



OF THE

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

AGAINST APARTHEID



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY - FIRST SESSION SUPPLEMENT No. 22A (A/31/22/Add.1 to 3)

UNITED NATIONS



SPECIAL REPORTS

OF THE

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

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UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1977

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The present volume contains three special reports submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee against Apartheid. They were previously circulated under the symbols A/31/22/Add.1.-S/12150/Add.1, A/31/22/Add.2-S/12150/Add.2 and A/31/22/Add.3-S/12150/Add.3.

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First special report

The Soweto massacre and its aftermath

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

3 August 1976

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith a special report on the Soweto massacre and its aftermath, adopted unanimously by the Special Committee against Apartheid on 3 August 1976.

This special report is submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 3411 (XXX) of 28 November and 10 December 1975.

The Special Committee wishes to stress on this occasion that in view of the nation-wide uprising by the African people of South Africa and the inhuman crimes of the <u>apartheid</u> régime, the United Nations and the international community must take urgent and effective steps to secure the total eradication of <u>apartheid</u> and assist the South African people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(<u>Signed</u>) Vladimir N. MARTYNENKO Acting Chairman of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>

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

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The uprising in South Africa since 16 June 1976 against <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination and the brutal massacres perpetrated by the South African régime against African school children and others represent a new stage in the struggle of the South African people for freedom and an inescapable challenge to the international community.

2. Though the immediate cause of demonstrations by the African students was the arbitrary imposition by the <u>apartheid</u> régime of Afrikaans as the second language of instruction in African secondary schools, they reflect, in fact, African resistance to apartheid in all its aspects.

3. As the Security Council recognized in resolution 392 (1976), adopted by consensus on 19 June, the present situation "has been brought about by the continued imposition by the South African Government of <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly". The operative part of the resolution read as follows:

"The Security Council

Si . . .

"1. <u>Strongly condemns</u> the South African Government for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people, including school children and students and others opposing racial discrimination;

"2. Expresses its profound sympathy to the victims of this violence;

"3. <u>Reaffirms</u> that the policy of <u>apartheid</u> is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbs international peace and security;

"4. <u>Recognizes</u> the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination;

"5. <u>Calls upon</u> the South African Government urgently to end violence against the African people, and take urgent steps to eliminate <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination;

"6. Decides to remain seized of the matter."

4. Numerous Governments and public organizations all over the world have expressed shock at the callous killing of Africans, demanded that the Pretoria régime abandon <u>apartheid</u> and repression, and called for more energetic international action to eradicate <u>apartheid</u>.

5. The Pretoria régime, however, has scorned the resolution of the Security Council. While making partial concessions on the issue of Afrikaans instruction, it resorted to massive repression against the African people and all opponents of apartheid, thereby aggravating the situation.

6. The Special Committee considers that the General Assembly and the Security Council, in particular, and the international community, generally, must urgently take further action to put an end to this increasingly grave situation, which is likely to lead to even more brutal repression and violence against innocent people and a consequent threat to the peace in a wider international context.

II. THE UNFOLDING CRISIS

7. Since its inception in 1963, the Special Committee has repeatedly drawn attention to the constant aggravation of the situation in South Africa as a result of the imposition of <u>apartheid</u> by the racist white minority régime and its brutal repression against opponents of <u>apartheid</u>. In its annual and special reports to the General Assembly and the Security Council, it has shown that the Pretoria régime has resorted to ever-increasing repression to enforce <u>apartheid</u> as resistance to its policies continued unabated. It has repeatedly called for decisive international action to end the threat to the peace resulting from the policies and actions of the South African régime and to enable the South African people to achieve their inalienable right to freedom and human dignity.

8. In these 13 years, the racist régime has caused enormous suffering to the black people by forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of families, arrests of millions of people under discriminatory laws and deprivation of elementary human rights. It has enacted a series of repressive laws which violate all canons of justice; it has imprisoned and restricted thousands of leaders of the black people and other opponents of <u>apartheid</u> and subjected them to ill-treatment and torture, resulting in over a score of deaths in detention. It has resorted to police shootings against peaceful demonstrators on several occasions in incidents described as "mini-Sharpevilles".

9. Despite all this brutality, however, there has been ever-increasing resistance against <u>apartheid</u> by the oppressed people of South Africa. The legitimacy of their struggle for freedom has received growing international recognition.

10. After the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in 1974, the Special Committee pointed out that the situation in southern Africa had reached a turning point and stated that "it has become imperative to focus international attention on the situation in South Africa as one of the gravest dangers to the peace, and to step up concerted international action to promote liberation and thereby avert a wider conflict". 1/ The South African régime attempted to offset such action by making a commitment before the Security Council in October 1974 that the Pretoria régime would move away from racial discrimination.

11. As the Special Committee pointed out in its report to the General Assembly at

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/9622), para. 198.

its thirtieth session, that commitment soon proved to be a fraud. 2/ While making some minor concessions to divert attention, the Pretoria régime proceeded to speed up the implementation of its diabolical plan to declare the sham independence of bantustans in scattered African reserves covering one seventh of the country, to deprive African people of all citizenship rights in the rest of South Africa, though they constituted the great majority of the population of that area and. thereby, to consolidate white domination. It intensified repression against all opponents of apartheid, particularly the black student and youth leaders who denounced the collaborators of apartheid and built the unity of all the oppressed black people - Africans, Indians and Coloured people - in their struggle for freedom and self-determination. It greatly increased its military budget and launched naked aggression against Angola on the eve of its independence. The acts of aggression of the racist régime of South Africa against Zambia in July this year - condemned by the Security Council in resolution 393 (1976) - prove once more that the racist régime of South Africa, its criminal policy of apartheid and illegal occupation of Namibia constitute a grave threat to peace and security.

12. Since the beginning of 1976, the racist régime has embarked on serious new measures in its desperate effort to suppress resistance against <u>apartheid</u> and create a fait accompli in its policy of bantustanization. It has enacted two new repressive laws: the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act, which would establish a permanent commission to carry on a witch-hunt against anti-racist organizations, and the Internal Security Act, which would enable the régime to detain indefinitely anyone suspected by it of endangering the security of the <u>apartheid</u> State. It has indicated its intention to apply these laws to intimidate, harass and suppress the black consciousness organizations (such as the South African Students Organization, the Black People's Convention and the Black Allied Workers Union) and a few other bodies which have courageously opposed <u>apartheid</u> (such as the Christian Institute of South Africa and the National Union of South African Students).

13. It has also proceeded with plans to grant sham independence to the bantustan of Transkei on 26 October. In this connexion, it has enacted the Status of Transkei Act, a law to deprive not only the 1.7 million people in the Transkei, but also the 1.3 million people of Xhosa origin in the rest of South Africa of their citizenship on 26 October.

14. As noted by many observers, laws such as the Internal Security Act and the Status of Transkei Act have no parallel except under Nazi Germany.

15. These policies and actions of the South African racist régime have created a highly explosive situation, which has led to the recert ghastly massacre of African children in Soweto and other areas. The wide popular support for African student demonstrations against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in segregated secondary schools reflects a seething resentment against the diabolical plans of the régime for the perpetuation of white domination. The inhuman brutality of the régime in resorting to wanton killings of African children underlines its determination to continue on its present course, which can only be catastrophic.

^{2/} Ibid., Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/10022), para. 33.

III. THE SOWETO MASSACRE AND ITS AFTERMATH

16. On 16 June 1976, 10,000 African students in Soweto, the segregated African township of Johannesburg, joined a peaceful demonstration against the arbitrary decision imposed by the "Bantu education" authorities that Afrikaans should be used as the medium of instruction for several subjects in secondary schools. The police opened fire at the demonstrators, killing several children. A special police squad trained to combat urban terrorism was brought into Soweto by helicopters, which were also used to drop tear-gas cannisters. In the ensuing confrontations between the police and Africans, mainly students, large numbers of persons were killed and wounded. The Africans destroyed a number of buildings - notably the offices of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, liquor stores and beer halls - which, to them, were symbols of racial discrimination and oppression.

17. Eyewitness accounts of the events of 16 June indicated that the police had shot and killed school children indiscriminately. A senior police officer told the press: "We fire into them. It is no good firing over their heads." The dispatch of large contingents of the police into the township tended to provoke African anger.

18. Several hundred white students from the University of Witwatersrand held demonstrations in Johannesburg on 17 June in sympathy with the black students of Soweto and were joined by black workers. They were brutally attacked by white vigilantes and by the police, resulting in serious injuries to scores of persons.

19. Demonstrations against "Bantu education" and in solidarity with the African students in Soweto soon spread to numerous African townships near Johannesburg, Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Germiston, Benoni, Boksburg, Klerksdorp and Nelspruit indeed, to most townships in the Witwatersrand-Pretoria area, as well as parts of Northern Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal. Students at the University of the North at Turfloop and the University of Zululand in Ngoya also demonstrated in sympathy and both institutions were closed. 3/

20. According to official figures, 176 persons were killed and 1,139 wounded, many of whom were small children. Over 1,300 persons were arrested. There is reason to believe that the toll was actually much higher.

21. The immediate cause of the student demonstration in Soweto, as noted earlier, was the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in secondary schools.

22. It may be recalled that the South African régime segregated education in 1954 and instituted a "Bantu education" system for the Africans, based on the philosophy of the then Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. H. F. Verwoerd, that "there

3/ The third segregated tribal university for Africans - the University of Fort Hare - was on vacation in June. A solidarity demonstration was held by the students at that University on 17 and 18 July 1976 and the University was immediately closed. is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour". The Africans were subjected to gross discrimination in education.

23. In 1974/75, government expenditure on African education was less than one fourth of the expenditure on white education, though the Africans constitute the great majority of the population. The pupil-teacher ratio in African schools was 54 in 1975, as against 20 in white schools. Africans, the poorer section of the community, were obliged to pay fees and purchase textbooks, while education was entirely free for the whites.

24. In instituting "Bantu education", the racist authorities decided that subjects in the African secondary schools should be taught in English and Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis. Because of strong protests by the African people and educators, as well as the lack of qualified teachers, this policy was not enforced immediately, and most schools used only English as the medium of instruction.

25. In 1974, the southern Transvaal region of the Bantu Education Department ordered that mathematics, geography and history must be taught in Afrikaans in junior secondary schools - and this order was enforced at the Phefeni secondary school in Soweto from the beginning of 1976.

26. Repeated representations were made to the authorities against this order by the African teachers and principals, school boards, parent bodies and even bantustan leaders. Even white members of Parliament warned the régime of the injustice and danger of enforcing this order. But the authorities remained adamant. Instead of paying heed to African protests, they dismissed several school board members and warned principals.

27. After the failure of all representations, the students at the Phefeni secondary school went on strike on 17 May and they were joined by students in six other schools in Soweto. Altogether, 5,000 students were on strike. The police repeatedly tried to intimidate the students, but the strike continued. It was essentially a protest against a dictatorial white racist régime which paid no heed to African grievances and showed no willingness even to consult the African people.

28. Many Africans, including even members of <u>apartheid</u> institutions, had warned in the days before the Soweto massacre that a conflict was inevitable unless the régime withdrew its arbitrary order on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. But the authorities chose to precipitate a crisis and suppress the student movement.

29. While the world was shocked at the events, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. Andries Treurnicht, insisted on 17 June that the Government, which had built the schools, had every right to decide on the medium of instruction. The Minister of Police, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, answering questions in Parliament, exonerated the police by stating that they "have throughout acted with the greatest measure of self-control and applied the minimum of force". 4/ He proceeded to blame the

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black consciousness movement, which had spread among the educational institutions, for the disturbances. 5/

30. The Pretoria régime has gone through the pretence of consultations with members of the Urban Bantu Council, an <u>apartheid</u> institution scorned by the African people, and announced that the decision as to the medium of instruction would be left to the principals of schools, acting in consultation with their school boards and school committees. It also announced plans to provide electricity to all homes in Soweto in five to seven years and to grant greater powers to the Urban Bantu Councils.

31. While making these minor concessions in the hope of defusing resistance, the régime has categorically rejected demands for an end to <u>apartheid</u> and embarked on massive repression against the black people, as well as against whites who have called for an end to <u>apartheid</u>.

32. On 15 July, it put into force the indefinite detention provisions of the Internal Security Act and detained a large number of leaders of the South African Students Organization and the Black People's Convention. It gave formal warnings to several opponents of apartheid not to involve themselves in the situation. 6/

5/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 17 June 1976, Questions and Replies, col. 9641.

6/ According to press reports, such warnings were given to Mr. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, Mr. John Rees, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Mme. Selma Browde, Progressive Reform Party Member of the Transvaal Provincial Council.

IV. NEED FOR URGENT EFFORTS TO ISOLATE THE RACIST REGIME AND ASSIST THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE

33. The massacre in Soweto and related events demonstrate once again the inhumanity of the South African racist régime. They have shown that the black people of South Africa, who constitute the great majority of the population of the country, cannot secure attention to and a solution of their day-to-day grievances, let alone attain their inalienable rights, by appeals and representations to the racist régime. The callousness of the Government to repeated appeals by African educators and parents to heed the demands of students and the massive violence against the student demonstrators have reinforced the conviction of the African people that peaceful protests are ineffective, and that they need to resort to all other necessary means of liberation from racist oppression and tyranny.

34. The recent events have demonstrated that the racist régime is incapable of moving away from <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination, as its representative promised before the Security Council in October 1974, and of seeking a solution based on the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

35. They have shown that there can be no solution to the grave situation in South Africa without the replacement of the minority racist régime by a Government based on the principle of equality and the exercise of the right of self-determination by all the people of South Africa.

36. The Special Committee takes note of a resolution on the Soweto massacre adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at the twenty-seventh ordinary session of the Council of Ministers at the end of June 1976, that "the only effective guarantee for the African people of South Africa against the repetition of the massacres is the launching of an armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people". $\underline{7}/$

37. The Special Committee considers that all those opposed to <u>apartheid</u> should abandon their vain efforts to persuade the criminal racist régime to abandon racism and should take firm action to isolate the racist régime and assist the oppressed people and their liberation movements in the struggle for the total eradication of <u>apartheid</u> and the exercise of the right of selfdetermination.

38. The Special Committee recalls that it has consistently warned that the main trading partners of South Africa have encouraged the South African régime to continue on its disastrous course by their political, economic, military and other collaboration. It has repeatedly called on these countries to desist from such collaboration and its recommendations have been adopted by the General Assembly by overwhelming votes.

^{7/}Organization of African Unity, CM/Res.476 (XXVII).

39. However, several Western countries - particularly France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America - as well as some others, particularly Israel, have continued and in fact increased collaboration with the racist régime. They have been responsible for continued breaches of the arms embargo against South Africa. Investments from their countries in South Africa have greatly increased in recent years.

40. Some Governments have embarked on high-level discussions with the Pretoria régime on the grounds that the co-operation of the racist régime is essential for peaceful solutions in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. They must realize the futility of their efforts to gain the co-operation of the Pretoria régime.

41. The Special Committee considers that the policies and actions of the South African régime are the main dangers to peace in the whole area. That régime continues illegally to occupy Namibia and to sustain the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in defiance of the United Nations. Its practice of the criminal policy of <u>apartheid</u> has created a grave threat to the peace in South Africa in particular and in southern Africa as a whole. Any collusion with that régime, under whatever justification, is an act against peace and freedom.

42. The Special Committee considers, in particular, that the Governments and economic and other interests which have collaborated with the Pretoria régime bear a serious responsibility for the recent events in South Africa and that they should be persuaded by the international community to desist from such collaboration.

V. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

43. Since the events of 16 June 1976, the Special Committee has attempted, in accordance with its mandate, to publicize the situation in South Africa and promote effective international action against <u>apartheid</u>.

44. In a statement on 17 June 1976, the Acting Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Committee pointed out that the events in Soweto were yet another example of the brutality of the Pretoria régime, and demonstrated the growing militancy of the oppressed people and their courage in the face of inhuman repression. They emphasized that the conflict in South Africa was a conflict between racism and non-racialism and added:

"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, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against <u>apartheid</u>. Every crime committed by the Vorster régime against black people is, therefore, a direct affront to the United Nations and the international community. The killing of the black school children of Soweto is such a crime. "On behalf of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>, we appeal to all Governments and organizations to denounce this new crime of the Vorster régime.

"We appeal again for a total embargo on all supplies for the armed forces and police in South Africa, and for the total isolation of the South African racist régime."

45. On 23 June, the Special Committee sent messages to the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and to international student and youth organizations encouraging them to take appropriate action. It also sent a message of support to the South African Students Organization.

46. On the same day, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement appealing to all Governments and organizations to contribute generously for assistance to the victims of police shootings and persecution in South Africa.

47. On 27 July, the Rapporteur of the Special Committee issued a statement drawing attention to the massive repression against the black consciousness movement in South Africa.

48. Meanwhile, the Chairman of the Special Committee, participating in the twenty-seventh ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of OAU, appealed for co-ordinated and effective action in the present stage of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. He has held consultations with a number of Governments, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations in Africa and Europe in order to promote political and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

49. The Special Committee considers it imperative that the United Nations and the international community take urgent and effective action in the light of the present grave situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, to secure the total eradication of <u>apartheid</u> and assist the South African people to exercise their right to self-determination. They must recognize that the South African racist régime, by its practice of the criminal policy of <u>apartheid</u>, continues to pose an ever-increasing grave threat to the peace in the area. They must recognize further the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa to secure their inalienable rights and must provide all necessary assistance to them in their struggle for liberation.

50. This has now become an urgent and inescapable task of the international community.

A. Action by the Security Council

51. The Special Committee recommends, in particular, that the Security Council should again consider the situation in South Africa in the light of the defiance by the South African racist régime of the relevant resolutions of the Council, in particular of resolution 392 (1976) of 19 June 1976, and its continued aggravation of the situation by massive repression. It further recommends that the Security Council should declare that the fast worsening situation in South Africa, resulting from the policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Pretoria régime, is a grave threat to international peace and security and should take early action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

52. The Special Committee recommends that the Security Council should demand that the South African racist régime:

(a) Release all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to <u>apartheid</u>, and grant unconditional amnesty to all political refugees from South Africa;

(b) Repeal forthwith all repressive laws and regulations restricting the right of people to strive for an end to apartheid and racial discrimination;

(c) Repeal the bans on the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and other organizations fighting apartheid;

(d) Take urgent steps to abolish all apartheid laws and regulations;

(e) Abandon plans for the establishment of bantustans; and

(f) Enable the people of South Africa as a whole to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

53. The Special Committee further recommends that the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, should call on all States:

(a) To cease all supply of military equipment or material to South Africa, as well as any military co-operation with South Africa;

(b) To impose an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products, and any strategic materials, to South Africa;

(c) To refrain from any co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field;

(d) To break all diplomatic, economic and other relations with the South African racist régime;

(e) To provide all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their legitimate struggle.

B. Action by the General Assembly

54. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly give special attention to the situation in South Africa at its thirty-first session with a view to translating into effective action its proclamation in resolution 3411 C (XXX) of 28 November 1975, that "the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid".

55. It recommends, in particular, that the General Assembly adopt a comprehensive programme of action for the total isolation of the South African racist régime and for effective support to the South African liberation movements, on the basis of the proposals adopted by the International Seminar on the Eradication of <u>Apartheid</u> and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, organized by the Special Committee, in consultation with OAU, in Havana, from 24 to 28 May 1976.

56. The Special Committee will submit proposals in this connexion in its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

C. Action by States

57. The Special Committee takes note that several Western countries particularly France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America - as well as some other States, particularly Israel, have encouraged the South African racist régime by their continued collaboration in defiance of the United Nations resolutions, and bear a responsibility for the grave events in South Africa. These States particularly the three permanent members of the Security Council - have consistently prevented effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter to resolve the situation in South Africa, refusing even to recognize the threat to the peace resulting from the crime of <u>apartheid</u>.

58. The Special Committee hopes that these States will be persuaded, after the recent genocidal crimes by the South African racist régime, to reassess their attitudes and facilitate international action.

59. In the meantime, the Special Committee launches an earnest appeal to all Governments which are committed to the struggle for liberation in South Africa:

(a) To exert all their influence to persuade the main trading partners of South Africa to desist from collaboration with the South African racist régime and facilitate effective international action;

(b) To warn transnational corporations collaborating with the South African régime to cease such collaboration;

(c) To ratify or accede to the International Covention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of <u>Apartheid</u>, if they have not already done so, and implement the Convention;

(d) To provide all necessary political and material support to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in the present stage of their struggle for liberation; and

(e) To contribute generously for humanitarian assistance to the victims of police shootings and repression in South Africa.

DOCUMENT A/31/22/Add.2

Second special report

Relations between Israel and South Africa

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

9 September 1976

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith a special report of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> on the relations between Israel and South Africa, adopted unanimously by the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> on 8 September 1976.

This special report is submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 3411 (XXX) of 28 November and 10 December 1975.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(<u>Signed</u>) Leslie O. HARRIMAN Chairman of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>

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

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I. BACKGROUND

1. In recent years, the General Assembly has expressed increasing concern over the intensification of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa.

2. In resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned "the unholy alliance between ... South African racism ... and Israeli imperialism".

3. In resolution 3324 E (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly condemned "the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa".

4. In resolution 3411 G (XXX) of 10 December 1975, the General Assembly again condemned "the strengthening of relations and collaboration between the racist régime of South Africa and Israel in the political, military, economic and other fields".

5. The Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> has constantly followed the development of relations between the two régimes with increasing concern and reported to the General Assembly as appropriate.

6. In March 1974, following the decision of the Government of Israel to upgrade its diplomatic mission in South Africa to an embassy, the Special Committee requested its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa to prepare a report on recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa. The report of the Sub-Committee was issued under the symbol A/AC.115/L.383.

7. The Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter on 2 April 1974 to the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations stating that "the raising of the level of the diplomatic mission in South Africa is a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly" and requesting him to convey to his Government the great concern of the Special Committee and its hope that the Government would reconsider its decision and terminate its diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South African racist régime in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. While the Permanent Representative of Israel acknowledged receipt of the Chairman's letter, no reply was ever received from the Government of Israel.

8. In October 1974, the Special Committee decided to issue a comprehensive study of the development of relations between Israel and South Africa from 1967 to 1974 prepared for the Committee by an expert, Mr. Peter Hellyer. The study was issued under the symbol A/AC.115/L.396.

9. In June 1975, the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to press reports that the South African Minister of Interior and Information had arrived on a "private" visit to Israel on 17 June 1975 and that the South African Consulate-General in Israel would be elevated to an embassy. Disturbed by the evidence of further increase in links between the two countries, the Committee requested its Rapporteur to prepare a report on recent developments concerning military, diplomatic, economic and other collaboration between South Africa and Israel. The report was issued under the symbol A/AC.115/L.411.

10. Following another visit by the South African Minister of Interior and Information, Mr. C. P. Mulder, to Israel in March 1976 and, in the light of reports of an impending visit to Israel by the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. B. J. Vorster, the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mme. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), issued a press statement on 7 April 1976. She expressed the hope that all Governments and organizations would condemn the actions of the Government of Israel in developing closer collaboration with the Pretoria régime in defiance of United Nations resolutions and would exercise their influence to persuade the Government of Israel to desist from its present course.

11. At its 321st and 322nd meetings, on 14 and 30 April 1976, the Special Committee discussed the growing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, following Prime Minister Vorster's visit to Israel from 9 to 12 April 1976, and the conclusion of a wide-ranging co-operation agreement between the two countries. The Committee requested its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa to prepare, as a matter of priority, a report on the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa with a view to transmitting it to the General Assembly and the Security Council, and to the Organization of African Unity, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries and the League of Arab States.

12. On ll August 1976, the Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman (Nigeria), attending the non-aligned ministers' meeting in Sri Lanka, issued a statement condemning the reported sale of two missile boats by Israel to South Africa. The statement read as follows:

"Announcement by Israel of proposed sale to South Africa of two corvettes equipped with missiles represents flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions and cynical and hostile act against African people now engaged in heroic struggle for freedom in face of massacres by <u>apartheid</u> régime. It also constitutes threat to independent African States and challenge to efforts to establish Indian Ocean zone of peace. I call on all Governments and people to denounce this action and growing Israeli collusion with <u>apartheid</u> régime and demand cessation of all collaboration with Pretoria. I feel certain that non-aligned ministers now meeting here in Colombo will give this growing threat to Africa the attention which it deserves."

II. INTRODUCTION

13. The purpose of the present report is to give an account of the growth in relations between Israel and South Africa. The report contains information on the

historical background of collaboration between South Africa and the Zionist movement prior to the formation of the State of Israel. It reviews developments in all areas of collaboration between the two countries between 1948 and the present.

14. The report shows that relations between Israel and South Africa, which have ideological and historical roots, acquired new dimensions and were greatly intensified after the June 1967 war in the Middle East and even more after the October 1973 war. Differences between the two régimes caused by diverging foreign policy objectives towards the Arab and the African countries were set aside when the African States broke diplomatic relations with Israel. Weakened by the advances of the liberation struggle and forced into increasing isolation by growing Arab-African solidarity and world condemnation of their racist policies, the two régimes have resorted to an ever closer collaboration in all areas, as indicated below:

(a) Politically, this collaboration has aimed at driving a wedge between the African countries and between them and the Arab countries, and at linking southern Africa and the Middle East as common strategic concerns of the Western Powers; South Africa expects substantial political dividends from closer association with Israel and co-operation in undermining the boycott campaigns;

(b) In the military sphere, this growing collaboration has provided each country with an additional source of arms supplies and technological know-how, as well as access to classified information on strategies and tactics;

(c) Economically, Israel has benefited from raw materials vital to its economy, while South Africa has derived substantial advantages from its favourable balance of trade with Israel and from the possibility of using that country as a springboard both for evading the international boycott and for circumventing high European Economic Community tariffs; investment has increasingly taken the form of joint projects by public corporations drawing on the complementarity of the two economies - South Africa's raw materials and Israel's scientific know-how - to promote industrial expansion schemes of benefit to both countries;

(d) In the cultural field, exchange programmes and other activities have promoted closer ideological identification between the two countries and have served to further South African propaganda.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS: GENERAL OUTLINE

15. The rapidly increasing collaboration between the <u>apartheid</u> régime in South Africa and the Government of Israel reached a new stage in April 1976 when Prime Minister B. J. Vorster visited Israel and concluded agreements on economic, scientific and industrial collaboration between the two countries. Press reports and subsequent developments also showed that the two countries had agreed on intensifying military collaboration.

16. It may be recalled that relations between the minority racist régime in South Africa and Israel have deep historical and ideological roots. General Jan Smuts, Minister of Defence in the Union Government and a member of the Imperial War Council in 1917, was one of the chief architects of the Balfour Declaration on the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine. 1/

17. The Nationalist-Labour coalition Government under General J. B. M. Hertzog fully supported the creation of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine, adopting a resolution to that effect in 1926. It also promised to support the Zionist aims before the League of Nations. 2/ In the United Nations, South Africa actively supported the project of the partition of Palestine. One of the first acts of the National Party after coming to power in 1948 was to extend <u>de jure</u> recognition to the newly established State of Israel. Mr. D. F. Malan was the first Prime Minister in the British Commonwealth to pay a courtesy visit to the new State. In addition, he permitted South African Jewish reserve officers to serve in Israel and approved transfer of funds and goods to Israel despite South Africa's financial difficulties at the time. 3/

18. In line with its support for the State of Israel, the National Party reversed its previous policy towards the Jewish minority in South Africa, which had been marked by rabid anti-Semitism. Soon after taking office, Mr. Malan declared that both he and his Government stood for a policy of non-discrimination against any section of the white population and looked forward to the day when there would no longer be any talk of the "Jewish question" in the country. <u>4</u>/ The ban on Jewish membership in the National Party was lifted and prominent Jews were appointed to important governmental positions. 5/

19. The new policy of the National Party was apparently motivated not only by a desire to strengthen white solidarity, but also by a recognition of the important role that the Jewish community had come to play in South Africa's economy. The leaders of the Party feared that any implementation of discrimination against Jews would drain South Africa of Jewish capital. It has also been pointed out that Afrikaner support for zionism had a basis in the common opposition to the British

1/ Richard P. Stevens, Weizmann and Smuts: A Study in Zionist-South African Co-operation (Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975); Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, The Jews in South Africa (Cape Town, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 281 ff. General Smuts, a close personal friend of Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader, was to remain one of the strongest supporters of the Zionist cause until his death.

2/ Antoine J. Bullier, "Les relations entre l'Afrique du Sud et Israel", Revue française d'ètudes politiques africaines, No. 119, November 1975.

<u>3</u>/ Richard P. Stevens, "Zionism, South Africa and <u>apartheid</u> - the paradoxical triangle", <u>The Arab World</u>, vol. XVI, No. 2, February 1970.

4/ Henry Katzew, "Jews in the land of <u>apartheid</u>", <u>Midstream</u>, vol. 8, December 1962.

5/ Stevens, op. cit.

at the time, as well as the common feeling of being "chosen people" with a biblical mission. 6/

20. Through its support for Israel and its official abrogation of anti-Semitism internally, the National Party was able to secure acceptance of its <u>apartheid</u> policies at all levels of formal Jewish expression. The sizable Jewish community in South Africa had always been strongly Zionist and had maintained close ties with the thousands of South African Jews who had emigrated to Israel, some of whom had come to occupy prominent positions in the new State. In response to Mr. Malan's new policy, the Jewish associations toned down their previously outspoken criticisms of racial discrimination. While individual Jews maintained their anti-<u>apartheid</u> stand and even joined the liberation struggle, the official Jewish organizations followed the South African Jewish Board of Deputies in taking the position that, as non-political bodies, they would "refrain from taking any position on party political issues" and would not "express views on the various race policies being advocated". 7/

21. As Rabbi M. C. Weiler put it in a speech to the Eighth International Conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in London in July 1953:

"The Jews as a community had decided to take no stand on the native question, because they were involved with the problem of assisting Jewry in other lands. South African Jewry was doing more to help Israel than any other group. The community could not ask for the Government's permission to export funds and goods and, at the same time, object to the Government." 8/

22. The South African Jewish press and the Board of Deputies did not break their silence even on the occasion of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. In return, the South African Zionist Federation was allowed to continue sending substantial funds to Israel every year - making the South African Jewish community the greatest per capita contributor to Israel in the world. 9/

23. The community of interests between the State of Israel and the <u>apartheid</u> régime was therefore established from the very beginning, with the South African Jewish community serving as the link between the two countries, in spite of some transitory difficulties. As Peter Hellyer has noted:

"The differing political objectives of the two States, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, from 1960 to 1970, have caused problems from time to time,

6/ Ibid.; Leslie Rubin, "Afrikaner nationalism and the Jews", <u>Africa South</u>, vol. 1, No. 3, April-June 1957; Interview with Mr. Yitzhak Unna, Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, in <u>Jewish Press</u>, 18 June 1976.

- 7/ Katzew, op. cit.
- 8/ Quoted in Stevens, op. cit.
- 9/ Stevens, op. cit.; Saron and Hotz, op. cit.

but they have shown themselves to be essentially transitory, and capable of being subordinated to an over-all policy of the continued development of ties" (A/AC.115/L.396, p. 2). $\underline{10}/$

24. Israel's attempt to establish diplomatic and other links with independent African countries in the 1960s led it to declare opposition to <u>apartheid</u> in the United Nations and other forums. In retaliation, in 1962, the South African régime rescinded the special concessions in foreign currency regulations which had allowed the free transfer of funds to Israel. <u>11</u>/ The South African Jewish organizations attempted to influence Israel to abstain "with the other Western nations" in the votes on anti-<u>apartheid</u> resolutions in the United Nations. <u>12</u>/ They also turned themselves into instruments of South African propaganda by deciding that "the Jewish community should take steps to explain South Africa's position to Jews overseas and at home". <u>13</u>/

25. The underlying community of interests between the two Governments, despite divergencies over foreign policy, was shown by South African support for Israel during the 1967 war. Special regulations to allow free transfer of funds to Israel were quickly reinstated and other forms of material aid were made available. The war led to increasing recognition of the basic similarity of the two countries in international politics and the resulting need to co-operate. Die Burger, organ of the National Party in Cape Province, described the situation as follows:

"Israel and South Africa have a common lot. Both are engaged in a struggle for existence, and both are in constant clash with the decisive majorities in the United Nations. Both are reliable foci of strength within the region, which would, without them, fall into anti-Western anarchy. It is in South Africa's interest that Israel is successful in containing her enemies, who are among our own most vicious enemies; and Israel would have all the world against it if the navigation route around the Cape of Good Hope should be out of operation because South Africa's control is undermined. The anti-Western powers have driven Israel and South Africa into a community of interests which had better be utilized than denied." 14/

26. The same argument was reiterated by <u>Jewish Affairs</u>, the official organ of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies:

10/ Peter Hellyer, "Israel and South Africa - development of relations, 1967-1974", paper prepared for the Special Committee against Apartheid.

12/ Henry Katzew, "South Africa: a country without friends", <u>Midstream</u>, spring 1962.

13/ Jewish Chronicle, London, December 1962.

14/ Die Burger, Cape Town, 29 May 1968.

^{11/} Stevens, op. cit.

"The argument that Israel and South Africa have a basic community of interest in the Middle East and further south has more than a grain of truth in it. There is nothing secret or sinister about it. The strong ties between the two countries, closer than ever since the 1967 war, are inseparable from their geographical and strategic position, from their anti-communist outlook, and from all the realities of their national existence ... In short, the destinies of the two countries, so different in many ways, but so alike in the fundamental conditions of their survival, are intervoven in a much more meaningful sense than any enemy propagandist could conceive, or, for that matter, would be happy to see." 15/

27. Economic, political and military links between the two countries grew rapidly in the subsequent years, despite some new temporary strains occasioned by Israel's overtures towards independent Africa. In 1971, the South African régime again suspended the free transfer of money to Israel in protest against Israel's offer of \$5,000 to the OAU Assistance Fund for the liberation movements. Israel was then obliged to withdraw the offer.

28. The October 1973 war was a major milestone in the process of growing identification between the two countries. Most African States broke relations with Israel during or after the war, thus putting an end to Israel's need to maintain a facade of opposition to <u>apartheid</u>. This was immediately evident in Israel's voting on anti-<u>apartheid</u> resolutions in the United Nations; since 1973, Israel has either been absent, has abstained or has voted against these resolutions. <u>16</u>/ South Africa openly expressed its support for Israel during the war: Mr. P. W. Botha, South African Minister of Defence, declared that "within our means, and without declaring war", his Government would provide assistance to Israel. Prime Minister Vorster stated that if Israel lost the war, its defeat would have important consequences for South Africa. <u>17</u>/ Accordingly, South Africa immediately lifted exchange controls to allow free transfer of funds to Israel and provided various forms of material assistance, including military assistance. After the war,

15/ Jewish Affairs, November 1970.

<u>16</u>/ Israel's voting record on anti-<u>apartheid</u> resolutions in the United Nations General Assembly since 1973 has been as follows:

(a) Resolution 3055 (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151 A (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151 B (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151 D (XXVIII), abstaining; resolution 3151 E (XXVIII), abstaining; resolution 3151 F (XXVIII), absent.

(b) Resolution 3324 A (XXIX), no vote taken; resolution 3324 B (XXIX), absent; resolution 3324 C (XXIX), absent; resolution 3324 D (XXIX), abstaining; resolution 3324 E (XXIX), against.

(c) Resolution 3411 A (XXX), no vote taken; resolution 3411 B (XXX), no vote taken; resolution 3411 C (XXX), absent; resolution 3411 D (XXX), absent; resolution 3411 E (XXX), no vote taken; resolution 3411 F (XXX), abstaining; resolution 3411 G (XXX), against.

<u>17/ Rand Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 15 October 1973; <u>South African Digest</u>, Pretoria, 19 October 1973; <u>Die Transvaler</u>, Johannesburg, 9, 13 and 15 October 1973. South Africa became, in the words of an observer, "Israel's sole substantive supporter on the African continent and one of the few Governments anywhere not calling for its withdrawal from occupied Arab territory". <u>18</u>/

29. In the years since the 1973 war, the two countries have rapidly moved towards the establishment of an ever closer alliance in defence of common interests, and the formalization of their links. They upgraded the level of their diplomatic relations from the level of legations to that of embassies. Several joint investment projects were undertaken by para-statal corporations in both countries, and commercial and scientific ties were strengthened with the creation of appropriate organs and the exchange of high-level visits. Political contacts were greatly intensified. Among the high-ranking Israeli officials who have visited South Africa since 1974 are Gen. Moshe Dayan, former Minister of Defence, Gen. Meir Amit, former head of Israel's intelligence services and present Chairman of Koor Industries; and Gen. Chaim Herzog, then military commentator on the Israeli radio and now Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. While such Israeli visitors had in the past usually been admitted to South Africa in connexion with functions involving the local Jewish community, this limitation was reportedly dropped in 1974. <u>19</u>/

30. Mr. C. P. Mulder, South Africa's Minister of Interior and Information, visited Israel twice, in June 1975 and in March 1976, and met with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Israel. 20/ His visits apparently paved the way for a formal invitation by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to Prime Minister J. B. Vorster, who visited Israel for four days in April 1976. Mr. Vorster, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr. Hilgard Muller, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brand Fourie and others, held talks with the President of Israel, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Defence Minister and other high officials in the Israeli Government. He toured strategic areas in the southern Sinai (reportedly the first foreign Prime Minister to do so), and visited a military aircraft factory. 21/

31. During Mr. Vorster's visit, a wide-ranging agreement on economic, scientific and industrial collaboration was concluded between South Africa and Israel. Announcing the agreement at a press conference held on 12 April in Jerusalem, Mr. Vorster stated that the two Governments had decided to establish a Ministerial Joint Committee comprising Ministers of South Africa and Israel, which would meet at least once a year to review the situation of economic relations between the two countries and to discuss ways and means to expand economic co-operation between the

18/ The New York Times, 18 April 1976.

19/ Jewish Chronicle, London, 2 August 1974.

20/ Jerusalem Radio, 17 and 19 June 1975; The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 27 March 1976.

21/ Herald Tribune, Paris, 10 April 1976; <u>The New York Times</u>, 18 April 1976; <u>Times</u>, London, 9 April 1976; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 April 1976; <u>Comment and Opinion</u>, Pretoria, 16 April 1976. two countries, in particular the encouragement of investments, development of trade, scientific and industrial co-operation and joint utilization of South African raw materials and Israeli manpower in joint projects. A steering group would be established in order to regulate the exchange of information and ideas, and committees would be established in both countries. 22/ It was expected that, from the South African side, the committee would include the Ministers of Defence, Finance, and Economic Affairs. 23/ Press reports indicated that the pact might also involve "a major expansion of the arms supply relationship", although both Governments denied that this was discussed. The subsequent announcement that Israel was building two missile boats for the <u>apartheid</u> régime made it clear that military co-operation is being rapidly strengthened following Mr. Vorster's visit. 24/

32. While the agreement aroused world-wide condemnation, it was welcomed jubilantly by most sectors of the South African white community, in particular the Jewish organizations, which hailed Vorster as "an outstanding statesman" and called the pact "a most imaginative act of statesmanship on the part of both countries". <u>25</u>/ The Johannesburg <u>Star</u> commented:

"Clearly the pact goes well beyond the usual trade and co-operation agreements which normally round off a state visit between friendly countries. ... at the root of the pact is a mutual exchange of materials and military know-how which both countries desperately need. For both, it is virtually a question of survival. Very likely that is the strongest imperative of all." 26/

An editorial in the Rand Daily Mail stated:

"There is no gainsaying the signal nature of Mr. Vorster's triumph this week. By achieving a publicly announced economic, scientific and industrial pact with Israel he has done far more than merely formalize bonds that have, in any case, been growing stronger. He has, in fact, acquired for South Africa a public friend, an avowed ally, at a time when this country confronts an increasingly hostile world and an increasingly aggressive black Africa." 27/

22/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 22 April 1976, speech by the Prime Minister, col. 5200.

23/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976; <u>Rand Daily</u> Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976.

24/ The New York Times, 18 April 1976, 9 August 1976; Christian Science Monitor, 12 August 1976.

- 25/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 April 1976.
- 26/ Ibid.
- 27/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976.

33. Closer association with Israel has also important political advantages for South Africa. In an interview with a group of Jewish newspaper editors from the United States of America, published in <u>Jewish Press</u> of 18 June 1976, the Israeli Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Yitzhak Unna, made it clear that he expected the agreement to influence the attitudes of the international Jewish community towards South Africa favourably.

IV. DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR RELATIONS

34. Israel has maintained a Legation in Pretoria and a Consulate-General in Johannesburg since 1949. Being a member of the Commonwealth at the time, South Africa chose initially to be represented through the United Kingdom in order to promote links with the Arab countries. In 1961, following the severance of diplomatic ties by the United Arab Republic and the break with the Commonwealth, South Africa sought a closer association with Israel. Israel, however, had adopted a policy of wooing the newly independent African States: consequently, it recalled its Minister in Pretoria, and left the mission under a Chargé d'affaires. The over-all strengthening of relations between the two countries subsequent to the June 1967 war led to the general upgrading of Israel's level of representation: in 1969, Israel appointed a Chargé d'affaires with the personal rank of ambassador. In April 1973, it expanded its Consulate-General. Following the October 1973 war, Israel decided to elevate its diplomatic mission to a full-scale embassy, and appointed Mr. Yitzhak Unna, a former Consul-General, as its first ambassador. <u>28</u>/

35. South Africa reciprocated by establishing a Consulate-General in Tel Aviv in 1971, headed by a Consul-General with the personal rank of ambassador. In 1975, South Africa established an embassy in Tel Aviv, and its first ambassador to Israel presented his credentials in January 1976. <u>29</u>/

V. MILITARY COLLABORATION

36. Military collaboration between Israel and South Africa dates back to the very beginning of the State of Israel. Several hundred South African volunteers fought with the Zionists after November 1947, and South Africa sent food, medical and other supplies to the Zionists during the 1948 war. The first pilot to fall in battle in the Israeli Air Force was a South African volunteer. Other South African pilots have reportedly died fighting for Israel. 30/

28/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 3 January 1969, 16 March 1974, 10 April 1976; Republic of South Africa, Pretoria, <u>Government</u> Gazette, 27 April 1973, 9 August 1974.

29/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 13 May 1975, cols. 151-152; Jerusalem radio, 12 January 1976.

<u>30</u>/ Antoine J. Bullier, "Les relations entre l'Afrique du Sud et Israel", Revue française d'études politiques africaines, No. 119, November 1975. 37. Military contacts between the two countries were intensified during and after the 1967 war, leading to the establishment of ever closer relations in the military sphere. While professing neutrality, South Africa provided material support for the Israeli war effort in 1967, most importantly by relaxing controls on the transfer of funds. The sum involved, though never officially disclosed, is estimated to have been over R 21 million. <u>31</u>/ In addition, the official South African blood transfusion service loaned blood to the Israeli medical services. <u>32</u>/ Spokesmen from all white political parties expressed sympathy for Israel and participated in various support activities. <u>33</u>/

38. Jewish volunteers from South Africa served in Israel during the 1967 war, officially in non-military posts, replacing Israelis who had been called up for combat duty. The South African Zionist Federation launched a special fund for Israel. In addition, many other sectors of the white South African community became involved in support for Israel. 34/

39. South Africa's support for Israel during the October 1973 war was even more extensive, marking a new stage in the development of relations. The South African Government relaxed all exchange control regulations to allow immediate cash transfer to Israel of all money raised. Although the total amount was not disclosed, press reports have indicated that it may have been as high as \$30 million. As during the 1967 war, collection of funds and support activities were carried out by all sections of the white community, not just Jewish groups. 35/

40. A considerable number of South African volunteers went to Israel during and after the war to take part in combat and other duties. Press reports have indicated that hundreds of South Africans, both Jewish and non-Jewish, volunteered to fight in Israel in October 1973. At least one report put the number of men with South African connexions in the Israeli armed forces during the war at 1,500. <u>36</u>/ Following the war, hundreds of volunteers from South Africa went to Israel to replace kibbutz workers who were still in the armed forces. <u>37</u>/

41. There were indications that South Africa may have played an even more direct role in the October 1973 war. The Egyptian Government announced that a Mirage

31/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 25 October 1970.

32/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 19 June and 6 August 1967.

33/ Ibid., 6 June 1967.

<u>34</u>/ <u>Ibid.</u>, 31 May, 3, 6-9 June 1967; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 10 June 1967.

<u>35/ Cape Times</u>, 16 October 1973; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, 2 October, 7, 9 November 1973; <u>Rand Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 9 October 1973.

<u>36</u>/ <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 13 October 1973; <u>Rand</u> <u>Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 9 October 1973.

37/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 1 December 1973.

jetfighter of South African origin had been shot down on the Suez front during the war. A subsequent report in the London <u>Daily Telegraph</u> suggested that South Africa had sent several Mirage jets via the Azores to aid Israel. These reports were subsequently denied by both Israel and South Africa. <u>38</u>/

42. In addition to providing assistance during the wars, South Africa was reported to have supplied military equipment to Israel, but these reports were denied by Israel. In January 1970, for instance, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that the South African Government was exporting giant 65-ton tanks, designed after the British "Chieftain" Tank, to Israel. The Israeli Foreign Ministry refused to comment on the report, which was denied by the Israeli representative to the United Nations. 39/

43. There has been increasing evidence of Israel's military co-operation with the <u>apartheid</u> régime, in the form of supplies of military equipment and of assistance in counter-insurgency training and in the use of sophisticated weaponry.

44. In the early 1960s, South Africa obtained from a Belgian company a licence to manufacture the <u>Uzi</u> submachine gun, of Israeli design. 40/ This is now standard equipment in the South African Army.

45. South Africa has long been interested in obtaining military aircraft from Israel. The first contacts between the Israeli Aircraft Industries and South Africa's Atlas Aircraft Corporation were reported to have taken place in 1967, concerning the possibility of export to South Africa of the new Israeli plane, the "Arava", specially suited for counter-insurgency operations. The "Arava" was taken to South Africa for test trials, and there have been unconfirmed reports that South Africa may have bought the plane (A/AC.115/L.396, p. 25). 41/

46. Another indication that Israel may have supplied military aircraft to South Africa came in May 1971, when Israel was reported to have offered to replace three airplanes of the South African Air Force which had crashed into Table Mountain. 42/

<u>38/ Daily Telegraph</u>, London, 31 October 1973; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, 3 November 1973.

39/ Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 20 and 21 January 1970.

40/ The New York Times, 30 April 1971; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 September 1971.

41/ Peter Hellyer, "Israel and South Africa - development of relations, 1967-1974"; see also <u>Sunday Times</u>, Johannesburg, 10 October 1967; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, 25 May 1973.

42/ <u>Rand Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 11 September 1971; Hellyer, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 18.

47. There have also been reports that Israel might supply the "Gabriel" sea-borne missile, manufactured in Israel, to South Africa. These reports were also denied by a spokesman for the Israeli Aircraft Industries in September 1974. Shortly thereafter, however, the London <u>Daily Telegraph</u> indicated that six missile boats then being built in South Africa would probably be equipped with the "Gabriel". 43/

48. An important element of Israel's military collaboration with South Africa has been the sharing of expertise in counter-insurgency techniques and sophisticated modern weaponry. A South African mission was reported to have flown to Israel in June 1967 to study the use of weapons and the tactics of lightning strikes during the six-day war. 44/ After the war, the Chief of Staff of the Israeli Air Force visited South Africa to explain in detail the lessons of the war to the South African staff college. 45/

49. General Meir Amit, former head of Israel's intelligence services and present chairman of Koor Industries, disclosed during a visit to South Africa in July 1975 that senior Israeli military officers visit South Africa regularly to lecture South African officers on modern warfare and counter-insurgency techniques. Although declining to give details, General Amit stated that the South African Defence Force was benefiting from Israel's experience and know-how in the field of military electronics manufacture. 46/

50. On 3 April 1976, the Johannesburg correspondent of the <u>Daily Telegraph</u> reported that Israeli officers had been closely involved with South African Army planning in the Angolan campaign. According to the report, General R. H. D. Rogers of the South African Air Force had stated that one reason why South African casualties in the campaign had been so light was because Israeli techniques for evacuation and treatment of front-line casualties had been closely followed.

51. Marcia Freedman, Opposition member in the Israeli Parliament, asserted in June 1976 that hundreds of Israeli soldiers were attached to South African Army units as instructors and participated in training manoeuvres. The report was denied by the Israeli Defence Minister. 47/

43/ The Star, Johannesburg, 9 September 1974; Daily Telegraph, London, 3 March 1975.

44/ The New York Times, 30 April 1971.

45/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 10 October 1967.

<u>46/ Rand Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 7 July 1975; <u>Washington Post</u>, 8 July 1975; <u>New York Post</u>, 14 July 1975.

47/ The New York Times, 1 June 1976; Jerusalem Post, 29 June 1976.

52. Desire to share in Israel's expertise in military technology and modern warfare was reportedly an important element in Mr. Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976. <u>48</u>/ Press reports indicated that South Africa was prepared to finance an expansion of Israel's arms-producing capacity, and even to supply Israel with uranium, in return for the Israeli "Kfir" jetfighter and other arms. Mr. Vorster denied these reports, but toured the "Kfir" factory. A representative of the Israeli Aircraft Industries was known to have visited South Africa in January 1976. According to the <u>Times</u> of London, "informed sources" indicated that arms from Israel were already on their way to South Africa even before Mr. Vorster's trip. <u>49</u>/

53. In August 1976, the Israeli radio announced that Israel was building two long-range gunboats armed with sea-to-sea missiles for the South African Navy. Unofficial sources were quoted as having said that 50 South African naval officers and their families had arrived in Israel and would take delivery of the boats in January. Press reports have indicated that Israel is building "several" missile boats for the <u>apartheid</u> régime, and in return will receive steel and coal. <u>50</u>/

VI. TRADE

54. Trade between Israel and South Africa has increased rapidly in recent years, especially since the June 1967 war in the Middle East, and has almost doubled in the aftermath of the October 1973 war. The following table shows the growth in trade between the two countries over the 10-year period ending 1974, the last complete year for which statistics are available:

<u>48/ Times</u>, London, 3 April 1976.

<u>49/ The New York Times</u>, 10 and 18 April 1976; Jerusalem Domestic Service, 12 April 1976; <u>Times</u>, London, 3 April 1976; <u>Daily Telegraph</u>, London, 3 April 1976.

50/ Christian Science Monitor, 12 August 1976.

	Israel's exports to South Africa	Is rael's imports f ro m South Africa
	(In millions of	f US dollars)
1965	. 2.7	4.3
1966		4.5
1967	. 4.0	3.4
1968	. 5.7	5.2
1969	. 8.2	5.8
1970	. 10.7	10.2
1971	. 9.4	8.1
L972	. 8.8	11.6
L973 .	. 12.0	34.3
1974	. 28.7	43.1

Source: International Monetary Fund, Washington, Direction of Trade Annual, vols. 6, 7 and 10. The figures are based on Israeli Government statistics. South African Government statistics, which are based on the country of origin and final destination of goods, underestimate the extent of trade with Israel. They show, however, the same trend towards rapid growth.

55. As the table shows, the balance of trade in recent years has been in South Africa's favour, thus making the Israeli market increasingly interesting for South Africa.

56. In 1974, the main South African imports from Israel were chemicals, textiles, rubber goods, pharmaceuticals, electronic equipment and machinery. South Africa's main exports consisted of steel, cement, timber and sugar. Coal and other raw materials are expected to be added to the list in the near future. 51/

57. Israel's largest import from South Africa is raw diamonds, which are not included in statistics for trade between the two countries since sales are carried out through the London-based Central Selling Organization (CSO), an arm of De Beers. Israel, which is one of the world's leading diamond processors, reportedly buys almost half of its raw diamonds from CSO for an amount exceeding \$100 million a year. <u>52</u>/

^{51/} The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976.

^{52/} Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 3 February 1972; To the Point International, 22 February 1974.

58. Although trade links between the two countries were established immediately after the creation of the State of Israel, trade remained minimal until the opening of the Straits of Tiran as a result of the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt. 53/ It was only after the 1967 war in the Middle East that concerted efforts were made to formalize and strengthen commercial relations between the two countries. A delegate from the Israeli Ministry for Commerce and Industry was sent to South Africa for a four-month period at the end of 1967. Representatives of Israeli business and shipping interests also visited South Africa with a view to promoting trade. 54/

59. Several associations aimed at promoting trade between the two countries were set up in the aftermath of the war. The Israel-South Africa Friendship League was established in Israel in January 1968, with a membership which included several politicians, local councillors and businessmen. The organization pledged to work to increase trade and to improve relations between the two countries. <u>55</u>/ The South Africa Foundation, an organization of prominent South African and international businessmen devoted to promoting South Africa's interests abroad, established an Israeli-South African "Man-to-Man Committee" whose membership included high-ranking former Israeli politicians and military men. The Committee was instrumental in promoting exchanges of visitors at the highest levels and in furthering economic links between the two countries. <u>56</u>/ An Israel-South Africa Trade Association (ISATA) was also established in 1968, and was reported to have been a key factor in the subsequent rapid increase in trade between the two countries. <u>57</u>/

60. In June 1968, Israel appointed a trade commissioner to South Africa. 58/

61. An Israel Fashion Week was held in Johannesburg and Cape Town in August 1968. This was the first major fashion promotion of its kind by Israel in South Africa, organized by the Israeli Export Institute. More Israel Weeks were held in South Africa in the following years. <u>59</u>/

53/ Hellyer, op. cit.

54/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 25 October 1967; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 10 December 1967.

55/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 March 1968 and 26 January 1969.

56/ Sechaba (publication of the African National Congress of South Africa), April 1970; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 4 and 27 April 1968.

57/ American-Jewish Yearbook, 1969, p. 454.

58/ Today's News, published by the South African Embassy, London, 3 July 1968.

<u>59</u>/ <u>Rand Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 16 July and 13 August 1968; <u>American-Jewish Yearbook</u>, 1970, p. 535. 62. In July 1970, the South African State-owned Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) signed an agreement with the Foreign Trade Bank of Israel extending a guaranteed line of credit for R 10.7 million to promote South African capital exports to Israel. The first South African trade mission to Israel was organized shortly thereafter by ISATA, with the participation of the Federated Chamber of Industries, IDC, and some of South Africa's largest companies and banks. The mission's goal was to ensure that the line of credit would be fully taken up and to strengthen economic links between the two countries. 60/

63. A new line of credit for \$14.9 million was made available to Israel by IDC at the beginning of June 1971. The agreement was followed by another South African trade mission to Israel in early 1972, with the purpose of further boosting South African exports. 61/

64. The October 1973 war in the Middle East marked another major turning point in commercial relations between Israel and South Africa. In January 1974, the Israel-South Africa Chamber of Commerce was formed in Tel Aviv. At the inauguration ceremony, the South African Consul-General predicted that trade between the two countries would increase considerably during the year (as in fact it did). The Chamber was joined by nearly 100 Israeli firms. Its immediate success led to the formation of a South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg shortly thereafter. 62/

65. In 1974, Israel and South Africa undertook a joint campaign to promote Jaffa and Outspan oranges and orange juice in the United Kingdom (see A/AC.115/L.389), <u>63</u>/

66. Israel had a pavilion at the Easter Rand Show - South Africa's largest industrial fair - in the spring of 1974, for the first time in 10 years. In 1976, Israel was reportedly one of the major overseas exhibitors at the Show, with electronic and control equipment. 64/

60/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 15 July 1970; South African Financial Gazette, 17 July 1970, 22 January and 28 May 1971.

<u>61</u>/ <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>, Boston, 5 June 1971; Johannesburg Radio, 19 April 1972.

62/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 22 February 1974; <u>Financial Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 17 March 1974; <u>Sunday Times</u>, Johannesburg, 17 March 1974; <u>Rand Daily</u> <u>Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 19 June 1974.

63/ Anti-Apartheid Movement, communication to the Special Committee against Apartheid, 9 September 1974.

64/ Jewish Chronicle, London, 5 April 1974; Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 15 April 1976.

67. In April 1975, South Africa was designated a "preferred export target" by the Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry, and Israeli exporters were granted special financial concessions. <u>65</u>/ A high-level trade promotion mission from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce visited Israel in June 1975. <u>66</u>/

68. Trade between Israel and South Africa was given another major boost by the co-operation agreement signed by Prime Minister Vorster during his visit to Israel in April 1976. The agreement was expected to lead to an expansion of two-way trade, the exchange of trade missions and an increase in South Africa's exports of raw materials to Israel, in particular coal from the new Richards Bay harbour. The development of Richards Bay was expected to be accelerated as a result. There was speculation in the South African press that closer ties with Israel would result in a two-way shipping traffic in which vessels would carry coal from South Africa to Israel and return with oil for South Africa. 67/

- 65/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 25 April 1975.
- 66/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 13 June 1975.
- 67/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 April 1976.

VII. INVESTMENT

69. South African investment in Israel has grown rapidly since the early 1970s, and in particular after the October 1973 war. This growth was stimulated by a decision of the South African Government, in May 1971, to relax controls on direct investment by South African companies in Israel, raising the ceiling to R 10 million. The ceiling was raised again to R 20 million in May 1974, and it is expected to increase to R 32 million in 1977. 68/

70. Israeli interests are also increasingly channelling capital to South Africa, both as direct investment and in the form of loans. Japhet Bank and Bank Leumi established offices in South Africa in 1971 and 1973, respectively. <u>69</u>/ The United States subsidiary of Bank Leumi was involved in a secret loan to the South African Finance Ministry in 1972, with a share of 2 million. <u>70</u>/ Bank Leumi recently sent one of its top executives to South Africa to explore further investment possibilities. <u>71</u>/

71. Direct investment by either country in the other has taken place primarily through joint undertakings by public and private corporations. Both South African and Israeli leaders have often pointed out that the economies of the two countries are complementary and that their potential can best be realized through partnership arrangements. As the former Israeli Consul-General to South Africa put it: "With South Africa's abundance of raw materials, and Israel's know-how, we can really go places if we join forces." <u>72</u>/ The Israeli Trade Consul in South Africa pointed out recently that South Africa was rich in cheap labour, which Israel lacked. 73/

72. A major advantage for South Africa of partnership arrangements with Israeli companies has been that Israel is thereby used as a manufacturing base from which to evade the boycott against the <u>apartheid</u> régime. For example, South Africa manufactures textiles, chemicals and fertilizers in Israel for export to Africa and other countries. $\underline{74}$ / In addition, South Africa is using Israel as a springboard for circumventing high European Economic Community and United States tariffs on its products. South African semi-finished goods can be exported to Israel and

<u>68</u>/ South African Financial Gazette, Johannesburg, 28 May 1971; <u>Financial Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 7 June 1974; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976.

<u>69</u>/ <u>South African Digest</u>, Pretoria, 7 May 1971; <u>South African Financial</u> <u>Gazette</u>, Johannesburg, 5 January 1973.

<u>70</u>/ Frankfurt Documents, published by the Corporate Information Centre of the National Council of Churches, New York, <u>CIC Brief</u>, July 1973.

71/ South Africa Foundation News, Johannesburg, January 1976.

72/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 7 June 1976.

73/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 April 1976.

74/ Ibid., 9 June 1973, 15 and 16 October 1974.

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finished there to qualify for an Israeli certificate of origin, thus taking advantage of Israel's free-trade agreements with the Community and the United States. <u>75</u>/

73. The co-operation agreement between Israel and South Africa, concluded on the occasion of Prime Minister Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976, is expected to lead to a significant increase in these joint investment projects. The South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce is reportedly considering sending a high-level mission to Israel to study the most effective ways to implement the agreement. Mr. E. Hausmann, President of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, said that the Chamber had been approached by a number of industrialists eager to explore investment opportunities in Israel and was considering sending an industrial mission there. Several major companies already involved in joint undertakings have announced expansion schemes. The pact is also expected to lead to an agreement to avoid double taxation in the near future. $\underline{76}/$

74. While the actual extent of investment by either country in the other is not known precisely, a list of the known projects is given below.

A. South African investments in Israel

75. Steel Pipe Industry (Pty.), a subsidiary of African Gate Holdings, entered into a partnership with Middle East Tube Co. of Haifa to build a R 250,000 spiral steel pipe mill. <u>77</u>/

76. Africa-Israel Investments, a major Israeli firm in which South African interests have a 25 per cent stake, participated in a project in Venezuela with financing by the South African Industrial Development Corporation. 78/

77. The Desiree Clothing group of Cape Town established a textile venture in Israel called Cecil Knits. 79/

78. Undisclosed South African interests have invested 400,000 pounds sterling in an Israeli factory to make cotton prints for the black South African and independent African market. This was reportedly only one of six or seven such projects in the pipeline. <u>80</u>/

75/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976.

76/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 and 24 April 1976; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976; South African Digest, Pretoria, 30 April 1976.

77/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 3 October 1970.

- 78/ Rand Daily Mail, 25 February 1971.
- 79/ South African Financial Gazette, Johannesburg, 28 May 1971.
- 80/ The Guardian, London, 2 June 1973.

79. The South African Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor), a State-owned company, entered into a partnership with Koor Industries, a major industrial investment company owned by a syndicate of Israeli trade unions. The new company, Iskoor, with a share capital of R 1 million (owned 51 per cent by Koor and 49 per cent by Iscor), distributes steel in Israel. The company's success was such that a steelprocessing plant is now being built at Kirjat near Gaza. The company has lately made a substantial investment in a warehouse and a steel servicing centre. 81/

80. Dorbyl, one of South Africa's largest heavy engineering companies, has established a subsidiary in partnership with the Israeli company Koor to tender on engineering construction projects. The first contract obtained by the new company was a R 9.2 million project for the construction of steel tank farms in Israel. 82/

81. The South African Railways and companies Dorman Long and Union Carriage are building a railway line to the Red Sea port of Eilat. 83/

82. Other South African projects undertaken in Israel include the following: "South Africa House", a 26-storey office and shops complex in Tel Aviv; a petro-chemicals complex in Haifa; a factory complex at Holon, near Tel Aviv, for rental to light industry; the manufacture of agricultural machinery in Eilat; a plant to make welded mesh fencing in Ashdod; a rice-milling plant in Haifa; a non-ferrous metal works; and participation in the redevelopment of the port at Eilat and of other Israeli ports. 84/

B. Israeli investments in South Africa

83. Israeli investments in South Africa have remained modest until recently, when Koor Industries set up an agency in Johannesburg - Afrita - with the specific purpose of promoting economic relations between the two countries and, in particular, joint investment projects. $\frac{85}{}$ The expansion of ties, however, has led to the establishment of several major joint ventures in South Africa.

84. In June 1974, Koor Industries made its first investment in South Africa by joining in a partnership with the South African Adcock-Ingram group for the construction of a R 2.5 million agricultural chemicals plant at the Berlin "border area", near the Transkei. A new company, Agbro (Pty.), was formed to establish and

<u>81/ Sunday Times</u>, Johannesburg, 16 September 1973 and 24 March 1974; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976; <u>South African Digest</u>, Pretoria, 11 June 1976.

82/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976.

<u>83</u>/ <u>Financial Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 15 April 1976; <u>South African Financial</u> Gazette, Johannesburg, 9 April 1976.

<u>84/</u> Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 24 March 1974; Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 15 April 1976.

85/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976.

run the factory, which would be the first of its kind in South Africa. Koor was to hold 25 per cent of the equity, with the South African group holding the difference. The factory was expected to have sufficient capacity to supply the needs for herbicides of South Africa and neighbouring territories, as well as "countries further afield". 86/

85. Assia Chemical Laboratories, another Israeli chemicals company, has established a subsidiary in South Africa, called Denkavit, for the manufacture of balanced feeds. Assia holds a 25 per cent share in the venture, with the option to purchase the remaining 75 per cent. 87/

86. Israeli interests are building a sea-water desalination plant in South Africa. 88/

87. Tadiran, Israel's leading manufacturer of advanced electronic equipment, is to establish a R 1.7 million plant at Rosslyn, in a "border area". The plant, which will produce nickel cadmium products and batteries, will reportedly be fitted with the latest equipment from Israel. Tadiran is also to assemble emergency lighting equipment in partnership with Conlite South Africa at a plant in Johannesburg. <u>89</u>/

88. Earlier, and smaller, Israeli ventures in South Africa include: Electra, a manufacturer of air-conditioners; Car Part Industries, in partnership with a South African company; and a joint venture between Shabal Engineering Works and the South African Power Tool and Equipment Co. for the manufacture of tools under licence. <u>90</u>/

89. Israel has recently shown interest in investing in the bantustans. Ha'aretz, an influential Israeli newspaper, has suggested that Israel could help "develop" the African reserves through its know-how in modern agricultural techniques and in combating soil erosion. <u>91</u>/ In April 1976, a delegation from Israel attended a three-day symposium organized in Umtata, Transkei, by the South African Foreign Affairs Association. <u>92</u>/

86/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 16 June 1974. Recent reports indicate a similar project in Berlin by the Israeli company Machteshim and the South African company Sentrachem. It is not clear whether these companies have joined the earlier undertaking, or whether this is a different project. (See <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976; <u>Financial Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 15 April 1976.)

87/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976.

88/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7 July 1975; South African Digest, Pretoria, 23 April 1976.

89/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 14 May 1976.

<u>90/ Rand Daily Mail</u>, Johannesburg, 16 October 1973; <u>Sunday Times</u>, Johannesburg, 17 and 24 March 1974.

91/ Quoted in South African Digest, Pretoria, 30 April 1976.

92/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976.

VIII. COLLABORATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

90. In the past few years, South Africa and Israel have established increasingly closer ties of scientific and technological collaboration. According to Mr. C. van der Merwe Brink, President of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), a para-statal agency, this co-operation extends to such areas as water resources management, agriculture, building and construction, oceanography, the manufacturing industry, including chemicals, fertilizers, electronics and aeronautical engineering, and others. 93/

91. The first steps towards such collaboration were taken in 1972, with the exchanges of missions by scientists and technicians to study various areas of interest. In June 1972, the South African Minister for Water Affairs and Forestry visited Israel to study Israeli methods of water conservation and held talks with his Israeli counterpart, with a view to establishing collaboration with Israel in this field. 94/

92. A year later, a 15-man mission from South Africa visited Israel for two weeks to study methods of establishing new towns, urban renewal schemes, emergency building schemes, and industrialized buildings. The mission was headed by Mr. T. L. Webb, Director of the National Building Research Unit of CSIR. 95/

93. In July 1974, Mr. E. J. Kruger, senior professional officer at the Lowveld Fisheries Research Station of the Transvaal Nature Conservancy Division, visited Israel to attend a fisheries seminar. 96/

94. In 1975, steps were taken to put these initial contacts on a more formal basis. A South African Committee of the Weizmann Institute was formed under the chairmanship of Mr. S. S. Israelstam, chemistry professor at Witwatersrand University. One of the first tasks of the Committee was the organization, in co-operation with CSIR, of the Weizmann Centenary Science Conference, held at Johannesburg in April 1976 with the participation of leading scientists from South Africa and from the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel. 97/ The establishment of the Committee was followed by a visit to Israel of Mr. C. van der Merwe Brink, President of CSIR, and Mr. W. A. Verbeek, South African Secretary for Agriculture, to promote scientific co-operation. Early in 1976, the visit was returned by Mr. E. Tal, Director of the Israeli National Council for Research and Development, Mr. Y. Saphir, Director of International Affairs of the Council and Mr. S. Lavee, Chief Director of the Department of Horticulture, who travelled to South Africa as guests of CSIR. 98/

- 94/ Kuwait Times, 13 June 1972.
- 95/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 12 May 1973.
- 96/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 20 July 1974.
- 97/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976.
- 98/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976.

^{93/} The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 8 May 1976.

95. The strengthening of scientific and technological co-operation was one of the aims of the agreement with Israel signed by Prime Minister Vorster on the occasion of his visit to Israel in April 1976. In June, it was announced that a research exchange agreement had been reached between CSIR and the Israeli National Council for Research and Development providing for the exchange of scientists and for a symposium of interest to both countries to be held annually. The first symposium was already held in Israel in November 1975 on the recycling of waste water. The next symposium would reportedly be held in South Africa in 1977, again on a topic of equal importance and common to the national interest of both countries. A similar agreement was also reached between the Israeli Agricultural Research Organization and the South African Department of Agricultural Technical Services. According to Mr. Meiring Naude, scientific advisor to Prime Minister Vorster, South Africa expects to gain tremendous scientific advantages from closer co-operation with Israeli scientists and technologists. 99/

96. A further area in which South Africa is apparently interested in tapping Israeli know-how is that of scientific management. It was reported in April 1976 that Mr. Israel Meidan, head of the Israeli Productivity Institute and reportedly one of the world's top productivity experts (the Institute itself is said to be the largest of its kind in the world), had been invited to speak at a country-wide series of seminars in South Africa at the end of 1976. Mr. Meidan would seek to apply Israel's experience in raising productivity to the South African situation. While in South Africa, he would be the joint guest of the National Productivity Institute in Pretoria and the National Development and Management Foundation. 100/

IX. AIRLINE AND SHIPPING CONNEXIONS

97. Regular airline connexions between Israel and South Africa are provided by El Al, the Israeli airline. Following the increase in relations between the two countries after each major war in the Middle East, El Al stepped up its flights from Tel Aviv to Johannesburg to twice weekly in 1968 and thrice weekly in November 1973. The shorter route made possible by the Israeli occupation of the Sinai peninsula has reportedly led to a rapid increase in the volume of traffic carried by the airline. 101/

98. Shipping connexions are provided by Zim, the Israeli shipping line. The line plies regularly between Israel and South Africa. <u>102</u>/

<u>99</u>/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April and 1 June 1976; <u>The Star</u>, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 5 June 1976; <u>The New York Times</u>, 1 June 1976.

100/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 April 1976.

101/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 25 October 1968; The Star, Johannesburg, 27 September 1973; Bank of Israel, Jerusalem, Annual Report, 1968.

102/ South African Financial Gazette, Johannesburg, 9 April 1976.

X. CULTURAL RELATIONS

99. Social and cultural relations have been intensified with the strengthening of political, economic and military ties between South Africa and Israel. For instance, tourism increased rapidly after the 1967 war, with the number of South African visitors to Israel rising by 35 per cent in one year, and continuing to increase steadily thereafter. This rapid growth resulted in the establishment of an Israeli Government tourist office in South Africa in 1968. 103/ In 1972, South African tourists to Israel numbered 15,319. 104/ In the same year, 2,601 Israelis visited South Africa. 105/

100. Visits by Israeli artists to South Africa have become increasingly common since 1968. In that year, the Karmon Israeli Singers and Dancers and the comedian Shimon Dzigan toured South Africa. <u>106</u>/

101. Two leading musicians from the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra played in Johannesburg in August 1970. 107/

102. In 1974, the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra toured South Africa for two weeks. It was a major cultural event for South Africa, which reportedly had not entertained a visiting orchestra of comparable size and stature for 18 years. 108/

103. In 1976, the Bat Dor Dance Company of Israel toured Johannesburg, Cape Town and Bloemfontein. <u>109</u>/ An exhibition of paintings of some of Israel's most prominent artists was held in Johannesburg in March 1976. <u>110</u>/

104. Another instance of increasing cultural relations was a twin-city agreement between Cape Town and Haifa signed in February 1975. The Mayor of Cape Town visited Haifa on the occasion and stated that the agreement had the consent of the Government of Israel and the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. The agreement was expected to lead to intensified exchanges between the two cities. One result of the agreement was the establishment of a cultural exchange society at the University of Haifa aiming to promote closer ties with South Africa. The

103/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 28 October 1969; Bank of Israel, Annual Report, 1968.

104/ Central Bureau of Statistics, <u>Statistical Abstract of Israel</u>, 1973.

105/ Department of Statistics, Pretoria, <u>Bulletin of Statistics</u>, quarter ended September 1973.

106/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 16 April and 19 July 1968.

107/ Ibid., 11 August 1970.

108/ Jerusalem Post, 13 August 1974.

109/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 13 February 1976.

110/ Ibid., 5 March 1976.

...41...

Director of Foreign Affairs at the University of Haifa toured South Africa for three weeks in June 1976 to promote the aims of the Society, in particular by starting an exchange programme between South African professors and students and the University of Haifa and by setting up a correspondence course in Jewish affairs in South Africa. 111/

105. Among other instances of cultural collaboration are reported to be the following:

"In Israel there are countless foundations established by South Africans: the parasitology laboratory of Hebrew University, entirely financed by a South African foundation; the Bialik chair of Hebrew; the Ruth Ochberg chair of agriculture; the Cootcher Museum; an entire wing of the national library; the Silas S. Perry foundation for biblical research ..." 112/

106. In addition, it was disclosed in 1975 that a wealthy Israeli arts dealer, after a trip to South Africa, had offered a \$2.3 million book collection to the Hebrew University to establish a department devoted to the promotion of closer ties between Israelis and Afrikaners. 113/

107. Cultural relations between the two countries have at times concerned Namibia. In 1971, a study group from Tel Aviv University visited Namibia as guests of the Windhoek Rotary Club to study the socio-economic and political structure of the country. $\underline{114}/$

XI. COLLABORATION IN SPORTS

108. Sports ties between the two countries, which had been dormant since the mid-1950s, have been intensified since 1970. In March of that year, the Israeli Lawn Tennis Association declined to use its proxy vote at the Davis Cup meeting in London which was to decide on participation by Rhodesia and South Africa. 115/

109. In 1971, the official Israeli judo team visited South Africa, the first international judo team to do so. <u>116</u>/ The Israeli basketball team Maccabi Tel Aviv played matches against all-white teams in South Africa in July-August 1971.117,

<u>111/ South African Digest</u>, Pretoria, 28 February 1975 and 18 June 1976; Jerusalem radio, 17 and 19 June 1975.

- 112/ Bullier, op. cit.
- 113/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8 July 1975.
- 114/ Windhoek Advertiser, 11 March 1971.
- 115/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 17 March 1970.
- 116/ Ibid., 1 September 1971.
- 117/ Today's News, 3 August 1971.

In November, two Israeli athletes participated in multiracial athletic meetings in Cape Town. 118/

110. An official Israeli women's tennis team went to South Africa in March 1972 to participate in the Federation Tennis Cup. 119/

111. In July 1973, a team of 120 athletes from South Africa competed in the Maccabiah Games in Israel commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Israel. 120/ In December of the same year, the Israeli Sports Federation sent a team to compete in the international gymnastics competition in Johannesburg. 121/

112. The Northern Transvaal rugby team toured Israel in January 1976. 122/

118/ Report from South Africa, South African Embassy, London, February 1972.

119/ Jewish Chronicle, London, 24 March 1972.

<u>120/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session,</u> <u>Supplement No. 22</u> (A/9022), paras. 120-121.

121/ Jewish Chronicle, London, 7 December 1973.

122/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 30 January 1976.

DOCUMENT A/31/22/Add.3

Third special report

Information activity against apartheid by the United Nations and the specialized agencies

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

21 October 1976

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith a special report on information activity against <u>apartheid</u> by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. This report, which was prepared by the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information, was adopted by the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> at its 332nd meeting, held on 5 October 1976.

The Special Committee decided to submit this report to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 3411 (XXX) of 28 November and 10 December 1975.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(<u>Signed</u>) Leslie O. HARRIMAN Chairman of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>

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

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In its report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session, the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> suggested that "the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> be requested, in consultation with the Special Committee, to prepare a review of information activity against <u>apartheid</u> by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, with proposals for more effective action". <u>1</u>/ This suggestion was endorsed by the Assembly in resolution 3411 F (XXX), paragraph 5, of 28 November 1975. Under the same resolution, the Assembly provided for the renaming of the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> as "Centre against Apartheid".

2. Accordingly, the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> prepared, in close co-operation with the Office of Public Information, a review of information activity by the United Nations (see annex below), taking into account:

(a) Information and comments obtained by the Office of Public Information from the United Nations information centres;

(b) Replies received in response to a request addressed by the Office of Public Information to the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system which are members of the Joint United Nations Information Committee for an account of their information activities against <u>apartheid</u>; <u>2</u>/

(c) Replies received by the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> in response to letters addressed to the liberation movements and several non-governmental organizations inviting their views and comments on United Nations information activity against apartheid.

3. On 3 August 1976, the Special Committee requested the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information to consider the review prepared by the Centre and to submit a report with recommendations on means to improve and expand the information activity against <u>apartheid</u>.

4. On the basis of consideration of the review and discussions with the officers of the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> and the Office of Public Information, the Sub-Committee has decided to submit the present report for the consideration of the Special Committee.

1/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/10022), para. 228.

2/ The substantive parts of the replies are reproduced in appendix I to the annex below.

II. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. <u>Concern of the Special Committee against Apartheid</u> and the General Assembly

5. It may be recalled that the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> has consistently emphasized the importance of the widest dissemination of information on <u>apartheid</u> as an essential component of United Nations efforts for the eradication of <u>apartheid</u> and for assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for freedom and human dignity. It recognized that the support of public opinion is essential to secure the full implementation of United Nations resolutions on <u>apartheid</u> by Governments and organizations and to persuade the recalcitrant Governments and foreign economic interests concerned to revise their attitudes.

6. As early as 1964, the Special Committee reported to the General Assembly:

"The Special Committee regards it as crucial for the future of the United Nations and for amicable race relations everywhere that there should be full awareness of the dangers of racialism in South Africa and of the imperative need to promote an end to racial discrimination. It considers it essential that every effort should be made to counteract the racialist propaganda conducted by the South African Government and its defenders. It regards it as imperative that these interests, which profit from racial discrimination and oppression in South Africa, should be exposed fully to the pressure of public opinion." 3/

7. It pointed out that the specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), could contribute greatly, each within its own field of competence, in increasing public awareness of the consequences of the policies of <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa and the means to bring about a society based on racial equality. It stressed that Member States could make a significant contribution by disseminating information to organizations and individuals and by providing broadcasting and other facilities for organizations opposed to the policies of <u>apartheid</u> so that they might be enabled to reach the widest audiences in South Africa and outside. The Committee also stressed the importance of co-operation by United Nations associations, UNESCO national commissions and national and international organizations of churches, workers, teachers, students, sportsmen and others in this activity.

8. On the recommendation of the Special Committee, the General Assembly, in resolution 2054 A (XX) of 15 December 1965, requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 12, document A/5825, para. 627.

Government of the Republic of South Africa, $\frac{4}{2}$ to take appropriate measures for the widest possible dissemination of information on the policies of <u>apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa and on United Nations efforts to deal with the situation and requested all Member States, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and the Special Committee in that regard.

9. On 26 October 1966, the General Assembly took an important step by providing, in resolution 2144 A (XXI), for the establishment within the Secretariat of the United Nations of a Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> to deal exclusively with the policies of <u>apartheid</u>, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of <u>Apartheid</u> of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, in order that maximum publicity might be given to the evils of those policies.

10. The Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> has continued to give constant attention to the dissemination of information in subsequent years and its efforts have been endorsed by the General Assembly.

11. On 15 November 1972, the General Assembly, in a special resolution on dissemination of information on <u>apartheid</u> - resolution 2923 D (XXVII) - recognized that the dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of <u>apartheid</u> and on the international efforts for the eradication of <u>apartheid</u> should be intensified in co-operation with Governments, specialized agencies and appropriate regional and non-governmental organizations. It endorsed a series of proposals of the Special Committee towards that end and requested the specialized agencies concerned, particularly UNESCO and the ILO, to co-operate closely with the Office of Public Information and the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> in disseminating information on <u>apartheid</u>. It also invited Governments and organizations to encourage information media to contribute to the campaign against <u>apartheid</u>.

12. Further, in resolution 3151 C (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly reaffirmed its recognition of the need to intensify greatly the efforts to acquaint world public opinion with the imperative need for the eradication of <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa. It requested the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> and the Office of Public Information, in consultation with the Special Committee on <u>Apartheid</u>, to step up their efforts to publicize as widely as possible:

(a) The evils and dangers of apartheid in South Africa;

(b) The legitimate and just struggle of the people of South Africa for the eradication of <u>apartheid;</u>

(c) The efforts of the United Nations to promote the eradication of apartheid;

4/ Now the Special Committee against Apartheid.

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(d) Actions against <u>apartheid</u> taken by the specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-<u>apartheid</u> movements and other non-governmental organizations.

13. The General Assembly invited Governments and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> and the Office of Public Information in the production and widest possible dissemination of publications and other information material on apartheid in as many languages as possible.

14. It provided for the establishment of a trust fund, made up of voluntary contributions by States and organizations, to be used, in consultation with the Special Committee, for the expansion of the activities of the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u>, in particular with regard to:

(a) The production of publications in languages other than the official languages of the United Nations;

(b) Grants to appropriate non-governmental organizations and institutions for the reprinting and redissemination of United Nations information material on <u>apartheid</u> and for the production of audio-visual material on <u>apartheid</u>.

B. <u>Development of information activity by the United Nations</u> and the specialized agencies

15. The development of information concerning <u>apartheid</u> by the United Nations and associated agencies has become a significant aspect of the public information activities of the United Nations system and has contributed greatly to the increasing public awareness of the inhumanity of <u>apartheid</u>, of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and of the role of Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in support of that struggle.

16. The Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> (formerly the Section on African Questions and the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u>) has made a notable contribution to this effort by its own work and by promoting action by other units of the Secretariat and by the specialized agencies and other organizations. The Office of Public Information has lent its full co-operation to the Special Committee and the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> and has adopted the dissemination of information against <u>apartheid</u> as one of its main tasks. UNESCO and the ILO have made important contributions with the encouragement of the Special Committee. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) have prepared and published special studies at the request of the Special Committee.

17. The activities of these agencies have been greatly appreciated by the liberation movements and all those concerned with the struggle against <u>apartheid</u>. They have been an essential reinforcement to the work of the Special Committee and other political bodies and have emphasized the commitment of the United Nations system to the eradication of <u>apartheid</u>.

C. Need for an expansion of information activity

18. With the development of the struggle for liberation in South Africa and of the United Nations activities against <u>apartheid</u>, it has become essential to expand the information activity to reach wider audiences in all parts of the world.

19. The South African racist régime, for its part, has been devoting increasing resources to its nefarious propaganda since Mr. B. J. Vorster became Prime Minister in 1966. The budget of its Department of Information rose from R 4 million in 1968/69 to R 10.65 million in 1974/75 and R 13.8 million in 1976/77. The official propaganda is supplemented by the activities of a number of private organizations financed by business interests and of racist and militarist groups in Western countries.

20. These official and unofficial agencies have had ready access to mass media in Western countries. They have enticed numerous political leaders, journalists, military officers, academics and others to visit South Africa and assist South African propaganda efforts.

24. They try to publicize the so-called "reforms" in South Africa in order to spread the illusion that progress can be achieved by contact with the Pretoria régime. They try to persuade Western countries to ally themselves with the South African régime. They defame the liberation movements, the African States and all opponents of <u>apartheid</u>. They have been able, with the support of some influential elements in the West, to confuse segments of public opinion in Western countries from time to time. Though the achievements of South African propaganda are constantly undermined by revelations of the inhumanity of <u>apartheid</u>, the effects of sustained propaganda efforts cannot be ignored.

22. As the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information pointed out in a paper to the International Seminar on the Eradication of <u>Apartheid</u> and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa held in Havana from 24 to 28 May 1976:

"Because of the growing opposition to racism in world public opinion, the Pretoria régime has found it increasingly difficult to win public support. It is conducting its propaganda in a hostile world, while public opinion is favourable to the opponents of apartheid.

"The effectiveness of the South African propaganda should not be exaggerated. Even the Pretoria régime now recognizes that <u>apartheid</u> is an unsalable commodity in the world market. That is why the emphasis is on trying to persuade the world that racial discrimination is being removed in South Africa, that sanctions against South Africa are harmful and that liberation movements should not be supported. "However, recent experience shows that it is dangerous to ignore South African propaganda. Especially when it is supported by Western Governments or powerful financial interests, and when it is able to distort the issues, it can create confusion among public opinion."

23. The Sub-Committee therefore considers that a review of information activity by the United Nations and associated agencies as a means to exapnd this activity is most timely.

D. Main lines of expansion of information activity

24. In his paper to the International Seminar held at Havana, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee stated:

"The Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> has always regarded the dissemination of information as an adjunct to action to isolate the South African régime and to assist the liberation movements - rather than as a mere exercise in publicizing facts on the inhumanity of <u>apartheid</u>, though such factual information is necessary. The purpose of information is to mobilize world public support for the implementation of United Nations resolutions and to promote assistance to the liberation movements. It is to encourage public opinion in the Western countries which collaborate with the South African régime to struggle against such collaboration by their Governments and corporations ...

"In planning an expansion of information activity in support of liberation in South Africa, there should be constant co-operation among all forces opposed to <u>apartheid</u>: the United Nations; the specialized agencies such as UNESCO, ILO, WHO and FAO; the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the non-aligned movement; the Arab League; Member States; trade unions; churches and non-governmental organizations; information media; and, above all, the liberation movements.

"The information campaign should be directed towards the following ends:

"(a) Constantly expose the inhumanity of <u>apartheid</u> and show that <u>apartheid</u> is not merely racial discrimination, but the oppression and exploitation of the great majority of the people and a crime against humanity;

"(b) Counteract, with facts, the propaganda regarding reforms within <u>apartheid</u>, and stress that there can be no compromise on the total eradication of <u>apartheid</u> and the liberation of South Africa;

"(c) Publicize and denounce all collaboration with South Africa by Governments, economic and financial interests and others;

"(d) Fight all manoeuvres and propaganda by the South African régime to divide African and other States, and stress that any compromise with <u>apartheid</u> is a betrayal of the principles of the United Nations and OAU; "(e) Counteract all propaganda designed to treat the problem of <u>apartheid</u> according to 'cold war' thinking, and emphasize the right of the liberation movements to seek and receive assistance from all sources in their legitimate struggle;

"(f) Denounce all propaganda in favour of military links with South Africa and make it clear that any country entering into a formal or informal military alliance with the racist régime will face the hostility of the overwhelming majority of the States and peoples of the world."

25. Referring to the Centre against Apartheid in particular, he suggested:

(a) The Centre should be provided the necessary resources to produce more attractive publications for mass distribution in all languages;

(b) It should produce publications for special groups and for specific campaigns against apartheid;

(c) It should also be provided resources for production of audio-visual materials;

(d) Governments should be requested to help the Centre by redisseminating its material widely through national information media;

(e) The staff of the Centre should be enabled to visit capitals to promote information campaigns.

26. The International Seminar made a number of recommendations on the dissemination of information against <u>apartheid</u> (see A/31/104-S/10292). It suggested that Member States should assist the liberation movements and anti-<u>apartheid</u> movements to enable them effectively to counteract the propaganda of the South African racist régime; urgently undertake a study of collaborators such as business interests, military officers, university staff and participants in cultural exchanges who are exerting their influence to prevent action by Western countries against <u>apartheid</u>; launch a vigorous campaign against pro-South African lobbies in all Western countries; study the role of the media, especially news agencies, in moulding Western public opinion by their treatment of news from South Africa and on the activities of liberation movements; take steps to establish a radio station to beam broadcasts to South Africa; and establish information centres in Lesotho and other southern African countries. It added:

"The work of the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> in the United Nations Secretariat must be further developed. Attractive publications aimed at the general public should be published by the United Nations in various languages for mass distribution. There should be greater use of films, posters and other audio-visual material.

"The Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> should be provided with greater support by the United Nations to enable it to help publicize the documents of the South African liberation movements and the activities of Governments and organizations against <u>apartheid</u>. Governments should be encouraged to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u> to reinforce the activities of the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>, and to co-operate with the Centre in other appropriate ways" (A/31/104-S/12092, annex II, paras. 35 and 36)

JII. RECOMMENDATIONS

27. The Sub-Committee has studied the review prepared by the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> in the light of the general considerations indicated above and held consultations with the officials of the Centre and of the Office for Public Information. While noting with satisfaction the progress made in the information activity, it wishes to draw attention to certain important areas in which substantial improvement is essential.

A. Role of the specialized agencies

28. The Sub-Committee attaches great importance to close co-ordination in the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in order to expand the dissemination of information and underline the common commitment of the entire family of agencies to the struggle against <u>apartheid</u>.

29. While the ILO and UNESCO have made notable contributions, and FAO and WHO have undertaken specific activities, the other agencies appear to have paid little attention to the matter.

30. Even in the case of the four agencies mentioned above, closer day-to-day co-operation with the United Nations appears essential with respect to exchange of information, distribution of information material and liaison among field offices. They might, for instance, prepare feature articles for the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>, while the Centre might assist them in developing sustained information activity on current developments in South Africa. It would seem appropriate, if necessary, to consider grants from the Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u> for such co-ordinated activity when the Trust Fund receives larger contributions. The Sub-Committee understands that the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> has been in consulation with the specialized agencies concerned on these matters.

31. In order to ensure closer co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies, the Sub-Committee would suggest that the Joint United Nations Information Committee regularly consider the question of dissemination of information on <u>apartheid</u> as a matter of priority, with the participation of the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>.

B. Presentation of information material

32. The Sub-Committee considers that there is need for great improvement in the presentation of information material, particularly of the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>. Most of the United Nations information centres and non-governmental organizations have referred to this and have suggested the use of photographic and other visual material in colour and of a more attractive format and method of binding. The Sub-Committee suggests that urgent attention should be given to this matter and the necessary equipment be provided or made available to the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>.

33. The possibility of assistance by UNESCO should be explored for the preparation of attractive and well laid-out printed material for school children providing basic information about apartheid.

C. Films and audio-visual material

34. The Sub-Committee draws particular attention to the dearth of films, posters and other audio-visual material for which there is great demand and suggests urgent attention to the production of such material.

35. The Sub-Committee recommends that competitions should be held in various countries for the production of posters against <u>apartheid</u>. It also suggests that an exhibit on <u>apartheid</u> should be arranged at United Nations Headquarters, next to the exhibit on Namibia.

D. Distribution of information material

36. In order to improve and expand the distribution of information material, the Sub-Committee makes the following recommendations:

(a) The distribution of information material should be expanded, in particular through collaborative arrangements with UNDP and specialized agencies, wherever information centres are not available (there are now 56 information centres and offices for the 145 Member States of the United Nations);

(b) As a matter of priority, an information centre should be established in a State neighbouring South Africa, as called for by the General Assembly in resolution 3151 C (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973;

(c) In order to enable United Nations information centres to expand the dissemination of information against <u>apartheid</u>, greater budgetary provision should be made for the production of material in the local languages and for mailing costs by the centres and non-governmental organizations which co-operate with them in the redissemination of United Nations information material. The Sub-Committee notes that rapidly rising mailing costs have curtailed redissemination of United Nations information material against <u>apartheid</u> in several countries;

(d) The Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> should explore the possibility of a system of regional production and dissemination of centrally prepared information material, for example at Geneva and at the headquarters of the regional commissions.

E. Other recommendations

37. The Sub-Committee wishes to submit the following additional recommendations for the consideration of the Special Committee:

(a) In connexion with the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March and the Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners on 11 October, the Office of Public Information should prepare, in consultation with the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>, special information kits on <u>apartheid</u> with background papers and features for use by the mass communication media. Attractive pamphlets, fact sheets, colour wallsheets and simple illustrated material should be printed for wide dissemination in various languages;

(b) The United Nations information centres should be encouraged to arrange essay competitions on apartheid;

(c) Urgent attention should be given to broadcasts to South Africa and radio programmes produced in the different languages of South Africa;

(d) The Office of Public Information and the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> should encourage a special publication, by a reputable publishing house, on United Nations action against apartheid.

F. Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid

38. The Sub-Committee wishes to stress the urgent need for much larger contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid 5</u>/ in order to reinforce and strengthen the dissemination of information against <u>apartheid</u> in the light of the above recommendations.

39. It suggests that the Special Committee should intensify efforts to promote larger contributions from more Member States.

^{5/} Formerly the Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund.

ANNEX

Review of information activity by the United Nations

A. Work of the Centre against Apartheid

1. The Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> was established in January 1976 as an expansion of the Section for African Questions and Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> to ensure, <u>inter alia</u>, maximum publicity for the evils of <u>apartheid</u> in consultation with the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Office of Public Information.

2. The Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> was established in the Secretariat in 1967 in pursuance of a request by the General Assembly which recognized the significance of ensuring the widest dissemination of information on the dangers of <u>apartheid</u> to keep world opinion informed and thereby encourage it to support United Nations efforts to resolve the situation in South Africa.

3. The information activities of the Unit on <u>Apartheid</u> (now integrated in the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> as the Unit for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u>), undertaken in consultation with the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>, include:

(a) Preparation and publication of studies, papers and feature articles, including special publications for trade unions, churches, and organizations of women, students, teachers, and others;

(b) Co-operation with the Office of Public Information in publicity against apartheid through various media;

(c) Co-operation with specialized agencies, especially the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), to secure co-ordination of action by all institutions in the United Nations system on publicity against apartheid;

(d) Co-operation with non-governmental organizations to secure publication and dissemination of United Nations material in various languages;

(e) Maintaining and publicizing a register of persons imprisoned or restricted in South Africa for their opposition to apartheid;

(f) Encouragement for the establishment of, and close co-operation with, national committees against apartheid;

(g) Appropriate support of public campaigns in all countries on specific issues - such as release of political prisoners, cessation of emigration to South Africa, and boycott of racially-selected South African sports teams - and publicizing the campaigns;

(h) Collecting and maintaining information on the activities of non-governmental organizations against <u>apartheid</u>, and reporting to the Special Committee from time to time;

(i) Analysis and countering of the propaganda by South Africa in favour of apartheid and against United Nations efforts to eradicate <u>apartheid</u>;

(j) Answering of public inquiries concerning apartheid;

(k) Promoting contributions to and administering the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

4. Because of the limited resources and other factors, the Unit's primary focus was to provide documentation to organizations and individuals active against <u>apartheid</u> in order to enable them to adapt and disseminate it, and to United Nations information centres in order to enable them to give greater attention to publicity against <u>apartheid</u>. Material prepared by the Unit was frequently reprinted in the press in many countries and reached wider audiences.

5. The activities of the Unit for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u> have been widely recognized as effective in promoting public awareness of <u>apartheid</u>. This is acknowledged by the South African liberation movements, by the anti-<u>apartheid</u> movements and by the non-governmental organizations concerned. The Unit has played an important role in making the work of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> widely known. The work of the Unit has been commended by the General Assembly in resolution 3411 G (XXX) of 28 November 1975. The proposals made at the Special Committee seminars show appreciation of the work of the Unit which is, and should increasingly be, related to public campaigns in various countries.

6. The establishment of the Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u> in January 1975 has enabled the Unit to widen its activities, as follows:

(a) Until the Trust Fund was established, all Unit publications received a limited circulation. It is now possible to print selected material, which has great demand, for wider circulation in several language versions;

(b) Thanks to the Fund, it is now possible for the Unit to engage, however on a limited scale, in audio-visual publicity against <u>apartheid</u>. Language versions of films against <u>apartheid</u> have been arranged. A series of posters is now in preparation;

(c) The Unit has also been able to co-operate with non-governmental organizations in projects to obtain wider publicity for United Nations information material against apartheid.

7. The extent and scope of the Unit's information activities against <u>apartheid</u> depend a great deal on voluntary contributions to the Fund and on the co-operation by Governments and organizations in redisseminating the Unit's material or reprinting it.

8. In the first six months of 1976, the Unit published 850 pages of material on apartheid in English, French and Spanish. Forty-four issues of the <u>Notes and</u> Documents series were published in 1975 and 10 issues of an occasional bulletin

on action against <u>apartheid</u> taken by United Nations organs, Governments, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. Several issues of the <u>Notes and Documents</u> series were made available in recent years in the following languages: Arabic, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, German, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swahili and Urdu. These language versions, funded by regular budgetary appropriations, are produced and distributed in co-operation with United Nations information centres.

B. Work of the Office of Public Information

9. In the execution of its mandate of public information against <u>apartheid</u>, the Office of Public Information maintains close co-operation with the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>.

10. It prepares and distributes written and audio-visual material on United Nations activity against <u>apartheid</u> on a regular and continuing basis throughout the year, using all the means of disseminating information at its disposal.

11. Meetings and activities of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> are regularly covered in the form of releases for distribution to the Press, delegations, information centres and non-governmental organizations. Special coverage is given to the observance at United Nations Headquarters of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March and the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on 11 October. During sessions of the General Assembly, debates, recommendations and decisions of the Special Political Committee and the plenary meetings of the General Assembly on the question of apartheid are fully covered.

12. Approximately 130 press releases on the subject of <u>apartheid</u> were issued in English in 1975; each press release had a distribution of about 1,350 copies, to delegations (700), the Press (400), information centres (200) and non-governmental organizations (50).

13. These press releases have been found by the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA), delegations, information centres and non-governmental organizations to be extremely useful in their work.

14. News items on United Nations information activities against <u>apartheid</u> are also included in the <u>Weekly News Summary</u>, and the bi-monthly bulletin <u>United</u> <u>Nations and Southern Africa</u>. Summaries of meetings of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> appear in the monthly <u>UN Chronicle</u>.

15. Objective: Justice, a 48-page illustrated magazine issued four times a year by the Publications Service, carries feature articles on various aspects of South Africa's <u>apartheid</u> policy and United Nations action against that policy, as well as articles on decolonization. Approximately one third of each issue is devoted to the subject of <u>apartheid</u> in South Africa. 16. <u>Objective:</u> Justice and the <u>United Nations and Southern Africa</u> are printed in English and French (12,000 and 5,000 copies, respectively, of the former and 4,500 and 1,500 copies, respectively, of the latter) and distributed mainly to information centres, non-governmental organizations and other interested groups and individuals. There is a small (approximately 500) paid subscription list for <u>Objective:</u> Justice.

17. Every year, the Office of Public Information, in co-operation with the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>, has devoted pamphlets, background papers and other publications on the evils and dangers of <u>apartheid</u>. These publications are issued in English, French, Russian and Spanish and in some local languages through arrangements with information centres. They are usually printed in quantities of 20,000 in English, with smaller press runs for other language versions. Recent publications have included <u>Apartheid in Practice</u>, a 47-page booklet describing South Africa's repressive laws and how they affect the daily lives of the country's 20 million Africans, Indians and Coloured people; <u>Apartheid and Racial Discrimination</u>, a 7-page background paper describing United Nations action to combat <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination in South Africa and in Namibia and other colonial territories; and the text of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of <u>Apartheid</u> (General Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex) and of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII), annex).

18. General reference material against <u>apartheid</u> is also found in the <u>Yearbook</u> of the United Nations, <u>Suggestions for Speakers</u>, <u>United Nations in Brief</u>, <u>United Nations and Human Rights</u>.

19. In 1975 and 1976, the Radio Service of the Office of Public Information intensified its information activities against apartheid, which subject claimed an increased share of its newscasts and the weekly news-background programmes. The Week at the United Nations made frequent use of the conference room actuality, quoting extracts from debates on this subject. The thematic programme L'Afrique à l'ONU, A Vitrine do Mundo and Perspective devoted many editions to this topic, approaching it in a variety of ways. It is estimated that fully one quarter of the output of the Radio Service is given over to the apartheid, decolonization and related issues. The Week at the United Nations reaches 1,000 stations and networks in Africa, Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean and North America. A Vitrine do Mundo is sent to 17 stations broadcasting in Portuguese. The Perspective series, in 15 languages, reaches 125 countries and territories. L'Afrique à l'ONU is distributed to all French-language radio stations in Africa and used on the short-wave broadcasts of the BBC, Polish Radio, Radio Canada, Radio Cairo, and the Netherlands Overseas Service. United Nations Radio's own newscasts are heard in 16 languages: there are frequent reports concerning activities against apartheid.

20. The Visual Service of OPI has continued its coverage in television, film and photographs of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>. The material has been distributed by the international news-reel agencies serving 150 television organizations world-wide. Films available include in particular: (i) The documentary film <u>Apartheid</u>: 20th <u>Century Slavery</u> in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Swahili, Italian and Serbo-Croatian; (ii) <u>Apartheid</u>: <u>They Speak Out</u>, an indictment against <u>apartheid</u> by prominent individuals; (iii) <u>The Exile</u>, an account of human tragedy caused by <u>apartheid</u> as told by a South African physician now living in exile.

21. These films are given a world-wide circulation in several languages through information centres, United Nations field offices and national distributions. They are also used in educational institutions and by non-governmental organizations as part of the international campaign against <u>apartheid</u>.

22. The External Relations Division of the Office of Public Information continues to be actively engaged in the dissemination of information against <u>apartheid</u>. Its network of 58 information centres, services and offices represents the main channel for providing information material and encouraging and stimulating publicity by the information media, educational institutions, non-governmental organizations and other important opinion moulders. The Policy and Programme Section at Headquarters provides guidance to the Centre Directors in carrying out their publicity programmes, while the Information Support Section dispatches official documentation and public information material dealing with the evils of apartheid and handles incoming "feedback" from the information centres.

23. At Headquarters, the External Relations Division promotes and encourages publicity against <u>apartheid</u> through the non-governmental organizations associated with the Office of Public Information, to which the Non-Governmental Organizations Section of the Division provides regular briefings, supporting information material and other related services and facilities.

24. Publicity against <u>apartheid</u> is also encouraged through the Division's organizational units at Headquarters. Public Services provides guided tours of Headquarters, arranges special programmes for visitors' groups including film showings and speakers, answers inquiries and sends information material to individuals, schools and civic groups. Special education informational programmes for use throughout the world are prepared by the Educational Information Programme Section.

C. <u>Comments on United Nations information activities</u> against apartheid

25. The following comments are based on reports from the Office of Public Information, the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>, United Nations information centres, the South African liberation movements and non-governmental organizations actively opposed to <u>apartheid</u>.

26. It is clear that most of the United Nations resources for information activities against <u>apartheid</u> have gone into the production and dissemination of

publications. These are usually issued in English and French, with selected publications in a number of other languages. They are appreciated by recipients for the reliable factual information, though the presentation needs improvement. The view has been expressed by many organizations that in future greater attention should be given and more resources devoted to film, television and radio.

27. The flow of information is generally directed to specialized groups, with a high opinion-building potential such as information media, trade unions, schools and universities, student organizations, national associations for the United Nations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations actively engaged in the international campaign against apartheid.

28. Some information centres have acknowledged that the funds provided by the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u> for dissemination of United Nations material had enabled them to carry out significant projects.

29. However, because of delays involved in the bulk distribution of the material, mostly by surface mail, and also because of the scarcity of material in the local languages, the impact of United Nations information activity has been limited. Rapidly increasing postage and printing costs have reduced the capacity of non-governmental organizations and anti-<u>apartheid</u> movements to translate, adapt and redisseminate United Nations information material.

30. As there are only 60 information centres and offices throughout the world, inevitable delays set in when it comes to forwarding documentation to countries where no such centres are available. Collaborative arrangements entered into with UNDP offices to this effect have worked to satisfaction and would deserve to be extended within the United Nations system as a whole.

31. The liberation movements of South Africa and several anti-<u>apartheid</u> movements and non-governmental organizations have expressed satisfaction that the United Nations information material is readily usable in their promotional activities.

32. Together with the United Nations information centres, these movements and organizations have stressed the need for the United Nations to produce more films, posters, photographs and commented transparencies which are ideally suited for group audiences and public manifestations, especially at observances of special days (for example International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March and Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on 11 October).

33. Resources within the United Nations system designed to counteract the South African racist propaganda are by and large insufficient, especially if they are related to the \$16 million available to the South African Department of Information alone for the year 1976/77. 34. The contributions made to the Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u> have been limited so far and do not allow for the undertaking of ambitious projects. Print-runs of the projects undertaken from the resources of the Fund have been with one exception - Professor Rubin's study, entitled "<u>Apartheid</u> in Practice", which had a 25,000 circulation - in the order of 5,000.

35. If more substantial contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against <u>Apartheid</u> were to be made, it would be possible to initiate the production of films and other audio-visual material in consultation with the Office of Public Information and the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>.

D. Information activities against apartheid by members of the Joint United Nations Information Committee

36. At the request of the Centre against <u>Apartheid</u>, members of the Joint United Nations Information Committee were asked, through the Office of Public Information, to supply relevant data concerning information activity against <u>apartheid</u> undertaken by them, together with proposals for more effective action.

37. Replies were received from the following organizations and agencies: the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP); the International Labour Organisation (ILO); the World Health Organization (WHO); the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA); the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the World Bank; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR); the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO); the World Meteorological Organization (WMO); the Universal Postal Union (UPU); the International Telecommunication Union (ITU); the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAFA); the World Food Programme (WFP); the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements; the United Nations World Food Council (WFC); the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO); and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

38. The substantive parts of the replies received are reproduced in appendix I. They emphasize for the most part that while many of these organizations do not engage in direct political and information activity against <u>apartheid</u>, because of their very specialized mandates, their actions are none the less guided by the decisions of the General Assembly against <u>apartheid</u>, racism and racial discrimination in all their forms and manifestations. This information activity is limited to publicity for their resolutions against <u>apartheid</u>. In some cases, reports, studies and occasional articles on <u>apartheid</u> have been publicized at conferences or through periodic bulletins.

39. UNESCO, ILO and WHO, in particular, have engaged in substantive information activities against <u>apartheid</u>, which have been acknowledged and praised by the specialized audiences they reach and by the membership of the United Nations at large.

APPENDIX I

Substantive parts of replies from members of the Joint United Nations Information Committee

HABITAT: UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

/Original: English/ /I6 February 1976/

I would like to draw your attention to the following paragraph of the draft declaration of principles for the Habitat conference in Vancouver in June:

"GENERAL PRINCIPLES, paragraph 3:

"Human dignity and the exercise of free choice consistent with over-all public welfare are basic rights which must be assured in every society. It is therefore the duty of all people to join in the struggle against any form of colonialism, foreign aggression and occupation, domination, <u>apartheid</u> and any other discrimination."

I would assume that there are other references to <u>apartheid</u> and racial discrimination in other papers in preparation for Habitat, but these are not yet in final form.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

/Original: English/ /20 February 1976/

GATT activities are at present concentrated on the multilateral trade negotiations and its information activities are limited to reporting its own work. We have therefore no activity to report in the above-mentioned area.

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

/Original: English/ /17 February 1976/

IMCO is a technical agency whose sphere of activities is limited to shipping and other matters related thereto. The resolutions of the General Assembly concerning <u>apartheid</u> and other political issues related to decolonization are regularly brought to the attention of the IMCO Council and Assembly which usually take note of their content.

WORLD FOOD COUNCIL

<u>/</u>Original: English/ <u>/</u>17 February 1976/

The World Food Council has only recently been established and its initial activities have not this far included work in this matter. Should we undertake any action in the field, we shall certainly communicate them to you.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

<u>/Original: English</u>/ <u>/20 February 1976</u>/

(1) A lead story on the health effects of <u>apartheid</u> appeared in the July 1975 issue of <u>World Health</u>. The magazine is published in eight languages and has an aggregate circulation of 230,000 copies. The article drew an important mail bag. These letters in turn were published in the September 1975 issue of the magazine. Scores of publications throughout the world reproduced the original article verbatim.

(2) A press release was issued in Geneva to announce the article appearing in <u>World Health</u> and a second release was issued in New York entitled "Health implications of <u>apartheid</u>" based on the WHO document produced at the request of the Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u>. Both press releases resulted in a large pick-up by Associated Press, Reuters, United Press International, Agence France Presse, Tass, the Ghana News Agency. There were also stories based on WHO's press releases and articles in <u>Le Monde</u>, the <u>International Herald Tribune</u>, <u>The Financial</u> <u>Times</u>, the two New York dailies and the <u>Kansas City Star</u>, among others.

(3) A message from the Director-General was transmitted to the United Nations Special Committee against <u>Apartheid</u> on the occasion of International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March).

(4) A press conference on <u>apartheid</u> was arranged in New York for our Deputy Director-General. It drew considerable media attention.

(5) WHO's regular monthly radio programme dealt in March with <u>apartheid</u> as a special item. This programme is distributed to 250 stations throughout the world. WHO stories have also consistently been used in "Perspective", "The Week at the UN" and "Scope". WNYC, New York's municipal broadcasting station, also aired the apartheid story.

(6) We have also had requests for photographs which illustrated the <u>World</u> <u>Health</u> articles either to be used in exhibits or to illustrate other articles.

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

/Original: English/ /26 February 1976/

A co-operation agreement was concluded between IAEA and OAU in September 1968 and OAU has generally been represented at the annual regular sessions of the Agency's General Conference and we have been collaborating with it in a number of scientific activities.

However, the Agency's activities are of a highly specialized scientific and technical nature which do not lend themselves easily to any information activities other than those on nuclear energy and related matters.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME

/Original: English/ /26 February 1976/

The World Food Programme (WFP) has always followed the directions contained in the various General Assembly resolutions designed to promote and accelerate decolonization, particularly in Africa. By these resolutions, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system were mainly requested (i) to render all possible moral and material assistance to colonial peoples in Africa and, in particular, to work out and implement in co-operation with OAU, concrete proposals for such assistance to the peoples in colonial territories; (ii) to increase the scope of assistance to refugees from colonial territories; and (iii) to withhold any financial, economic, technical and other assistance from South Africa and Rhodesia and to discontinue all collaboration with them until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial oppression.

With regard to point (i) it is to be noted that at its twenty-seventh session, which took place in March 1975, the Intergovernmental Committee (IGC) <u>a</u>/ of the World Food Programme noted the final version of the recommendation adopted at its previous session, as amended by the FAO Council and endorsed by the Economic and Social Council to read as follows:

"Notwithstanding the provision of paragraph 3 of its General Regulations, the World Food Programme is authorized to extend assistance in all its forms, through the Organization of African Unity, to peoples and territories in Africa still under colonial or alien domination and in particular to peoples in liberated areas of these territories and their national liberation movements."

 $[\]underline{a}$ At present being reconstituted as the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programmes.

As far as point (ii) is concerned, MFP has provided assistance to refugees and to peoples and territories in Africa, through OAU.

With respect to point (iii) it may be noted that WFP does not provide any assistance to, or collaborate with, the Government of South Africa or the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. The only indirect contacts arise from the fact that WFP commodities, like normal commercial imports, can only be economically delivered to the land-locked countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland by routing them through port and rail transport facilities existing in South Africa. It may also be of interest to note that pending completion of the motorway and railway which will connect Zambia with the coast of the United Republic of Tanzania, the port of Beira and Mozambique rail facilities are similarly used to transport WFP food aid to the land-locked countries of Zambia and Malawi.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

<u>/Original: English</u>/ <u>/I March 1976</u>/

FAO is a development organization dealing with food and agriculture and this, of course, determines the contents and scope of our information activities. Naturally, the problems of poverty and injustice are at the very centre of our work but within the context of rural and agricultural development. I am sure that you would not feel it appropriate to include such activities in the review.

WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

<u>/Original: English</u>/ <u>/9</u> March 1976/

The Seventh World Meteorological Congress (Geneva, 28 April-23 May 1975), noting specifically resolution 2396 (XXIII) (2 December 1968) and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly on the apartheid policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, adopted resolution 38 (Cg-VII) suspending South Africa from exercising its rights and enjoying privileges as a member of WMO until it renounces its policy of racial discrimination, that is, apartheid. In addition to being published in the abridged report with resolutions of the Seventh Congress, a publication which receives wide dissemination, the decision of the Seventh Congress in this connexion was also the subject of a press release by WMO which received widespread distribution not only to members of the organization but also to other international organizations and to all sectors of the public information media. This decision of the Seventh Congress was also the subject of a special letter from the Secretary-General of the organization to all members transmitting the resolution to them for their information. Finally, The WMO Bulletin, which is the official journal of the World Meteorological Organization and which is disseminated widely throughout the scientific community, made appropriate mention of the decisions of the Seventh Congress on this matter.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

/Original: English/ /Il March 1976/

I have pleasure in advising that all relevant resolutions concerning this subject have been brought to the attention of the member countries of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU).

Furthermore, on the occasion of group visits to ITU headquarters we explain the action taken by the ITU Plenipotentiary Conference (Malaga-Torremolinos, 1973) against the Republic of South Africa (resolution No. 31 of the International Telecommunication Convention, Malaga-Torremolinos, 1973).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

<u>/Original:</u> English7 /15 March 19767

Since 1965, the Director-General of the ILO has published each year a Special Report on <u>apartheid</u>. This has been written within the framework of the Declaration concerning the Policy of <u>Apartheid</u> of the Republic of South Africa, adopted unanimously by the International Labour Conference in 1964.

Each of the Special Reports has concentrated on one or more aspects of the labour situation in South Africa. The twelfth Special Report will be before the sixty-first session of the International Labour Conference in June 1976.

UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

<u>/</u>0riginal: French/ <u>/</u>15 March 1976/

I have the honour to inform you that the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, through its Executive Council, which will meet in May 1976, will bring to the attention of the postal administrations of the member countries General Assembly resolution 3411 (XXX).

Furthermore, the appeal made by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on the occasion of International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March) will be published in the magazine <u>Union Postale</u>, the official organ of the Universal Postal Union.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

/Original: French/

/18 March 1976/

Ever since the establishment of UNESCO, its information services have unremittingly drawn the attention of media experts from the press, radio, films and television, and thereby of public opinion, to the nature and actual consequences of racism, race prejudice and, more specifically, <u>apartheid</u>.

This task has been facilitated by the existence of a number of studies carried out at the request of the organization and taking the form of several publications which have been frequently revised and brought up to date.

The most important of these works, <u>Le racisme devant la science</u>, contains 10 contributions from anthropologists, ethnologists, biologists and sociologists. Two collections entitled <u>La question raciale et la pensée moderne</u> and <u>Race et</u> <u>société</u> respectively, have provided equally useful information. UNESCO has also published a study entitled <u>Race as News</u> (in English only), and the results of a study on Le colonialisme portugais en Afrique: la fin d'une ère.

In more specific terms, the problem of <u>apartheid</u> has so far been treated in three works published by UNESCO: L'apartheid: ses effets sur l'éducation, la science, la culture et l'information (1972); Le racisme et l'apartheid en Afrique australe: Afrique du Sud et Namibie (1974); Le racisme et l'apartheid en Afrique australe: Rhodésie (1975). Two other publications, on Rhodesia and Namibia, are planned for 1976 and 1977.

The UNESCO information services have given wide publicity to these works, apart from the production and dissemination of texts and original audio-visual programmes.

The <u>UNESCO Courier</u> devoted three entire issues in 1967, 1971 and 1973 to these problems, in addition to which it has carried important articles in other issues.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

<u>/</u>Original: English/ <u>/</u>22 March 1976/

No information activity undertaken in this area.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

/Original: English/ /24 March 1976/

I would like to point out that UNHCR by its terms of reference deals with victims of <u>apartheid</u> rather than with <u>apartheid per se</u>. The programmes of our Office have of course benefited refugees from South Africa and Namibia and are continuing to do so in various parts of Africa. In this connexion we co-operate closely with the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. Indeed, the first two bodies channel funds to UNHCR for assistance to refugees from Namibia and South Africa.

These activities are mentioned in our public information output but they are presented within the framework of our over-all work for refugees without specific reference to <u>apartheid</u>. It would thus be somewhat misleading to suggest that we have undertaken information activity against apartheid.

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

/Original: English/ /25 March 1976/ /6 April 1976/

Actions taken by ICAO on United Nations resolutions against <u>apartheid</u> are submitted to ICAO Council and action taken is communicated to the United Mations Secretary-General. Please refer in particular to ICAO Assembly resolution A 18-4 specifying ICAO measures in regard to South Africa's apartheid policy.

This resolution was communicated to States and published in the September 1971 issue of the ICAO Bulletin, which has world-wide distribution.

I refer to resolutions 3396 (XXX) and 3482 (XXX), adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in the course of its thirtieth session, and resolution 3362 (S-VII), adopted at the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

The Council of ICAO considered the above-mentioned resolutions at the 10th meeting of its eighty-seventh session on 29 March 1976, with the following result:

Resolutions 3396 (XXX), paragraph 9; 3482 (XXX), paragraph 4

The Council decided to confirm that while ICAO cannot play a very active role in the dissemination of information unrelated to its own field, consultations could take place if so desired on appropriate arrangements for the publication in the <u>ICAO Bulletin</u> of information referred to in the relevant resolutions concerning colonialism, apartheid and the situation in Zimbabwe.

UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

<u>/</u>Original: English/ <u>/</u>25 March 1976/

In January 1976, the Institute published a study entitled, <u>The OAU and the</u> <u>UN:</u> <u>Relations between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations</u>, by Berhanykun Andemicael, a UNITAR Research Fellow. A major part of the book analyses the respective roles of the two organizations against colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa and suggests ways for strengthening their relationship with a view to bringing about an effective solution. In order to cover the most recent developments in the area, the Institute has also facilitated the preparation of an article by the same author entitled, "Trends in OAU Quest for African liberation with the help of the United Nations". Another relevant UNITAR publication, entitled The Ways of the Peace-Maker by K. Venkata Raman, has examined the methods and procedures of United Nations intermediaries in the peaceful settlement of disputes. This book, also by a UNITAR Research Fellow, focuses on the role of third parties in the resolution of international controversies, including those concerning racial discrimination and other human rights problems.

UNITAR's work in progress includes a particularly relevant study on the role of international non-governmental organizations in southern Africa. The author, Professor George W. Shepherd, Jr. of the Center on International Race Relations, University of Denver, provides an historical analysis of the efforts of human rights groups in support of United Nations efforts against <u>apartheid</u> and against South Africa's defiance of United Nations authority in Namibia.

WORLD INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY ORGANIZATION

/Original: English/ /25 March 1976/

WIPO has at the present time no contribution or proposal to submit on this subject.

UNITED NATIONS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

/Original: English/ /26 March 1976/

The Public Information Service of UNIDO undertakes a wide range of activities in its efforts to make known international decisions and actions to accelerate the industrial growth of developing countries. In all of these it stresses the fact that in its relations with member States as well as in its aid programmes and supporting activities of study and research, UNIDO must conform with the various United Nations decisions against apartheid.

UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES

/Original: English/ /29 March 19767

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) delegation to the Lusaka post-World Population Council consultations raised this matter with appropriate officials of the Economic Commission for Africa as well as with a selected number of African delegations. We have also been in communication with the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa to ascertain whether possible means of implementing operative paragraph 4 of World Population Council resolution XIX could be explored.

There has been no response to either of these initiatives.

WORLD BANK

/Original: English/ /I April 1976/

The World Bank's information activities are inspired by its basic objective, which is to promote economic development by providing financial and technical assistance for specific projects and purposes in developing member countries. The Bank's information activities are confined to supporting this objective. As you know, the Bank has no lending activity in South Africa.

All resolutions on <u>apartheid</u> adopted by the last session of the United Nations General Assembly have been brought to the attention of the members of the World Bank's Board of Executive Directors. This includes resolution 3411 F (XXX).

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

/Original: English/ /2 April 1976/

Since this matter does not fall within the scope of the Fund's activity in the field of international monetary co-operation, as conducted under the Articles of Agreement, the Fund's Information Office has no information to provide on this subject.

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

<u>/Original: English</u>/ <u>/8</u> April 1976/

The UNDP information programme covers development issues and activities in the countries and territories it assists. As there is no UNDP country programme in the Republic of South Africa or Namibia, nor any UNDP representation there, we have not to date mounted any information activities concerning apartheid.

However, we are now preparing a special "Development issue paper" on African liberation movements which will cover, inter alia, those in countries with policies of <u>apartheid</u>. It will also cover noteworthy UNDP activities under our Trust Fund for Assistance to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which has extended help to the cause of Namibian liberation. For your information, the "DIP" series, issued under our "Global-1" system, is primarily disseminated to selected media and representatives of non-governmental organizations interested in the topics of specific papers, and UNDS/UNDP activities, together with personal briefings and contacts. They are, of course, carefully synchronized with CESI work.

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

<u>/Original: English/</u> <u>/16 April 1976/</u>

Although UNICEF does not take part in direct political activity against <u>apartheid</u>, our efforts on behalf of children are guided by the General Assembly resolution that created UNICEF specifying that assistance to children must be given regardless of race, creed, and political belief. In effect, UNICEF's substantive work is a testimony of UNICEF's position against <u>apartheid</u>. The principles set out in the resolution on the rights of the child, adopted by the General Assembly in 1959, also serve as a guide for UNICEF's work, and they clearly speak against any form of racial discrimination.

In all UNICEF's information activities we do stress the non-political as well as the non-racial character of UNICEF's assistance to children. One of the fundamental aims of UNICEF's work is to break the circle of poverty and human degradation, which can breed hatred and to which racial discrimination contributes.

Also, in UNICEF's broad-range information programme, we have occasion to report on UNICEF's assistance over the past few years to children and mothers under the care of liberation movements and, since 1974, on UNICEF's co-operation with newly independent nations in Africa - including Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe.

In short, UNICEF's information programme reflects the organization's commitment to the elimination of racial discrimination of any kind.

APPENDIN II

Contributions and pledges to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid

(In United States dollars)

	1975	1976
Dania	227 ^{a/}	
Benin	$10 000^{a/2}$	
Brazil	IO 000-	
Cyprus		243
Egypt		2 000
Finland	5 000	
India	500	500
Japan		10 000 ^a /
Kuwait	5 000	5 000
Mauritania		444 <u>a</u> /
New Zealand	6 500	
Nigeria	5 000	5 000 ^{a/}
Norway	10 000	20 000
Philippines		500 ^a /
Saudi Arabia	10 000	
Sudan	500	
	-	2 000 ^a /
Syrian Arab Republic	2 000	
Trinidad and Tobago		500
Uganda		1 231 ^{a/}
Zambia	3 120	

a/ Pledges.

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كيفية الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة يمكن الحمول على منشورات الام المتحدة من المكتبات ودور النوزيع في جميع احاء العالم ، امتعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو آكتب الى : الامم المتحدة ،قسم البيع في نيويورك او في جنيف

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