisonment on charge of sabotage. Released from Robben Island in November 1979. On release, served with five-year banning orders.

HASSIM, Mr. Kadir

44. Pietermaritzburg attorney. Released from Robben Island in April 1980. He had been banned in 1964 for five years. He was detained in 1971 and subsequently convicted to eight years under the Terrorism Act. Served with five-year banning orders on release. Restricted to his home at night and weekends. The stringent restrictions include one that he cannot enter a court of law except when he is required to appear in court (Daily News, Durban, 10 April 1980).

JOSEPH, Mrs. Helen

A trade unionist and veteran campaigner for human rights. Banned again for two years on 26 May 1980. She was the first person to be placed under house arrest in 1962. She was under bans for 14 years.

MAKWETU, Mr. Clarence

A former Robben Island prisoner, was restricted to the Libode district in Transkei in December 1979 (Daily News, 14 December 1979).

MASHABA, Mr. Tukuza Andrew

Of Soweto. Served with two-year banning orders in November 1979, on release after 15 years in prison.

Address: 4126 Chiawelo, Soweto, Johannesburg

MATTHEWS, Mr. John Edward

66. Released in December 1979 after serving 15 years in prison under the Suppression of Communism Act, was banned for three years. He was restricted to the registered district of Johannesburg and required to report once a week to John Vorster Square. (The Post, Johannesburg, 20 December 1979).

MAZIBUKO, Mr. Fanyana

Educationist. One of the most prominent members of the Black Consciousness Movement. Banned on 11 July 1980 for three years. A former deputy headmaster in Soweto; Secretary of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee; Acting Director of the South African Council for Higher Education; and founder-member of the non-racial National Education Union of South Africa. He had been detained for 10 months after bans on Black Consciousness organizations in 1977. The banning orders prohibit him from teaching or entering any educational institution.

PITYANA, Mr. Lizo

Vice-President of PEBCO. Banned in November 1979.

QEQE, Mr. Dumile Daniel

Served with three-year banning orders on 27 February 1980. PEBCO Executive Member and prominent sports administrator.

Address: 4 Ferguson Road, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth

TSHUME, Mr. Joseph Phalo

PEBCO Secretary. Detained in January 1980. Released from detention in February 1980 and immediately served with banning orders.

Address: 17 Ngesi Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth

APPENDIX III

South Africa's borrowings on foreign and international capital markets, 1979-mid-1980

Month	Borrower (Guarantor)	Amount (millions)	Millions of US dollars equivalent	Rate (percentage)	Type of loan	Maturity date	Managing bank(s)
<u>1979</u> February	SOF (RSA)	DM 20	10.8	7.75	B-PR	1984	Bayerische Landesbank Girozentrale
February	SOF (RSA)	SwF 60	35.8	5.50	B-PR	1984	Crédit Suisse Société de Banque Suisse Union de Banques Suisses
April	SOF (RSA)	DM 50	26.4	8.00	B-PR	1983	Berliner Handels and Frankfurter Bank
May	ESCOM (RSA)	DM 23	12.1	+1.25	Cr	1985	Kredietbank NV
June	RSA	SwF 100	58.9	5.25	B-PR	1984	Swiss Bank Corp.
July	ESCOM	DM 20	11.0	8.75	B-PR	1984	Commerzbank AG
July	IDC	SwF 50	30.4	5.75	B-PR	1984	Union de Banques Suisses
August	SOF (RSA)	SwF 50	30.2	5.50	B-PR	1984	Crédit Suisse
August	South African Railways and Harbours	SwF 20	12.1	5.50	B-PR	1984	Crédit Suisse
October	Dept. of Posts and Telegraphs (RSA)	DM 50	28.0	8.25	B-PR	1985	Berliner Handels and Frankfurter Bank Deutsche Bank
October	ESCOM (RSA)	\$US 25	--	+1.25	Cr	1984	Hill Samuel and Co.
October	ESCOM (RSA)	\$US 10	--	+1.25	Cr	1984	Interunion Banque
October	ESCOM (RSA)	\$US 5	--	+1.50	Cr	1986	Interunion Banque
<u>1980</u> March	South African Railways and Harbours	SwF 50	30.1	5.75	B-PR	1983	Union de Banques Suisses
May	South African Railways and Harbours	SwF 50	30.1	5.75	B-PR	1983	Union de Banques Suisses
May	ESCOM (RSA)	SwF 100	60.2	6.75	B-PR	1984	Swiss Bank Corp.
June	RSA	DM 120	67.0	9.00	B-PU	1987	Deutsche Bank
June	ESCOM	n. a.	525.0	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	Hill Samuel and Co.
July	ESCOM (RSA)	DM 50	28.7	9.00	B-PR	1987	Warddeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale

Source: World Bank EC-181 791-4, 801-2; International Herald Tribune, 19 June 1980; The Star (Johannesburg), 28 June 1980; Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg), 7 July 1980; Wall Street Journal (New York), 22 July 1980.

Key to abbreviations

B-PR	Privately-placed bond
B-PU	Publicly-issued bond
Cr	Credit
ESCOM	Electricity Supply Commission
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SOF	Strategic Oil Fund

ANNEX II

List of documents of the Special Committee against Apartheid

- A/AC.115/L.519 Letter dated 11 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.520 and Corr.1 Statement made by Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, at the 448th meeting of the Special Committee, 6 March 1980
- A/AC.115/L.521 Report of the International Seminar on Oil Embargo against South Africa, held in Amsterdam from 14 to 16 March 1980
- A/AC.115/L.522 International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- A/AC.115/L.523 Replies received from Member States and intergovernmental organizations to the letter by the Chairman of the Special Committee concerning the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.524 Letter dated 20 March 1980 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.525 Declaration of the Hemispheric Seminar on Women under Apartheid, held in Montreal from 9 to 11 May 1980
- A/AC.115/L.526 Communiqué of the consultations between the Special Committee against Apartheid and International Youth and Student Organizations held at Sigtuna, Sweden from 23 to 26 May 1980
- A/AC.115/L.527 Cable received from the General-Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
- A/AC.115/L.528 Report on the International Seminar on Women and Apartheid, held in Helsinki from 19 to 21 May 1980

A/AC.115/L.529

Declaration of the International Seminar on Youth Solidarity with the People's Struggle in Southern Africa organized by the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN) and held at Sigtuna, Sweden from 23 to 26 May 1980

A/AC.115/L.530

Replies to the letter dated 28 March 1980 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid requesting comments or information on action taken with regard to an effective oil embargo against South Africa

A/AC.115/L.531

Letter dated 29 July 1980 from the President of the African National Congress of South Africa addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid

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