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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE POLICIES OF APARTHEID
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Rapporteur: Mr. Abdulrahim Abby FARAH (Somalia)

* Also issued under the symbol A/7254.

NOTE

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Letter of transmittal

4 October 1968

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the report adopted unanimously on 17 October 1967 by the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

This report is submitted to the Security Council in pursuance of operative paragraph 5 (b), of General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, of operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 1978 A (XVIII) of 16 December 1963 and of operative paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII) of 13 December 1967.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Abdulrahim Abby FARAH
Acting Chairman
Special Committee on the Policies
of Apartheid of the Government of
the Republic of South Africa

His Excellency
Mr. Liu Chieh
President of the Security Council
United Nations
New York

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa 1/ has the mandate to follow constantly the various aspects of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and to submit reports to the General Assembly and the Security Council whenever necessary. Under General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII), it was requested:

"(a) To intensify its co-operation with other special organs concerned with the problems of racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, taking into account the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the conclusions and recommendations of the International Seminar held at Kitwe in so far as they fall within the mandate of the Special Committee under General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII); and

(b) To continue to discharge its mandate and to intensify its efforts to promote an international campaign against apartheid and, to this end:

- (i) To hold during the International Year for Human Rights a special session away from Headquarters;
- (ii) In consultation with the Secretary-General, to arrange for the advisory services of experts or special studies on specific aspects of the campaign;
- (iii) To consult with the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations concerned and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report on measures which might appropriately be taken to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination."

2. The Committee's eleven members are Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines and Somalia.

* Also issued under the symbol S/8843.

1/ The Committee was established by General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962. See also General Assembly resolution 1978 (XVIII).

3. On 9 January 1968, the Committee re-elected Mr. Achkar Marof (Guinea) as its Chairman, Major-General Padma Bahadur Khatri (Nepal) and Dr. Luis D. Tinoco (Costa Rica) as Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah as Rapporteur.
4. On 12 January 1968, it decided to set up a Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid comprising the representatives of Costa Rica, Ghana, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal and Somalia. The Sub-Committee subsequently elected Mr. James E.K. Aggrey-Orleans (Ghana) as its Chairman/Rapporteur.
5. Also on 12 January, the Committee decided that the representative of Haiti should replace the representative of Ghana on the Sub-Committee on Petitions so that the Sub-Committee comprised the representatives of Algeria, Haiti, Nigeria and the Philippines. The Sub-Committee re-elected Mr. Olajide Alo (Nigeria) as its Chairman.
6. The following representatives served on the Special Committee:

ALGERIA

Representative	H.E. M. Tewfik BOUATTOURA
Alternate Representatives	M. Hadj Benabdelkader AZZOUT
	M. Abderrahmane BENSID

COSTA RICA

Representative	H.E. Sr. Luis Demetrio TINOCO
Alternate Representatives	Sr. Luis Rafael TINOCO ALVARADO
	Sra. Emilia C. de BARISH
	Sr. Eugenio JIMENEZ

GHANA

Representative	H.E. Mr. Richard Maximilian AKWEI
Alternate Representative	Mr. James E.K. AGGREY-ORLEANS

GUINEA

Representative	H.E. M. Marof ACHKAR
Alternate Representatives	M. Hady TOURE
	M. Almamy DIABY

HAITI

Representative	H.E. M. Marcel ANTOINE
Alternate Representatives	H.E. M. Raoul SICLAIT
	M. Alexandre VERBET
	M. Léonard PIERRE-LOUIS

HUNGARY

Representative	H.E. Mr. Károly CSATORDAY
Alternate Representatives	Mr. Imre BORSÁNYI
	Mr. Ede GAZDIK

MALAYSIA

Representative Mr. Raja AZNAM
Alternate Representative Mr. Noor ADLAN

NEPAL

Representative H.E. Major-General Padma Bahadur KHATRI
Mr. DEVENDRA Raj Upadhya
Mr. Mohan Bahadur PANDAY

NIGERIA

Representative H.E. Mr. Edwin O. OGBU
Alternate Representatives Mr. Olajide ALO
Mr. A.A. MOHAMMED

PHILIPPINES

Representatives H.E. Mr. Salvador P. LOPEZ
H.E. Mr. Privado G. JIMENEZ
Alternate Representative Mr. Alejandro D. YANGO

SOMALIA

Representative H.E. Mr. Abdulrahim Abby FARAH
Alternate Representatives Dr. Mohammed WARSAMA
Mr. Hassan Kaid ABDULLEH

7. On 4 October 1968, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit to the General Assembly and the Security Council the present report on developments since the twenty-second session of the General Assembly.

8. The Special Committee wishes to record its appreciation to the executive heads and the representatives at the headquarters of the various specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees for their co-operation in the discharge of its mandate. It also expresses its appreciation to the South African liberation movements, the anti-apartheid movements and many other non-governmental organizations and individuals for their assistance and co-operation.

9. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and members of the Secretariat assigned to the Committee for their services and their co-operation.

II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. Report of 17 October 1967 by the Special Committee to the General Assembly and the Security Council 2/

10. On 17 October 1967, the Special Committee unanimously adopted its annual report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, reviewing the various aspects of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, drawing particular attention to the wider dangers of a violent conflict posed by the incursions of South African security forces in adjacent territories, and making a number of recommendations taking into account the conclusions and recommendations of the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held in Kitwe, Zambia from 25 July to 4 August 1967.

11. The Special Committee emphasized the extreme gravity of the situation in South Africa and the need for urgent and effective international action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

12. It drew attention to the recommendations of the International Seminar, which stressed the gravity of the situation in the whole of southern Africa, the crucial role played by the South African Government in the aggravation of the situation in this area, and the need to consider the problems of the region as a whole and to take urgent measures to eradicate apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism.

13. The Special Committee noted that the people of South Africa had no choice but to resort to clandestine and violent means to secure their legitimate rights. It made particular reference to reports that groups of adherents of the African National Congress of South Africa had attempted in August-September 1967 to return to their homeland through Southern Rhodesia and that armed encounters had taken place in which the security forces of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia were assisted by units of the South African security forces. The latter forces, it was noted, had crossed into Southern Rhodesia in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and international law.

14. In the light of the above, the Special Committee stated, inter alia, 3/ that it considered it essential that action be taken to avert a violent conflict in South Africa and neighbouring territories, that it wished to stress the necessity for dealing with the situation in southern Africa as a whole, as endorsed by the Kitwe Seminar, and to consider measures to promote the international campaign against apartheid by encouraging international action by United Nations organs and other organizations, and by promoting greater co-ordination and avoiding undue duplication.

15. The Committee also urged immediate consideration of the explosive southern African situation by the Security Council and that all States should facilitate the

2/ A/6864, S/8196.

3/ Ibid., paras. 119-167.

implementation of Security Council decisions, including resolutions 134 (1960) adopted on 1 April 1960, 181 (1963) of 7 August 1963, 182 (1963) of 4 December 1963, 190 (1964) of 9 June 1964 and 191 (1964) of 18 June 1964. South Africa must be induced to implement these resolutions.

16. It noted that the South African Government had continued to procure aircraft, submarines and other military equipment from several States, despite the Security Council's arms embargo against that country. South African military personnel had continued to receive training abroad, and South Africa had been enabled to begin the manufacture of her own arms, ammunition and other military equipment. Measures were needed, therefore, to make the arms embargo tight and effective.

17. The Committee also reiterated its conviction that mandatory and universally applied economic sanctions were the only effective means of peacefully resolving the South African problem and that it was most urgent that international action be taken to prevent an escalation of violence in southern Africa. To this end, the co-operation and support of South Africa's major trading partners was indispensable.

18. It considered that the United Nations should provide assistance to those struggling to end racial discrimination and that it should recognize the right of the oppressed to liberate themselves by means of their own choice. The legitimacy of the struggle should be reaffirmed by the United Nations and all States should be urged to render moral, political and material assistance to that struggle.

19. The Committee recommended that the proposal of the Kitwe Seminar that a special United Nations Committee be created to deal with apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa should be given full consideration in consultation with other committees and organs directly concerned.

20. It hoped that the General Assembly would take action designed to lead to a disengagement by foreign economic interests from southern Africa, and endorsed the Kitwe Seminar's proposal that a group of experts be established by the United Nations Secretary-General to study the interlocking economic and military patterns in southern Africa.

21. The Committee hoped that the observance of the International Year for Human Rights in 1968 would facilitate the campaign against apartheid, particular attention being paid to the question of the violations of human rights in South Africa. It requested the Secretary-General to give his urgent attention to the stepping up of United Nations information activities against apartheid. All States and non-governmental organizations were asked to play their full part in securing international support for action against apartheid. The people of South Africa, it was agreed, should be kept informed of the international campaign against apartheid, and measures should be taken to explain to them the aims of the United Nations in order to counter distortions by the South African Government through its anti-United Nations propaganda.

22. The Committee appealed for increased efforts on the part of Member States in support of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. It commended the International Defence and Aid Fund and other voluntary organizations which were giving assistance and comfort to the victims of apartheid. It requested that

budgetary provision be made to enable it to hold meetings away from Headquarters, to send special representatives on missions abroad, to consult with experts on apartheid and to arrange for special studies by consultants.

B. Action taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session

23. The General Assembly, at its twenty-second session, considered the report of the Special Committee and, on 13 December 1967, adopted resolution 2307 (XXII) endorsing the recommendations of the Special Committee by a vote of 89 in favour and 2 against, with 12 abstentions. The resolution requested the Security Council to resume consideration of the question of apartheid with a view to deciding on more effective measures to secure the abandonment of the policies of apartheid by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

24. The resolution also authorized the Special Committee on Apartheid to hold a session away from Headquarters in 1968. It reiterated the General Assembly's conviction that the situation in South Africa constituted a threat to international peace and security, that action under Chapter VII of the Charter was essential in order to solve the problem of apartheid and that universally applied mandatory economic sanctions were the only means of achieving a peaceful solution.

25. The resolution condemned the actions of those States, particularly the main trading partners of South Africa, and the activities of foreign financial and other interests which were encouraging South Africa to persist in its policies. It requested those States to comply fully with the resolutions of the Security Council on this question, to take urgent steps towards disengagement from South Africa and to take all appropriate measures to facilitate more effective action by the United Nations for the elimination of apartheid. Furthermore, the resolution appealed to all States and organizations to provide appropriate moral, political and material assistance to the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for their rights.

26. The General Assembly also adopted, under other agenda items, several resolutions in which reference was made to the question of apartheid, and to South Africa's policies towards neighbouring colonial territories.

27. In its resolution 2262 (XXII) of 3 November 1967 on the question of Southern Rhodesia, the General Assembly condemned in the strongest terms the continued support by the Government of South Africa for the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia in defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions; further condemned the presence of South African armed forces in Southern Rhodesia and the arms aid extended by the authorities of South Africa to the illegal régime for the purpose of suppressing the legitimate struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve their freedom and independence; expressed grave concern at the serious threat constituted by the South African forces to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States in the area; and called upon the administering Power (United Kingdom) to ensure the immediate expulsion of all South African armed forces from the colony of Southern Rhodesia, and to prevent all armed assistance to the rebel régime.

28. In resolution 2311 (XXII) of 14 December 1967 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations, the General Assembly recommended that the specialized agencies and international institutions should not grant any assistance to the Republic of South Africa until it renounced its policy of racial discrimination and colonial domination.

29. In resolution 2326 (XXII) of 16 December 1967 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly reiterated its declaration that the practice of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination constituted a crime against humanity; requested all States, directly and through action in the international institutions of which they were members, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa until it renounced its policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination; drew the attention of all States to the grave consequences of the development in southern Africa of the entente between the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia, the activities of which ran counter to the interests of international peace and security, and called upon all States, particularly the main trading partners of the entente, to withhold any support or assistance to the members of the entente.

30. In resolution 2332 (XXII) of 18 December 1967 on measures for the speedy implementation of international instruments against racial discrimination, the General Assembly requested the International Conference on Human Rights to consider the question of giving effect to the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the question of the implementation of the conventions directed against discrimination in employment and occupation and against discrimination in education in so far as they related to racial discrimination, especially in South Africa and in the Territory of South West Africa, which was now under the direct responsibility of the United Nations; and called upon the Government of South Africa to desist from all such nefarious practices.

31. In resolution 2339 (XXII), adopted on 18 December 1967, on the International Year for Human Rights, the General Assembly expressed the hope that the International Conference on Human Rights would devote particular attention to the adoption of measures to ensure the immediate and complete elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism.

32. In resolution 2349 (XXII) of 19 December 1967, on the question of the consolidation and integration of the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans, the General Assembly decided to integrate the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa, the special training programme for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans.

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C. Programme of work

33. At its 94th, 95th, 97th, 99th, 100th and 101st meetings held between 9 January and 6 June 1968, the Special Committee considered its programme of work in the light of provisions of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly resolution 2307 (XXII), and other developments. It gave special attention to the following matters: (a) the question of the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa; (b) commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; (c) the holding of a session away from Headquarters; (d) the question of the dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination. The decisions taken by the Committee on these matters are reviewed in the following sections.

D. Question of the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa

34. The Chairman recalled that in paragraph 4 of resolution 2307 (XXII), the Assembly had requested the Security Council to resume consideration of the question of apartheid and pointed out that the Special Committee should therefore study ways of facilitating the Security Council's discussion and assisting the Council towards taking effective action.

35. The Committee decided that it should collect all available information on the implementation of the Security Council decisions on the arms embargo against South Africa, including all available information on the continued supply of arms and military equipment to South Africa, assistance in the manufacture of arms and military equipment in South Africa, and other forms of military co-operation between South Africa and other States, and that this information would then be embodied in a report to be submitted by the Committee to the Security Council.

36. In this connexion, a note on military and police build-up in the Republic of South Africa was prepared by the Rapporteur and published as a document of the Special Committee. 4/

E. Commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

37. At its 94th and 95th meetings on 9 and 12 January 1968, the Committee considered means to promote the widest and most effective observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in the light of operative paragraph 10 of resolution 2307 (XXII), by which the General Assembly requested all States to commemorate 21 March 1968 as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination with appropriate solemnity, in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

4/ A/AC.115/L.214.

38. At its 95th meeting on 12 January, the Committee adopted an appeal for the commemoration which was sent through the Secretary-General to Member States, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the regional organizations. The appeal was also addressed to a number of non-governmental organizations. 5/

39. The Special Committee held a special meeting at the United Nations Headquarters on the occasion of the International Day. The Commission on Human Rights associated itself with the meeting. In response to the Committee's invitation to all Permanent Representatives to the United Nations to participate in the meeting, ninety-seven delegations were represented at the meeting. After statements by the Secretary-General, the Prime Minister of Somalia, the Acting Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and the Chairman of the Special Committee, the meeting observed a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of all victims of racism the world over.

40. Pursuant to a decision by the Special Committee, a report on the commemoration of the International Day was published as a document of the Committee. 6/

F. Session away from Headquarters

41. At the 94th meeting on 9 January 1968, the Special Committee began discussion of the arrangements for the session which the General Assembly, in operative paragraph 13 (a) of resolution 2307 (XXII), had authorized it to hold away from Headquarters during 1968, which has been designated as the International Year for Human Rights.

42. The itinerary and time-table for the session were proposed by the Chairman after preliminary consultations among officers during five meetings held between 12 January and 6 April 7/ and after a series of consultations with officials of the Secretariat. The Special Committee decided to hold the session from 14 to 29 June 1968 in Stockholm, London and Geneva.

43. At the 99th meeting on 18 April, the Committee adopted a press communiqué in which it stated, inter alia, that:

"During the forthcoming session, the Special Committee will visit Stockholm, London and Geneva. It intends to hold discussions with Governments, specialized agencies of the United Nations, other non-governmental organizations opposed to apartheid, as well as individuals prominent in the struggle against apartheid on means to promote an international campaign against apartheid in pursuance of the resolutions of the General Assembly. The Committee will hold formal public meetings in Stockholm and in London.

5/ The text of the Committee's appeal and a report on the observance of the International Day are contained in A/AC.115/L.217 and Add.1.

6/ Ibid.

7/ 95th, 97th, 99th, 100th and 101st meetings.

"In deciding to visit Stockholm, the Special Committee had in mind the contribution of the people and Governments of the Scandinavian countries to the struggle against apartheid, including the generous contributions made by them to United Nations programmes for assistance to the victims of apartheid which have been sponsored and supported by the Special Committee.

"The Special Committee decided to visit London, not only because of the activities of a number of public organizations in the United Kingdom - such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Defence and Aid Fund - in the struggle against apartheid, but also because of the problem created in this struggle by the special relations between the United Kingdom and South Africa.

"The visit to Geneva will be devoted to discussions with specialized agencies of the United Nations and a number of non-governmental organizations opposed to apartheid."

44. At its 100th meeting on 16 May 1968, the Special Committee considered a memorandum on its projected session, prepared by the Rapporteur on the basis of the results of the consultations which the Committee's Principal Secretary had held in Stockholm, London and Geneva from 29 April to 6 May.

45. After adopting its programmes of work for Stockholm, London and Geneva, it decided to authorize the Chairman, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to arrange for the preparation of a number of papers in pursuance of operative paragraph 13 (b) of resolution 2307 (XXII), and to invite a number of individuals and organizations to participate in its meetings.

46. The Special Committee decided on the following agenda for its meetings in Stockholm and London:

Stockholm

1. Problem of the people of apartheid in South Africa.
2. Present stage of the struggle in South Africa, in the context of developments in southern Africa.
3. Educational and humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid - the significance of such assistance and the means to promote and expand such assistance.
4. Role of information and public opinion in the struggle against apartheid.

London

1. The present situation in South Africa in the context of the developments in southern Africa.
2. The rôle of the United Nations in securing the elimination of apartheid in South Africa; implementation of past decisions and new measures required, with special reference to the arms embargo.

3. The special responsibility of the major trading partners of South Africa for the present situation in South Africa, and the means to persuade them to co-operate in effective international action.
4. Moral, political and material support to the South African liberation movement.
5. Educational and humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid in South Africa.
6. Dissemination of information on apartheid and means to secure greater support of world public opinion for international action.

(i) Communiqué of the Special Committee on its session away from Headquarters

47. In the communiqué adopted on 26 June 1968^{8/} after its meetings in Stockholm and London, the Special Committee stated the following:

"During the course of its stay in Stockholm, the Committee was received by Mr. Gunnar Lange, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs.../it/ held discussions with leaders of different political parties in Sweden.

"Participants in the meetings consisted of prominent personalities, including members of the Governments and parliaments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

"Papers on various aspects of apartheid and questions relating to measures for combating the problem were presented by Professor Gunnar Myrdal, Mr. Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, and the Rev. Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, among others...

"The Chairman of the Committee, en route to London, had valuable talks with government and political leaders in /Copenhagen/.

".../In London/ members of the Committee paid a courtesy visit to the United Kingdom Foreign Office where they were received by the Hon. Goronwy Roberts, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. An exchange of views on problems relating to the campaign against apartheid took place on this occasion.

"In the course of its meetings, the Committee received oral and written submissions from representatives of the following organizations: the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, led by Mr. Humphrey Berkeley; the Anti-Apartheid Movement, led by Mr. David Steel, M.P.; the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, led by Mr. Dennis Brutus; the South African Non-Racial Open Committee for Olympic Sports, led by Mr. Dennis Brutus; the Africa Bureau,

^{8/} Issued as a Committee document under the symbol A/AC.115/L.221.

led by the Rev. Michael Scott; the Movement for Colonial Freedom, led by Lord Brockway; the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, led by Mr. Kader Asmal; the African National Congress of South Africa, led by Mr. Joseph G. Matthews; the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, led by Messrs. Vusumzi L. Make and Barney Desai; the South African Indian Congress led by Miss Frene Ginwala; the Coloured People's Congress, led by Mr. Alex La Guma; the South African Congress of Trade Unions, led by Miss Phyllis Altman; the International Defence and Aid Fund, led by Rev. Canon L. John Collins; the British Council of Churches, led by Mr. Paul Oestreicher; and the French Anti-Apartheid Movement, led by Maître Jean-Jacques de Félice.

"In addition to the formal meetings, the Committee had informal discussions with several notable writers and journalists concerned with racial and colonial problems in southern Africa."

(ii) Matters raised and points underlined

48. Summing up the matters raised during the meetings, the Special Committee stated that the following main points had emerged from the representations made to the Committee: 9/

"(1) That the continued and intensified application of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa has caused a further deterioration in the political situation in South Africa and in other areas of southern Africa, and that these developments have increased the threat to the peace and security of the region as a whole.

"(2) That South Africa has now embarked on an expansionist policy in that it has extended its racial philisophy to areas beyond its national frontiers. This is supported by the continued illegal occupation of Namibia (South West Africa), by the presence of units of the South African security forces in Southern Rhodesia, by the decision of the Ian Smith régime to enact apartheid legislation, and increasing collaboration with the Portuguese colonialists. The apartheid régime has also become aggressive, and poses a threat to the security and independence of African States.

"(3) That the South African Government was exploiting the economic weakness of some neighbouring African States and that international efforts were required to make these States less dependent on South Africa.

"(4) That the problem of apartheid must be dealt with within the context of the colonial and imperialistic problems of southern Africa as a whole.

"(5) That the responsibility for the liberation of southern Africa rested primarily with the people of the region and that as the liberation movements consider an armed struggle necessary to secure their liberation, international assistance should be in the form of political, moral and

9/ Ibid.

material support, and through humanitarian projects which give aid and comfort to victims of apartheid and education and training to those requiring it.

"(6) That more detailed evidence be made available to the international community to substantiate the charge that certain countries are supplying arms to South Africa in contravention of the Security Council resolutions. Such evidence should be supported by factual and statistical information.

"(7) That a complete and effective embargo on all trade and economic relations with South Africa constitute the only peaceful way by which the international community can induce the South African Government to abandon apartheid.

"(8) That all Member States place effective restrictions on the flow of immigrants, particularly skilled and technical personnel, to South Africa.

"(9) That a ban be placed on all cultural, educational, sporting and similar exchanges between South Africa and United Nations Member States.

"(10) That a campaign be launched in the United Nations to have freedom fighters in southern Africa recognized as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention. The United Nations General Assembly should adopt a resolution to that end.

"(11) That greater attention be paid to the question of educating world public opinion on the evils of apartheid and the measures to combat it. In this respect, the United Nations should make available, in concise, popular and lucid form, booklets on different aspects of apartheid and of the South African people's struggle against this inhuman policy.

"(12) That support be given to the establishment at the United Nations of a Register of all persons imprisoned in South Africa in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Governments and non-governmental organizations would be encouraged to supply information about persons they knew to have been imprisoned, banned and banished. Lists could be maintained and published and made widely available, at least to the prisoners' families.

"(13) That greater use be made by the United Nations of existing information facilities of South African liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations opposed to apartheid for the dissemination of information relating to the international campaign against apartheid.

"(14) That efforts be made to encourage the production of short documentary films dealing with apartheid for distribution to cinemas, television stations and educational institutions."

(iii) Remarks of the Chairman at the end of the meetings in London

49. At the conclusion of the London session, the Chairman said that the Committee would study all the proposals made during the session with a view to making appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly and the Security Council in the interests of the furtherance and success of the international campaign against apartheid. He recalled that the campaign had been launched at the end of 1966 by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Special Committee on Apartheid. At the beginning of 1967, the Unit on Apartheid had been established in the Secretariat. The commemoration of Sharpeville Day was intended to promote the anti-apartheid campaign.

50. At the Committee's request, UNESCO had prepared a report on the effects of apartheid on education, culture, science and information and the Commission on Human Rights had taken up the question of the treatment of prisoners in South Africa.

51. As proposed by the Committee, the Kitwe Seminar, which was a follow-up of the Brasilia Seminar, had been organized and the South African problem had been dealt with in the context of southern Africa. In July 1967, a sub-committee had been sent to Europe to hold preliminary consultations with liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations and with the specialized agencies.

52. The Chairman stated that the Committee had decided to undertake the present trip in an effort to promote even further the international campaign against apartheid. He added that the session away from Headquarters had more than fulfilled the Committee's expectations.

53. He said the Committee would do everything possible to promote support for the anti-apartheid movements, which were playing an important role in Western countries, and also for other organizations which were active against apartheid. The Committee would always welcome ideas as to how it could assist organizations in developing their action against apartheid. It was pleased to learn that the anti-apartheid movements would arrange to co-ordinate their activities better in order to co-operate more closely with the United Nations, and that the anti-apartheid movements would consider the organization of a conference on the arms embargo and other measures against the South African régime. The Committee looked forward to their suggestions, as a result of which it would be possible to decide how the United Nations could co-operate. It also looked forward to receiving the paper, which information specialists had offered to prepare, regarding the dissemination of information on apartheid.

(iv) Geneva visit

54. In Geneva, the Special Committee had informal consultations with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, represented by Mr. Gilber Jaeger, Director for Africa and Asia Division; the International Labour Organisation, represented by Mr. Valticos, Chief of the International Labour Standards Department; the Geneva Anti-Apartheid Movement, represented by its Chairman, Mr. Bungener and its Secretary, Mr. Bovet; the International Commission of Jurists represented by Mr. Sean MacBride, Secretary-General; and the World Council of Churches represented by Mr. Jean Fischer and Canon Burgess Carr.

(v) Papers prepared for the session

55. The following papers were prepared for the session:

- (a) "The present stage of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa", by Mr. Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa. 10/
- (b) "Assistance to the victims of apartheid", by Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund. 11/
- (c) "The Sharpeville incident and its international significance", by the Rt. Reverend Ambrose Reeves, former Bishop of Johannesburg, South Africa. This paper was issued as a publication of the Unit on Apartheid 12/ and was widely publicized in order to promote the commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

(vi) Memoranda submitted

56. The following written memoranda were submitted to the Special Committee during its stay in London and published as Committee documents:

- (a) Memorandum by the African Bureau; 13/
- (b) Memorandum by Amnesty International; 14/
- (c) Memorandum by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom; 15/
- (d) Memorandum by the Joint International Department of the British Council of Churches and the Conference of British Missionary Societies; 16/
- (e) Memorandum by the Movement for Colonial Freedom; 17/
- (f) Memorandum by the South African Coloured People's Congress; 18/

10/ Issued under the symbol A/AC.115/L.222.

11/ Issued under the symbol A/AC.115/L.223.

12/ ST/PSCA/SER.A/5.

13/ A/AC.115/L.224.

14/ A/AC.115/L.225.

15/ A/AC.115/L.226.

16/ A/AC.115/L.227.

17/ A/AC.115/L.228.

18/ A/AC.115/L.229.

- (g) Memorandum by the South African Congress of Trade Unions; 19/
- (h) Memorandum by the South African Indian Congress; 20/
- (i) Memorandum by the South African Non-Racial Open Committee for Olympic Sport; 21/
- (j) Memorandum by the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; 22/
- (k) Memorandum by the United Nations Student Association; 23/
- (l) Memorandum by the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, International Defence and Aid Fund. 24/

(vii) Committee's appreciation

57. The Special Committee wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Government of Sweden for the excellent facilities it placed at the Committee's disposal during its meetings in Stockholm from 14 to 19 June 1968, and its sincere appreciation to the people and Governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden for their tangible support of the international campaign against racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, in general, and the policies of apartheid in South Africa in particular. The active participation of members of Governments and parliaments of these countries along with those of the non-governmental anti-apartheid movements in Scandinavia at the Committee's meetings gave a tremendous boost to the international campaign against apartheid, thus significantly buttressing the efforts of the United Nations towards the elimination of the inhuman policies of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa.

58. The Committee is also grateful for the courtesy and hospitality which it received from the many anti-apartheid organizations and experts it met in London and Geneva from 20 to 30 June, and for the concern shown regarding apartheid and the interest displayed in the Committee's mission.

59. The Special Committee has studied carefully all the proposals made during its European sessions. These are reflected in the Committee's conclusions and recommendations (see chapter III).

19/ A/AC.115/L.230.

20/ A/AC.115/L.231.

21/ A/AC.115/L.232.

22/ A/AC.115/L.233.

23/ A/AC.115/L.234.

24/ A/AC.115/L.235.

G. Establishment of a Sub-Committee on information on apartheid

60. It may be recalled that in operative paragraph 13 (c) of resolution 2307 (XXII), the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee "to consult with the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations concerned and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report on measures which might appropriately be taken to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination".

61. In view of this provision and the desire of the Special Committee to promote the widest awareness of the evils of apartheid, the Committee decided, at its 94th and 95th meetings on 9 and 12 January, to establish a Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid consisting of the following six members: Costa Rica, Ghana, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal and Somalia.

62. At the 97th meeting on 29 February 1968, the Special Committee approved the following interim terms of reference for the Sub-Committee:

"1. The Sub-Committee should review:

- (a) The past efforts of the Special Committee to promote dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination;
- (b) The action taken by the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations (particularly the Commission on Human Rights) on this matter;
- (c) The proposals made to the Special Committee and at the international seminars in Brasilia and Kitwe for more effective dissemination of information.

"2. The Sub-Committee should ascertain:

- (a) The activities of the Secretariat (particularly the Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid) in response to the decisions of the various organs concerning apartheid;
- (b) The relevant activities of the specialized agencies concerning dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid.
- (c) The activities of anti-apartheid movements, South African national liberation movements and non-governmental organizations concerned with the struggle against apartheid.

"3. The Sub-Committee is authorized, in the discharge of its mandate, to consult with Secretariat officials and with representatives of specialized agencies and regional organizations at the Headquarters. It may also consult with anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations and communicate with them.

- "4. The Sub-Committee, with the approval of the Special Committee, may avail itself of the advisory services of experts in accordance with operative paragraph 13 (b) of resolution 2307 (XXII).
- "5. On the basis of these consultations, the Sub-Committee should report from time to time to the Special Committee. It should present a report not later than 1 May with recommendations on measures which might be required to improve the present arrangements for disseminating information on the evils of apartheid. This will enable the Special Committee to prepare a report to the General Assembly in accordance with operative paragraph 13 (c) of General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII)... .
- "6. After receiving the report of the Working Group, the Special Committee will undertake any further consultations necessary, especially with the Secretary-General and Directors-General of the specialized agencies, in order to prepare its report to the twenty-third session of the General Assembly."

63. At the 101st meeting on 6 June 1968, the Chairman/Rapporteur informed the Special Committee that the Sub-Committee could not submit its report on the date set by the Special Committee because it was still gathering information necessary to submit a comprehensive report. He had addressed letters to a number of individuals, and representatives of the South African liberation movements and non-governmental organizations concerned with the question of apartheid, asking for their views on measures which might be required to improve the dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid. He expressed the hope that most replies would be received by the middle of June so that the report could be submitted soon after the Committee's session in Europe.

64. The report of the Sub-Committee was submitted to the Special Committee at the 102nd meeting on 16 September 1968.

65. At the 103rd meeting on 4 October 1968, the Special Committee considered and unanimously approved the report and decided to annex it to the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly and the Security Council. 25/

H. Letter to anti-apartheid movements, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with apartheid

66. At its 95th meeting on 12 January, the Special Committee decided to address the following letter to anti-apartheid movements and inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with apartheid seeking information and co-operation from them in the effort to secure wide international support for action against apartheid:

25/ See annex I.

"The Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa has always attached great importance to the activities of anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations in promoting international efforts to eradicate apartheid. To this end it has sought to encourage maximum co-operation between the United Nations and these organizations. In its report of 17 October 1967 to the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Special Committee stressed that, while the United Nations should intensify the dissemination of information on the activities of United Nations organs concerned with apartheid, other international organizations and States, as well as non-governmental organizations, should be asked to co-operate in the effort to secure widest international support for action against apartheid. The Committee suggested, too, that non-governmental organizations should join with Member States to keep the South African people informed of the international campaign which is being conducted on their behalf. In order to promote co-ordination and strengthening of the international effort against apartheid, the Special Committee further suggested that steps should be taken to publicize the activities of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in this regard.

"The General Assembly, in resolution 2307 (XXII) adopted on 13 December 1967, took into account this report of the Special Committee and made a number of important recommendations. It invited all States to encourage the establishment of national organizations for the purpose of further enlightening public opinion on the evils of apartheid; it requested all States to commemorate, during the International Year for Human Rights, 21 March 1968 - the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination - with appropriate solemnity, in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa; it requested the Special Committee to intensify its efforts to promote an international campaign against apartheid, and asked the Committee to consult with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and submit a report on measures which might appropriately be taken to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination.

"In the light of the above, the Special Committee feels that it would be most useful if it could receive regular and detailed information on the activities of all organizations which are engaged in the campaign against apartheid.

"The Special Committee, would, therefore, appreciate being informed of activities planned and undertaken by your organization against apartheid, and would also appreciate receiving, at your convenience, information on the constitution of your organization and the latest list of its principal officers. It would be very helpful if the Special Committee could receive any publications or printed material which your organization may have issued in the past on the question of apartheid.

"The Special Committee looks forward to a continued and close co-operation with all non-governmental organizations engaged in the campaign against apartheid and hopes that the year 1968, which has been designated by the United Nations as the International Year for Human Rights, will be marked by significant progress towards the elimination of this evil."

67. Pursuant to a decision taken by the Special Committee, summaries of replies received in response to this letter were published in a document of the Committee. 26/

I. Work of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and the hearing of petitioners

68. The Sub-Committee on Petitions submitted reports during the period under review, drawing the attention of the Special Committee to communications received from various non-governmental organizations and individuals concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It decided to publish a number of communications as documents of the Committee and to take note of others in its reports.

69. On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee, the Special Committee on 2 February 1968, heard one petitioner, the Right Reverend C. Edward Crowther.

(i) Communications published as documents of the Special Committee

70. The following communications were published as documents of the Special Committee:

(a) Letter dated 21 July 1967 from the Reverend Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, 27/ transmitting a further report concerning "transit camps" in South Africa. 28/

(b) Letter dated 1 December 1967 from Mr. A.P. O'Dowd, honorary treasurer of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (London) 29/ suggesting on behalf of the Anti-Apartheid Movement that the United Nations recognize the belligerent status of the national liberation organizations of southern Africa, demand that their forces be accorded the protection of the Geneva Conventions and appoint a suitable Member State as protecting power for the purpose of the Geneva Conventions on the Treatment of Prisoners of War.

26/ A/AC.115/L.219.

27/ A/AC.115/L.209.

28/ The Reverend Canon L. John Collins had earlier transmitted a report on "transit camps" in South Africa which was published as document A/AC.115/L.200.

29/ A/AC.115/L.210.

(c) Letter dated 9 January 1968 from Mr. C.V. Mngaza 30/ transmitting the text of a letter which he had sent to the President of the Commission on Human Rights, appealing for financial assistance because of ruin and destruction of his business by the actions of the apartheid régime in South Africa.

(d) Letter dated 21 February 1968 from Mr. George M. Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, 31/ transmitting a background paper on South Africa and the Olympics, including telegrams sent by the American Committee on Africa to the President and the Secretary-General of the International Olympic Committee and to the President of the United States Olympic Committee. Annexed to the letter was a statement signed by a number of athletes protesting against the decision of the International Olympic Committee to readmit South Africa to the Olympics.

(e) Letter dated 2 May 1968 from Mr. David M. Sibeko, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Director of Information in East Africa, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), 32/ informing the Chairman of the Special Committee of the deep concern of his organization over the fate of seventy-one Africans who were arrested in Victoria West by the South African police, and drawing attention to the fifth shameful anniversary of the detention without trial of Mangaliso Sobukwe, the National President of the Pan Africanist Congress.

(f) Letter dated 3 June 1968 from Mr. Alfred Kgekong, convenor, the African National Congress National Executive 25 June Solidarity Committee, 33/ drawing attention to the call made this year, the International Year for Human Rights, by the African National Congress of South Africa to the entire international community to observe a Week of Solidarity with the struggle of the Congress against apartheid, and requesting the Special Committee to do everything in its power to ensure the success of the Week of Solidarity with the South African liberation struggle. Enclosed with the letter was background material concerning South Africa Freedom Day, which is 26 June.

(ii) Hearing of the Right Reverend C. Edward Crowther, 2 February 1968

71. The Right Reverend C. Edward Crowther, former Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, told the Special Committee that shortly after his arrival in South Africa, in September 1964, to take up his appointment as Dean of Kimberley, it had become apparent to him that the blind spot in the conscience of most white South Africans was the question of race. Because of his deep concern for the Africans, he had become subject to increasing social ostracism by the Whites and to harassment by the police.

30/ A/AC.115/L.212.

31/ A/AC.115/L.215.

32/ A/AC.115/L.218.

33/ A/AC.115/L.220.

72. When several hundred Africans were forcibly removed from their homes in Holpan to Manuthla, an area where no provision had been made for housing, food or sanitation, he had organized immediate feeding schemes and had escorted three truck-loads of food to the dispossessed Africans. He was then banned from entering all African reserves in his diocese. Subsequently, after he had received Senator Robert F. Kennedy during his visit to South Africa in 1966, he had been subjected to unending harassment by the South African police, and had received many threatening letters and telephone calls. In May 1967, during the Second Facem in terris Conference in Geneva, he had denounced apartheid as a potential cause of war. The South African Embassy in Berne informed him that he would be given two weeks after his return to South Africa in order to settle his affairs, after which he would be deported. On 30 June 1967, he was arrested at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg, held in custody and deported without charges.

73. Bishop Crowther told the Special Committee of his firm belief that the whitewash policy of the new Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, who sought to convince the outside world that things were changing for the better in South Africa, was a failure. The Group Areas Act was being viciously applied to the great suffering of countless African, Asian and Coloured people, while the Bantustan policy guaranteed perpetuated poverty in the Bantu areas. South Africa was a police State, with its 180-day Detention Act and all the apparatus of secret police, informers and subtle pressures. Bishop Crowther deplored the continued detention of the African leaders, the stifling of the voice of freedom and the measures directed against student opinion. Paying tribute to the few brave Whites in South Africa, who were seeking to witness by word and deed to the dignity of man, Bishop Crowther recounted for the Special Committee the suffering of these Whites.

74. Turning to the Territory of South West Africa,^{34/} Bishop Crowther denounced the contempt shown by the South African Government towards the United Nations. He also denounced the trial, then in progress in South Africa, of thirty-five South West Africans under the Terrorism Act, which had been passed after these Africans had been apprehended. He felt that the righteous indignation of deprived people was likely to find its expression in violence, in the absence of any democratic means, as the only way open to them.

75. Bishop Crowther told the Special Committee that the efforts of many agencies throughout the world, inspired by South Africa and Rhodesia to whitewash conditions in these countries, should not be allowed to go unchallenged. Because of the economic involvement of the Western countries in the fruits of apartheid through investment, there was a great danger, he said, that the racist régime of southern Africa might score a propaganda victory. He suggested, in this respect, that the Special Committee should redouble its efforts to publicize the truth about South Africa.

^{34/} Known as Namibia as of 12 June 1968.

76. Bishop Crowther suggested that serious consideration be given to an oil embargo against South Africa. He called on the United States banks to stop giving loans to the South African Government, and urged foreign companies working in South Africa to improve working conditions of their non-white workers. He called for increased efforts to give opportunities for South African students to visit other countries as it was impossible for a white South African student to live outside South Africa and to return unmoved by the progress in race relations so evident in many countries.

77. In conclusion, Bishop Crowther said that, more than heart transplantations, South Africa needed a change of social heart. Such a change, he said, would show the blatant absurdity of apartheid and would remove from an already bleeding world the great danger of massive conflagration which the policies of apartheid threatened to bring about.

J. Action by other organs of the United Nations

78. In other developments, resolutions have been adopted against apartheid by the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council and the International Conference on Human Rights. This is the kind of action which the Special Committee has always encouraged.

79. The Commission on Human Rights on 16 February 1968 adopted a resolution on the basis of the conclusions and recommendations of its Special Rapporteur, Mr. Manouchehr Ganji. ^{35/} It reaffirmed that the situation in South Africa was a threat to international peace and security and that apartheid was a crime against humanity. It denounced the laws and practices imposed to oppress, dispossess and humiliate the non-white population, and called upon Governments maintaining diplomatic, commercial, military, cultural and other relations with South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia to terminate such relations in accordance with relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. The Commission invited non-governmental organizations of all kinds to intensify their efforts in focusing public opinion on the evils of apartheid.

80. On 20 February, the Commission on Human Rights condemned the practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners in South Africa and of persons in police custody, and, as recommended by the Commission's Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, called on the South African Government to conform to the international Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners approved by the Economic and Social Council in 1957. (The action of the Commission regarding political prisoners in South Africa was in response to a communication from the Special Committee on Apartheid, which urged the Commission to consider the matter and secure an international investigation with a view to ameliorating the conditions of those victims of apartheid.)

81. The Economic and Social Council adopted a number of resolutions^{36/} in which it condemned the practice of apartheid and called on all States to end all

^{35/} E/CN.4/949/Add.4, 23 January 1968.

^{36/} Economic and Social Council resolutions 1330 (XLIV), 1332 (XLIV), 1333 (XLIV) and 1335 (XLIV).

relations with South Africa until it had abandoned its apartheid policies. It urged all States and non-governmental organizations to publicize the evils of apartheid as widely as possible towards arousing the conscience of men and women everywhere against apartheid.

(i) United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

82. The Republic of South Africa and her avowed policy of racial discrimination suffered another major defeat at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which opened in New Delhi on 1 February 1968. The conference comprised delegates from 131 States, but, from the very start, the presence of the South African delegation was challenged by a large number of Member States on the grounds that General Assembly resolution 2202 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 required Member States to apply sanctions, and especially "to discourage immediately the establishment of closer economic and financial relations with South Africa, particularly in investment and trade".

83. On 28 March 1968, the pressure of international opinion resulted in a resolution calling on the United Nations to amend its rules and allow for the suspension of South Africa from UNCTAD until such time as she abandoned her abhorrent policy of apartheid. The result of the vote was 49 in favour to 18 against, with 7 abstentions.

(ii) The International Conference on Human Rights

84. The Conference, which met in Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968 to review the progress made in the twenty years since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to formulate a programme for the future, was unstinting in its criticism of the Vorster régime. The Conference characterized the policy of apartheid as a "crime against humanity" and stated categorically that the policy of racial discrimination, condemned by all civilized nations, constituted a threat to international peace and security.

III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Introduction

85. In resolution 2307 (XXII) of 13 December 1967, the General Assembly noted with grave concern that the racial policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa had led to violent conflict and an explosive situation. It expressed the conviction that the situation in the Republic of South Africa and the resulting explosive situation in southern Africa continued to pose a grave threat to international peace and security.

86. During the past year, the situation within South Africa has continued to deteriorate, as the lives of an increasing number of the people have been adversely affected by the rigid application of the policy of apartheid. The danger of a wider conflict has also increased with the extension of this policy to neighbouring areas. The need for effective international action to eradicate apartheid, has thus become more imperative.

87. As the Secretary-General, U Thant, stated in his address to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in Algiers, on 13 September 1968:

"The situation in South Africa has likewise been a source of serious international anxiety. The continuing enforcement by the South African Government of its policies of apartheid, including recent attempts to extend the philosophy of racial discrimination and segregation to neighbouring territories, has given rise to a loss of faith in many quarters in the possibility of peaceful evolution towards a society based on justice and equality. At the same time, while the United Nations has been engaged in wide ranging efforts to deal with this situation, in co-operation with the specialized agencies and with non-governmental organizations, Member States have felt increasingly disappointed at the relative ineffectiveness of the United Nations so far. Indeed, recent developments point to the danger of violence which, though limited in scope at this stage, might well have grave consequences for the future of that part of the world and for international harmony. The chances of averting this danger depend essentially on the willingness of the great Powers and the major trading partners of South Africa to persuade the South African Government to abandon its present course."

88. In the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, he stated:

"There is no denying that by pursuing more aggressively its policies of apartheid and through collusion with the Salisbury régime, the South African Government has set not only South Africa but the whole of southern Africa on a collision course. The danger of such collision in the area is all the more real since it has been reported that South African officials have accused the nearby independent States of the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania of having provided assistance to the so-called

terrorists. Furthermore, by continuing to occupy Namibia in flagrant violation of the international status of the territory and by openly intervening in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa has directed a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations...

"The effectiveness of the United Nations in facing the grave South African challenge and in staving off the violence and counter-violence that are threatening the peace and security of the whole of the African continent, and indeed of the world, will depend on the determination of Member States concerned to face their responsibility and also on the willingness of the members of the Security Council to resume consideration of the matter and on their ability to reach an agreement on meaningful effective measures." 37/

89. In dealing with apartheid, the Special Committee has been faced, since its inception, with the South African Government's defiance of the appeals of the international community and its determination to close all avenues of peaceful solution.

90. Another major difficulty has been the reluctance of the major trading partners of the Republic of South Africa to implement fully the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on apartheid. This Committee's recommendations for effective action under Chapter VII of the Charter, supplemented by political, humanitarian and other measures to assist the victims of apartheid, have been adopted by overwhelming majorities in the General Assembly.

91. The Security Council, it will be recalled, urged the South African Government to abandon its racial policies and seek a peaceful solution by bringing all the people of the country into consultation to decide the future of the country so that the situation could be resolved through full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all the inhabitants of the country as a whole, regardless of race, colour or creed. It called on all States to institute an embargo on arms supplies to South Africa.

92. Needless to say, without the full co-operation of the whole of the international community, these resolutions will continue to be ineffective.

93. The liberation movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, after struggling for a peaceful solution, has reluctantly come to the conclusion that armed struggle is the only means left for the achievement of the rights and freedoms recognized in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The threat of violent conflict, against which the Special Committee has repeatedly warned, has begun to take on reality.

94. The South African Government has shown no inclination towards a peaceful solution in conformity with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Internally, it has increased its repressive measures against the non-White population and most of the White population who oppose its policies. Externally, it has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the United Nations; it lends increasing support to the illegal racist minority

37/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/7201/Add.1), paras. 134 and 145.

régime in Southern Rhodesia; it resists all efforts by the United Nations to secure the liberation of southern African territories from colonial domination and it plays the key role in the entente of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia.

95. In short, the aggressive policies and actions of the South African Government have heightened tensions in the whole of southern Africa and this situation now constitutes a grave threat to international peace and a challenge to the United Nations.

96. The Special Committee feels that this dangerous situation demands that the United Nations halt the escalation of violence by the assertion of its authority through urgent and energetic action.

97. The Special Committee has always recognized that the responsibility for the liberation of South Africa from racism rests primarily with the people of South Africa. The duty of the United Nations is to promote international action to facilitate a peaceful solution.

98. It takes note of the decision of the liberation movement of the oppressed people of South Africa that, in view of the attitude of the South African Government, armed struggle is now the only feasible and effective means to secure the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the people of South Africa, and understands the circumstances which have led to this decision. It considers that the liberation movement deserves the moral and material support of the international community in its legitimate struggle.

99. At the same time, the Special Committee feels that the United Nations must redouble its efforts to oblige the South African Government to abandon its inhuman policy of apartheid and seek a peaceful solution in consultation with all the people of South Africa regardless of race, colour or creed. It is convinced that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council provide an appropriate framework for international action, if fully implemented by all States. It reaffirms its conviction that economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, universally applied, remain the most effective means of persuading the South African Government to abandon its iniquitous policies.

100. The present situation demands, above all, the co-operation of the main trading partners of South Africa, and a vigorous international campaign against apartheid designed to secure the widest understanding and support for United Nations action. Only then will the United Nations be in a position to discharge its responsibility and to promote peace in South Africa.

101. During the year under review, the Special Committee paid particular attention to the development of the international campaign against apartheid as its contribution to the observance of the International Year for Human Rights. A special session of the Committee was held away from Headquarters - in Stockholm, London and Geneva in June 1968. Consultations were held with leaders of the liberation movement, the anti-apartheid movements, the International Defence and Aid Fund and other non-governmental organizations engaged in supporting the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and in providing assistance to the victims of this policy. The special session also allowed members of the Committee to hold discussions with prominent leaders and experts concerned over the situation in South Africa.

102. The main points that emerged during the discussions were as follows:

(a) A new dimension has been brought to the situation in southern Africa by (i) South Africa's intervention in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories, (ii) South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, and (iii) the decision of the liberation movement in South Africa to engage in armed struggle as the only possible means of realizing its objectives. South Africa plays the key role in resisting all efforts towards the liberation of the region, thus posing a grave threat to the peace of the region as well as that of the area north of the Zambezi River. Apartheid and aggression are inextricably linked together;

(b) The primary responsibility for the liberation of southern Africa rests with the people of the region themselves. International activity should be in the form of political, moral and material assistance, and through humanitarian projects and education and training programmes which give aid and comfort to victims of apartheid. The liberation movement expects the United Nations to encourage direct assistance by Member States;

(c) The provision in the resolution on apartheid adopted by the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, urging all Member States to provide moral and material support to the oppressed peoples of South Africa should be implemented as fully as possible. Material support should be taken to mean direct contributions to the South African liberation movement;

(d) Economic sanctions, if supported by all States, remain the most effective non-military method against South Africa towards inducing it to implement United Nations resolutions on apartheid;

(e) There should be adequate co-ordination of all United Nations action regarding southern Africa;

(f) South Africa's involvement in the affairs of the region as a whole makes it necessary that the South African situation should be viewed in the context of developments in southern Africa as a whole;

(g) It is necessary for African States to continue to accept and assist refugees from South Africa who are displaced from their homes by the system of apartheid. These refugees intend to return to their homeland as soon as they can safely do so;

(h) Despite strong pressures, the Government of the United Kingdom has continued to apply the Security Council's arms embargo against South Africa. Some countries have not fully implemented the embargo, thus exposing the Government of the United Kingdom to pressure by South Africa and elements within the United Kingdom itself. The embargo will remain partially effective at best, so long as full implementation is not effected by all States;

(i) The South African régime spends enormous sums of money on its military and police forces, on which it relies, at the expense of justice, for the suppression of opposition to apartheid. The estimated defence expenditure of R252.7 million (\$353.78 million) for 1968-1969 illustrates that defence remains a very substantial item of State expenditure;

(j) The reversal of the International Olympic Committee's decision to readmit South Africa to the Olympic Games to be held in Mexico City this year was a bitter political defeat for the South African Government, and has decisively indicated to the Whites in South Africa, who have an almost passionate appetite for sport, world repugnance at the continued inequality of non-White South African athletes in competition and training facilities. It should be an encouragement to all who are engaged in the campaign against apartheid to redouble their efforts.

103. On the basis of these most fruitful consultations, the Special Committee wishes to submit, for the consideration of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the following recommendations for more effective action to secure the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations.

B. Implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council

104. The Special Committee considers that the failure of the United Nations to solve the situation in South Africa and to prevent violent conflict is attributed largely to the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions on this question by the main trading partners of South Africa. The reluctance of these States to join in effective international action, and the collaboration of powerful foreign economic and financial interests with the South African Government, have encouraged the racist régime to persist in its obnoxious policies.

105. The Special Committee, therefore, deems it essential that the General Assembly and the Security Council should reaffirm their resolutions on the question, and draw the attention of the States concerned to the grave responsibility which they bear for the deteriorating situation. These States should also be called upon to implement the resolutions already adopted and to facilitate further effective measures. Moreover, the Committee urges that serious consideration should be given to the formulation of measures which would secure full implementation of United Nations resolutions on this question.

106. The Special Committee has attempted to keep itself informed on the implementation or otherwise of these resolutions and has reported on developments to the General Assembly and the Security Council. In order to strengthen the measures taken by the United Nations and to enable it to discharge its responsibility more effectively, the Special Committee recommends:

(a) That it should be requested and authorized, as a matter of priority, to study and report on the implementation by Member States of the decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council on this question, the effects of measures taken and the means to secure more effective international action;

(b) That the Special Committee be authorized to engage expert consultants to assist it in the preparation of the study; and

(c) That all Member States and specialized agencies of the United Nations as well as non-governmental organizations, be invited to co-operate with the Special Committee in the fulfilment of this task.

C. Sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter

107. The General Assembly, in resolution 2307 (XXII) strongly reiterated "its conviction that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security, that action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations is essential in order to solve the problem of apartheid and that universally applied mandatory economic sanctions are the only means of achieving a peaceful solution". The Security Council, in its resolution 191 (1964) of 18 June 1964, expressed the belief that the situation in South Africa was seriously disturbing the maintenance of international peace and security.

108. Recent actions by the South African authorities have intensified the danger of the situation, and have made it even more imperative that the main organs of the United Nations take steps to secure compliance with their resolutions.

109. The General Assembly has repeatedly requested Member States to take diplomatic, economic and other measures against the South African Government, and has invited the Security Council to institute mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

110. The Security Council, in its resolutions adopted in 1963-1964, called on all States to halt the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types, military vehicles, and equipment and materials intended for their manufacture and maintenance. Regrettably, the Security Council has not considered the question since June 1964 despite the request by the General Assembly, adopted by an overwhelming majority.

111. The Special Committee has taken every opportunity to draw attention to the fact that the resolutions of the Security Council have been undermined by those Member States which have not fully implemented their provisions. These States have enabled the South African Government to obtain equipment for the use of its military forces and training for its military personnel. The South African Government has also been able to expand domestic production of arms, equipment and ammunitions. The success of its efforts has emboldened South Africa to exert pressure on other Member States to abandon adherence to the arms embargo.

112. The Special Committee recommends that urgent measures be taken to ensure the full implementation of the arms embargo. Such action is clearly demanded since the South African Government is using its military power not only to impose its racial policies, but to defy the decisions of the United Nations with regard to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, and to threaten independent African States.

113. Moreover, the Special Committee considers that further mandatory measures should be taken, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to stop the flow of all capital investment and migrants, particularly skilled and technical personnel, to South Africa. These measures are particularly essential as foreign capital and technical personnel continue to play a significant role in facilitating the development of the manufacture of arms and military equipment in South Africa and in preparations to resist international economic sanctions.

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

(a) Invite the Security Council once again to resume consideration of the question; and

(b) Recommend that the Security Council adopt effective measures to ensure the full implementation of the arms embargo and decide, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to call on all States to stop the flow of all capital investment and migrants, particularly skilled and technical personnel, to South Africa.

D. Moral, political and material assistance to the liberation movement

115. The Special Committee has always recognized the primary role of the people of South Africa in the campaign to secure an end to apartheid and to resolve the situation in South Africa in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, the situation in South Africa is of international concern, and it is the duty of the United Nations and the international community to assist in appropriate ways the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa.

116. On the recommendation of the Special Committee, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2307 (XXII) of 13 December 1967, affirmed "its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all the people of South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed", and appealed to all States and organizations "to provide appropriate moral, political and material assistance to the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for the rights recognized in the Charter".

117. The Special Committee takes note of the view of the liberation movement of South Africa that the policies and actions of the South African Government have obliged it to seek the achievement of the legitimate rights of the people by means including an armed struggle. The primary responsibility for the present violent conflict rests on the South African Government, since it has defied decisions by the United Nations, rejected a peaceful solution of the situation in conformity with the principles of the United Nations and tried to impose its inhuman racist policies by brutal repression.

118. In view of recent developments, the Special Committee feels that the General Assembly should strongly reaffirm its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa and urge all States and organizations to provide greater moral, political and material assistance to them in this legitimate struggle.

E. Treatment of South African freedom fighters

119. The Special Committee is gravely concerned over the treatment of persons captured during the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of their liberation movement. In this connexion, it observes that the International Conference on Human Rights, held in Teheran in April-May 1968, noted that "minority racist or colonial régimes which refuse to comply with the decisions of the United Nations and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights frequently resort to executions and inhuman treatment of those who struggle against such régimes" and considered that "such persons should be protected against inhuman or brutal treatment and also that such persons if detained should be treated as prisoners of war or political prisoners under international law". 38/

38/ Resolution XXIII in chapter III of the Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.XIV.2).

120. The present situation in South Africa, whereby captured members of the national liberation movement are classified as common criminals and tried under criminal laws, is intolerable.

121. The Special Committee suggests that serious consideration be given to the protection of these prisoners so that their lives shall be spared, and summary executions, maltreatment or reprisals prohibited.

F. Question of political prisoners

122. Since its inception, the Special Committee has expressed grave concern over the repressive measures adopted by the South African Government against opponents of apartheid. It has called for an end to such measures, and for the liberation of all persons imprisoned or restricted for opposition to apartheid.

123. The General Assembly, in resolution 1881 (XVIII), adopted by 106 votes in favour and only 1 (South Africa) against, and in subsequent resolutions,

(a) Called on the South African Government to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid; and

(b) Requested all Member States to make all necessary efforts to induce the Government of South Africa to ensure that this provision should be put into effect immediately.

124. The Security Council, in June 1964, urged the South African Government to renounce the execution of the persons sentenced to death for acts resulting from their opposition to apartheid, and to grant an amnesty to all persons already imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policies of apartheid.

125. The South African Government, in defiance of these resolutions, has continued and intensified its brutal repression of opponents of apartheid.

126. The Special Committee has also repeatedly expressed its grave concern over the ill-treatment of persons imprisoned in South Africa for their opposition to the policies of apartheid. At its request, the Commission of Human Rights considered the matter and established an Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts to investigate the charges of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, detainees and persons in police custody in South Africa. The report of the Working Group 39/ gave detailed evidence of such brutal practices.

127. The Special Committee feels that efforts should be continued and intensified by United Nations organs and Member States to secure the liberation of all political prisoners and restrictees in South Africa, and to end ill-treatment in prisons. It feels that greater and continuous effort should be made to draw the attention of public opinion to the brutal repression against opponents of apartheid. It attaches great importance to encouraging the activities of

non-governmental organizations such as the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners (established under the auspices of the International Defence and Aid Fund) in support of the resolutions of the United Nations organs.

128. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Call once again for the release of all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to apartheid, and invite Governments, organizations and individuals to intensify their efforts towards this end;

(b) Request the Secretary-General to establish a register of persons imprisoned, placed under house arrest, banned or deported for their opposition to apartheid, and to publicize it as widely as possible;

(c) Request the Secretary-General further to establish a register of all available information on acts of brutality committed by the South African Government and its officials against opponents of apartheid in prisons;

(d) Invite all States and organizations to provide appropriate assistance in the maintenance and publicizing of these registers; and

(e) Commend and encourage the activities of non-governmental organizations in support of the relevant decisions of the United Nations organs.

G. Humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid

129. The Special Committee has strongly supported and encouraged appropriate humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of apartheid, while emphasizing that these programmes are no alternative to effective action in attempting to resolve the situation in the Republic of South Africa.

130. In this connexion, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Urge Member States to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Consolidated Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa so that they can effectively fulfil their purposes;

(b) Commend the activities of voluntary organizations engaged in assistance to the victims of apartheid, in particular, the International Defence and Aid Fund, and invite Member States, organizations and individuals to make generous contributions to them; and

(c) Appeal to countries of asylum to issue travel documents to refugees from South Africa in terms of the Geneva Protocol of 1967, and to all States to provide employment and educational opportunities to them.

H. International campaign against apartheid

131. The Special Committee urges that energetic steps be taken to develop the international campaign against apartheid in order that world public opinion may be informed of the dangers of the situation in South Africa and the widest public

support enlisted for United Nations efforts to resolve the situation. The Special Committee has devoted particular attention to the international campaign during the past year and wishes to submit the following observations and recommendations.

(i) Encouragement of anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations

132. The Special Committee attaches great importance to the activities of anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations which have played an important role in informing public opinion of the evils of apartheid, in organizing boycotts of South Africa, in expressing solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, in assisting victims of apartheid and in advocating more effective action by the respective Governments in implementation of United Nations resolutions.

133. The Committee feels that these activities of the anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations should be commended and that they should be encouraged and assisted in the promotion of their activities.

134. In this connexion, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Invite Member States to consider appropriate financial and other assistance to anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations opposed to apartheid in order to facilitate their activities; and

(b) Request the Secretary-General to ensure widest publicity for their activities through the Unit on Apartheid, acting in consultation with the Special Committee.

(ii) Boycott of South Africa

135. The Special Committee commends the actions of States, non-governmental organizations and individuals who have declared a boycott of cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with South Africa as a protest against the policies of apartheid pursued by the South African Government. It expresses satisfaction at the decision of the International Olympic Committee to exclude South Africa from the Olympic Games.

136. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly request all States, organizations and individuals to end cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with South Africa so long as the South African Government pursues the policies of apartheid.

(iii) Commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

137. The Special Committee has promoted the commemoration of Sharpeville Day, which has been designated by the General Assembly as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, as one of the means to promote the international campaign against apartheid. It feels that steps should be taken to promote wider commemoration of this day.

138. In this connexion, the Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly:

(a) Invite all States and organizations to commemorate this day in 1969 as widely as possible in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa;

(b) Suggest that States and organizations devote the period between Sharpeville Day (21 March) and South Africa Freedom Day (26 June) in 1969 to intensive activities to draw wide attention to the problem of apartheid in South Africa and to encourage moral, political and material support to the legitimate struggle of the South African people; and

(c) Request the Secretary-General and specialized agencies of the United Nations to lend the necessary assistance to the Special Committee in promoting the implementation of these recommendations.

(iv) Session of the Special Committee away from Headquarters

139. As noted earlier, the Special Committee, in pursuance of operative paragraph 13 (a) of General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII), held a session in Stockholm, London and Geneva in June 1968. This session away from Headquarters provided an opportunity for the Committee to consult with leaders of Governments and parliaments, South African liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations opposed to apartheid, as well as experts concerned with this problem. It enabled the Special Committee to promote the international campaign against apartheid and, in particular, to promote greater co-operation between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations concerned with the problem.

140. The Special Committee feels that a further special session of the Special Committee away from Headquarters and the dispatch of sub-committees of the Special Committee on missions can contribute greatly to promoting the international campaign against apartheid, and recommends such a special session in 1969.

I. Intensification of information activity

141. In its last report, the Special Committee emphasized the importance of disseminating information on the dangers of apartheid and of the United Nations efforts to eliminate apartheid, in order to encourage wider and more active support of world public opinion for international action against apartheid. The need for such measures had become greater as the South African Government, with the support of business and other interests, had intensified its propaganda for the purpose of deceiving world public opinion about its racial policies and defaming the United Nations. The Committee therefore recommended that Member States and international organizations should co-operate in the effort to secure widest international support for action against apartheid, and to counteract the effects of South African propaganda. It also suggested that steps be taken to publicize the activities of inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations against apartheid.

142. The General Assembly, in resolution 2307 (XXII), inter alia, requested the Secretary-General to intensify the dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid. It also requested the Special Committee to consult with the

Secretary-General and the specialized agencies, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations concerned and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report on measures which might appropriately be taken to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination.

143. In pursuance of this request, the Special Committee set up a Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid to report on measures which might be taken to improve the present arrangements for disseminating information on the evils of apartheid. The report of the Sub-Committee is reproduced as an annex to this report.

144. The Special Committee considers it of vital importance that the United Nations should take effective measures to inform the peoples of the world of the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the Organization to secure the elimination of that policy. Such measures are now crucial in order to secure the widest support for decisive action by the international community which has become imperative because of the imminent danger of a widening conflict.

145. The General Assembly has confirmed, in resolution 2144 (XXI) "that the United Nations has a fundamental interest in combating policies of apartheid and that, as a matter of urgency, ways and means must be devised for their elimination". In resolution 2202 (XXI), the Assembly endorsed the proposals of the Special Committee for "an international campaign against apartheid under the auspices of the United Nations".

146. The Special Committee considers that the international campaign against apartheid should now be vigorously promoted as a major activity of the United Nations in the light of the proposals contained in the report of the Special Committee in 1966 and subsequent reports. For this purpose, the Secretary-General should be requested to provide all necessary assistance to the Special Committee and to ensure that the Unit on Apartheid, established in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) in order that maximum publicity may be given to the evils of the policies of apartheid, perform its functions more effectively. In particular, the Unit should:

- (a) Ensure greatly intensified publication and dissemination of pamphlets, bulletins, radio programmes, and films on the evils of apartheid and the efforts of the United Nations to secure its elimination;
- (b) Intensify research on the various aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and publicize the results of such research;
- (c) Maintain close liaison with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations active in the struggle against apartheid and publicize their activities;
- (d) Provide such organizations promptly with documents and other information on activities of United Nations organs with regard to apartheid; and
- (e) Encourage and assist such organizations, in all appropriate ways, to expand their information activities.

147. The Special Committee further recommends that the Secretary-General be requested to ensure that the Office of Public Information and other departments provide the necessary assistance to the Unit and that the United Nations Information Centres devote special attention to the dissemination of information on apartheid by all appropriate means.

148. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly invite the Secretary-General, specialized agencies, Member States, Anti-Apartheid Movements and other non-governmental organizations to intensify dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid in the light of the recommendations in the report of the Sub-Committee (see annex I).

149. The Special Committee recommends, finally, that adequate budgetary provision be made for this purpose, and that the provision for advisory services of experts and special studies for the Special Committee be continued.

ANNEX I

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION ON APARTHEID

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The General Assembly, by operative paragraph 13 of its resolution 2307 (XXII) of 15 December 1967, requested the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to continue to discharge its mandate and to intensify its efforts to promote an international campaign against apartheid. To this end the Special Committee was authorized, inter alia, to consult with the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies, with the regional organizations and non-governmental organizations concerned and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report on measures which might appropriately be taken to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and on the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination.

2. On 12 January 1968, the Special Committee decided to set up a Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid composed of the representatives of Costa Rica, Ghana, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal and Somalia.

3. At its first meeting on 26 January, the Sub-Committee elected Mr. J.E.K. Aggrey-Orleans (Ghana) as its Chairman/Rapporteur and considered its terms of reference.

4. On 29 February, the Special Committee decided that definitive terms of reference of the Sub-Committee should be drawn up after the report of the Special Committee had been presented to the General Assembly. The following interim terms of reference were approved for the Sub-Committee:

"1. The Sub-Committee should review:

(a) The past efforts of the Special Committee to promote dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and on the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination;

(b) The action taken by the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations (particularly the Commission on Human Rights) on this matter;

(c) The proposals made to the Special Committee and to the International Seminars held in Brasilia and Kitwe in relation to an effective dissemination of information.

"2. The Sub-Committee should ascertain:

(a) The activities of the Secretariat (particularly the Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid) in response to the decisions of the various organs concerning apartheid;

(b) The relevant activities of the specialized agencies concerning dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid;

(c) The activities of anti-apartheid movements, South African national liberation movements and non-governmental organizations concerned with the struggle against apartheid.

"3. The Sub-Committee is authorized, in the discharge of its mandate, to consult with Secretariat officials and with representatives of specialized agencies and regional organizations at the Headquarters. It may also consult with anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations and communicate with them.

"4. The Sub-Committee, with the approval of the Special Committee, may avail itself of the advisory services of experts in accordance with operative paragraph 13 (b) of resolution 2307 (XXII).

"5. On the basis of these consultations, the Sub-Committee should report from time to time to the Special Committee. It should present a report not later than 1 May with recommendations on measures which might be required to improve the present arrangements for disseminating information on the evils of apartheid. This will enable the Special Committee to prepare a report to the General Assembly in accordance with operative paragraph 13 (c) of General Assembly resolution 2307 (XXII)."

The Special Committee also decided that, after receiving the report of the Sub-Committee, it would undertake any further consultation necessary, especially with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the directors of the specialized agencies, in order to prepare its report to the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly.

5. The Sub-Committee held a number of meetings during which it consulted with high officials of the Office of Public Information, representatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and Dr. Vernon McKay, professor of African Studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. It also requested South African liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements, a number of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals concerned with the struggle against apartheid to communicate to it their views regarding the most appropriate measures to be taken to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and on the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination.

6. In addition to the views expressed by the organizations and individuals mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the Sub-Committee, in preparing the present report, has availed itself of the views of the anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations as stated in communications to the Special Committee 1/ and those expressed on the subject by participants in the Special Committee's session away from Headquarters in June 1968.

1/ See A/AC.115/L.219.

II. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROPAGANDA AND THE IMPORTANCE OF DISSEMINATION
OF INFORMATION ON THE EVILS OF APARTHEID

7. Since the National Party came to power in 1948, the South African Government has maintained an ever-growing elaborate information and propaganda service abroad. Between the fiscal years 1949-1950 and 1965-1966 (the latest year for which figures are available), the budget allocation for information and propaganda increased from \$146,000 to \$4,459,000 - a thirtyfold increase. It is now estimated that the Government of South Africa spends about \$5.6 million every year on its direct information services. The South African Parliament approved in March 1967 a Foreign Affairs Special Accounts Act, by the terms of which \$700,000 would be appropriated each year "to promote the Republic's foreign relations in an unorthodox fashion". This expenditure is not subject to the normal scrutiny of Parliament through the Controller and Auditor-General. Further, a separate Department of Information was created in 1962 and, in the words of Professor V. McKay, "the total personnel complement of the Department and its external service during these years rose from 59 to 378". 2/

8. The South African Information Service (SAIS) is at the heart of the official propaganda activities of the South African Government. It produces and distributes numerous magazines, booklets, pamphlets and press releases, subsidizes books, makes available radio and television tapes, produces travel films and spares no effort to improve South Africa's image in whatever country it operates.

9. On the activities of the South African Department of Information in the United States of America, Professor McKay had this to say:

"Six Information Service periodicals reach American readers, three of them produced in South Africa and the other three by the New York office. South African Panorama is an attractive illustrated monthly, including handsome colour photography and many readable and informative articles about the Republic. South African Digest (formerly Digest of South African Affairs) is a valuable and convenient weekly featuring the latest statements by government officials and useful data on recent developments. Bantu is an illustrated monthly dealing mostly with Bantu developments and produced largely for South African readers although a limited number of copies are sent overseas.

"The New York office produces South African Summary, a weekly news release which summarizes for American readers material cabled daily from Pretoria to the New York office. Business report is a second weekly news release, somewhat longer than the South African Summary, which emphasizes

2/ Statement made on 3 March 1966 on South African propaganda to the Sub-Committee on Africa, Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States of America (transmitted to the Sub-Committee on Information).

economic data and other news of special interest to American business. The third New York periodical, Scope, is a more elaborate illustrated monthly on items of contemporary relevance. By December 1965, according to data filed with the United States Department of Justice, the monthly circulation of Scope had risen to 14,000, the weekly South African Summary to 4,800, and the weekly South African Business Report to 3,100. The monthly Panorama, which is produced in South Africa, goes to about 1,200 American recipients.

"In addition, hundreds of pamphlets and booklets have been produced. They include the complete texts of many speeches by Cabinet Ministers, reprints of articles by Americans and others favourable to South African policy, and a great many publications, both long and short, written especially for the Information Service covering many aspects of South African life. The effective Audio-Visual Section of the Department of Information produces a number of films each year, mostly in colour, and has won more than two dozen cups, medals and diplomas at international film festivals. It produces films in English, Afrikaans, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. Its most recent award came in October 1965 at the Ninth International Film Festival in San Francisco, where a film on 'White South Africans' won first place among 225 films submitted by Governments in the category 'The film as communication-government film for general information'.

"Although South Africa has no television itself, the Television Section of the Department of Information has also produced several hundred films for television. Successful efforts are made to get one-minute television recordings of interesting events in South Africa incorporated in United States television news services. Moreover, during 1963-1964, officials of the Information Office in New York participated in about sixty United States television and fifty radio interviews, as well as giving about one hundred lectures to American audiences." 3/

10. The South African propaganda machinery also includes the Bloemendal international short-wave radio centre, which beams "the voice of South Africa" throughout the world, the South African Tourist Corporation (Satour) and the South African Airways, which produce travel material depicting South Africa in rosy colours.

11. Advertising agencies work very closely with the Department of Information. According to the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, 4/ the Johannesburg office of a large South African agency spend £100,000 with the British National Press in placing three advertisements of the Department of Information. Professor McKay reports that:

3/ Ibid.

4/ Memorandum on the nature and techniques of South African propaganda, A/AC.115/L.226/Add.1/Rev.1

"South Africa's drive for American support stepped up in March 1965, when three full-page South African advertisements appeared in The New York Times, The Washington Post and four other major American newspapers. The first ad, on March 21, stressed South Africa's role as a rich, anti-Communist ally which has attracted 100,000 immigrants in the past three years. The second, five days later, eulogized the 'miracle' of a 'real Eldorado' where American corporations in 1963 reported 'a 26 per cent return on their outlays'. And the third, on March 31, portrayed the Transkei as South Africa's 'Pattern of Self-Determination' in the form of a 'community of politically independent, economically interdependent states'. The response to the newspaper advertisements reportedly brought as many as 100 letters a day to the Embassy from Americans, some of whom were interested in emigrating to South Africa. A 'flock of other newspapers', seeking advertising income, were also said to have contacted the Embassy." 5/

12. Public relations firms are also used by the South African Government for its propaganda purposes. Professor McKay gives the following account of that Government's efforts in this field in the United States of America:

"In 1955, the Information Office had turned down offers from four American public relations firms in the belief that American firms would not have 'enough sympathy and understanding for South African problems'. In 1960, however, the year of the Sharpeville crisis, South Africa decided to employ the Hamilton Wright Organization, a New York firm. Between January 1961 and January 1963, it paid Wright \$274,500 to help sell South Africa to the American public, mainly through films....

"Two years later, in 1965, South Africa contracted with a Washington Organization headed by T.A. McInerny, to undertake a 'professional and public opinion poll' to determine South Africa's image in the United States and to 'prepare a programme to counteract the harmful effects of current misconceptions of the true thrust and intention of South African policies...'. South Africa paid the firm \$75,000, but it was unable to complete the survey and poll because of Mr. McInerny's death in September 1965." 6/

13. Another way by which the Government attempts to solicit approval for its policies is to offer foreign journalists, businessmen, teachers and others free trips to South Africa. In the United States of America, beneficiaries in 1966 included a group of fourteen American editors, publishers and reporters who were given a tour of South Africa. Four Americans were also brought to The Hague in 1965 by the South African Government to testify on its behalf in the South West Africa case before the International Court of Justice. 7/

5/ Statement made on 3 March 1966 on South African propaganda to the Sub-Committee on Africa, Foreign Committee of the House of Representatives.

6/ Ibid.

7/ Ibid. South West Africa is now known as Namibia.

14. In addition to the Government's extensive propaganda machinery, some non-governmental organizations back the image-building process for South Africa. The most noteworthy is the South African Foundation. Established in 1960 by businessmen with interests in South Africa, it is financed mainly by corporations. The Foundation has offices in London and Paris, and plans to open one in the United States of America. The London branch (43 Fleet Street, London E.C.4) is the oldest and most important. Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand (British Chairman of Rothmans of Pall Mall, member of the Board of Tube Investments and recently appointed Chairman of Carreras, the £65 million tobacco company) is Chairman of the South African Foundation. Its Vice-Chairman is Dr. H.J. van Eck, Chairman of South African Government Corporations (Industrial Development Corporation and Iron and Steel Corporation). The Foundation called for contributions towards a 500,000-Rand (\$700,000) budget in June 1967. Dr. van Eck indicated that the Foundation directed its information material at "responsible and influential quarters, on a selective and personal basis". ^{8/} It publishes and distributes widely the monthly magazine Perspective and other periodicals. In 1966 alone, it distributed 350,000 brochures and pamphlets. The Foundation usually presents itself as an organization which is not engaged in political propaganda. But the South African story which it endeavours to propagate is based on one of the main themes of the South African Government's propaganda, namely, that South Africa is a stable, peaceful and prosperous country with the highest return on investment in the world. The Foundation also provides free trips to South Africa for newspapermen, publicity agents, industrialists and others; sends speakers to meetings; and advises and guides South African businessmen in their dealings abroad. It utilizes to the full audio-visual aids and other propaganda material provided by the Government, in addition to that of its own establishment. The distinction therefore between the public relations activities of the South African Foundation and the propaganda activities of the South African Government, if there is one, is indeed blurred.

15. The Anti-Apartheid Movement of United Kingdom and Northern Ireland points out that, undeniably, businessmen belonging to the Foundation and doing their work with efficiency and enthusiasm are favoured by the Government in matters of taxation exemptions and particularly in the issuing of import permits. But proof of such official encouragement is understandably rare. For similar reasons, there is no proof but an affidavit from one of those actually present, that part of the original official directive of the Department of Information to the large agency in Johannesburg on 28 December 1964, included the curious statement that the new propaganda line to be developed by the agency should concentrate on plausible arguments which "will help the South Africa Foundation and our friends in the British Conservative Party oust the Labour Government at the very first opportunity". ^{9/}

16. The Anti-Apartheid Movement also notes that large quantities of non-official South African publications are sent abroad every year. These carry the official propaganda line and, because of their non-official nature, often tend to be

^{8/} Cape Times, 21 June 1967.

^{9/} Memorandum submitted to the Special Committee, A/AC.115/L.226/Add.1/Rev.1.

accepted where official material is not. A case in point is The State of South Africa Year Book publication, which contains the most glaring false and racist information. Large numbers of right-wing overseas publications publish official apartheid hand-outs from the local South African embassies as genuine "news items". The subversive possibilities in this situation are obvious, the Movement concludes, particularly in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, which have serious race relations problems. 10/

17. South Africa's propaganda is based on a number of highly inaccurate claims. For example:

(a) That South Africa is an impregnable fortress against Communism;

(b) That in the "chaos-confounded" continent of Africa, only South Africa has a stable Government and a lucrative, fully protected investment climate - in other words, that South Africa is today's real "Eldorado";

(c) That South Africa is the staunchest defender of Western Christian civilization on the continent;

(d) That the Bantus have no title to the land as they emigrated to the territory only after, or at best simultaneously with, the arrival of the Whites in South Africa;

(e) That the Whites, by properly providing for the well-being of the non-White population through the policy of separate development, have found the correct answer to racism.

18. In view of this massive propaganda aimed at disguising the truth about the policies of apartheid, the Special Committee has always emphasized the need for the widest dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of apartheid, in order to keep world opinion informed and thereby encourage it to support the United Nations efforts to resolve the situation in South Africa. The main initiatives and decisions taken in this respect by the Special Committee, by the International seminars held in Brasilia and Kitwe, by the Commission on Human Rights and some United Nations specialized agencies, are reviewed in the following chapter.

10/ Ibid.

III. ACTION TAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES REGARDING THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON THE EVILS OF APARTHEID

A. Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa

19. On 16 September 1965, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a letter to the Secretary-General in which he expressed the unanimous feeling of the Special Committee that "a wide distribution of its report would contribute substantively" to the awareness by public opinion of the real nature of apartheid. He stated that it would be useful if the "Departments of the Secretariat would take steps to ensure wide distribution through all appropriate means, including the publication of the report or a substantial summary of it, in languages other than the official languages of the United Nations". Subsequently, salient parts of the report and the text of the Committee's conclusions were published as a pamphlet by the Office of Public Information for distribution to organizations and for sale to the public in several languages.

20. In its report of 30 November 1964 11/, the Special Committee considered it essential that efforts should be made to counteract the racialist propaganda conducted by the South African Government and its defenders. To this end, it felt that all interests which profit from racial discrimination and oppression in South Africa should be exposed to world public opinion. It recommended that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) devote adequate resources to the question of apartheid, and that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) should vigorously implement its Programme for the Elimination of Apartheid in Labour Matters in the Republic of South Africa. The Special Committee also felt that the presence of observers from UNESCO, FAO, IAEA, the ILO and WHO at its meetings would promote concerted and vigorous activity by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

21. The Special Committee also felt that Member States could contribute to the dissemination of information by providing broadcasting and other facilities for organizations opposed to apartheid.

22. The Special Committee, therefore, recommended that the General Assembly and the Security Council:

"Invite Member States to encourage and provide facilities for the widest dissemination of information to promote awareness of the dangers of the policies of apartheid and support for the United Nations activities on this question; invite the specialized agencies to take concerted and active measures, in co-operation with the Secretary-General and the Special

11/ A/5825, S/6073. For the printed text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 12.

Committee, to promote the dissemination of such information; request the Secretary-General to encourage international organizations to disseminate such information; and allocate adequate budgetary and other support for the efforts of the Special Committee in this field."

23. During 1965, the Special Committee devoted more attention to the question of dissemination of information on the evils of the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It recommended that Member States be invited to encourage their national news media to publicize the activities of United Nations bodies in connexion with the question of apartheid, and requested its Chairman to convey to the Secretary-General the following proposals:

(a) The Special Committee should publish a popular booklet explaining in detail the patient efforts of the United Nations to resolve this problem and the urgent need for effective measures, and arrange to distribute it widely in various languages;

(b) The Secretariat should be requested to publish a monthly news bulletin of developments relating to apartheid for distribution to members of the Special Committee as well as other Member States, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations;

(c) Outstanding scholars should be invited to contribute to a symposium on the nature and implications of apartheid in South Africa;

(d) The United Nations should issue a stamp, possibly on the next United Nations Day, depicting its concern with apartheid and encourage Governments to do so;

(e) The United Nations should prepare radio and television scripts on apartheid and on the work of the Special Committee for distribution around the world;

(f) The United Nations should prepare special posters on apartheid and make them available to Member Governments and organizations;

(g) The United Nations should prepare special displays of documents on this matter. Such displays and other materials prepared for enlightening world opinion on the subject should be boldly exhibited at United Nations Headquarters and at the Organization's information centres around the world;

(h) Media of information, educational institutions, foundations and other non-governmental organizations should be invited to inform the public of the dangers of apartheid and of the steps to be taken to eliminate the dangers by ending the policy of apartheid;

(i) Specialized agencies, particularly UNESCO, should be requested to co-operate fully in these efforts;

(j) Seminars on this problem should be held under the United Nations Advisory Services Programme;

(k) These efforts by the United Nations and other agencies should be co-ordinated with the three-year education programme planned in connexion with the celebration of the International Year of Human Rights in 1968. In view of the

explosive nature of the question of apartheid and the urgent need for action to secure its elimination, it would be appropriate that, as a matter of priority, the activities planned for 1966 be specially devoted to emphasizing this subject. In addition, the International Conference on Human Rights, planned for 1968, should place particular emphasis on the gravity of the problems of apartheid and racial discrimination.

Subsequently, the Special Committee authorized its Bureau and the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions to consult with the Secretariat on the implementation of these proposals.

24. In reply to the Chairman's letter dated 20 April 1965 conveying to him the proposals of the Committee, the Secretary-General assured the Chairman of the Special Committee that the Secretariat, and particularly the Office of Public Information would lend their utmost co-operation in order to implement the various proposals.

25. On 18 May 1965, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General, the Chairman drew particular attention to the Committee's suggestion that seminars on the question of apartheid should be held under the United Nations programme of advisory services in the field of human rights, and accordingly requested the Secretary-General to transmit his letter to the Economic and Social Council. (Subsequently, the Special Committee was informed of the readiness of the Government of Brazil to invite the United Nations to organize an international seminar on apartheid in Brazil in 1966.)

26. In its report of 10 August 1965 to the General Assembly and the Security Council 12/, the Special Committee recommended, inter alia, that the General Assembly endorse the proposal to hold the seminar in Brazil and that the necessary funds be authorized and provided.

27. Acting on this report, the General Assembly, in resolution 2054 (XX) of 15 December 1965, requested:

"... the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to take appropriate measures for the widest possible dissemination of information on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa and on United Nations efforts to deal with the situation", and further requested "all Member States, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to co-operate with the Secretary-General and the Special Committee in this regard: ...".

By resolution 2060 (XX), adopted on 16 December 1965, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to organize in 1966, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and with the Commission on Human Rights, an international seminar on apartheid.

12/ A/5957, S/6605. For the printed text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 36.

28. The international seminar on apartheid was held in Brasilia, Brazil, from 23 August to 4 September 1966 13/. One of the items of the agenda of the Seminar formulated by the Special Committee, concerned measures to promote public awareness of the dangers of apartheid and to promote support for United Nations action in this matter. The participants in the Seminar decided to consider this item jointly with another item entitled: "Measures to be taken for the elimination of apartheid and the achievement of a society free from racial discrimination".

29. Many participants urged the convening of a conference on southern Africa. A sufficiently wide dissemination of the conclusions and recommendations of such a conference, they felt, would promote public awareness of the evils of apartheid and would have a great persuasive impact on government policies and public opinion. Many participants felt that a valuable contribution to the solution of the problems may be made by Governments, non-governmental organizations and groups, religious associations and professional bodies, through the dissemination of information regarding the situation in South Africa. They considered that a special information service might be established to acquaint world opinion with the true implications and dangers of apartheid in view of the international network of propaganda maintained with great skill and at great cost by the South African Government and by other supporters of apartheid. Furthermore, it was suggested that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should establish a special administrative unit within the Secretariat to deal exclusively with apartheid matters.

30. In this connexion, the Seminar made the following recommendations:

"An Information Centre should be established within the United Nations Secretariat. It should be financed from the United Nations regular budget and operate in close consultation with the General Assembly Special Committee on Apartheid. Its purpose should be to disseminate information on apartheid in order to increase public awareness of the problem of apartheid and to counteract the propaganda efforts of the South African Government. It could organize or establish relations with regional and national centres.

(The participants from Argentina, Brazil, Denmark, Italy, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States would prefer the substitution for the words 'within the United Nations Secretariat' of the words 'and the possibility or nature of its connexion with the United Nations should be studied', and the deletion of the second sentence.)

"Member States and private organizations and individuals should scrutinize and take measures in line with domestic law against the operations of the propaganda organizations of the South African Government and private groups outside South Africa.

"There should be increased co-operation of all anti-apartheid organizations and between them and the Members of the United Nations.

...

13/ For the report of the seminar, see ST/TAO/HR/27.

"Recommends that an unofficial international conference of non-governmental organizations, such as trade unions, church, student and youth groups, drawn from countries trading with South Africa, should be held soon to consider the problem of apartheid and to explore ways and means of overcoming it.

"All States should refrain from cultural and sports relationships with South Africa as long as apartheid and white supremacy prevail in that country. In each country, professional, labour, cultural, religious, youth, civil rights and other organizations should familiarize their memberships with the nature of apartheid by such means as publications and conferences: should adopt resolutions in support of their counterparts in South Africa resisting apartheid; should encourage consumer boycotts of South African goods and products amongst their memberships: and should maintain communications with South African individuals and organizations supplying both moral and material support to the opposition to apartheid."

31. In its report of 21 October 1966 ^{14/}, the Special Committee fully endorsed the above-mentioned recommendations of the Brasilia Seminar, which it considered as part of an international campaign against apartheid.

32. The Special Committee recommended that the Secretary-General be requested to establish a special centre or unit in the Secretariat charged with the responsibility of assisting the United Nations organs in the campaign against apartheid. The following were to be the responsibilities devolving on such a centre or unit:

(a) It should prepare studies on the various aspects of the question of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and on the actions of United Nations organs, with the assistance of competent departments and units concerned with the economic, social, legal and human rights fields, as well as appropriate specialized agencies and other bodies. Such studies should be made available to organs of the United Nations, to Member States and to appropriate non-governmental organizations and should be disseminated widely through the public information facilities of the United Nations and specialized agencies.

(b) It should maintain liaison with appropriate specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations.

(c) It should act as a clearing-house for publicizing information on the activities by specialized agencies, Member States and non-governmental organizations on the question of apartheid.

(d) It should provide the necessary services to the respective United Nations organs concerned with the question of apartheid, particularly the Special Committee.

^{14/} A/6486, S/7565. For the printed text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 34.

33. In the same report, the Special Committee expressed its particular concern about the means of informing the people of South Africa about the situation and the attempts by the South African Government to distort the purposes of the United Nations and prevent the free flow of information. It therefore felt that Member States and non-governmental organizations should be encouraged to take steps to reach the people of South Africa through radio broadcasts and other appropriate means.

34. Acting on this report, the General Assembly adopted, on 16 December 1966, resolution 2202 (XXI) in which it requested the Secretary-General, inter alia:

"(a) To organize as soon as possible, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, an international conference or seminar on the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, and to transmit the report of that conference or seminar to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session;

"(b) To take steps, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, for the periodic publication of statistics on South Africa's international trade;

"(c) To provide all the necessary assistance to the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa in publicizing and reporting on any tightening of economic and financial relations between other States and South Africa ...".

The General Assembly also invited

"... the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to continue to take all steps to discharge its mandate more effectively and, to that end, authorized it:

"(a) To hold sessions away from Headquarters or to send a sub-committee on a mission to consult specialized agencies, regional organizations, States and non-governmental organizations on ways and means to promote the international campaign against apartheid and to investigate various aspects of the problems of apartheid ...".

35. On the recommendation of the Third Committee, the General Assembly, on 26 October 1966, adopted resolution 2144 (XXI) in which it requested the Secretary-General

"to establish a unit within the Secretariat of the United Nations to deal exclusively with the policies of apartheid, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, in order that maximum publicity may be given to the evils of those policies".

36. Pursuant to operative paragraph 8 (a) of General Assembly resolution 2202 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, the Special Committee sent a six-member Sub-Committee on a mission to London, Geneva, Paris and Dar es Salaam in July 1967 to consult with specialized agencies of the United Nations, South African liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other organizations and individuals committed to the struggle against apartheid, concerning means to promote an international campaign against apartheid. The Sub-Committee submitted a report with conclusions and recommendations. (The Special Committee decided, on 26 September 1967, to take note of that report and to circulate it as a document of the Special Committee.) 15/

37. Also in 1967, pursuant to operative paragraph 6 (a) of General Assembly resolution 2202 A (XXI), the Secretary-General organized an International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa at Kitwe, Republic of Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967.

38. The report of the International Seminar 16/ contained a number of conclusions and recommendations on the question of dissemination of information on apartheid; relevant extracts are reproduced as follows:

"XII

"(1) Noting the massive propaganda carried on by the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa, with the assistance of racist elements abroad and foreign economic and financial interests which profit from the perpetuation of the present situation, in order to deceive world public opinion about the real nature of their policies and to discredit and defame the efforts of the United Nations and the international community, the Seminar considers it essential that attention should be given urgently to a campaign of information on the real situation in southern Africa and the purposes of the United Nations.

"(2) The campaign should emphasize the fact on the real situation in southern Africa and its implications for international peace and security, the purposes of the United Nations and Member States with regard to southern Africa, and the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people for equality and independence.

"(3) The campaign should expose the entente of South Africa and Portugal with the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. It should devote special emphasis to the mobilization of world public opinion in support of effective action by the United Nations and implementation of its decisions, and in order to exert the necessary pressure on those States and economic, financial and other interests which collaborate with and encourage the racist and colonial régimes in southern Africa and which obstruct the adoption of effective decisions by the United Nations organs or the implementation of decisions adopted.

15/ A/AC.115/L.206.

16/ A/6818.

"(4) The campaign should devote special attention to publicity within the countries which impede effective international action, and also within southern Africa through broadcasts or other available means.

"(5) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, should intensify their information activities with regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa on a continuous basis.

"(6) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations should consider the publication of a popular periodical on this subject in various languages for wide distribution around the world.

"(7) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations should give maximum publicity to the report, recommendations and papers of the Seminar.

"(8) The Seminar further recommends that the Unit on Apartheid established in the United Nations Secretariat in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) to deal exclusively with the policies of apartheid in consultation with the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, should be strengthened within the budgetary provisions to enable it to discharge its terms of reference more adequately.

"(9) It suggests that the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, should consult with the Secretary-General on means to develop United Nations information activities with regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa.

"(10) The Seminar recommends that a working party of experts should be convened as soon as possible, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and under United Nations auspices, to consider the best means of promoting a world-wide information campaign with the co-operation of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and non-governmental organizations.

"XIII

"(1) The Seminar recommends that in connexion with the plans and programmes for the International Human Rights Year, 1968, special prominence be given to the problems of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, to the plight of political prisoners and other victims of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, and to the application of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations relating to these problems.

"(2) It suggests that the Secretary-General be requested to invite the attention of Member States and interested organizations, including national committees for the International Human Rights Year, to the above recommendation.

"(3) The Seminar considers it desirable that a special brochure be prepared in different languages concerning the mass violation of human rights in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, and the measures adopted and recommended by United Nations organs, for widest dissemination in the course of the International Human Rights Year.

"(4) The Seminar appeals to Member States to make available television, radio and other publicity media facilities for the purpose of providing maximum coverage for the dissemination of information on the mass violation of human rights in southern Africa.

"(5) The Seminar expresses its hope that the International Conference on Human Rights which will meet in Teheran in 1968 will devote special attention to the problems of the struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, which are major obstacles to the achievement of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of humanity.

"XIV

"The Seminar recommends that the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 1968, coinciding with the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre (21 March), be commemorated effectively in solidarity with the victims of the policy of apartheid. The programmes should emphasize the plight of the political prisoners in South Africa and collections should be made on that day for the defence and aid of the political prisoners and their families.

"XV

"(1) The Seminar recommends that the United Nations should, in co-operation with the African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and other non-governmental organizations, collect all information on political prisoners in southern Africa imprisoned for their struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism, and publicize the information as widely as possible."

39. Reference may perhaps also be made to proposals made by non-governmental organizations and liberation movements at the Seminar. The observers from non-governmental organizations, in the joint proposals they presented to the Seminar, stated:

"Recommendation No. 3. World-wide information campaign

"It is considered that one of the most urgent priorities, in order to secure the application of the decisions of the United Nations in regard to southern Africa and in order to counteract the massive and misleading propoganda campaign which the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia are conducting throughout the world,

is the undertaking of a world-wide campaign of information in regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa. Such a campaign should have as one of its objectives the application and implementation of the decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

"It is further considered that the continued flouting of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations by the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia weaken the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations in the world, and that such a campaign is absolutely necessary to restore confidence in the sincerity, objectiveness, effectiveness and determination of the United Nations to bring to an end the flagrant violations of elementary human rights which are taking place throughout southern Africa.

"To be effective, such a public information campaign must be carried out on a scale at least equal to that used by the racial and colonialist régimes of southern Africa and should utilize the most modern methods of mass media of communication for this purpose. In order to undertake such a campaign, an annual budget of an amount not less than that available to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia for the purposes of their diplomatic, information and propaganda services will be required. It would be unrealistic and indeed a reflection on the determination of Member Governments of the United Nations, not to be prepared to contribute total financial support for such an information campaign at least equal to that spent by the southern African régimes in trying to defeat the decisions of the United Nations and to destroy the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

"The undertaking of such a world-wide public information campaign could be entrusted either to the United Nations itself, to a specialized agency to be created by the United Nations, to an existing non-governmental agency or to a non-governmental agency to be created for the purpose. Many considerations requiring careful expert examination are involved in the choice of the most competent and effective machinery to undertake such a world-wide information campaign. For this reason, it is recommended that a small working party, consisting mainly of experts, should be convened as soon as possible, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and under United Nations auspices, to consider and recommend the best means of setting up such a world-wide information campaign and all ancillary steps to secure the initiation of the campaign within the shortest possible time.

"While the valuable information work performed under United Nations auspices is appreciated, it is considered that it is wholly inadequate to fulfil the needs of the situation. Nothing contained in the recommendation should restrain the United Nations Secretariat from expanding its existing information services and from applying fully the decisions of the General Assembly in this regard."

The observers from the Liberation Movements, in their joint proposals, recommended:

"(h) That the United Nations and all its organs and agencies intensify their propaganda against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism; that to this end the world body set up in Africa a powerful free Southern Africa Radio Station to be used by organizations recognized by the Organization of African Unity."

B. Commission on Human Rights

40. The Commission on Human Rights took a number of decisions involving dissemination of information about the situation in South Africa. In its resolution 2 (XXIII), it requested the Secretary-General and the Member States of the United Nations to give the widest possible publicity to the documents issued by the Special Committee concerning the ill-treatment of prisoners and to those containing statements made by Nelson Mandela and Abram Fischer during their trials in South Africa. The Office of Public Information subsequently published the documents and statements in a booklet entitled Apartheid and the Treatment of Prisoners in South Africa. 17/

41. Under the same resolution, an Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts was set up to investigate, inter alia, the charges of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, detainees or persons in police custody in South Africa. After considering the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, 18/ the Commission requested the Economic and Social Council, in resolution 5 (XXIV), to recommend that the Secretary-General be requested by the General Assembly to take steps to draw the widest public attention to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts. At its forty-fourth session, the Economic and Social Council endorsed the Commission's recommendation in resolution 1333 (XLIV) adopted on 31 May 1968.

42. In response to Economic and Social Council resolution 1216 (XLII), the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts also considered allegations of infringements of trade union rights in the Republic of South Africa and submitted a report 19/ to which the Secretary-General was requested by Economic and Social Council resolution 1302 (XLIV) of 28 May 1968 to give the maximum publicity.

43. In his report, 20/ the Special Rapporteur, appointed in accordance with resolution 7 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights to survey United Nations past action in its efforts to eliminate the policies and practices of apartheid in all its forms and manifestations, and to study the legislation instituted to establish and maintain apartheid, stated the following on measures to promote the widest public awareness of the evils of apartheid and support for international action:

"However intransigent it may seem to be, the South African Government is not immune to the pressure of public opinion, especially in countries with which it maintains close economic relations. Public opinion in these countries, if informed of the truth about South Africa and encouraged to

17/ OPI/2790.

18/ E/CN.4/950.

19/ E/4459 and E/4459/Add.1.

20/ E/CN.4/949 and addenda 1-5.

exert its influence, can help in restraining the South African Government from flagrant violations of human rights and ruthless measures against the opponents of apartheid. The support of public opinion in these countries is also essential in order to secure more effective United Nations action on apartheid and to ensure the implementation of decisions by United Nations organs.

"When dealing with efforts to encourage public opinion to exert its influence, it should be recognized that various sectors of public opinion and non-governmental organizations have special interests or concerns. It is essential that these interests and concerns should be taken into account. Organizations or individuals who may not be concerned with the question of economic sanctions may be intensely concerned over certain aspects of the policy of apartheid. The United Nations efforts should, therefore, be directed towards encouraging maximum international activity, in carefully defined areas, even though their scope may be limited.

"In this connexion, special attention would need to be given to the flagrant violation of human rights and fundamental freedom in South Africa by discriminatory and repressive legislation, arbitrary arrests and bannings and other acts of vengeance against opponents of apartheid.

"The Special Committee on Apartheid and the Commission on Human Rights have devoted great attention to these matters and have encouraged non-governmental organizations and public opinion to exert their influence. The possibility of developing much greater activity on this aspect would seem to deserve urgent consideration in view of the increasing inhumanity of the South African Government.

"In particular, an international campaign for the release of political prisoners and detainees and the termination of arbitrary repressive measures, such as banning and house arrest orders and banishment, should be promoted. The Commission on Human Rights and the Special Committee on Apartheid may perhaps consider means to give the widest publicity to discriminatory and repressive measures in South Africa and to the cases of all persons who have been persecuted for opposition to apartheid. They should encourage trade union, church, student and other organizations to express serious concern over the victimization of their colleagues in South Africa. They should promote the widest and most effective commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

"As the representative of Finland noted during the debate at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly on the question of apartheid in South Africa, the experience with sanctions on Southern Rhodesia, and with measures with regard to apartheid, showed that United Nations action still received insufficient support from public opinion in the countries whose role was important. No collective enforcement action can be effective unless it has the active support not only of Governments, but also of public opinion in the countries of the principal Powers. An effective programme of information is, therefore, necessary.

"Though the United Nations organs and Member States have already unanimously condemned apartheid in South Africa, it is essential that the United Nations should tirelessly reiterate its condemnation of this policy, demonstrate its inhumanity, uphold a positive alternative conforming to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and offer assistance to the South African people in efforts toward such solution.

"This is of utmost importance in order to counter the energetic effort of the South African Government to deceive both domestic and international public opinion concerning its racial policies and to distort the purposes of the United Nations and Member States.

"An information programme, if it is to be effective, must emphasize that the purpose of the United Nations is to secure the legitimate rights of all the people of southern Africa, including the "Whites", and to promote non-racial societies where everyone would be guaranteed equal enjoyment of human rights.

"It is also important to reach the people inside southern Africa - both the Europeans and the non-Europeans - in order to make clear the purposes of the United Nations. This is especially important because of increasing censorship and propaganda against the United Nations. The beaming of United Nations radio programmes into the area, with the co-operation of neighbouring African States, should be considered. Non-governmental organizations, which still have contacts in the area, can also help.

"Publicity does not involve merely the publication of pamphlets. Content and distribution is even more important. There should be an effort to reach the audience which can influence the situation. Also, there should be consultation with non-governmental organizations, many of which have large and influential membership."

44. In view of the International Conference on Human Rights to be held in Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968, the Special Rapporteur suggested that the Commission could recommend that the Conference urge the United Nations and its specialized agencies, particularly the ILO and UNESCO, to intensify their information activities with regard to apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa on a continuous basis and to devise ways and means to ensure optimum effectiveness of these activities. The International Conference on Human Rights endorsed the Special Rapporteur's recommendation in its resolution on "measures to achieve rapid and total elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in general and the policy of apartheid in particular".

45. In its resolution 3 (XXIV) on "measures for effectively combating racial discrimination, the policies of apartheid and segregation in southern Africa", the Commission endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Rapporteur, requested the Secretary-General (a) to intensify, through all United Nations information media, the efforts to inform the people of southern Africa of the activities of the United Nations organs, to eliminate the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination, laying particular stress on the positive alternative of a multi-racial society based on the principle of racial equality; and (b) to prepare in consultation with the Special Rapporteur for publication and wide circulation, particularly to legal and juridical associations, a summary of the study of the laws and practices of the Government of the Republic of South Africa as submitted in the report of the Special Rapporteur.

46. Upon the recommendation expressed in resolution 4 (XXIV) of the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council adopted, on 31 May 1968, resolution 1332 (XLIV) recommending that the General Assembly:

(a) Urge all States to encourage information media within their territories to publicize the evils of apartheid and racial discrimination and the inhuman acts practised by the Government of South Africa and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, as well as the aims and purposes of the United Nations and its efforts to eliminate these evils;

(b) Request the Secretary-General to take steps to draw the widest possible public attention to the evils of these policies through the interested non-governmental organizations, trade union, church, student and other organizations, as well as libraries and schools;

(c) Further request the Secretary-General to establish a United Nations information centre in the Republic of South Africa, with a view to disseminating the aims and purposes of the United Nations.

C. United Nations Secretariat

Unit on Apartheid

47. On 19 January 1967, the Special Committee was informed by the Secretariat that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI), a Unit on Apartheid had been established within the Section for African Questions of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. In the discharge of its mandate, the Unit has published three studies entitled:

- (a) Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa;^{21/}
- (b) Review of United Nations Consideration of Apartheid;^{22/} and
- (c) Military and Police Forces in the Republic of South Africa.^{23/}

It has also issued "'Transit Camps' in South Africa - reports submitted by the International Defence and Aid Fund, London", ^{24/} and "The Sharpeville Incident and its International Significance", ^{25/} a paper prepared by the Rt. Reverend Ambrose Reeves, former bishop of Johannesburg, at the request of the Special Committee, in order to promote the commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The Unit has also supplied documents and publications of the United Nations concerning apartheid to anti-apartheid movements, non-governmental organizations and individuals interested in the question, and has answered inquiries regarding the work of United Nations bodies with regard to apartheid.

^{21/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: E67.II.K.10.

^{22/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: E67.II.K.12.

^{23/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: E67.II.K.25.

^{24/} ST/PSCA/Ser.A/4.

^{25/} ST/PSCA/Ser.A/5.

Office of Public Information

48. As already noted, the Office of Public Information has co-operated with the Special Committee in disseminating information on apartheid in various ways. It has helped to propagate information contained in its reports by publishing salient parts and the conclusions of the reports submitted to the General Assembly at its eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth sessions as pamphlets for distribution to organizations and for sale to the public in several languages. 26/ Articles on subsequent reports, meetings and documents of the Special Committee, activities of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the Educational and Training Programme for South Africans, have been published in the Publications Features, The United Nations and Apartheid, in January 1967, July 1967, March 1968 and August 1968. The proceedings of the Special Committee have also been covered in the UN Monthly Chronicle. The following special pamphlets have been produced: a summary of the report by UNESCO on The Effects of Apartheid on Education, Science, Culture and Information in the Republic of South Africa; 27/ Apartheid and Repressive Measures in South Africa; 28/ Action by United Nations Commission on Human Rights; reprinted from the UN Monthly Chronicle; and The Anatomy of Apartheid, 29/ published in many languages. Finally, a booklet containing documents and statements transmitted by the Special Committee to the Commission on Human Rights on the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa was published at the request of the Commission. 30/

49. More regular information services provided by the Office of Public Information include coverage of the Special Committee's proceedings by information officers who attend the meetings and issue press releases on them, and by the regular United Nations radio programmes.

50. It should be noted that these information services are provided in conformity with the mandate of the Office of Public Information. The Under-Secretary-General in charge of the Office of Public Information stated at the 1221st meeting of the Fifth Committee on 8 December 1967 that, under the basic principles established at the inception of the United Nations, the primary responsibility for supplying information to the peoples of the world rested with national information services, and not with the Office of Public Information, whose limited resources could never be equal to the task. He stated that the Office of Public Information had been entrusted with the task of supplying facts and raw materials about the activities of the United Nations which national information media could redisseminate to the people. He indicated that the work of the Department was being re-evaluated, but that, under the existing

26/ United Nations publications: Apartheid in South Africa, Sales No.: 63.I.42; Apartheid in South Africa II, Sales No.: 65.I.12; and Apartheid in South Africa III, Sales No.: 66.I.7.

27/ United Nations publication, Sales No.: 67.I.6.

28/ OPI/264.

29/ OPI/316.

30/ Apartheid and the Treatment of Prisoners in South Africa - statements and affidavits (OPI/279).

financial resources and the international situation, there was no possibility of changing the terms of reference of the Office of Public Information.

51. In the section on public information of the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization covering the period from 16 June 1966 to 15 June 1967, it was stated by the Secretary-General that:

"I believe it is still necessary for the Organization, given its essential character as an agency for harmonizing conflicting interests, to adhere closely to the injunction laid down by the General Assembly in 1946 that the Office of Public Information must not engage in promotion or propaganda.... The Office of Public Information, in my judgement, contributes towards the promotion of the Organization's efforts and the attainment of its objectives by confining itself to impartial and factual reporting. Any crossing of the boundaries, whether conscious or otherwise, which traditionally divide information proper from activities with a promotional or propagandistic trend would, I believe, not only be constitutionally improper for the Office of Public Information but also self-defeating in the long run It is my considered view that augmented national information activity for and on behalf of the United Nations is not only necessary but essential if the Organization is to achieve its purposes. This increased national activity must be supplemented and supported by adequate measures at the international level." 31/

D. Specialized agencies

52. The specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO), have taken a number of initiatives to publicize those aspects of the policies of apartheid which related to matters within their competence.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

53. The fourteenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO passed the following resolution:

"Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism and the practice of apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination constitute a threat to international peace and security and are a crime against humanity ...".

54. At the request of the Special Committee, the secretariat of UNESCO prepared a study on the effects of the policies of apartheid on education, science,

31/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/6701/Add.1), paras. 146 and 147.

culture and information in South Africa. In the preface, the object of the study is outlined as follows: 32/

"... to confront the policies and practices of the Government of the Republic of South Africa in the fields of education, science, culture and the dissemination of information with a number of international norms of conduct to which UNESCO is legally and morally dedicated: ...".

The main sources used for the preparation of the report were the official texts of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, reports from other organizations of the United Nations system and published material from scientific and research institutions. The report concluded that:

"... in education, science, culture and information, apartheid violates, both in principle and in practice, the United Nations Charter, the Constitution of UNESCO, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights ... it is a policy of deliberate inequality built into the educational system, expressed in scientific and cultural activities, and underlined in the regulations governing access to information ...

"The image of man - to whatever ethnic group he belongs or is made a part of - which results from the policy of apartheid in South Africa, is an image which is clearly opposite the one to which the community of nations is ethically and legally dedicated." 33/

55. The report was transmitted to the Committee on 11 January 1967. On that occasion, the Chairman stated, inter alia, that the study was a well documented report which showed, "through indisputable facts and figures, the fraudulence of the so-called policy of separate development advertised by the pedlars of apartheid and their apologists". Pursuant to the request of the Special Committee that the Secretariat ensure the widest possible dissemination of the report, a summary was published in the UN Monthly Chronicle in March 1967 and reprinted as a pamphlet for wide distribution. The UNESCO Courier (March 1967) also published extracts from the report. This study has now been published as a paperback in French and English. It has been widely reviewed both in scientific periodicals and in popular newspapers.

56. It should be noted that the Republic of South Africa withdrew from UNESCO on 5 April 1955. The reason given was "the interference in South Africa's racial problems by means of UNESCO publications ...". 34/

57. Since its inception, UNESCO has been particularly concerned with the problem of racism. In 1951, it published and circulated the "Statement on the

32/ See the preface of Apartheid - its effects on education, science, culture and information, UNESCO, 1967.

33/ Ibid., p. 204.

34/ See Report by the Director-General on the Activities of the Organization, forty-second session of the Executive Board, March-November 1955.

nature of race and race differences". In 1967, a new "Statement on race and racial prejudice" was published, which updates that of 1951. This Statement, prepared by an international interdisciplinary team of experts on race and racial prejudice, states in particular that "Racial prejudice and discrimination in the world today arise from historical and social phenomena and falsely claim the sanction of science ...". 35/

58. UNESCO has also sponsored a series of books on the subject, written by well-known specialists. This series, entitled Race and Society, includes The Race Question, Modern Thought and The Race Question in Modern Science. They have been used widely as textbooks at universities, secondary schools and teacher training colleges.

59. In addition, UNESCO has sponsored several academic studies on "race". In one of these studies, Industrialization and Race Relations, a chapter is devoted to the effects of industrialization on the development of apartheid.

60. UNESCO will continue to pay special attention to the problem of racism both in the programme of the Department of Social Sciences and in that of the Division of Education for International Understanding. Special emphasis will be placed on the analysis and publication of the facts of apartheid as these affect the fields of UNESCO's competence.

61. Several issues of the UNESCO Courier were devoted to race and racism by the Department of Mass Communication. Certain of them featured articles on apartheid: August/September 1963, June 1964, October 1960, March 1967 and June/July/August/September 1968. Articles on the subject were also published in other issues. It should be noted that the Courier is published in eleven languages and is distributed in 104 countries of the world.

Articles on the subject were published by UNESCO in the International Social Science Bulletin in No. 3, Vol. X, 1958 and No. 2, Vol. XIII, 1961.

The International Labour Organisation

62. The International Labour Organisation, which had concerned itself with the elimination of forced labour, the enforcement of freedom of association and the elimination of racial discrimination in employment, adopted in July 1964, at the forty-eighth session of the International Labour Conference, a Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa and an International Labour Organisation Programme for the Elimination of Apartheid in Labour Matters in the Republic of South Africa. Since then, and in spite of South Africa's withdrawal from the organization in 1964, the Director-General has submitted every year to the International Labour Conference a special report concerning the application of the Declaration.

63. The International Labour Organisation Programme for the Elimination of Apartheid in Labour Matters in the Republic of South Africa set forth a series of practical measures for the elimination of apartheid in labour matters in South Africa. It concentrated on three broad areas, namely, equality of opportunity

regarding admission to employment and training; freedom from forced labour; and freedom of association and the right to organize. In the first special report on the application of the Declaration, submitted to the International Labour Conference at its forty-ninth session in 1965, the Director-General outlined the nature of possible positive policies and measures needed to complement the Programme. He emphasized the need for replacing the migratory labour system by a system of stabilized labour as a prerequisite for the application of other policies and measures in the labour and social field - if a society were to emerge in South Africa based on the policy of equal treatment and opportunity for all. He pointed out that the attainment of the fundamental objectives laid down in the ILO Programme - the lifting of discriminatory barriers to employment opportunities, equal opportunity in respect of access to vocational training, the removal of restrictions on freedom of association, the abolition of discrimination in wages and conditions of employment - would require, among other things, the adoption of a series of complementary policies and measures in such different fields as manpower policy and planning, general educational policy training, workers' education, industrial relations and income policy.

64. In the second special report, submitted to the Conference at its fiftieth session in 1966, the Director-General assessed the policy of "separate development" and its repercussions on the general economic and manpower situation in South Africa. He explained how the Government, faced with the increasing economic interdependence of Whites and non-Whites and the resulting prospect of ultimate integration of the races, which was unacceptable in terms of the doctrine of apartheid, had been led to redefine the very concept of separate development. He stressed the negative effects which the policy of separate development and migratory labour was having on the economic development of South Africa as a whole, particularly in view of the acute shortage of available skilled manpower, and the obstacles which these policies, and in particular the system of job reservation, placed in the way of the rational use of labour. He reviewed the manner in which Government, employers and workers reacted to these problems. He concluded his report by noting the need for a radical change in race relations in South Africa as a necessary postulate for the country's economic and social development.

65. In the third special report, submitted to the Conference at its fifty-first session in 1967, the Director-General reviewed the efforts of the South African Government to implement the policy of separate development in the labour field. He showed how the Government attempted to accelerate "border industry development" in order to reverse the flow of African labour to the White industrial centres, and how, in spite of the considerable investment placed in the border industries and the incentives offered to industrialists to decentralize, and despite increased efforts to attract white immigrants to South Africa, the South African economy remained completely dependent on the availability of African manpower. The Director-General also reviewed the reactions of various sectors inside South Africa to the Government's policies.

66. In his fourth special report, submitted this year, the Director-General reviewed the measures taken by the South African Government in the implementation of its policies, such as the Coloured Cadets Training Act of 1967. He noted a continuing tightening of the apartheid system in labour matters during the past four years. He called attention to the situation of Asian and Coloured workers

who, while not subject to all restrictions falling on African workers, were nevertheless very far from enjoying equality with Whites; he also showed that job training for Africans was substandard.

67. As regards publicity on apartheid in labour matters, it may be mentioned that one of the important characteristics of the ILO machinery available for the supervision of the application of International Labour Standards is the broad dissemination of information on this matter to Governments, employers' and workers' associations and the non-governmental organizations. Information on the subject concerned has also been disseminated through documentation produced by the International Labour Office for trade unions, such as the workers' educational manual entitled Fighting Discrimination in Employment and Occupation. During its consultation with the ILO last June, the Special Committee was informed that the organization was planning the distribution of popular pamphlets focused on equality of opportunity, freedom from forced labour and freedom of association in South Africa.

IV. ACTION TAKEN BY ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS
REGARDING THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON THE EVILS
OF APARTHEID

A. Liberation movements

68. The two main liberation movements of South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress, have endeavoured to inform the outside world of the developments in South Africa, as well as of their activities in the struggle against apartheid.
69. The African National Congress of South Africa published a monthly, Sechaba, in London, a weekly news digest, Spotlight on South Africa, in Dar es Salaam, and a monthly, Mayibuye, in Lusaka.
70. In a letter dated 4 June 1968, addressed to the Chairman/Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee, the ANC pointed out that, in the face of a highly sophisticated and wide propaganda network which was at the disposal of the South African Government, it had not been easy to expose satisfactorily the evils of apartheid. Among the numerous difficulties that had handicapped its organization of sufficiently effective information media, the Congress cited the lack of funds for running their publications and for maintaining a network of missions of the ANC and its allies on a world-wide scale, and the lack of satisfactory and comprehensive facilities for radio broadcasts.
71. The Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa publishes Azania News, a fortnightly bulletin, in Lusaka; the PAC News and Views in Dar es Salaam; and Pan Africa in Algiers. The Pan Africanist Congress has expressed its need for financial assistance to enable it to reproduce all available literature on the international campaign against apartheid for wide distribution inside South Africa and to collect and disseminate adequately information about the internal South African situation. The Pan Africanist Congress finally requested financial or other assistance that would enable its information service to publish bulletins more regularly.
72. Pamphlets are frequently published by the liberation movements. For example, in 1963, ANC, in collaboration with the World Assembly of Youth, published What can I do? A guide to action against apartheid. This simple pamphlet is a well-documented exposition of the problem with many practical suggestions as to what the man in the street can do to help remedy the situation. A number of articles and books have been written by South Africans in exile or those who support the liberation movements. A list of this literature can be found in a special bibliography compiled by the Dag Hammarskjold Library at the request of the Sub-Committee. 36/

36/ A Selective Bibliography of the Racial Policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (ST/LIB/22).

B. Anti-apartheid movements

73. Anti-apartheid movements such as those active in the United Kingdom, Ireland, France, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, are performing valuable work by informing the public of the evils of apartheid and by leading a campaign to influence Governments to take action to help its victims. They publish bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets and articles in the press and organize lectures and seminars. They also promote studies on specific questions pertaining to the situation in South Africa. As they are voluntary organizations with limited resources, these movements have encountered difficulties in their work. These difficulties, which are common to most of the movements, have been underlined by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom, London, in its memorandum to the Special Committee. 37/

74. The Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom publishes a monthly newspaper, the Anti-Apartheid News, which is not distributed as widely as it should be, although it provides a unique channel for news and views about southern Africa - news not always easy to place elsewhere in the press. To remedy the situation, the Movement has suggested that the Special Committee should recommend, for example, that Member States of the United Nations should purchase the newspaper for use in schools, libraries etc. As the Movement is also engaged in research work, it has at its disposal valuable papers, which it cannot publish because of inadequate funds. The Movement said that it could provide the Special Committee with these papers and possibly other papers by outstanding experts associated with it, if they could be published. The Movement has thus raised the question of the assistance which the United Nations could provide so that wider publicity could be given to its publications, studies and papers sponsored by it.

75. The Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom informed the Special Committee during its session in Europe that it had set up a Trust Fund, the South African Racial Amity Trust, among whose trustees were Bishop Reeves, Mr. Thomas Kellogg, Q.C. and other officials of the Movement. The object of the Trust was to publish information about the evils of racial discrimination in southern Africa and the threat which that situation presents to the world. The Movement has appealed to Member States of the United Nations to contribute to the Trust.

76. The Anti-Apartheid Movement of Geneva and the Comité français contre l'apartheid have raised the question of publishing in French a monthly newspaper similar to the Anti-Apartheid News and have reiterated their request for financial support expressed to the Special Committee's Sub-Committee in 1967. So far, however, the French Anti-Apartheid Movement has endeavoured to inform French public opinion through a roneod periodical bulletin, and by publicizing and selling a limited number of pamphlets available in French, such as Voici l'apartheid, and Répression en Afrique du Sud, the March 1967 issue of the UNESCO Courier, and the UNESCO publication entitled Apartheid - its effects on education, science, culture and information. The Geneva Anti-Apartheid Movement publishes articles in French-language newspapers and periodicals in Switzerland, France and Belgium. It has also published a number of pamphlets, such as Voici l'apartheid, and sold a considerable number of publications of the Special Committee, the International

Labour Organisation, the International Commission of Jurists and, in particular, the special issue on apartheid of the UNESCO Courier.

77. The Geneva Anti-Apartheid Movement informed the Sub-Committee of two future projects which it intended to use as information media. First, a play on apartheid, on which one of its members had been working for two years. It is an original dramatic work in the style of Berthold Brecht and Peter Weiss, which, it was hoped, would be performed by a well-known theatre company in Geneva. The second project was a mobile photographic exhibition on apartheid.

78. In the Scandinavian countries, a number of organizations engaged in the campaign against apartheid have endeavoured with a degree of success to promote public awareness of the evils of the system of apartheid. In Norway, the Joint Council for Southern Africa provides information about the racial policies in southern Africa and co-operates with corresponding national and international organizations. In Sweden, thanks to the Swedish South Africa Committee, a number of local committees on South Africa and other organizations engaged in the campaign against racial discrimination, the Swedish public has paid great attention to the apartheid problem and has been kept fully informed of developments in South Africa. The amount of Swedish and foreign literature available on the topic in book stores, at newsstands etc. is considerable. ^{38/} In Denmark, the Danish Anti-Apartheid Committee on Assistance to the Victims of the Oppression of the African Population in the Southern Part of Africa has endeavoured to promote public awareness of the situation in South Africa.

C. Non-governmental organizations

79. In their replies to the letter dated 12 January, whereby the Special Committee requested the non-governmental organizations, inter alia, to inform it of activities planned and undertaken by them against apartheid, a number of non-governmental organizations indicated what action they had taken to disseminate information on apartheid. The replies have been compiled and issued in a document of the Special Committee. ^{39/} The Sub-Committee on Information on Apartheid has had opportunity to appraise the efforts of the International Commission of Jurists, an organization with which the Special Committee has consulted a number of times. Its Secretary-General, Mr. Sean McBride, submitted the following report:

"Apartheid Publications

"The contribution of the International Commission of Jurists to the campaign against apartheid consists in the first place in publicising developments in South Africa in the legal sphere. Its press releases are invariably given wide press coverage, and its regular publications reach a readership of over 46,000, including individuals in all branches of the legal profession, libraries, newspapers, diplomatic missions and non-lawyers. Its coverage is thus very broad and extends to all continents.

^{38/} Letter dated 11 June from the Permanent Representative addressed to the Secretary-General.

^{39/} A/AC.115/L.219.

"We have also reprinted and distributed widely special articles concerning apartheid. The two most recent examples are 'Apartheid in South Africa and in South West Africa' and 'South West Africa - the Court's Judgement'. A total aggregate of 6,000 copies of the two publications in English, French and Spanish were distributed throughout the world and copies made available to the Anti-Apartheid Movements; this distribution was additional to the original distribution of 46,000 in our regular publications.

"So far as the people of South Africa are concerned, we have a South African mailing list of 400, mainly members of the legal profession, but also including in particular newspapers which give publicity to our reports.

"Contacts within South Africa

"The International Commission of Jurists had no national section in South Africa for it is our policy not to organise our supporters in countries where the Rule of Law is absent and where such an organization would be either intimidated or infiltrated by the authorities. None the less, we do maintain individual contact with a number of lawyers who support our views...

"Contacts outside South Africa

"In addition, we are in constant contact and collaborate with other organizations and individuals outside South Africa including in particular South Africans who have gone into exile, with a view to ensuring that information does get into the country and that the independent South African press, which opposes the policy of apartheid, is encouraged and helped to maintain its independence."

80. Pursuant to the request of the first Congress of the International Commission of Jurists held in Athens in 1955, that it "proceed to an extensive investigation of the juridical situation of the groups of discriminated population and publish the results of the survey as soon as possible", the Commission had been increasingly concerned with events in South Africa. Its activities have included the publication of the following studies and press releases:

Autumn 1957	Journal I, 1	The Treason Trial in South Africa
December 1958	Bulletin No. 8	Report on the second phase of Treason Trial by the International Court of Justice observer
August 1959	Bulletin No. 9	Report of the third phase of Treason Trial by the International Court of Justice observer
1960	Special Study	South Africa and the Rule of Law
June 1962	Special Report	South African Incident: the Gamyile Case

October 1962	Bulletin No. 14	The General Law Amendment Act, 1962 ("Sabotage" Act)
July 1963	Bulletin No. 16	The General Law Amendment Act, 1963 ("90-day" Law)
23 October 1963	Press release	Sending of an observer to the first trial under the Sabotage Act
2 November 1963	Press release	Quashing of indictment in the above trial and arrests under the 90-day Law
16 December 1963	Press release	Report of International Commission of Jurists observer at the Rivonia Trial
December 1963	Bulletin No. 17	First trial under the Sabotage Act: work of the United Nations Special Committee on <u>Apartheid</u>
March 1964	Bulletin No. 18	Report of observer on the Rivonia Trial
April 1965	Bulletin No. 22	Restrictions on freedom of movement and residence of Africans under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act 1964
December 1965	Bulletin No. 24	Threat to exclude "Communists" from the legal profession
September 1966	Bulletin No. 27	180-day detention; trials in the Eastern Cape; retroactive legislation; banning orders and house arrest, the banning of Defence and Aid Fund
December 1966	Bulletin No. 28	South Africa and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
6 September 1966	Press release	Statement made by Secretary-General of the Commission to the United Nations Seminar on <u>Apartheid</u> , Brasilia, 1966
Winter 1966	Journal VII, 2	Judgement of the International Court of Justice on South West Africa
21 March 1967	Press release	International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
Summer 1967	Journal VIII, 1	The International Court and South West Africa - the implications of the judgement
June 1967	Bulletin No. 30	<u>Apartheid</u> in South West Africa
June 1967	Special Publication	<u>Apartheid</u> in South Africa and South West Africa

8 September 1967	Press release	Trial in Pretoria of thirty-seven South West Africans under the Terrorism Act
13 December 1967	Press release	Death sentences in Rhodesia and freedom fighters in southern Africa
27 February 1968	Press release	The Terrorism Act
June 1968	Bulletin No. 34	The Terrorism Act
August 1968	Special Study	Erosion of the Rule of Law in South Africa

81. The International Defence and Aid Fund is another organization with which the Special Committee has often consulted. In conformity with its main aims "to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake" in South Africa, the Fund has done considerable work in disseminating information on apartheid. The Fund has worked through its National Committees in Australia, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America, and in close association with the liberation movements of South Africa and other non-governmental organizations.

82. Through the quarterly publication, Christian Action, it had reported on developments in South Africa and on its own work. The Fund has issued and given wide distribution to the following publications, which deal with many aspects of apartheid:

South African Prisons and the Red Cross Investigation (an International Defence and Aid Fund examination with prisoner's testimony);

Purge of the Eastern Cape (an observer's account of present conditions in South Africa);

I am prepared to die (the text of Nelson Mandela's famous defence speech at the Rivonia Trial published as a pamphlet and a record);

This is Apartheid by Leslie and Neville Rubin (forty-five extracts from the South African Statute Book);

South Africa: The Cost of Freedom by Canon L.J. Collins (working paper prepared for the United Nations Seminar on Apartheid held at Brasilia, Brazil, 23 August-4 September 1966);

Bram Fischer Q.C.;

Badge of Slavery by Mary Benson (the Pass Laws of South Africa);

South Africa - Let the Facts Speak by Bishop Ambrose Reeves;

Report on South Africa by Bishop Ambrose Reeves (first-hand report after the police shootings in his former diocese of Sharpeville);

The Agony of Apartheid by Ronald Segal;

Dr. Verwoerd of South Africa by Martin Burger;

The Tragedy of Apartheid by Mary Benson;

Verwoerd's Police State by a distinguished South African lawyer;

Witness in the Dark by Suzanne Czonje (police torture and brutality in South Africa);

Prisoners of Apartheid;

The Christian Approach to Racial Problems in the Modern World by Alan Paton (author of Cry the Beloved Country);

The South African Treason Trial by Gerald Gardiner, Q.C.;

The Dispossessed (the human tragedy of apartheid);

Four Words on South Africa by Father Huddleston, Canon L.J. Collins, Father Raynes and Reverend Michael Scott;

Education for Apartheid by Brian Bunting;

"Transit Camps" in South Africa;^{40/} and

Welcome Valley by Mahlubi L. Mrwetyana.^{41/}

83. Moreover, the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, which has been working under the aegis of the International Defence and Aid Fund, has given publicity to developments in prison conditions in South Africa and to the mass trial of the South West Africans accused under the Terrorism Act, and has campaigned actively against the continued detention of Mr. Robert Sobukwe.

84. The International Defence and Aid Fund has informed the Sub-Committee that, in addition to all its activities, it now has a group of experts who keep the southern African situation under constant review, gathering all the latest facts and information available. The material gathered and prepared by this group is being distributed by the Fund to embassies, newspaper correspondents, non-governmental organizations, libraries, university and teaching staff and private individuals in many countries. The information deals with all aspects of apartheid and racial discrimination - economic, political, social, religious, educational, cultural, etc. It also records the decisions of the United Nations, the ILO, UNESCO, the International Commission of Jurists, international trade union organizations and other international bodies.

^{40/} Also issued as a publication of the Unit on Apartheid (ST/PSCA/SER.A/4).

^{41/} Ibid.

85. Finally, the International Defence and Aid Fund has often availed itself of many occasions to disseminate information on apartheid. For instance, on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, it placed full-page advertisements in the London Times and The New York Times, drawing attention to the plight of the opponents and victims of apartheid and the work of the Fund. In the framework of the observance of the International Human Rights Year and to mark South African Freedom Day, it held a major function on 26 June 1968 at Albert Hall in London and commissioned a special pamphlet on Human Rights in South Africa.

86. Non-governmental organizations, such as the Africa Bureau in the United Kingdom and the American Committee on Africa in the United States, labour and student unions and other organizations have issued reports on the South Africa scene.

V. SURVEY OF FILMS DEALING WITH APARTHEID

87. In view of the importance of the audio-visual means of information, particularly of films, the Sub-Committee decided to make a survey of existing films dealing with apartheid.

88. At the request of the Sub-Committee a survey was undertaken by the Office of Public Information of the United Nations Secretariat to determine whether any officially sponsored government films dealing with apartheid have been produced in the countries or regions served by United Nations Information Centres. The results indicated that, while there was no government-sponsored film on the subject, in some instances there has been official or semi-official sponsorship of the showing of films or film sequences on apartheid. A summary of the results of the survey of the Office of Public Information follows:

Scandinavia. No film on apartheid has been produced or sponsored by the Governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway or Sweden. However, the following additional information has been provided:

Denmark. While the Danish Government Film Office is considering the possibility of producing a documentary on apartheid, a feature film of a documentary character, entitled "Dilemma", has been screened publicly and is described as follows: 88-minute, English spoken with Danish sub-titles, privately produced and directed by Henry Carlsen, 1962, shot secretly in South Africa and based on Nadine Gordimer's novel A World of Strangers. 42/ A 16 mm. version of this film has been produced and listed in the Danish State Film Office catalogue and distributed by them for use by schools, associations, libraries etc. (The Danish State Film Office is the only distributor of 16 mm. films in Denmark.) Three copies have been produced which were screened about seventy times in 1967. Popular demand continues.

Sweden. A 25-minute, 16 mm. black and white Swedish language film "Only for Whites" deals with apartheid in South Africa and has been distributed privately in Sweden since 1962. Although it was not produced in Sweden, the agent does not know who produced it, but thinks it probably came from England, and is based on footage smuggled out. It is screened about fifty times a year. Fifty-six copies have been sold to schools, non-governmental organizations etc. There is no official Swedish involvement.

Norway. The same film has been distributed in Norway by the State Film Office since November 1963. It is described in their catalogue as a 22-minute film "On race relations in South Africa with examples of racial prejudice and the social injustices resulting from the Apartheid system". Three copies are available. In 1967, it was screened twenty-seven times and seen by 1,445 viewers. In all, it has been screened 129 times and seen by 5,858 viewers.

42/ London, Gollancz, 1958. (Also New York, Simon and Schuster, 1958.)

France and Belgium. No officially sponsored or government films dealing with apartheid have been produced in these countries. However, the film features produced by the United Nations Office of Public Information on the "Committee of Twenty-Four - Decolonization in Africa" and "United Nations Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa" are being distributed for non-commercial and group showing purposes in France and Belgium through the French Federation of UNESCO Clubs and the Belgium United Nations Association. The United Nations Information Centre in Paris also participated in a Cinema Week on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination organized by the Maison de la Culture of Nanterre-Paris, where showings of these two films, followed by conferences and audience participation, took place on 21 March.

Morocco. No film on the subject of apartheid has so far been produced or sponsored by the Government and no such film is expected. However, visual media in Morocco cover fairly well the subject of apartheid and the Actualités Marocaines, a weekly film reportage of current events, produced by the Centre Cinématographique Marocain and shown in all cinemas in the country, has occasionally included sequences pertaining to apartheid. But the sequences are of foreign origin. Similarly, in its reportage programmes, the Moroccan television has several times included sequences or snapshots on the subject, but, again, these were made abroad. Since both the Centre Cinématographique Marocain as well as the television are agencies of the Government, members of the Sub-Committee may be interested to learn that, while there has not been any film produced or sponsored locally, the government services have incorporated in their visual information programmes items produced abroad, generally by private companies.

USSR. In the USSR, the following documentary films dealing with apartheid or containing sequences on apartheid have been released: The Law of Meanness, produced in 1962; One Memorial Move, produced in 1966; Disgrace to United States Racialists, produced in 1968; and Face to Face with Racialism, produced in 1968.

89. Two films on South Africa, Vakani Awake and Let My People Go, were shown to the Special Committee during its meetings in London last June. They portray various aspects of life under the apartheid régime. The Sub-Committee has been informed that another film, White Africa, shown by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had been widely acclaimed as a good documentary film. Ninety Days, another BBC production, portrays justice as the South African Government conceives it, through the real experience of Mrs. Ruth First, who was imprisoned in 1963 under the "ninety-days law" without trial and spent 117 days in solitary confinement. The film was shown in the United States of America in 1967.

90. In the United States, the following films have been shown on different television networks.

Sabotage in South Africa - CBS Reports, produced and shown in 1962 by the Columbia Broadcasting System. It features interviews with Chief Luthuli, Mr. B.J. Vorster, the then Minister of Justice, and other high government officials. The South African Government's policies of apartheid, what they mean for Whites, as well as for non-Whites, the resulting tensions and the highly explosive situation prevailing in South Africa are examined. The commentary is by Walter Cronkite.

South African Essay consists of two films: Part I - Fruit of Fear and Part II - One Nation, two Nationalisms. Each film is complete. Produced in 1965 for National Educational Television by WGBH, Boston's educational station (Henry Morgenthau III, producer and writer), it depicts life in South Africa and the reasons for unrest there. It analyses the political situation and includes excerpts from speeches and interviews with personalities of many shades of opinion, including Prime Minister Verwoerd, Alan Paton and Chief Luthuli, Nat Nakasa and Can Themba, two exiled Black South Africans, the Rt. Reverend Joost de Blank, Professor Nicholas Oliver of Stellenbosch University and others.

91. There is also a feature film, Come Back Africa, produced in 1963 by Mr. Lionel Rogosin, which depicts the human drama and suffering resulting from the policies of apartheid. The story, performed by a South African cast, involves the transition of an African from rural life to the city of Johannesburg.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

92. A cursory survey of South African propaganda in the United States of America and in the United Kingdom shows that the public opinion-moulding activities of the South African Government have been effectively planned and well financed. The Sub-Committee feels that a comprehensive and systematic study of these activities in the countries which are the main trading partners of South Africa is required in order to make appropriate recommendations to the States concerned. The Special Committee may wish to request studies by outstanding experts on the subject.

93. In the meantime, to counter the South African propaganda, all States should be requested to scrutinize and take measures in line with their domestic laws against the operations of all organizations used by the South African Government under the guise of information services and against national private groups which spread South African propaganda. Member States should also be invited to encourage their national news media to publicize more effectively the activities of the United Nations bodies in connexion with the question of apartheid and to propagate more widely the relevant information supplied by the United Nations. Member States can also contribute to the dissemination of information on apartheid by providing facilities including radio and television to their national organizations opposed to apartheid and to South African liberation movements.

94. While regarding the material produced by the Special Committee as valuable, a number of organizations and individuals have pointed out that it is not always suitable for mass publicity. What is needed to counter the South African propaganda more effectively, they said, is a series of detailed, sophisticated, well-edited and illustrated pamphlets which would be produced regularly on specific subjects. The various topics suggested include:

(a) The question of supply of arms to South Africa (as indicated by the French Anti-Apartheid Movement, more detailed evidence should be made available to the international community to substantiate the charge that certain countries, France in particular, are supplying arms to South Africa in contravention of the Security Council resolutions. Such evidence should be supported by factual and statistical information);

(b) Bantustans, the fraud of self-government;

(c) Mass population removals;

(d) Break-up of families;

(e) Conditions of workers in particular industries - in the mines, for instance;

(f) Wages and poverty in South Africa;

(g) The profits of apartheid;

- (h) Immigration to South Africa, particularly of technical personnel;
- (i) South African economic imperialism (South African investment in Africa);
- (j) Are South African Blacks better off than Africans in many other African States?
- (k) The state of Africans, Coloureds and Asians in terms of education;
- (l) The cultural life in South Africa (censorship, apartheid in theatres etc.).

95. These documentaries should be prepared in such a way that they would provide the public opinion with background information which could stand the test of time and be a permanent source of reference. The Sub-Committee feels that, if their subjects are carefully selected, the pamphlets will have great impact on public opinion. It therefore endorses the idea of publishing them. The Special Committee may consider recommending to the General Assembly to create a body of consultants or to hire consultants to work with the Unit on Apartheid in the preparation of these pamphlets. The Special Committee may decide on the list of the topics and the names of the consultants in consultation with the anti-apartheid movements, and with the group of journalists and writers who exchanged views with the Committee in London during its session in Europe. The pamphlets might be published through the United Nations as documents of the Unit on Apartheid or through suitable publishers as studies carrying the researcher's and writer's names. They should be published in English, French and Spanish.

96. Of course such a project will involve an increase in the functions of the Unit on Apartheid, and the appropriation of necessary funds to discharge its increased responsibilities.

97. The Sub-Committee recommends that, in addition to the task related to the production of the series of pamphlets, the Unit on Apartheid be given the following responsibilities:

(a) It should promote co-operation and co-ordination between the anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations sympathetic to the struggle against apartheid regarding their information activities and, to this end, act as a clearing-house for information on their activities. It should publish a periodic bulletin in English and French to inform them about the activities in the United Nations on the question of apartheid, report on the anti-apartheid activities around the world, publicize relevant material, and report on the major developments in South Africa. The bulletin should not duplicate the publications feature of the Office of Public Information entitled: The United Nations and Apartheid;

(b) It should see that translations are made of valuable material that exists only in English - particularly some of the publications sponsored by the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom - into French for the Anti-Apartheid Movements of France and Geneva, Switzerland and into other languages (German and Japanese) as required. The Unit on Apartheid, in the discharge of its mandate, should consult with such organizations as the South African Racial Amity Trust, established by the Anti-Apartheid Movement

of the United Kingdom 43/ and with the Group of Experts of the International Defence and Aid Fund; 44/

(c) It should acquire regularly enough copies of the Anti-Apartheid News for free distribution to all Permanent Missions to the United Nations and reproduce in its periodic report the main articles thereof.

98. The Sub-Committee is of the opinion that the work accomplished by the Office of Public Information regarding dissemination of information on apartheid, through the coverage of the Special Committee's activities as well as through its various publications testifies to its willingness to co-operate fully with the Special Committee. Unless the existing mandate of the Office of Public Information is adapted to meet the requirements of the informational campaign against apartheid the Sub-Committee would recommend that the Special Committee request the Unit on Apartheid to undertake these new projects. However, the Sub-Committee feels that within its present mandate, the Office of Public Information should:

(a) Give adequate publicity to the reports of the Special Rapporteur, appointed under resolution 7 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights, and the Ad Hoc Group of Experts, established under resolution 2 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights as recommended by the Economic and Social Council;

(b) Continue to publish its Publications Features on Apartheid and distribute them as widely as possible;

(c) Increase its radio coverage of the United Nations activities relating to apartheid and prepare television scripts (for distribution around the world) on apartheid and on the work of the Special Committee;

(d) Give the necessary instructions to its Information Centres for the widest distribution of material on the question of apartheid. Information officers specialized on information about apartheid and southern Africa, should be attached to the Information Centres in London, Paris, Rome etc., to brief editors, journalists, writers, government officials etc., on the situation in South Africa.

99. In view of the importance the Sub-Committee attaches to the use of films on the situation in South Africa, it recommends that the Unit on Apartheid should acquire the best of the films mentioned in chapter V in order to copy and dub them for distribution to the anti-apartheid movements and other organizations which may wish to show them. The Office of Public Information should assist the Unit to carry out this task.

100. The Sub-Committee took note of the suggestions by anti-apartheid movements that the United Nations should co-operate with them by displaying their posters and publications. The Sub-Committee believes that the United Nations specialized agencies and the European Office of the United Nations should be invited to lend their active support to the anti-apartheid movements and other organizations concerned in their activities regarding the dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid. Such an appeal should be well-taken since the anti-apartheid movements and organizations share common cause with the United Nations in eliminating the evil doctrine of apartheid.

43/ See paragraph 75 above.

44/ See paragraph 84 above.

101. Of course, the specialized agencies should be requested to continue their co-operation with the Special Committee, which should feel free to ask them to undertake any project within their competence. The Sub-Committee recommends that they should also be requested to devote adequate resources to information on the evils of apartheid. The pamphlets which the ILO has planned to devote to labour matters in South Africa should be distributed as widely as possible, if necessary, with the assistance of the Unit on Apartheid. The Sub-Committee feels that it would be desirable to ask the World Health Organization (WHO) to prepare a comprehensive report on health and apartheid in South Africa.

ANNEX II

REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 17 OCTOBER 1967

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Defiance of the United Nations

1. During the past year, the Government of the Republic of South Africa has shown no evidence of any willingness to implement United Nations resolutions calling for an abandonment of apartheid. Instead, as shown in this review, it has intensified the implementation of that policy.

2. The continued application of apartheid laws has led to a further uprooting of tens of thousands of non-Whites from their homes, harassment and humiliation of Africans in urban areas, and denial of elementary human rights to the great majority of the population. The South African Government has continued to take ruthless repressive measures against opponents of this inhuman policy, and has adopted new legislation to deprive the coloured people of their meagre and indirect representation in Parliament.

3. The South African Government leaders have repeatedly declared their rejection of the resolutions of the United Nations organs and the demands of world public opinion calling for an end to their racist policies. Illustrative of this was a statement by Prime Minister Vorster, who claimed on 1 April 1968 that South Africa was fighting a two-front battle with the Communist world, which sought its downfall, and the non-Communist world, which tried to change the country against its wishes. He added:

"South Africa does not want to go under and neither does it want to be changed. We want to stay as we are ...

"The demands being made upon us from both sides we cannot and shall not meet, because it will mean the end of our existence in this part of the world." 1/

4. Moreover the South African Government has resisted and defied a number of decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning colonial territories in southern Africa.

5. In defiance of mandatory decisions of the Security Council, and in violation of its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, it has continued to provide assistance to the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. Its security forces have been sent into Southern Rhodesia to assist the forces of the illegal régime in military operations against adherents of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union of Southern Rhodesia and the African National Congress of South Africa. These forces have remained in Southern Rhodesia during the period under review and engaged in a number of military operations.

1/ Cape Times, 2 April 1968

6. The South African Government has also continued the illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966. It threatened to prevent the United Nations Council for Namibia from entering the territory in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V). It has detained, deported, tried and sentenced Namibians under the notorious Terrorism Act of 1967 in defiance of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

7. Moreover, on 27 October 1967, Prime Minister Vorster announced that he had given instructions to deduct from South Africa's contribution to the United Nations budget the pro rata cost of the United Nations International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, which he derisively described as a "picnic". 2/

B. Violent conflict and underground activity

8. The policies and actions of the South African Government during the past year have greatly increased the tension in southern Africa and led to continued violent conflict in many areas. The Special Committee noted in its last report that the liberation movement of the South African people was convinced that a resort to armed struggle had become indispensable for the achievement of their legitimate rights. Adherents of the African National Congress of South Africa, attempting to pass through Southern Rhodesia to their homeland, have been confronted by the security forces of the Ian Smith régime and the South African Government, with the result that armed conflict has taken place.

9. Press reports confirm the death or capture of a number of these African freedom fighters in battles in Southern Rhodesia. Official communiqués issued by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia announced the death of one South African policeman and the wounding of several. 3/ Spokesmen of the African National Congress stated, however, that the South African Defence Force was engaged in the operations and that its casualties were being concealed.

10. Press reports indicate intensification of the armed conflict in Southern Rhodesia. Cape Times reported on 24 July 1968:

"Security sources say that the guerillas are better trained and better armed and equipped than they were a year ago - and much more determined.

"Abnormally large quantities of military equipment have been found in dumps in remote parts of the bush. One source described it as 'a fantastic amount' ...

"It is believed that much of it is intended to arm and equip following groups and Rhodesian Valley tribesmen who are being urged to join the guerillas."

11. Press reports also stated that between the end of June and the beginning of August, twelve South Africans, presumed to be adherents of the Pan Africanist Congress, had been killed or captured by Portuguese Security Forces, while they were passing through Mozambique to South Africa in an attempt to open a new route.

2/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 28 October 1967.

3/ Cape Times, 20 July 1968

12. Gen. R.C. Hiemstra, Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force, warned on 7 August 1968 that there was a great danger that the present "terrorist" attacks in Southern Rhodesia could gradually become a conventional war. 4/
13. Lieutenant-General C.A. Fraser, Commander of South Africa's Joint Combat Forces, was reported to have stated on 23 August 1968 that southern Africa was experiencing internal revolutionary activity and should expect more frequent, widespread and efficient attempts. 5/
14. Meanwhile, there has been increasing evidence of resistance under the leadership of banned African organizations inside South Africa.
15. A number of Africans were arrested in Victoria West in April and July 1968 on charges of sabotage and membership in the underground "Pogo". 6/ Twenty-six of these were charged in Cape Town Criminal Session of subversive activity between 8 December 1965 and 24 April 1968. They were alleged to have participated in meetings of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, and to have conspired (a) to attack and murder the police at Victoria West and then seize firearms and ammunition; (b) to attack and murder white inhabitants at Victoria West; (c) to seize control of the power station at Victoria West and render the town's electricity supply useless or unserviceable; and (d) to tamper with the drugs, pills, poisons and medical supplies at the Mount Coke Hospital, King William's town. 7/
16. The National Party newspaper, Dagbreek en Landstem, reported the following on 7 July 1968:

"Current events in South Africa show clearly that subversive elements are again actively organizing underground, and that in some of our cities already new organizational units or cells have probably again been created.

"It is the old Rivonia pattern. All the activities are geared to the sharpening of and succour for terrorism. The Government is openly and daringly being challenged. The question being asked is whether it is not the work of foreign-trained members of banned political organizations because it cannot be argued with certainty that such trained people have not found their way in South Africa.

"On Wednesday, 26th June, the so-called freedom day which was also celebrated in London by our enemies. an inflammatory tape-recording of the ANC (African National Congress) was played in a Johannesburg street. It was full of exhortation to violence.

"Who made the recording and who was responsible for its playing - under the noses of the police?

"Verbatim typed reports of it are now also being distributed by post and other methods. Such things require organization and are obviously the work of more than one person.

4/ Cape Times, 21 August 1968.

5/ Rand Daily Mail, 26 August 1968.

6/ Cape Times, 12 July 1968.

7/ Ibid., 7 September 1968.

"The broadcast is the most audacious step the ANC has taken since it was suppressed by the Government in 1963-1965.

"This defiant act was accompanied by other developments. Hundreds of leaflets concerning the banned ANC were found in Commercial Road, Durban. A large banner fluttered near a garage in the same street. Senior Security Branch officers have been called in. They say the matter is being investigated.

"This is the first time that leaflets of the ANC have been distributed in Durban since that organization was banned.

"Simultaneously other leaflets and printed, illustrated booklets also made their appearance in South Africa. The propaganda was posted in South Africa but possibly printed in London and smuggled here. There are numerous illustrations of 'freedom fighters' who are attacking South Africa and Rhodesia. There are also several mis-statements alleging brutality to non-Whites.

"The booklet is printed in four Bantu languages and English. The introductory headline, under the flag of the ANC states: 'We are at War'.

"Last month two other leaflets with virtually the same content were distributed in South Africa.

"The purpose is clear: it is to condition the non-Whites in South Africa for an armed uprising and to prepare the way for guerilla fighters."

C. Aggressiveness of the South African Government

17. The South African Government is extending its intervention all over southern Africa, seeking to build a southern African bloc under its hegemony. On the one hand, it is taking advantage of the economic and other difficulties of neighbouring territories. On the other hand, its spokesmen have repeatedly declared that South African military and police forces are concerned with the whole of southern Africa.

18. Alleging that the armed adherents of the South African liberation movements were backed by foreign Powers, South African Government spokesmen claimed that the Zambesi was South Africa's security border and threatened independent African States, particularly the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania with military intervention.

19. Prime Minister Vorster declared on 23 October 1967 that he was not going to wait till members of the Organization of African Unity reached the Limpopo. The Zambesi would be the border in this regard. 8/

20. The Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, stated on 4 November 1967 that the task that rested on the South African Defence Force was the defence of southern Africa against communism from the north. Alleging that the Communist Powers were the cause of restlessness in Africa, he said that South Africa would not allow those "evil powers" to gain a foothold south of the Zambesi. 9/

8/ Cape Times, 24 October 1967.

9/ Ibid., 6 November 1967.

21. Prime Minister Vorster reiterated on 16 and 31 December 1967 that his Government would fight "terrorists" not only in Southern Rhodesia but also "wherever South Africa is allowed to fight them". 10/ He declared in a New York message that it was South Africa's task "to maintain South and southern Africa as a bastion of the free world". 11/

22. A Mozambique Soldiers Fund was established in South Africa, at a meeting in Durban in December 1967 addressed by the Administrator of the Natal, Mr. I.J.A. Gardener. He was reported to have stated that if the 80,000 Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique and Angola had to be withdrawn, South Africa could become involved in the "terrorist" war within a matter of weeks. The Portuguese territories and Rhodesia, he declared, had become South Africa's first line of defence. He added that there was no doubt about the fact that South Africa would have the fullest justification for extending its Rhodesian fight against "terrorists" to the two Portuguese territories. 12/

10/ Statements by Prime Minister Vorster on 16 December and 31 December 1967. Cape Times, 18 December 1967 and 1 January 1968.

11/ Cape Times, 1 January 1968.

12/ Southern Africa, London, 11 December 1967.

II. CONTINUED IMPLEMENTATION OF APARTHEID

23. The South African Government has continued actively to implement its apartheid legislation and policies. Thousands of non-White families have been uprooted from their homes under the Group Areas Act. Speeding up the removal of "black spots" from areas designated White, the Government has removed African families to locations without even minimum facilities. A Government decree preventing indigenous Africans from owning or building their own homes in urban areas was issued in February 1968.

24. The South African Government also adopted a number of new legislative measures to consolidate apartheid, notably the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act and the South African Indian Council Act. The passage of these new measures is intended to prohibit multi-racial political parties and to disenfranchise the Coloured population, which was represented by four Whites in Parliament.

25. In order to gain readmission to the Olympic Games, the South African Government announced some relaxation of segregation as regards the South African team at the Games, while reaffirming prohibition of integrated sport in South Africa. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) decided by postal ballot in February 1968 to allow South African participation in the Olympic Games to be held in Mexico in 1968, but reserved the decision in April because of strong protests from over forty nations.

26. Some of these developments are reviewed in this chapter.

A. Implementation of apartheid legislation

27. The Population Registration Act, one of the pillars of apartheid which provides for the classification of all people by race, continues to lead to great distress. Two cases are illustrative.

28. The nightmare of apartheid continued for Sandra Laing,^{13/} an eleven-year-old school-girl who had been reclassified "Coloured" in February 1966. Though she was subsequently reclassified "White", the Transvaal Education Department refused to allow her to enter a hostel for White girls.^{14/} Prof. J.J. Mulder, Deputy Director of Education, was reported to have informed her father that the Department would consider granting a bursary to pay for her private boarding. The Administrator of the Transvaal declared: "I think it is a matter of weighing up the wishes of one parent against the wishes of the majority. People representing parents in that area decided she would not be welcome at the hostel".^{15/}

^{13/} Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1967, A/6864/Add.1, S/8196/Add.1, annex II, paragraphs 65-67.

^{14/} Daily Dispatch, East London, 14 November 1967 (quoted in Spotlight on South Africa, Dar es Salaam, 15 December 1967).

^{15/} Ibid.

29. Deploring the lack of consistency and the undeserved fate of an innocent girl in the process, Die Oosterling the Port Elizabeth Nationalist paper, commented on 16 November 1967:

"How does this tally with the decision of the highest level that she must be considered White? And how do the objections of the parents with children in the hostel tally with the feelings of parents who have children in the school where she is welcome?"

"One has to deal here with a clash between two points of view: that of the population register, which is so decisive in such cases, and that of the parents who do not want to accept that decision."

30. For eighteen months the parents of the girl sought a school in vain until early this year she was admitted to an undisclosed White convent. She had lost two years of schooling as a result of the reclassification. 16/

31. Another case, which made the headlines last year, involved Mr. and Mrs. E.J. Dickson and their six children. Mr. Dickson, a fifty-two-year old timber worker of the Craggs near Plettenberg, and his family, had lived all their lives as Whites and had been accepted as Whites until 1967, when parents of pupils at the Woodlands Afrikaans Primary School withdrew their children from the school claiming that the Dickson boys were Coloured. The case was taken before the Race Classification Board which decided on 16 November 1967 that the family was Coloured, though both Mr. and Mrs. Dickson had attended the school and all members of the family held identity cards and birth certificates stating that they were White.

32. Thereupon, the two Dickson sons, aged nine and ten, were told to leave the school. Mrs. Dickson had to teach the children at home.

33. Mrs. Dickson was quoted as stating:

"I have always lived as a White and have always been regarded as a White. Both my parents are White and so are the parents of my husband... My mother died in 1956. She died as a White person. My father is well-known in Port Elizabeth and my sisters and brothers are all regarded as White... I have lived at the Craggs all my life, and suddenly last year found most of the community had turned against my family. Now I live alone and am scorned by my neighbours... Is a piece of paper with a certain word on it of this importance?"

34. The Immorality Act, another mainstay of the apartheid system, which prohibits sexual relations between the races, continued to lead to invasions of privacy and many arrests.

35. The Minister of Justice and of Prisons, Mr. P.C. Pelser, told the Parliament on 22 March 1968 that 710 men and 643 women had been charged under the Immorality

Act between 1 July 1966 and 30 June 1967, and that 363 men and 330 women had been convicted. 17/

36. The number of convictions under the Immorality Act in the Cape Town Regional Court in 1967 were over thrice the 1966 figure. 18/

37. The Group Areas Act continued to be implemented relentlessly. A record number of 105 group areas were proclaimed between January and June 1967. A report on the activities of the Department of Planning tabled in Parliament on 5 February 1968 pointed out that proposals to create group areas were published at ninety-seven centres. Up to February 1968 a total of 1,073 group areas had been proclaimed. 19/

38. Illustrative of the way this Act is implemented is the case of Mr. Hassan Osman, a seventy-four-year-old Indian grocery store-owner of Plumstead. He and his family had run the store for sixty-four years. In terms of the Group Areas Act, the Department of Community Development acquired the premises from him and informed him that he would have to leave when an alternative shop became available in an Indian group area. The Department charged Mr. Osman an exorbitant rent of 225 Rand (\$315) a month, and he was obliged to close his business. "I was so upset at first that I couldn't speak", the Cape Times quoted him as saying. 20/

39. In pursuance of its decision to rid Natal of "black spots", the Government announced plans to remove a total of 12,000 Africans from their homes in the province. Two thousand Africans at Meran were scheduled to be removed from 29 January 1968.

40. In what the Rand Daily Mail described as "one of the strongest inter-church actions in recent years", a joint committee of highly-placed ministers of five denominations, led by His Grace Denis Hurley, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, appealed to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in December 1967 to slow down the uprooting of Africans from their homes, expressing concern about the lack of facilities in the "homelands" to which Africans were to be removed. They also asked him to receive a deputation. Archbishop Hurley stated on 26 January 1968:

17/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 22 March 1968, cols. 2655-56. The Minister gave the details of charges and convictions by racial groups as follows:

	<u>Charged</u>		<u>Convicted</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
White	671	18	349	11
Coloured	20	267	5	126
Asian	11	20	4	13
African	8	338	5	180

18/ Twenty-six men and women were convicted in 1966 and eighty in 1967. Cape Times, 28 December 1967.

19/ Ibid., 6 February 1968.

20/ Ibid., 13 April 1968.

"We received a formal acknowledgement of this a week later. When nothing more happened for some time, I sent a telegram to the Minister asking that the matter be treated urgently.

"We received a letter saying the Minister needed fuller information before he could consider seeing a deputation. On 17 January, I sent a further telegram on behalf of the committee, pointing out that the removals were imminent and that we believed a postponement was imperative, pending his investigation.

"We also addressed a telegram to the Minister of Community Development, Mr. Maree, who is a member of Parliament for part of the affected area. We asked him to look into the position. On 18 January, we received a reply that the matter was receiving urgent attention." 21/

41. Ignoring the appeals, the Government, on 29 January, moved the first batch of Africans from Meran to a resettlement site at Limehill, where essential facilities were not provided.

42. Replying to a question in Parliament, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. "Blaar" Coetzee, conceded that no permanent sanitary facilities had been constructed at Limehill prior to the move, and that there was no health centre or clinic at Limehill. 22/

43. The Rand Daily Mail of 16 March 1968 reported that the resettlement area at Limehill had already begun to look like a slum, even though only 1,000 evacuees from Meran had been settled there. "An air of depression and hopeless resignation characterized the atmosphere of Limehill." The Africans lived in over-crowded tents offering little shelter from the rains. There was a singular lack of hygienic facilities and the inhabitants expected a weekly visit from a surgeon. Facilities for schooling and shopping were inadequate and families depended "heavily on the free soup kitchen being run by African nuns from a nearby mission".

44. Not one of the families is reported to have expressed anything but dislike for Limehill. They were accustomed to having space to spread themselves, to grow crops and keep cattle, they said. 23/

45. The treatment meted out to the Africans in Limehill drew sharp criticism. In The Star of Johannesburg, it was written that "It is in line with the abolition of their parliamentary franchise before they had an alternative political system. It is in accordance with the closing of the universities to them before their own college could give them an equivalent education. This is not governing. It is a sheer evasion of all the normal responsibilities of administration." 24/

46. The Natal leader of the Progressive Party, Mr. Leo Boyd, in a press statement deploring the Limehill removals, stated that "a Government, elected solely by

21/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 January 1968.

22/ House of Assembly Debates, 13 February 1968, col. 400.

23/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 16 March 1968.

24/ The Star, Johannesburg, 30 January 1968.

Whites and responsible only to Whites" was taking away "the few precious possessions of the meagre livelihood the African families in the affected area around Dundee have struggled to achieve". He added that "one of the greatest evils of apartheid" was that it made so many people insensible to human suffering whenever it was inflicted on persons belonging to other racial groups. "Had one White family in Durban been without shelter for one night, dozens of generous people would have rendered assistance immediately..." 25/

47. Speaking in the Senate, Senator Charles Henderson of Natal criticized the manner of resettlement and said:

"The removals are being made, in pursuance of Government policy, of people who are living, quite legally, in nearly all cases, in the existing homes in which they have lived for many generations; they are being moved without any say so far as the general principle of movement is concerned, and they have no control over the implementation of this policy. In other words, they are the defenceless wards of the Hon. Minister." 26/

48. A group of Africans long resident in the 8,000-acre Catholic Mission were moved from Maria Ratchitz on 18 March 1968.

49. It was reported that, in April 1968, at least 150,000 Africans had been shifted in the previous year from farms, "black spots" and urban locations in the region of the Tugela basin and resettled in nearby homeland areas in the biggest removal project ever in Natal. 27/ The Department of Bantu Administration and Development announced in April 1968 that three large urban areas would be created to provide homes and jobs for many of those removed. 28/

50. At the end of April 1968, about 400 Africans were moved from Esterist, Pretoria, to a place called "Stinkwater", thirty-five miles away, and were obliged to stay in tents during the cold winter. They were expected to build their own houses.

51. Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., described the conditions in Stinkwater as a "disgrace". There was no employment anywhere near and the men went to Pretoria to work. They had to leave at 4 a.m. by bus, paying forty South African cents for a single fare. They faced daily risk as they did not have passes and permits to work in Pretoria. 29/

B. New legislation on political rights of Coloured and Indian population groups

52. During the past year, the South African Parliament has enacted new laws aimed at the consolidation of apartheid in the political field, notably: (a) the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which prohibits multi-racial parties;

25/ The Star, Johannesburg, 1 February 1968.

26/ Republic of South Africa, Senate Debates (Hansard), 13 February 1968, col. 109.

27/ South African Newscheck, 26 April 1968.

28/ Ibid.

29/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 14 September 1968.

(b) the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, which provides for the abolition of the representation of Coloured voters in Parliament; (c) the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act providing for an increase in the membership of the Council; and (d) the South African Indian Council Act, making the Council a statutory body.

53. The legislation obliged the Progressive Party reluctantly to confine its membership to Whites. The Liberal Party decided to dissolve itself rather than compromise the principle of multi-racialism.

54. The South African Coloured People's Congress, in a memorandum to the Special Committee in June 1968, 30/ described the significance of this legislation as follows:

"While we consider the present form of representation of the Coloured voters by four white members of Parliament as totally undemocratic, we consider the new legislation a further curtailment of the meagre political rights of the Coloured South Africans. While the Government attempts to create the impression that the Coloured Representative Council is a democratic institution since it will be elected by Coloured men and women of voting age, it is in fact an instrument of the Central Government's apartheid policy.

"The 'Interference' Act prohibits mixed membership of parties, and is aimed specifically at those anti-nationalist government organizations which might have the support of non-whites. We are positive that had the non-white people at any time shown support for the Government and its policies, it would not have introduced such legislation. But this law is tantamount to an act of revenge against the Coloured community for consistently supporting anti-Government spokesmen, however limited, particularly in the elections for Coloured representatives. It also prevents anti-Government 'white' political parties from putting their policies to the Coloured community. The whole Act is designed to subjugate the non-white people to the policy of apartheid of the National Party Government. The Act also prohibits any political party from receiving financial assistance from overseas. This also curtails the strength of smaller parties, particularly non-white, who might depend on donations from friends abroad."

1. Background to the legislation

55. It may be recalled that the Parliament of South Africa is composed entirely of Whites. Franchise is limited to Whites and to a small number of Coloured males. Under the Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1951, the Coloured voters were placed on a separate roll and entitled to elect four Whites to represent them in the House of Assembly and two Whites to represent them in the Cape Provincial Council. The other population groups have no representation at all in the Parliament.

56. In 1949, the Government established an Advisory Council for Coloured Affairs consisting of fifteen nominated and twelve elected members. All the leading

Coloured organizations boycotted the elections to this Council. In 1964, legislation was enacted to replace the Advisory Council by a Coloured Persons Representative Council, with thirty elected and sixteen appointed members, to extend the franchise to all Coloured adults in elections to the Council. Elections to the new Council were scheduled for 1969.

57. A National Indian Council, consisting entirely of Government nominees, was established in 1964. It was boycotted by recognized leaders of the Indian community.

58. The Government claimed that by the development of the Council for Coloured and Indian people, and the Bantustans for the Africans, all the population groups would be provided with an opportunity for self-government in accordance with the policy of apartheid. The Whites would control the sovereign Parliament, while the non-White groups would be represented only in subsidiary and advisory bodies.

59. During the past few years, as the Special Committee noted in its reports, the Government became concerned about the meagre and indirect Coloured representation in Parliament as the Progressive Party, a multi-racial party opposed to apartheid, began to gain support among the Coloured voters. In September 1964, the then Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, warned that he would not allow White parties, to "meddle in the politics of the Bantu, Coloureds and Indians". 31/

60. The Government proceeded to take legislative measures in 1965, when the Progressive Party won the two Coloured seats in the Cape Provincial Council and it was anticipated that they might win the Coloured seats in the House of Assembly at the next elections.

61. The Government indicated that legislation would be introduced to prevent interference by Whites in non-White politics.

62. By the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Acts of 1965 and 1967, it postponed elections to the Parliament from the Coloured constituencies and extended the terms of Coloured representatives beyond the dissolution of Parliament in 1966.

63. In September 1966, it published the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill designed to prevent multi-racial political activities. The bill evoked protests from parties and organizations, among them the Progressive and Liberal parties, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

64. Following strong objections by opposition parties, the House of Assembly decided on 27 September 1966 to refer the bill to a Select Committee for inquiry and report. 32/

31/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 9 September 1964.

32/ Mrs. Suzman, Progressive Party, opposing the motion to refer the bill to a Select Committee, said: "I think the correct course for dealing with this Bill is not to send it to a select committee, but to relegate it to the waste-paper-basket." (House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 27 September 1966.)

65. A parliamentary elect committee composed of six National Party members, three United Party members and Mr. A. Bloomberg (a Coloured People's representative in the House of Assembly) was established in October 1966 with the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. S.L. Muller, as chairman. It was converted on 19 October 1966 into a commission and its terms of reference were extended to include the investigation of any matter relating to the political representation of the various groups.

2. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into improper political interference and the political representation of the various population groups

66. The 368-page report of the Muller Commission was tabled in the Assembly on 16 February 1968. 33/ The six National Party members signed a majority report while three others signed a minority report. 34/

67. The majority of the Commission recommended the abolition of Coloured representation in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council upon the expiry of the terms of the present office-holders, as well as the prohibition of political parties with multi-racial membership. They recommended that the name of the Coloured Persons Representative Council be changed to a Coloured Legislative Council, that it be expanded to consist of forty elected and twenty nominated members and that it should take over certain activities and functions of the Department of Coloured Affairs and furthermore be empowered to levy taxes. 35/

68. The majority further recommended the establishment of: (a) a Coloured Affairs Commission to serve, together with the Minister of Coloured Affairs, as a link between the Coloured Legislative Council and the Government in matters over which the Council had no control, and to advise and assist the Minister in all such matters affecting the Coloured population as he may refer to it; and (b) a select committee of the Parliament to deal with Coloured Affairs, and to maintain liaison with a similar committee of the Coloured Legislative Council and such other persons or bodies as it may decide.

69. As to the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, the majority recommended that "the Bill should not be proceeded with within its present form". 36/ Convinced, however, that legislation against improper interference by one race group in the politics of another was desirable, it recommended that in the legislation envisaged provision should be made for the prohibition of the following: 37/

33/ Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Improper Political Interference and the Political Representation of the Various Population Groups (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1968).

34/ Mr. J.M. Connan, M.P. (United Party), who was precluded, by reason of illness, from participating in the discussions and voting on the proposals emanating from the deliberations of the Commission, declared his support of the Minority Report.

35/ The carrying out of these functions, it was estimated, would give the Council administrative control over expenditure amounting to about 46 million Rand (\$64.4 million) on the basis of the 1967-1968 estimates.

36/ Report of the Commission of Enquiry, para. (d), p. xvii.

37/ Ibid., para. (e), p. xvii.

- (a) Active participation by a member of one population group in the party political activities of another group;
- (b) Political parties with mixed membership;
- (c) Financial assistance by a political party of one population group to a political party of another population group; and
- (d) The acceptance by a political party of financial aid from foreign sources.

70. In respect of the Indian population group, the majority recommended that in due course, the South African Indian Council be expanded and reconstituted on the same lines as the Coloured Legislative Council.

71. The minority report came out strongly in favour of the retention of representation for the Coloured in Parliament. It stated, inter alia, that "To deny them this right, which they have enjoyed for over a century, would be a gross injustice." 38/ It noted that the overwhelming volume of evidence given by Coloured people to the Commission was that they would bitterly resent being deprived of representation in the sovereign Parliament of South Africa.

72. The minority report supported the creation of the Coloured Legislative Assembly and a select committee of Parliament to deal with matters concerning the Coloured people. It added, however, that "we remain convinced that such a Coloured Legislative Assembly can never assume the status or powers of a sovereign Parliament. There must be the closest contact between the Parliament of the Republic and our Coloured people". 39/

73. As regards the Indian population, the minority report recommended that Indians should also be granted defined representation in the sovereign Parliament, that the South African Indian Council should be democratically elected, and that it should be developed on lines similar to those proposed for the Coloured Legislative Assembly. It further recommended the establishment of a select committee of Parliament for liaison with the Indian Council and with other responsible Indian persons or bodies in all matters concerning Indian affairs.

74. The minority report considered it unwise and unnecessary to prohibit members of separate population groups from associating in appropriate bodies and discussing freely all matters concerning the common welfare of the South African nation. It declared that it was not practicable and was conflicting with the principle of good government "to separate politically the population groups of the Republic of South Africa (which are interdependent economically) into watertight compartments". 40/ It felt, therefore, that the suggestions of the majority concerning the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill were both impractical and unsuitable for legislation.

38/ Ibid., Minority Report, para. 2, p. XIX.

39/ Ibid., para. 3, p. XIX.

40/ Ibid., para. 1 (a), p. XIX.

75. The evidence reproduced in the report of the Commission showed that many organizations and individuals had opposed the Government's views. The submissions of some of these may be noted.

76. The Christian Institute of South Africa described the original bill under consideration by the Committee as a logical outcome of the policy of apartheid and "repugnant to the Christian conscience". 41/ It noted that it would imply that one group could determine the fortunes of all other groups.

77. The Progressive Party stressed that economic development was binding all South Africans into an indissoluble national unit and that the policies of discrimination and domination should not and could not survive long.

78. The Trade Union Council of South Africa expressing its grave concern at the implications of the bill for the trade union movement in South Africa, stated that "Its application could result in a complete disruption of the present labour relations pattern." 42/

79. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) stated:

"... NUSAS would further contend that whether one believes in a policy of segregating the races or integrating the races, one must accept that this country is peopled by different races and that it is of vital importance to the peaceful development of the nation that different groups should develop on an understanding of and respect for others. NUSAS believes that this can only be done by affording the opportunity of meeting on a common platform. NUSAS believes that the barriers that exist between the different language groups and race groups in this country is to the detriment of the country and that by providing a meeting ground where these groups and races can gather to discuss common problems it is making a positive contribution to the development of the country." 43/

80. The South African Institute of Race Relations stated:

"... The safety of South Africa in war and its prosperity and, indeed its safety in time of peace, depend upon harmonious race relations. A communal franchise discriminately enforced to ensure white domination will make for racial antagonism, hinder peaceful progress for all in all spheres, material and spiritual, and lead to insecurity in times of war and give rise to internal dangers. South Africa cannot ignore or remain immune from developments in the world..." 44/

81. The Black Sash stated that "it is improper for the Government to imply that the activities of lawful political parties is political exploitation of the non-White population". 45/

41/ Ibid., appendix C, memoranda submitted to the Commission, 3, p. 9.

42/ Ibid., 11, para. 12, p. 24.

43/ Ibid., 19, p. 39.

44/ Ibid., 27, p. 53.

45/ Ibid., 29, p. 58.

82. The Muslim Judicial Council feared that "the execution of religious duties by Muslims would constitute a contravention of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bills if it should become law". 46/

3. Enactment of legislation

83. Prime Minister Vorster announced on 28 February that the Government accepted most of the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry into Improper Political Interference and Political Representation of Various Population Groups as they related to the Coloureds. Three bills based on its recommendations were introduced in the Parliament on 26 March 1968: the Prohibition of Political Interference Bill, the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill, and the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill. The South African Indian Council Bill was introduced separately. The four bills were enacted despite opposition in the Parliament and outside.

(a) Summary of legislation

(i) Prohibition of Political Interference Act (No. 51) of 1968

84. This Act lays down that no person belonging to one population group may be a member of any political party of which any person who belongs to another population group is a member, or assist it in electoral campaigns. 47/ It prohibits receipt of money from outside the Republic to further the interest of a political party or to combat any aim or principle of a political party.

85. The penalty for the contravention of the provisions of this law is, in the case of a first conviction, a fine of 300 to 600 Rand (\$420 to \$840) or imprisonment for six to twelve months or both, and, in the case of second conviction, a fine of 1,000 to 2,000 Rand (\$1,400 to \$2,800) or imprisonment for one to two years or both.

(ii) Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, 1968

86. This Act extends the terms of office of the Whites representing the Cape Coloureds in the House of Assembly until the dissolution of the present House and lays down that any vacancy arising after the passage of this Act in the four Coloured seats in the Assembly or the representatives of non-Europeans in the Senate shall not be filled. In effect, it abolished the representation of the Coloured voters in both Houses of Parliament within the next few years.

46/ Ibid., 38, para. 2, p. 68.

47/ For the purposes of this Act, the four population groups are:

- (a) The Bantu population group;
- (b) The White population group;
- (c) The Coloured population group; and
- (d) The Indian, Chinese and other Asian population group.

(iii) Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Act (No. 52) of 1968

87. This Act increases the membership of the Coloured Persons Representative Council to sixty (forty elected and twenty appointed by the State President) from forty-six (thirty elected and sixteen appointed), and amends provisions regarding elections of members of the Council and the functions of the Council.

(iv) The South African Indian Council Act, 1968

88. This Act provides for the reconstitution of the South African Indian Council into a statutory body. It is to consist of not more than twenty-five persons appointed by the Minister to advise the Government on matters affecting the Indian population in South Africa.

89. On appointment, every member of the Council must swear an oath of loyalty to the Republic. Members of the executive committee of the Council must take an additional oath in which they must pledge, inter alia, "to uphold the constitution and law of the Republic, and to be a true and faithful adviser". The Act limits the freedom of speech of the members by providing that a member would be liable "in respect of anything said or done by him in regard to the Senate, the House of Assembly, a provincial council, a court of law or a statutory body or a member thereof or an office of the public service".

90. The new statutory Indian Council was established on 24 September 1968 and held its first meeting in the same month.

(b) Debates on the legislation

91. Speaking in the Assembly during the debate on the Muller Commission report, Mr. Vorster declared that for the first time in the history of South Africa, all the Coloured people would have political rights - rights they had not had under any Government. He stated:

"But the fact of the matter is that we would be deceiving the world outside, and everybody, if we maintained that the Coloureds in South Africa had had political rights. They simply did not have such rights." 48/

92. Mr. Vorster went on to say that by implementing the majority report of the Muller Commission, the Government would be extending political rights to the Coloureds. He accepted the idea of a link between the Government and the Coloured Persons Representative Council as recommended by the Muller Commission, but said that such a link could come into existence only when the Coloured Council had begun to function.

93. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. P.M.K. Le Roux, claimed during the debate on the bills that they sought to bring about a better and more efficient method of representation for the Coloured population. Referring to the history of Coloured representation in Parliament, he said:

"The result was that the political rights of the Coloureds, in so far as one could call them rights, were also cast in this mould (the British 'policy' of equality for all the races). That was, as I have said, the policy, but what actually happened in practice proved clearly that the

48/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 28 February 1968, col. 1294.

Whites did not accept the policy because they were, as well as now, opposed to political and social equality since they saw in that a clear threat to the survival of Western civilization. Non-interference or apartheid, in the political sphere as well, is and has always been our traditional philosophy... I am doing away with it (former constitutional arrangements for Coloured representation) because I want to take them further along a better road, a road leading to happiness in the future." 49/

94. The United Party denounced the legislation as a betrayal of promises to the Coloured people.

95. The Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, described the proposal to abolish the Coloured representation in Parliament as "just another tragic chapter in the somewhat sordid history of Coloured political rights in South Africa under the Nationalist Party". 50/ He argued that "the essential thing is that the Coloured people must have some way in this Central Parliament, which is the sovereign Parliament for the Republic". 51/

96. He stated that the abolition of representation in Parliament would be resented by a vast majority of Coloureds. 52/ He criticized the Commission for not presenting any evidence for removing Coloured representation in Parliament and urged that the Coloureds were entitled to a representation in the Assembly, particularly in respect of some vital matters for the whole of the country which would not be within the competence of the proposed Coloured Council. He reiterated his party's policy that there should be six Coloured representatives in Parliament.

97. He argued that the Coloured Representatives Council could never be a substitute for the representation of the Cape Coloureds in Parliament. He described the Council as "however faltering, a step in the right direction", though he would have preferred a Council with only elected members. 53/

98. The Progressive Party expressed total opposition to the proposals of the Commission. Mrs. Helen Suzman declared in the House of Assembly:

"It could not find any evidence, in the literal sense, of any 'interference' which it could use. Neither could it find a simple formula for retaining the Coloured seats and at the same time preventing the Progressive Party, or any other anti-apartheid party, from contesting those seats. That being the case, the Hon. Prime Minister came to the conclusion that there was nothing for it to do but to abolish the four Coloured seats and to introduce legislation to prohibit 'improper interference'... These

49/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 28 March 1968, cols. 2936-37.

50/ Ibid., col. 2942.

51/ Ibid., col. 2947.

52/ Ibid., 28 February 1968, col. 1278.

53/ Ibid., 22 April 1968, col. 3845.

then are the reasons why we have to face this unholy trinity of Bills in the House today." 54/

99. She contended that the Coloured Representatives Council was no substitute for a parliamentary vote. She said:

"A vote in this Parliament is a badge of citizenship; everybody knows it. Nobody would exchange it for a council. No White man would exchange his vote here for a vote on the council which has only local government power." 55/

100. She termed the abolition of Coloured representation in Parliament a disgrace and charged that the Government was taking the step because it did not "want to see four members sitting in this House, members elected by the Coloured people as proof of their unequivocal rejection of apartheid - despite every assertion the Government is making that the Coloureds have accepted and indeed are enjoying apartheid". 56/ She attacked both the National Party and the United Party for what she called their collusion at the erosion of the political rights of the Coloured population.

101. During the debate on the Indian Council Bill, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Senator A.E. Trollip, declared that "there is not the slightest possibility - not the slightest - now or in the future, of Indians getting representation in our Central Parliament". 57/ The Minister also said: "I personally think - and I think it is the view of the Government, that it would be a breach of faith on our part not to say to the Indian community: 'We are going to put you in homelands somewhere else'". 58/

102. Senator R.M. Cadman (United Party) said his party would have preferred to see at least some members of this new Council elected. Noting that the Council had powers to advise "only at Government request", he added:

"In other words, it is a body which is powerless, except where the Government asks to be advised in certain matters... But one wonders why it is only when the Government asks to be advised that this body is able to fulfil its functions? It may well be, whether one likes it or not, that the matters upon which a Council of this type is burning to advise the Government is a matter upon which the Government chooses not to ask its advice." 59/

54/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 28 March 1968, col. 3020.

Addressing a large protest rally in Cape Town on 23 April, she accused the Nationalist Government of "interfering most improperly in the politics of other races in the entire twenty years of its ill-fated régime". Noting that most of the time in Parliament was spent debating measures to interfere in the affairs of other races, she declared that "The Government cannot face the fact that the free choice of MP's by the Coloured People will reveal they reject apartheid". Cape Times, 24 April 1968.

55/ Ibid., 28 March 1968, col. 3022.

56/ Ibid., 28 March 1968, col. 3019.

57/ Republic of South Africa, Senate Debates, 11 March 1968, col. 1303.

58/ Ibid., col. 1306. The Minister indicated earlier that the Government would, within the next few years, present a bill to establish an elected South African Indian Council.

59/ Ibid., 11 March 1968, col. 1289. -100-

103. It may be noted that the South African Indian Congress, in its memorandum to the Special Committee declared:

"The Council is a puppet body established by the South African Government to lend a semblance of democracy to its apartheid structure. Its members have been chosen not by the people, but by the Minister for Indian Affairs. Its functions are merely advisory, and even as envisaged in the future, its powers will be limited and subject to the veto of a Central Government in whose choice the people have had no voice.

"Not only is the Council unrepresentative of the Indian people, but it is based on the principle of separate representation, a principle which has been repeatedly rejected by the Indian community since 1946, and which has been universally recognized as being contrary to democratic practice ...

"No recognized figure among the Indian people has accepted nomination to the South African Indian Council (formerly INC), and the Minister for Indian Affairs has had to admit that he had been unable to obtain the support of the representative leaders of the Indian community." 60/

C. Apartheid in sport

104. Because of the concern of South Africans over increasing isolation in international sport and their strong desire to see the country readmitted to the International Olympic Games, the South African Government tried, by promising the International Olympic Committee certain concessions, to gain readmission to the Games. 61/ It stated that a multiracial committee (made up of an equal number of Whites and non-Whites) would select an integrated team to represent South Africa at the Games in Mexico; that the members of the South African team would travel together, wear the same uniforms, live together at the Olympic Village and march together behind the South African flag; and that the non-Whites would be allowed to compete against Whites at the Games. 62/

105. Moreover, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, had stated in Parliament on 11 April 1967 that non-Whites would be allowed as members of international teams visiting South Africa.

106. The International Olympic Committee dispatched a three-man fact-finding mission, led by Lord Ki. Lanin, President of the Olympic Council of Ireland, to

60/ Speech opening discussion on the establishment of the INC.
See A/AC.115/L.231.

61/ The IOC had decided in Baden-Baden, the Federal Republic of Germany, in 1963 to exclude South Africa from the Olympics in Tokyo, because it practised racial discrimination in sport. South Africa did not take part in the Winter Olympics in Innsbruck in 1964, the "Little Olympics" in 1967 and the Winter contest at Grenoble, France, early in 1968.

62/ Cape Times, 16 February 1968.

South Africa to study what progress the Government had made in conforming with the Olympic rules on sports. 63/

107. The mission spent ten days in South Africa, during which it held discussions with the Government, White sports bodies and many non-White sports bodies. In its report submitted in January 1968, it stated that most South African sportsmen wanted to compete in the Games. Reporting the concessions by the South African Government, it added that the Government still adhered to its policy of apartheid in sport. Mr. Vorster had informed Lord Killanin that South Africa was anxious to compete in the Olympic Games but not under false colours. It that meant integrated sport in the country, they would rather stay out.

108. After considering the report, the International Olympic Committee decided, at its Grenoble session in February 1968, to take a postal ballot of its seventy-one members on the readmission of South Africa to the Games, as follows: 64/

"The International Olympic Committee now resolves that the South African National Olympic Committee may enter a team which conforms with Fundamental Principle One in the Olympic Games in Mexico, and on the understanding that it continues vigorously its efforts to have all forms of racial discrimination in amateur sport removed, and the IOC will reconsider the question by the end of 1970." 65/

The result of the postal ballot showed a majority of the members of the International Olympic Committee to be in favour of South Africa's participation in the Games in Mexico. 66/

109. This decision was greeted with great joy and relief in South Africa. The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, was pleased that "our young athletes now have the opportunity to compete at the Olympics; it is their right and privilege ...". 67/

110. In the rest of the world, however, the decision aroused wide protests. By 20 February, fourteen African and Asian countries had announced their withdrawal from the Olympic Games in Mexico. 68/ The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, at a meeting in Brazzaville on 26 February, decided that all its thirty-two members should boycott the Games. 69/

63/ The other members of the mission were Mr. R.S. Alexander (Chairman, Kenya Olympic Association) and Sir Adetokunboh Ademola (patron and past President of the Nigerian Olympic Association).

64/ Members of the International Olympic Committee, by continents, are: Africa (including South Africa) - seven; Asia - eleven; Australia - two; North America - four; Central and South America - eleven; Europe - thirty-five.

65/ Southern Africa, London, 19 February 1968.

66/ The vote was unofficially reported to be 35 in favour to 28 against. Cape Times, 16 February 1968.

67/ Ibid.

68/ The New York Times, 21 February 1968, listed the fourteen as Algeria, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and the United Arab Republic.

69/ The New York Times, 27 February 1968.

111. Representatives of sports organizations of Denmark, Norway and Sweden in a joint statement protested to the International Olympic Committee about the decision. 70/ The President of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee stated that South Africa's readmission may jeopardize the holding of the Games". 71/ The Central Council of Soviet Sports Organizations urged the International Olympic Committee to rescind its decision, taken "to please certain imperialist quarters". 72/

112. The head of the Belgian Olympic Committee, Major Raoul Mottet, felt that the International Olympic Committee had acted lightly in being satisfied with nothing more than a vote by mail. In his view, the matter should have been debated and the national committee consulted. He noted that more than one half the countries that participated in the Olympics were not represented on the Committee. 73/

113. The head of the Italian Olympic Committee, Mr. Giulio Onesti, requested Mr. Brundage, President of the International Olympic Committee to convene a meeting of the Committee. 74/

114. On 9 March, the Organizing Committee of the Mexico Olympics questioned the validity of the Grenoble resolution and called for a meeting of the International Olympic Committee to reconsider South Africa's participation in the Games. It noted that the Committee mission had reported that the South African National Olympic Committee had not succeeded in persuading the Government to change the policy of racial segregation in the field of sport and, therefore, could not entirely follow the fundamental principle of racial non-discrimination contained in rule number one. Nevertheless, the motion put to vote at Grenoble authorized the South African Olympic Committee to participate in the Games in Mexico, on the condition it sent a multiracial team and applied the Olympic ideals later. The bases of this resolution, it stated, are contrary to the spirit of rule number one and consequently modify this rule. According to the rules, it agreed, such a modification must be adopted by a two-thirds majority and this was not the case at Grenoble. 75/

115. Following repeated demands by members of the International Olympic Committee for a meeting to reconsider South Africa's participation, Mr. Brundage, the President of the Committee, scheduled a meeting of the Committee's Executive Board in Lausanne for 20 April. 76/ In view of mounting pressure from national Olympic Committees for the continuance of the ban on South Africa, and the threat of boycott by nearly fifty countries if South Africa were invited, the Executive Board decided to recommend unanimously that the invitation to

70/ Associated Press, 20 February 1968.

71/ Tass, 19 February 1968.

72/ The New York Times, 6 March 1968.

73/ The New York Times, 28 February 1968.

74/ Ibid.

75/ Reuters, 9 March 1968.

76/ The New York Times, 12 March 1968.

South Africa be withdrawn and to call upon the seventy-one members to vote again on South Africa's participation in the Olympics. It stated that "In view of all the information on the international climate received by the Executive Board at this meeting, it is unanimously of the opinion that it would be unwise for a South African team to participate in the Games of the nineteenth Olympiad".

116. The New York Times editorialized on 22 April 1968 that "... it was a major victory for the African countries and their Soviet bloc and other allies - a victory that will encourage the use of similar tactics in other international bodies, including the United Nations".

117. The Scotsman commented:

"Mr. Vorster tried very hard to get South Africa accepted by the international sporting community. But his concessions to the International Olympic Committee - like his concessions to diplomats from Malawi and Lesotho - are certainly not intended to weaken apartheid.

"Those people who argue that South African participation in Mexico would weaken apartheid cannot prove their optimism is justified - although they are realistically admitting that sports and politics are connected." 77/

118. On 24 April 1968, the International Olympic Committee announced that a majority of its seventy-one members had voted to withdraw the invitation to South Africa. A spokesman of the Committee said that though a simple majority of thirty-six votes was required, at least forty of the countries which had sent in their ballots so far had voted against South African participation. 78/

119. While this decision was greeted with relief by numerous sports bodies around the world, the South African Prime Minister issued a statement condemning it. He stated that South Africa's athletes would not suffer from the exclusion from the Olympics, but would soon have an opportunity to compete against the world's best athletes.

120. On 2 May 1968, he announced a donation of 150,000 Rand (\$210,000) by Shell (South Africa) Pty. Ltd., towards staging a "South Africa Games" to which only "White" competitors would be invited. He added: "The trustees will also make the necessary contributions towards the non-White sports organizations if they should decide, as I expect they will, to organize their own games". 79/

121. Mr. Frank Waring, the Minister of Sport and Recreation, announced on 16 May that two South African Games - one for Whites and the other for non-Whites - would be held in 1969. 80/

122. The Rand Daily Mail, in a front page editorial on 4 May, commented:

77/ The Scotsman, Edinburgh, 23 April 1968.

78/ The New York Times, 24 April 1968.

79/ Cape Times, 3 May 1968.

80/ Ibid., 17 May 1968.

"We South Africans, White and non-White, are used to segregation and have adapted ourselves to it with varying degrees of enthusiasm. But others have not, especially where it is obvious and formal, which would be the case whether we hold an all-Whites games only or White and non-White games in parallel. Either way, this will dramatize the very thing for which we were thrown out of the Olympics ... And because of this, the holding of segregated South African Games will make it harder, not easier, for us to get back into the Olympics eventually."

123. Meanwhile, the controversy over a projected tour of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) of the United Kingdom to South Africa in November 1968 underlined South African insistence on apartheid despite the seeming concessions made to the International Olympic Committee.

124. In August 1968, when the Marylebone Cricket Club announced the composition of its team, there was wide public disappointment and disapproval in the United Kingdom as Basil d'Oliveira, a popular player, had not been included. Mr. d'Oliveira, a South African Coloured, had been in the United Kingdom for ten years and had frequently played for the club. Sportsmen and public leaders felt that he had been omitted from the team because of the susceptibilities of the South African Government and that racial considerations had thereby influenced the choice of players.

125. Soon after, the News of the World, a London Sunday newspaper, employed Mr. d'Oliveira as a correspondent to cover the MCC tour in South Africa. The South African Government indicated that Mr. d'Oliveira would not be allowed into South Africa as a correspondent.

126. Subsequently, the MCC decided to include Mr. d'Oliveira in its team when a member of the original team was found insufficiently recovered from an injury. The MCC declared that the decision was made solely on merit.

127. The South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, declared on 17 September that South Africa could not play against the team. He charged that the team was forced on the MCC by "political agitators", particularly the Anti-Apartheid Movement. 81/

128. These remarks aroused strong protest in the United Kingdom.

129. Mr. Dennis Howell, Minister in charge of sport, termed the remarks "totally outrageous and inaccurate" and a "monstrous libel on the MCC". 82/

130. Typical of the British Press reaction was an editorial in The Times of London on 19 September, which read in part:

"To the outside world, Mr. Vorster's speech about Mr. d'Oliveira was one more indication of the mental weakness of apartheid, which is a fetish rather than a policy... More and more cut off from reality and the world, South African society will increasingly accept the paranoid decisions and dogmas of the ruling party and that party's inner clique.

81/ The New York Times, 19 September 1968.

82/ Ibid.

A hunger for respect and recognition by the world nevertheless remains ... So long as South Africa retains any sensitivity to outside opinion, so long as its conscience can be kept alive by any means, the loss of contacts must be regretted."

131. Mr. Duncan Sandys said the banning of d'Oliveira highlighted "the folly and futility of racial segregation". "Apartheid", he added, "once established cannot be relaxed without crumbling altogether, and cannot be ended except by 'revolution'" 83/

132. Mr. Desmond Banks, President of the Liberal Party, said:

"Mr. Vorster has made the issue clear - sport in South Africa cannot be separated from the pernicious doctrine of apartheid". 84/

133. The London correspondent of Washington Post wrote:

"Not since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 have relations between Britain and South Africa been so sour.

"The Prime Minister (Mr. Vorster) appears to have united British opinion against South Africa more effectively than all the tracts issued by the Anti-Apartheid Movement". 85/

83/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 21 September 1968.

84/ Ibid.

85/ Ibid.

III. REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID

134. The South African Government has continued its application of arbitrary repressive measures against opponents of apartheid.

135. The Minister of Justice stated on 9 April that at the end of 1967, there were 1,335 persons serving sentences of imprisonment under the General Law Amendment Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Public Safety and the Unlawful Organizations Act. He also stated that 184 persons had been released after serving sentences under the above Acts during 1967. 86/

136. Political trials of opponents of apartheid continued in South Africa during the period under review. The trial of thirty-seven Namibians under the Terrorism Act of 1967 caused the greatest international concern and was condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations and numerous organizations throughout the world.

137. In defiance of international public opinion and, in violation of the status of Namibia, the South African Government continued the trial. Thirty-three of the accused were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in February 1968. The trial judge, Mr. Justice Ludorf, stated that he did not intend to impose the death penalty, but added: "Others are warned that our courts will not necessarily decline to impose the death penalty in the future". 87/ The defence counsel gave notice of appeal on the grounds that the Supreme Court in Pretoria had no jurisdiction to try the nationals of Namibia.

138. Also in February 1968, General J.M. Keevey, South Africa's Commissioner of Police, confirmed that more Namibians had been held under the Terrorism Act. 88/

139. Some of the other main developments during the year are reviewed below.

A. Repressive legislation enacted in 1968

140. Two laws designed to repress opposition to apartheid were enacted in 1968.

1. General Laws Amendment Act (No. 70) of 1968

141. The General Laws Amendment Act extends for another year the "Sobukwe Clause" providing for the detention of persons after they have completed sentences for political offences if they are "likely to advocate, advise, defend or encourage any of the objects of communism. Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, leader of the

86/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 9 April 1968, cols. 3644 and 3645.

87/ Southern Africa, London, 19 February 1968.

88/ Ibid.

Pan Africanist Congress, has been the only prisoner detained under this clause since its original enactment in 1963. 89/

142. Introducing it in the House of Assembly on 12 June 1968, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelser, said that it was not in the national interest to free Mr. Sobukwe. Contending that "the powers that are seeking our downfall are gathering their forces to destroy us", he added "... I would be guilty of a serious dereliction of my duty if at this stage I allowed national interests to give way before the strong human impulse to change the fate of this man (Mr. Sobukwe) as well". If Mr. Sobukwe were released, the Minister had no doubts that he "would not hesitate to do everything in his power to make leeway and regain what he has lost during his time of detention, because in his life, and aspirations, he has in no way changed his attitude or goals". 90/

143. The United Party and the Progressive Party opposed the clause.

144. Mr. M.L. Mitchell (United Party) said that his Party did not think that the extension of Mr. Sobukwe's detention was necessary and felt that the country's interest would be better served if the clause were not on the statute book. He expressed surprise that the Government should ask for a sixth time for the detention of one man who could be held under other laws. He urged that Mr. Sobukwe be allowed to leave the country on an exit permit. 91/

145. Mrs. Suzman objected to the clause as it contained an obnoxious principle. She noted that the clause had been introduced in 1963 to deal with one man only. Mr. Sobukwe had been in detention for nine years, six years too many. She added that the original sentence had not been imposed for subversion, terrorism or sabotage, and the judge had accordingly imposed what was a lenient sentence by South African standards. At the time Mr. Sobukwe was gaoled, he had belonged to a lawful and non-violent organization. It was only after Mr. Sobukwe was gaoled that it was declared unlawful. Mrs. Suzman found no reason to believe that he agreed with the violence his former organization now advocated.

146. She stated that Mr. Sobukwe had related a number of pathetic things to her such as that he was forgetting how to talk as a result of his long solitary confinement. She asked the Minister if he had had any personal contact with Mr. Sobukwe and why he said Mr. Sobukwe had not changed his views.

147. Mr. Pelser, replying, said he had personally gone to see Mr. Sobukwe, who told him that his opinion had not changed. "What is that opinion? I would not say that Sobukwe is a Communist. But I honestly believe that his views amount to this, that he would instigate people to commit acts which would further the aims of communism." 92/ He added that he had done all he could within the

89/ Mr. Sobukwe was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "incitement" in the aftermath of the Sharpeville incident of 1960. Since the completion of his sentence in May 1963, this is the sixth consecutive year he has been held in detention on Robben Island.

90/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 June 1968, cols. 7137-38.

91/ Ibid., 13 June 1968, col. 7199.

92/ Ibid., cols. 7204-05.

circumstances to make Sobukwe comfortable and had even allowed his wife to visit him. But he maintained, however, that releasing Mr. Sobukwe would amount to a betrayal of the country.

148. The clause was approved by 94 votes to 34, with the United Party and Mrs. Suzman voting against.

2. Criminal Procedure Amendment Act (No. 9) of 1968

149. One of the provisions of this legislation empowers the Minister of Justice to direct that the "trial of any offence committed within the area of jurisdiction of an attorney-general shall take place within the area of jurisdiction of any other attorney-general".

150. The South African Press suggested that international condemnation of the trial in Pretoria of thirty-seven South West Africans in 1967 had led to the enactment of the above provision.

3. Proposal for a new "Press Law"

151. Further repressive legislation is apparently under consideration by the South African Government.

152. Prime Minister Vorster revealed at a meeting of the National Party on 11 August 1967 that the Government had instructed its legal advisers to draw up legislation that would make it "extremely painful" for newspapers to publish ascertainable factual lies. 93/

153. Leading Afrikaans newspapers reported in December 1967 that the projected "Press law" had been prepared. 94/

154. The proposal for further stringent press laws evoked protests. For instance, Prof. S.A. Strauss of the Faculty of Law at the University of South Africa, considered that further legislation was unnecessary as South African defamation laws were more severe than those of other Western countries. He also stated that the courts, the Press Board of Reference and the Newspapers Union were "more than enough to protect the public from false or slanderous reports". 95/

155. Some nationalist politicians, however, were reported to favour the establishment of a Parliamentary Committee on Un-South African Activities which would have the power to summon anyone before it give evidence. Dagbreek en Landstem, a leading Afrikaans newspaper said on 15 March 1968:

"Politicians believe it would be unfair to direct the activities of such a committee solely against newspapers. What would happen, for example, in relation to a person who makes an ascertainable factual lie in a speech and is then reported in good faith in the newspapers?"

93/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 16 March 1968.

94/ Ibid.

95/ Ibid., 30 December 1967.

The paper recalled that Mr. Vorster had also said that action would be taken against South Africans who harmed their country overseas. 96/

B. Prison population and ill-treatment of prisoners

156. The Minister of Justice disclosed on 9 February 1968, in replies to questions by Mrs. Suzman in the House of Assembly, that 568,274 persons were gaoled in South Africa between July 1966 and June 1967. (The figure for the period 1965-1966 was 399,000, so that there had been a phenomenal rise of about 70 per cent in one year.) Of these prisoners, 12,236 were Whites, 485,981 Africans, 67,874 Coloureds and 2,183 Asians. 97/

157. Commenting on the figures, Mrs. Suzman stated: "The total figure is about twice the number admitted to prison in Britain during one year - although Britain's population is so much bigger. Proportionately, it is also much higher than the figure in the United States. The number of people who received sentences of less than one month has gone from 162,000 to 223,000." 98/

158. The report of the Department of Prisons, covering the years 1963 to 1966, tabled in Parliament on 13 June 1968, also showed a dramatic rise in the daily average gaol population. The average number of people in South African prisons increased from 41,220 in 1956-57 to 74,033 in 1965-66. 99/

159. The Special Committee has consistently expressed its grave concern over the ill-treatment of prisoners, detainees and persons in police custody in previous reports to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

160. In December 1967, the United Nations Office of Public Information issued a booklet entitled Apartheid and the Treatment of Prisoners in South Africa. 100/ The 112-page publication contained a number of documents of the Special Committee, including affidavits by persons who had been imprisoned under the repressive legislation of the South African Government. It was published in pursuance of the request of the Commission on Human Rights that these documents and statements should be given the widest possible publicity.

161. It may also be recalled that on the suggestion of the Special Committee, the Commission on Human Rights established an Ad Hoc Group of Experts to investigate the situation. The Working Group found that:

"the legislation of the Republic of South Africa, or the practice of the South African authorities, or both, in the matter of the treatment of prisoners and detainees, violates many of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. In some respects the practice of the authorities violates not only the Rules but the Prisons Act of 1959 and the regulations made thereunder. In particular, the '90-day law' was and the '180-day law' is

96/ Dagbreek en Landstem, 15 March 1968, quoted in The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 16 March 1968.

97/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly debates (Hansard), 9 February 1968, col. 262.

98/ Cape Times, 10 February 1968.

99/ Ibid., 14 June 1968.

100/ OPI/279.

contrary to the general principles of law and to the concept of the rule of law, which is part of the heritage of civilized nations. Prison conditions are made especially inhuman for non-white prisoners. Food, sanitary conditions, clothing, bedding and accommodation in South African prisons fall short, lamentably, of all international and civilized standards." 101/

162. The report further concluded:

"African and other non-white political prisoners imprisoned on Robben Island live under the harshest and most cruel of prison conditions...

"The Working Group feels that, for opponents of apartheid, the apartheid laws and the treatment of political detainees and prisoners is turning or has turned the Republic of South Africa into a police State and the laws and methods in question increasingly resemble those adopted under fascist régimes...

"Many conceivable methods of torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment are used, ranging from the psychological to the most inhuman, like the use of electrodes or the famous 'tausa dance'.

"The procedures and methods utilized by the Special Branch and police for interrogation of detainees and arrested persons are very similar to, if not identical with, those reported to have been used by the Gestapo under Hitler's nazi régime of Germany." 102/

163. The South African Government, in a statement released by the Department of Foreign Affairs on 25 January 1968, denounced the report, describing it as further interference by the United Nations in the domestic affairs of the country.

164. In an editorial comment on the report of the Working Group and the South African Government's reaction, the Johannesburg Star made this point:

"But so long as the Press and public risk prosecution under the 'Prisons' Act for being mistaken about information from inside our prisons, three consequences will continue to flow. Alleged abuses of the kind that Red Cross representatives and M.P.'s are never likely to encounter (such as torture) will continue to be whispered about, but rarely exposed and tested. The Government's resounding claim that it has nothing to hide will continue to be unconvincing. And the Government's replies to accusations such as have just been made by the United Nations will therefore continue to be just as ex parte as those of the people the Human Rights Commission interviewed." 103/

165. Meanwhile, the trial of five newspapermen, including Mr. Laurence Gandar, editor-in-chief of the Rand Daily Mail, charged under provisions of the Prisons Act (No. 8 of 1955) for publishing "false information" about prison conditions,

101/ E/CN.4/950, para. 1127.

102/ Ibid., paras. 1131, 1136, 1142 and 1143.

103/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 3 February 1968.

has continued intermittently during the year under review. 104/ The five men were charged in connexion with articles on conditions in South African prisons published by the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times in June and July 1965.

166. The charges against Mr. Joel Mervis were withdrawn on 30 January 1968 105/ and the charges against Mr. Kelsey W. Stuart in September. 106/ The other three accused are to appear at the Rand Criminal Sessions on 1 November. 107/

C. Banning orders and house arrests

167. The Minister of Justice has continued to wield his arbitrary powers widely to issue banning and house arrest orders in an attempt to silence and harass opponents of apartheid.

168. A motion by Senator R.D. Pilkington-Jordan (United Party) for the repeal or amendment of the relevant provision of the Suppression of Communism Act, to effect a transfer of the restricting powers now exercised by the Minister of Justice to a panel of three Supreme Court judges, was defeated in the Senate. 108/

169. Moving the motion, Senator Pilkington-Jordan stated that, in the view of the Opposition, subversive activities should be defined as crimes and should be tried in open court. 109/

170. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsler, rejected the motion on the grounds that the provision was essential for the preservation of democracy in the Republic. He added that the adoption of the motion would reduce Supreme Court judges to administrative officials unless they would be expected to question persons suspected of communistic activities and in the process call for evidence in open court. Security information vital to the state would be compromised through using services of court interpreters.

104/ The other four accused were Mr. Joel Mervis, editor of the Sunday Times, Mr. L. Harris Walton, managing director of the South African Associated Newspapers, Mr. Kelsey W. Stuart, attorney of the South African Newspaper and Mr. Benjamin Pogrund, a reporter of the Rand Daily Mail. Mr. Pogrund was released on a 1,000 Rand (\$1,400) bail and was requested to report to the police once a month. The other three were on bail in their own recognizance.

105/ Cape Times, 30 January 1968.

106/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 21 September 1968.

107/ Ibid.

108/ Republic of South Africa, Senate Debates (Hansard), 23 February 1968, cols. 519-570.

109/ Ibid., col. 521.

171. The Cape Times commented on 26 February 1968:

"The Minister's argument that a suspect's denial of the allegations against him would put a judge in the position of having to call for evidence is in fact a tacit admission that if justice is to be assured, there is really no substitute for a trial. This is what a lot of people who care for the value of Western civilization have been saying for a long time."

172. Meanwhile, on 25 February 1968, the South African Institute of Race Relations issued a statement in which it reiterated its opposition "to the whole concept of banning and punishment without recourse to the courts and without specific reasons given publicly".

173. The statement continued:

"The Government is substituting arbitrary action and arbitrary imprisonment for those recognized and accepted judicial procedures which are essential features of Western civilization.

"The Institute calls on the Government to restore to their rightful places the courts of our land and allow them, on the basis of evidence presented, to convict or discharge those to whom the Government at present imposes arbitrary bans and detention." 110/

174. But the plea went unheeded by the South African Government. As noted in previous reports, the imposition of bans has been used effectively to deprive the unfortunate victims of their livelihood. Illustrative is the case of Mr. Zollie Malindi, an African taxi driver, who had been arbitrarily confined to four magisterial districts in the Peninsula area by banning orders over the past seven years. On 17 January 1968, he was served with another banning order restricting him to the single magisterial district of Wynberg for five years.

175. Mr. Malindi, who has four children from seven to fifteen years of age, has thereby been deprived of his livelihood as he can not continue as a taxi driver in only one magisterial district. The Minister of Justice turned down his appeal to continue his work in Cape Town, Bellville and Simonstown.

176. The Government has proceeded to secure the debarring of lawyers under the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1967, which provides debarring of "listed communists" from the profession.

177. Mr. Lewis Baker, an attorney since 1933, was the first to be debarred under this law. He had been convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 2 April 1965 at a summary trial in which he had appeared with Mr. Abram Fischer and twelve others on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. In an affidavit supporting that Mr. Baker's name be struck off the roll, the Secretary for Justice stated that Baker's name had been "listed" (as a communist) since 31 August 1951. 111/

110/ The Star, Johannesburg, 26 February 1968. As of early 1968, the number of banned persons was 716 according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (The Star, 23 February 1968).

111/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 12 November 1967.

178. The other attorneys from Durban, Mr. J.N. Singh and Mr. I.C. Meer, received notices of the application made by the Secretary for Justice that their names be struck off the roll of attorneys on the grounds that they were "listed" communists. 112/

179. Each of them had been in practice for about twenty years and had served as Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress; both men were already under restriction in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

180. Mrs. Fatima Meer was quoted as having said:

"To take away a man's job is one of the greatest attacks that can be made on an individual's freedom.... It seems incredible that the Minister should have such arbitrary powers over a person as to inflict punishment, presumably on behalf of society, without trial." 113/

181. The case of Mr. Chengiah "Rogers" Ragaven, a former Vice-President of the National Union of South African Students, illustrates the ruthless application of banning orders against leaders of organizations which advocate multiracialism.

182. On 27 December 1967, Mr. Ragaven received a five-year banning order, imposing partial house arrest and confining him to the magisterial district of Durban. The order required him to report to the police twice a week. It also prohibited him from attending any social gathering of two or more persons and from entering "African reservations".

183. As from 31 January 1968, he was prohibited from entering any educational institution, including the University of Durban, where he was a student and from which he had hoped to gain a B.A. degree towards the end of 1968. Mr. Ragaven is a qualified teacher, but, in terms of the banning order, he will not be allowed to teach.

184. The thirty-three-year-old Indian student was an immediate past President of the Students Representative Council at the non-European section of the University of Natal in Durban and a Vice-President of the National Union of South African Students until July 1967.

185. Commenting on the ban, Miss Margaret Marshall, then President of the National Union of South African Students, said it had become clear that the Government had been engaged in a systematic campaign against students who dared to speak out against government policies. "Mr. Ragaven is merely the latest victim, following Ian Robertson and John Sprack." 114/

186. The Special Committee, in its last report, gave a detailed account of the widespread protest that followed in the wake of the banning orders served on Dr. Raymond Hoffenberg. 115/

112/ Ibid.

113/ Ibid.

114/ Cape Times, 30 December 1967.

115/ See A/6864/Add.1.

187. The Council of the University of Cape Town sent a four-man deputation to the Minister of Justice in October 1967 to appeal the removal of the banning orders on Dr. Hoffenberg. Mr. Pelser, the Minister, rejected the representations. 116/ Following this, Dr. Samuel Shapiro, a consulting physician at Groote Schuur Hospital and the University of Cape Town, resigned his position "as a matter of conscience". He said in his letter of resignation that "Many considerations have prompted this decision, but the major one is political and is crystallized finally by the banning of Dr. Hoffenberg": 117/

188. The members of the Department of Medicine at the University of Cape Town and the joint medical staff of Groote Schuur Hospital unanimously adopted a resolution at a meeting on 11 December 1967, expressing the hope that Mr. Pelser would withdraw the ban and restore Dr. Hoffenberg's passport to enable him to attend international medical and scientific conferences. The resolution also stated, in part:

"We believe that the Minister has brought discredit to the Government, and the Government to the public image of our South Africa, by an ill-judged attempt to suppress opinions which are unpopular in Government circles.

"We record our conviction that Dr. Hoffenberg has done nothing illegal or improper in the matter alleged against him, and we repeat our demand that the matter be brought before the courts either openly or in camera." 118/

189. A further plea for rescinding the banning order on Dr. Hoffenberg was made by Dr. J.P. Duminy, Principal of the University of Cape Town. In his graduation address he stated:

"We have been moved by what has befallen our colleague to express, once again, our strong and steadfast conviction that it is unacceptable that a single soul should be made by the State to suffer a hardship of any kind, except as a result of being convicted in a court of law of an offence against the State." 119/

190. Numerous appeals that the Government withdraw the restriction order met with adamant refusal. Dr. Hoffenberg left Cape Town with his family for the United Kingdom on 28 March. A multiracial crowd of 2,000, which gathered at the airport to bid them farewell, defiantly sang the banned American civil rights song "We shall overcome". 120/

116/ Cape Times, 2 November 1967.

117/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 2 December 1967.

118/ Cape Times, 12 December 1967. It was decided that an annual lecture, on medical or scientific subjects be established to commemorate Dr. Hoffenberg. It was also agreed that the resolution be read each year at the Hoffenberg lecture.

119/ Cape Times, 15 December 1967.

120/ Cape Times, 29 March 1968.

191. Members of the Black Sash wearing black arm bands were also at the airport, after demonstrating with placards at the top of Adderley Street. It was reported that press photographers were, in a departure from the general rule, refused special permits to go to the tarmac. The only one allowed was a police photographer who took pictures of the crowd and those who shook hands with Dr. Hoffenberg.

192. Protest statements were issued in Cape Town to mark the departure of Dr. Hoffenberg.

193. Prof. J.F. Brock, head of the Department of Medicine at the University of Cape Town, said:

"I should like to state again in unequivocal terms that no information that has come to me or been provided by the Minister of Justice has given me any reason to think that Dr. Hoffenberg has been guilty of any illegal or improper activity. In particular I would like to state that at the interview with the Minister of Justice no confidential information was given or offered to the deputation which consisted of the Chancellor (Mr. Harry Oppenheimer), the Chairman of the Council (Mr. Clive Corder), the then Vice-Chancellor and Principal (Dr. J.P. Duminy) and myself." 121/

194. In its statement, the National Union of South African Students declared:

"The fact that there is no place for him in South Africa is a reflection on our whole society. NUSAS will not forget him, for amid the remorseless debasement of public life in South Africa in the last twenty years, we were able to look to him as a symbol of decency and courage. We are sure that he will one day return to a South Africa, where the rule of law is maintained and human dignity held in respect." 122/

195. The Committee of the Lecturers' Association of the University of Cape Town stated:

"The reasons for the restrictions of Dr. Hoffenberg's teaching and research activities have been disclosed neither to the public nor even to Dr. Hoffenberg, and the validity of these reasons has not been tested in a court of law. This situation is regrettable in a period of peace and stability, and we are particularly disturbed that such action must adversely affect the standing of our university, and indeed the universities of South Africa as a whole." 123/

196. In an editorial comment the , the Cape Times wrote that the protest against Dr. Hoffenberg's restriction had been different from protests against bans on others. It continued:

121/ Cape Times, 28 March 1968.

122/ Cape Times, 28 March 1968.

123/ Ibid.

"It has been different in volume, and it has been different in quality, in that a lot of ordinary decent-minded people to whom the banning procedure has previously been an abstraction - something usually concerning some unknown African with an unpronounceable name, living in a remote location - saw for the first time what it meant. Saw, and grasped with imagination, that at the stroke of a politician's pen a man recognizably akin to themselves could be silenced, cut off from ordinary social contacts, deprived of his living and, in effect, forced to take the sad journey he begins today. It was not that the quality of his misfortunes was any different from those obscure people's, or any purer, it was simply that, personified in him, it became comprehensible....

"They had, it is true, the moral lead or backing of eminent men of unimpeachable integrity - men such as Dr. Duminy, Sir Richard Luyt, professor John Brock and the Chancellor and Council of the University of Cape Town; men whom it would be laughable to suspect of countenancing subversion. But essentially the protest was a popular one, a cry of conscience from men and women of whom most were unheard of in public life. This is the one heartening element in the whole dismal affair." 124/

197. On 27 October 1967 the Government renewed its banning and house arrest orders on Mrs. Helen Joseph for a further period of five years. 125/

198. In a statement issued in London, the International Defence and Aid Fund revealed that on 4 December it had delivered a letter signed by 200 women in London protesting against the renewed restrictions placed on Mrs. Joseph and Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, but had not received any acknowledgement. 126/

199. A deputation from St. Mary's Anglican Cathedral (the church Mrs. Joseph attends) succeeded in December 1967 in obtaining from the Minister of Justice a minor relaxation of her banning orders. Mr. Pelser stated that Mrs. Joseph would be allowed to attend church services at St. Mary's Cathedral on all Sundays and major religious holidays. 127/

200. The Government also renewed the banning orders on Mrs. Florence Matomela, a former leader of the banned African National Congress, for a further period of five years. Mrs. Matomela had been under restrictive banning orders which were due to expire on 21 March 1968. 128/

124/ Ibid.

125/ Government Gazette Extraordinary, 28 October 1967. It may be recalled that Mrs. Joseph was the first South African on whom banning and house arrest orders were imposed in 1962.

126/ Cape Times, 15 December 1967.

127/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 16 December 1967. Mrs. Joseph is allowed to leave her house at 9 a.m. for worship and to return at 11.30 a.m.

128/ Government Gazette, 21 June 1968. Mrs. Matomela is one of the political prisoners released from Robben Island prison after a successful appeal against her sentence.

201. Touching on the general question of restrictions during a debate in the House of Assembly, Mrs. Suzman said:

"I conclude now by saying that the whole banning system is repugnant. It is high time that every one of the nearly 700 cases of people banned, house arrested and restricted, came up for review, and review not by the same department that sentenced them to this fate, but by an independent judicial commission, which is prepared to review each and every case of banning. In these I include Mrs. Helen Joseph, who has recently been subjected to another five years' house arrest. Finally, I say that this spectacle of this Government, this strong Government, relentlessly pursuing and hounding a woman of sixty in this way is despicable and it brings no credit to South Africa in the eyes of the outside world." 129/

D. Harassment of opponents of apartheid

202. The revocation of passports and deportations are some of the most ruthlessly employed weapons in the South African Government's armory for harassing opponents of its racial policies.

203. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Le Roux, confirmed in December 1967 that the Government had cancelled the citizenship of Mr. Renier Lock, a former vice-chairman of the National Union of South African Students, who was studying at Balliol College, Oxford. "I'm not going to allow people to dishonour South Africa in this way", the Minister said. 130/

204. Mr. John Daniel, outgoing President of the National Union of South African Students, was twice refused a passport to enable him to take up a scholarship in the United States. 131/ After the second refusal, he renounced his citizenship and took out a British passport "because I don't want to have to leave on an exit permit". He added that "an exit permit means that I could definitely never return. By renouncing my citizenship and taking out a British passport, there is some hope that I will be able to return one day." 132/

205. The passport of Mr. K.S. Cassoojee, an Indian student, who was formerly Treasurer of the Student Representative Council of the University of Cape Town,

129/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 8 February 1968, cols. 195-96.

130/ Cape Times, 4 December 1967.

131/ The National Union of South African Students Congress adopted a resolution attacking the Government's refusal to grant Mr. Daniel a passport, describing it as vindictive attack against him and a further attempt to intimidate the National Union of South African Students. Cape Times, 1 July 1968.

132/ Ibid., 22 July 1968.

was revoked by the Department of the Interior. Mr. Cassoojee had been a host to the late Senator and Mrs. Robert Kennedy during their visit to South Africa. No reason was given for the revocation of the passport. 133/

206. The passport of the Rev. Ian Thomson, a young Presbyterian Minister, was seized, and he was given a formal warning in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, to "refrain from engaging in any activity calculated to further any of the objectives of communism". Again no reason was given for the action against him. 134/

207. The Rt. Rev. Robert Mize, American-born Bishop of the diocese of Damara (Namibia), was forced to leave Namibia, because the South African Government refused to renew his visa beyond its expiration date of 26 July 1968. 135/
No reason was given.

208. Bishop Mize had lived in Windhoek for eight years. Though opposed to apartheid as a "social evil", he said, he had "tried to move in purely religious channels and avoided making an issue of apartheid". 136/ The Government ignored the strong protests lodged by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, other religious leaders and the press, who asked that if the Bishop had committed any offence, he should be charged in Court.

209. A deportation order dated 12 January 1968 was served on Mr. Allan Chattaway, a twenty-two-year-old engineering student from the University of Natal. Mr. Chattaway was from the United Kingdom and went to school in Zambia. He had been a member of the National Union of South African Students from which he later resigned.

210. Replying to a question by Mrs. Suzman, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Le Roux, disclosed that fifty-one Whites and seventy-nine Africans had been deported in 1967 from South Africa and Namibia. 137/

133/ Evening Post, Port Elizabeth, 6 January 1968, quoted in Spotlight on South Africa, 9 February 1968. It was reported that Mr. Cassoojee had turned down two offers of scholarships to study abroad because he wanted to spend his life in South Africa.

134/ Spotlight on South Africa, Dar es Salaam, 15 December 1967.

135/ Cape Times, 6 May 1968. Senator Trollip, then Minister of Immigration, stated in the House of Assembly on 24 May 1968 that the Government had been forced to review its immigration policy with regard to applications for permanent residence by foreign clergymen and other religious workers, as a number of those admitted had indulged in political activities. The Government would in future only issue temporary permits for three to five years. See House of Assembly Debates, 24 May 1968, cols. 5965-66.

136/ Cape Times, 6 May 1968

137/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 25 April 1968, col. 3883.

211. The Deputy Minister of Police revealed on 6 February 1968, in replies to questions by Mrs. Suzman, in the Assembly, that 124 people had been detained in 1967 under the "180-day clause". Only fifty-nine of them had been called as State witnesses in trials. Two persons were still under detention; one had been detailed for a period of 152 days and the other for 111 days. 138/

212. Mainly because of the arbitrary imposition of banning orders, several people have left South Africa on exit permits that prohibit their return. The Minister of the Interior disclosed, in reply to a question by Mrs. Suzman in the Assembly, that thirty-six people had applied for and had been issued exit permits in 1967. He added that eleven of them were White, fourteen Coloured, ten African and one Asian. 139/

138/ Ibid., 6 February 1968, col. 20.

139/ Ibid., 19 March 1968, col. 2401.

IV. MILITARY AND POLICE BUILD-UP

213. The build-up of military and police forces in South Africa continued during the period under review.

214. Particularly notable was the great increase in production of arms and equipment in South Africa. The Defence Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, announced in March 1968 that:

- (a) South African scientists had developed their own napalm bombs;
- (b) An anti-armour mine, much cheaper than the imported product, had been made;
- (c) Two types of highly effective shrapnel mines would give the Defence Force a formidable weapon at negligible cost;
- (d) A night sight for infantry weapons would enable a soldier to aim accurately even in the worst possible light.

In addition, Mr. Botha stated that the country was self-sufficient in a whole range of other weapons, including rifles, mortars, grenades, smoke-bombs, aerial bombs and explosives. 140/

215. The South African Government has also exerted great pressure on the United Kingdom to persuade it to abandon compliance with Security Council resolutions on the arms embargo. The United Kingdom Government, however, declared that it would continue to implement the embargo.

216. A significant development during the period was the attention paid by the South African military forces to preparations for anti-guerilla warfare. Five thousand South African soldiers and airmen took part in nine-day anti-guerilla war manoeuvres organized from 12 August 1968 at Sibasa, sixty miles from the Rhodesian border. This was the first time the annual manoeuvres had been devoted to guerilla warfare. The force included assault troops and specialists, and was backed by six squadrons of supersonic Mirage strike aircraft, helicopters and transports. The bushveld in which they fought co-ordinated mock battles was reported to resemble closely the terrain of the Zambesi valley. 141/

217. Another twelve-day anti-guerilla exercise, Exercise Salamander, involving two thousand men, was organized near Thabazimbi, from 14 September. It was reported that unlike Exercise Sibasa, where extensive use was made of motorized transport, the accent during Exercise Salamander would be on foot patrols and tracking. 142/

140/ The Star, Johannesburg, 16 March 1968.

141/ The Guardian, London, 12 August 1968; Cape Times, 9 and 12 August 1968.

142/ The Star, weekly, 14 September 1968.

A. Expansion of military and police forces

218. Under the Defence Amendment Act of 1967, which was reviewed in the last report of the Special Committee, military training has been greatly expanded. The Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, told the House of Assembly on 13 February 1968, that a total of 32,522 young men were receiving training in the Citizen Force and Commando units this year. The number is about double the number of those who had received training in 1967. 143/

219. On 29 December, the Government extended its military service system to all male immigrants between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years who had been living in South Africa for five years or more, except those who did not intend to become South African citizens. 144/

220. Earlier, on 16 October 1967, Mr. Botha announced that semi-military training for girls would be initiated in 1968 so that they could "take their places beside their menfolk in the defence of their country". 145/ He told the Senate on 12 March 1968 that women would be trained on a semi-military basis parallel to the training received by men in the Defence Forces.

221. On 3 April 1968, he told the Assembly that an overwhelming number of young women had applied for training in civil defence and the handling of fire-arms. He added that "We even received application from Rhodesia and Zambia for this type of training". The training would equip the women in time of emergency to play their part in the defence of their country and in dealing with emergencies. 146/

222. Mr. Botha disclosed on 25 October 1967 that South Africa's first raid sirens would be installed in several urban areas. 147/ He announced on 12 March 1968 that provision would be made for three types of commandos, rural, urban and industrial. 148/

223. South Africa's first African police reservists began police duties for the first time on 22 December in Johannesburg's Soweto African township. 149/

143/ Republic of South Africa House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 13 February 1968, col. 399. According to the Minister, about 18,000 of the 32,522 young men receiving training would go into the Army, 3,000 into the Air Force, 1,500 into the Navy, and 10,000 into the Commandos. Commandos are compulsory under the new National Service System. Ibid.

144/ Cape Times, 30 December 1967.

145/ They would be trained in emergency first aid and ambulance work and be taught to shoot. They would also be given other specialized training. Evening Post, Port Elizabeth, 16 October 1967. Mr. Botha added, in a statement on 29 October, that 250 to 500 girls would be trained in civil defence in 1968 under the Civil Defence Act. Cape Times, 30 October 1967.

146/ Cape Times, 4 April 1968.

147/ Ibid., 26 October 1967.

148/ Republic of South Africa Senate Debates (Hansard), 12 March 1968, col. 1346.

149/ Cape Times, 19 December 1967.

B. Manufacture of arms, ammunition and military equipment

224. On 24 November 1967, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, opened the Atlas Aircraft Corporation factory at Kempton Park, Johannesburg. The factory is concerned with the manufacture of the Impala military jet-trainer and forms the nucleus of an aircraft industry. 150/ The Johannesburg daily, The Star, reported on 25 November 1967 that South Africa was now building its first complete aeroplane at the factory. It added:

"From now on the work at Atlas ceases to be mere assembly of motors and components imported from Britain and Italy. The entire aircraft can now be made in South Africa - right from the rivets which bind its fuselage, to the powerful Bristol-Siddeley motor which is Impala's power-plant..."

225. Press reports indicated that a light four-seater aircraft, RSA 200, designed by Professor Pascale of Naples, would go into production in Cape Town from January 1968. A demonstration model of the aircraft arrived in Cape Town in the fall of 1967. 151/

226. Three Hovercraft planes arrived in South Africa in December 1967. It was reported that they would be used as demonstration models and prototypes for models to be manufactured at Knysia. While these aircraft are useful in agriculture for crop-spraying and fertilizing, they are reported to have considerable military potential. 152/

227. The South African Government is also promoting a shipbuilding industry.

228. Mr. Cornelis Verholme, Chairman of Verholme United Shipyards of the Netherlands, was reported to have stated during a visit to South Africa in November 1967 that he had plans for a shipyard at Rietvlei, near Cape Town: it would eventually cost 75 million Rand (\$105 million) and would be capable of building ships up to 300,000 tons deadweight. He pointed out that the proposed yard, even in the early stages of development, would be capable of constructing submarines and other ships for the South African Navy. 153/

150/ The Star, daily, Johannesburg, 24 November 1967.

"The factory, upon which construction work began two and a half years ago, is to produce Impala jet trainers and service South Africa's existing Air Force planes. It has cost 50 million Rand to construct, and now employs over 900 skilled aircraft technicians recruited as immigrants, mainly from Britain and Europe... South Africa's Impala jet is a local assembly of the Italian designed Macchi-326 jet trainer, powered by the British Bristol Siddeley Viper jet engine. On display on opening was the first South Africa-built Impala." (Southern Africa, London, reported on 4 December 1967).

151/ Southern Africa, London, 6 November 1967.

152/ Cape Times, 18 October 1967 and 13 December 1967.

153/ The Netherlands Foreign Minister, Dr. Josef Luns, was reported to have told Parliament on 23 November 1967 that there were no laws preventing a Dutch shipbuilding firm from starting a yard in South Africa and building warships and submarines there (The Star, daily, Johannesburg, 23 November 1967). Southern Africa, London, 4 December 1967.

229. Sir Eric Yarrow, the British shipping magnate, was reported to have stated in March 1968 that it was very likely that his interests in South Africa could ultimately expand to build warships. 154/

230. On 12 March, Mr. Botha, the Minister of Defence, told the Senate that South Africa had developed a napalm bomb, and that the country was self-sufficient in a range of weapons, making its own rifles, mortars, and ammunition of various calibres, as well as grenades, smoke-bombs, serial bombs, explosives and apparatus. 155/

231. Mr. Botha listed the weapons being made in South Africa and pointed out that the anti-tank mines, which were undetectable, do not exist "in any known form" and are powerful enough to destroy the heaviest of armoured vehicles.

232. The Minister said that South Africa was producing also a "superbly-designed" field kitchen, parachutes and a new distinctive battle-dress. He added that there were even more dangerous surprises for the enemies of South Africa. Security reasons prevented the disclosure of other arms produced. 156/

233. On 8 May, Mr. Botha told the House of Assembly that the Government was determined to speed up its programme of making South Africa relatively, if not entirely, self-supporting in the supply of armaments. The Government, he said, would welcome the establishment of armament factories in the Republic by approved overseas industrialists, but this would never be allowed on a basis where control was not vested in South Africa. He had received numerous approaches from interested local and foreign firms for joint participation in armaments production. 157/

234. Legislation was enacted in 1968 to establish an Armaments Development and Production Corporation. The scope of the bill was indicated by the Minister's passing remark that the sum of 100 million Rand (\$140 million) had been voted for the measure. 158/

C. Import of military equipment

235. On 23 December 1967, a spokesman for a British aircraft company disclosed that the South African Air Force had negotiated with the company for the purchase of thirty Beagle light transport aircraft worth £2 million. The aircraft were intended for transport and maritime reconnaissance. The sale could not be

154/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 2 March 1968.

155/ Senate Debates, 12 March 1968, col. 1350.

156/ Ibid.

157/ Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates, (Hansard), 8 March 1968, col. 4869.

158/ Cape Times, 9 May 1968.

effected as the aircraft had an American engine, made in the United Kingdom under licence; the United States Government refused to permit the sale on the grounds that it came within the terms of the arms embargo against South Africa. 159/

236. The Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, reported on 23 January 1968 that the South African Army was to replace its British-built ten-ton Bedford lorries with at least 500 American Chevrolet lorries. They would be shipped to South Africa without bodies to overcome any objections that the United States was supplying military equipment to South Africa. The purchase of the lorries, however, has not been confirmed.

237. Paris-Presse reported in January 1968 that work was about to start at Nantes on the three Daphne-type submarines ordered by South Africa early in 1967. They were expected to be completed before the end of 1968. 160/

238. Southern Africa, London, reported on 19 February 1968, that the founder members of the South African Navy's submarine corps, both officers and men, would undergo their initial training in France. The Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral H.H. Bierman, said that a number of officers were already being trained as instructors, and that the full complement of men who were selected to serve in submarines would attend the training courses in France. The first of the three submarines ordered by South Africa would be ready for delivery early in 1969. The submarine unit would be based at Simonstown, where future training would be carried out in a special submarine training centre.

239. Meanwhile, the South African Government made active efforts in the fall of 1967 to induce the United Kingdom Government to abandon adherence to the arms embargo and supply it with military equipment - mainly naval vessels and aircraft. Press reports indicated that it was seeking equipment worth more than £150 million. 161/ It has tried for this purpose to utilize the financial difficulties of the United Kingdom. Furthermore, it hoped that the greater use of the Cape sea route by the maritime Powers since the closure of the Suez Canal would induce them to co-operate with it militarily. Its efforts received the active support of the Conservative Party and business interests in the United Kingdom.

159/ Cape Times, 25 December 1967. The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, referred in its report on this matter on 30 December 1967 to the possible sale of eighteen Beagles.

160/ Quoted in Cape Times, 19 January 1968.

161/ According to the Cape Times of 18 December 1967, the South African Government had provided the United Kingdom, during talks between the two countries in January 1967 concerning a revision of the Simonstown agreement, with a list of its requirements, which included naval frigates, Buccaneer aircraft, Shackleton sea reconnaissance aircraft, anti-submarine aircraft, ground-to-air missiles, electronic equipment and a variety of spares. The South African Government had stated that it would need the equipment to fulfil the greater responsibility for the defence of the Cape route assumed by it under the revised agreement and had requested a firm reply within three months.

240. On the other hand, reports that the United Kingdom Government was actively considering the South African request aroused wide concern. One hundred and thirty Labour Party Members of Parliament signed a special motion seeking a specific assurance that the Cabinet would not modify its policy.

241. In reply to a question on 14 December, the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, told the House of Commons:

"Our policy remains as I stated it to the House on November 17, 1964." 162/

242. In a subsequent statement on 18 December, Mr. Wilson stated:

"The Government has completed its examination of the question of the supply of defence equipment to South Africa and has decided that its policy on this matter - namely to conform to the Security Council resolution of June 18, 1964 - remains unchanged."

Pressed about rumours that France might supply the arms if the United Kingdom refused, he said that the United Kingdom was following the Security Council's resolutions and it was up to the other countries to decide what stand they took.

162/ In his statement of 17 November 1964 to the House of Commons, Prime Minister Wilson announced:

"The Government have decided to impose an embargo on the export of arms to South Africa.

"Since the Government took office no licences for the export of arms to South Africa have been issued. It has now been decided that all outstanding licences should be revoked except where these are known to relate to current contracts with the South African Government. The contract to supply sixteen Buccaneer aircraft is still under review.

"Outstanding commitments by the Ministry of Defence will be fulfilled, but as from today no new contracts will be accepted for the supply of military equipment. The Ministry of Defence will proceed with manufacturing agreements that have already been concluded but not yet executed.

"Licences for the export of sporting weapons and ammunition will be revoked and shipment will be stopped forthwith. In other cases when licences are revoked, fresh licences will be issued to the extent necessary to permit the execution of current contracts.

"These decisions bring the Government's policy into line with United Nations resolutions on this question, the latest of which was the Security Council resolution of 18 June." (Paragraph 460 of A/5825, S/6073. For the printed text, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 12).

243. In an emergency debate in the House of Commons on the next day, Conservative Members strongly opposed the Government's decision. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Edward Heath, declared that a Conservative administration would reverse the decision.

244. Mr. Michael Stewart, replying for the Government, said that the United Nations resolution on South Africa was not mandatory, but it was right for a great Power, particularly one with their history of dealings with the coloured section of mankind, to give the most careful consideration to expressed opinions in a world forum on one of the greatest world issues - relations between white and coloured nations. For the attitude to apartheid was crucial in the efforts for reconciliation between white and coloured nations. The peculiar nature of apartheid was that it said first that white and black must live separately. Secondly, it said that the structure of a State like South Africa was to be decided exclusively and permanently by white people alone. It was that permanence which made it differ from other restrictions on liberty.

245. The opposition motion was defeated by 331 votes to 241.

246. The reaffirmation of the arms embargo by the United Kingdom led to strong criticism by certain business and other interests in the United Kingdom.

247. In a statement on 18 December 1967, the Confederation of British Industry criticized the Prime Minister's announcement on the grounds that it would be a blow "to the whole of our export trade with South Africa". It added: "We can see no sense in handing over on a plate to our competitors trade that we so badly need." 163/ On 20 December, Sir Stephen Brown, the President of the C.B.I., urged all sections of industry to redouble efforts to strengthen existing ties with South Africa "against the day when the present irresponsible obstacles which the present Government have erected against trade with South Africa have been removed". 164/

248. On 20 December, a spokesman of the United Kingdom-South African Trade Association stated: "We can only hope this adolescent action by the British Government will not provoke some corresponding reaction in the Republic." The Association dispatched a cable to the South African Foreign Minister deploring the continuance of the embargo and sent letters to Members of Parliament on the effects of maintaining the embargo. 165/

249. On 29 December, the Scottish Council for Development and Industry sent a telegram to the United Kingdom Board of Trade protesting against any arms embargo against South Africa. 166/

250. The British Conservative Party's spokesman on Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said in Johannesburg on 4 February 1968, that a "Conservative Government would operate the same system it always had with South Africa - selling arms to her for her defence". 167/

163/ Cape Times, 19 December 1967.

164/ Daily Telegraph, London, 21 December 1967.

165/ Cape Times, 21 December 1967.

166/ Ibid., 30 December 1967.

167/ Ibid., 5 February 1968.

251. Meanwhile, on 18 December 1967, the South African Minister of Defence, declared that South Africa would buy her defence weapons elsewhere in view of the decision of the United Kingdom Government. 168/

252. In a New Year's Eve message to the nation, the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said that he had come to the conclusion that the United Kingdom Government did not care whether the Republic fell prey to aggression from the sea or land:

"We, however, now know after a long time of stalling and hedging exactly where we stand with the Wilson Government, and in the coming year I will look anew at the Simonstown Agreement in that light...

"The British decision will, however, not leave us defenceless and we shall certainly not forget those friends who now supply us - now or when the storm clouds have passed..." 169/

253. On 2 February 1968, in his statement at the opening of Parliament, the Acting State President, Senator J.F. Naude, stated that "it might become necessary for South Africa to reconsider the Simonstown Agreement".

254. Various press reports indicated that South Africa would seek to purchase large quantities of arms from France and that French arms manufacturers were ready to sell arms to South Africa. 170/

255. In a letter to the President of France, the British Liberal Party was reported to have expressed concern at reports that France might take over the arms supplies to South Africa rejected by Britain. 171/

D. Military co-operation with other countries

256. Two South African frigates, President Pretorius and President Kruger and the tanker Tafelberg, were on a ten-day goodwill visit to Argentina in November 1967. During the visit, they joined Argentine vessels in a mock anti-submarine operation at Puerto Belgrano. 172/

257. The South African Minister of Defence, Mr. Botha, disclosed in the House of Assembly on 27 May 1968 that South Africa had participated at a recent international conference at service level at which South Africa's willingness to play a larger role in defending the Cape sea routes was discussed. He added: "It was decided to make very important recommendations to the various Governments. It will be interesting to learn whether the Governments concerned will be prepared to accept the recommendations made at the conference." 173/

168/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 19 December 1967; South African Digest, Pretoria, 22 December 1967.

169/ Cape Times, 1 January 1968.

170/ The Star, daily, Johannesburg, 2 January 1968; The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 2 March 1968.

171/ The Star, daily, Johannesburg, 3 January 1968.

172/ The Star, weekly, Johannesburg, 11 November 1967.

173/ Cape Times, 28 May 1968.

ANNEX III

List of documents of the Special Committee issued from
October 1967 to September 1968

- A/6864 and Add.1
s/8196 and Add.1 Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (18 October 1967) presented to the General Assembly and to the Security Council
- A/AC.115/L.207 Letter dated 24 November 1967 addressed by the Secretary-General to the Chairman of the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.208 Thirty-first report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions
- A/AC.115/L.209 Letter dated 21 July 1967 from the Rev. Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund (London)
- A/AC.115/L.210 Letter dated 1 December 1967 from Mr. A.P. O'Dowd, honorary treasurer, Anti-Apartheid Movement, London
- A/AC.115/L.211 Thirty-second report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions
- A/AC.115/L.212 Letter dated 9 January 1968 from Mr. C.V. Mngaza, Bathurst, Gambia
- A/AC.115/L.213 Statement made by the Right Rev. C. Edward Crowther, former Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, at the ninety-sixth meeting of the Special Committee on 2 February 1968
- A/AC.115/L.214 Note on military and police build-up in the Republic of South Africa: review of developments since the Special Committee's report on 17 October 1967
- A/AC.115/L.215 Letter dated 21 February 1968 from Mr. George M. Houser, Executive Director, American Committee on Africa, New York
- A/AC.115/L.216 Note dated 12 April 1968 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.217
and Add.1 Report on the Commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- A/AC.115/L.218 Letter dated 2 May 1968 from Mr. David M. Sibeko, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Director of Information in East Africa, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania
- A/AC.115/L.219 Summary of communications from anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations concerning their activities in the campaign against apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.220 Letter dated 3 June 1968 from Mr. Alfred Kgokong, Convenor, African National Congress National Executive 25 June Solidarity Committee, African National Congress, Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania

- A/AC.115/L.221 Text of communiqué adopted by the Special Committee at its meeting in London on 26 June 1968
- A/AC.115/L.222 The present stage of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa: paper prepared by Mr. Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, at the request of the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.223 Assistance to the victims of apartheid: paper prepared by the Rev. Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, London, at the request of the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.224 Memorandum dated June 1968 from the Africa Bureau: the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and southern Africa.
- A/AC.115/L.225 Memorandum dated 21 June 1968 from Amnesty International
- A/AC.115/L.226 and Add.1 (Rev.1) Memorandum dated 24 June 1968 from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London
- A/AC.115/L.227 Memorandum from the Joint International Department of the British Council of Churches and the Conference of British Missionary Societies
- A/AC.115/L.228 Memorandum dated 24 June 1968 from the Movement for Colonial Freedom
- A/AC.115/L.229 Memorandum dated June 1968 from the South African Coloured People's Congress
- A/AC.115/L.230 Memorandum dated 20 June 1968 from the South African Congress of Trade Unions
- A/AC.115/L.231 Memorandum dated June 1968 from the South African Indian Congress
- A/AC.115/L.232 Memorandum dated June 1968 from the South African Non-Racial Open Committee for Olympic Sport
- A/AC.115/L.233 Memorandum dated 20 June 1968 from the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- A/AC.115/L.234 Memorandum by the United Nations Student Association
- A/AC.115/L.235 Memorandum dated 18 June 1968 from the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, International Defence and Aid Fund, London
- A/AC.115/L.236 Note by the Secretariat on Scandinavian contributions for assistance to victims of apartheid in South Africa

Summary records of the Special Committee

A/AC.115/SR.94-103.