



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

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTIETH SESSION**

**SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/10022)**

**UNITED NATIONS**



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New York, 1975

# NOTE

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

The present report was also submitted to the Security Council under the symbol S/11839.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

24 September 1975

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the report adopted unanimously by the Special Committee against Apartheid on 24 September 1975.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly and to the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 3324 (XXIX) of 16 December 1974.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Vladimir N. MARTYNENKO  
Acting Chairman  
Special Committee against Apartheid

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

## INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee against Apartheid was established by the General Assembly, by resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, as the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. By resolution 2671 A (XXV), adopted on 8 December 1970, the General Assembly expanded the membership of the Special Committee and decided to shorten the title of the Committee to "Special Committee on Apartheid". The Special Committee was requested "constantly to review all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions, including:

"(a) Legislative, administrative and other racially discriminatory measures in South Africa and their effects;

"(b) Repression of opponents of apartheid;

"(c) Efforts by the Government of South Africa to extend its inhuman policies of apartheid beyond the borders of South Africa;

"(d) Ways and means of promoting concerted international action to secure the elimination of apartheid;

and to report from time to time, as appropriate, to the General Assembly or the Security Council, or both".

2. In paragraph 11 of resolution 3324 D (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly renamed the Special Committee as the "Special Committee against Apartheid" in order to stress its role in the international campaign against apartheid. It also decided to expand its membership and requested the President of the Assembly, in consultation with the regional groups, to appoint additional members, taking into account the principle of equitable geographical representation.

3. Accordingly, on 19 March 1975, the President of the General Assembly appointed the German Democratic Republic and Indonesia to membership of the Special Committee and stated that he would continue consultations with the regional group which had not yet put forward a nomination for the Committee (A/10065).

4. The Special Committee is now composed of the following 18 Member States: Algeria, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, Somalia, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

5. On 5 March 1975, the Special Committee unanimously re-elected Edwin O. Ogbu (Nigeria) Chairman; Eustace Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) and Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) Vice-Chairmen, and Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines) Rapporteur. Eustace Seignoret relinquished

the post of Vice-Chairman on 14 August 1975, and Edwin O. Ogbu relinquished the post of Chairman on 3 September 1975, on departure from the United Nations.

6. At its 303rd meeting, on 16 April 1975, the Special Committee decided on the composition of its two Sub-Committees. The Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information is composed of Algeria, the German Democratic Republic, Haiti, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Trinidad and Tobago and the Ukrainian SSR. The Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa is composed of Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Somalia, the Sudan and the Syrian Arab Republic. Ahmed Oucif (Algeria) was re-elected Chairman of the first Sub-Committee and Ajit Singh (Malaysia) was elected Chairman of the second Sub-Committee.

7. At its 308th meeting, on 17 September 1975, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. It consists of:

- (a) A review of the work of the Special Committee;
- (b) Conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee;
- (c) A review of developments in South Africa since the last annual report;
- (d) A list of documents of the Special Committee.

8. The Special Committee wishes to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outstanding contribution of Edwin O. Ogbu (Nigeria), as Chairman from 1972 to 1975, in promoting the international campaign against apartheid. His devotion to this task and his ceaseless efforts to secure the widest support for the struggle for liberation in South Africa have been greatly appreciated not only by the Special Committee but also by the States Members of the United Nations, the South African liberation movements, and numerous public organizations. The Special Committee also wishes to pay a tribute to the valuable contribution of Eustace Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) as Vice-Chairman from 1974 to 1975.

9. The Special Committee wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his abiding interest in its work. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Organization of African Unity, the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the South African liberation movements and non-governmental organizations for their continued support of the work of the Committee. It also wishes to express its great appreciation to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, for his valued co-operation. It wishes to record its great appreciation to the Chief of the Section for African Questions in the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, to the Secretary of the Special Committee, and to the members of the secretariat of the Special Committee for their efficient and devoted service.

10. Finally, the Special Committee wishes to express its gratitude to Governments of Member States, as well as to numerous organizations and individuals who have assisted the Special Committee in the fulfilment of its mandate.

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

11. In its annual report 1/ submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council on 27 September 1974, the Special Committee made a number of recommendations for action by the principal organs of the United Nations. It also submitted special reports on the following matters: (a) violations of the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by the South African régime; (b) arbitrary laws and regulations enacted and applied by the South African régime to repress the legitimate struggle for freedom; (c) assistance provided by Governments and non-governmental organizations to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements; and (d) actions against apartheid taken by specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations. 2/

### A. Action taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session

12. After considering the reports of the Special Committee, as well as the related reports of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, adopted five resolutions on apartheid (3324 A to E (XXIX)) on 16 December 1974. In these resolutions, the General Assembly endorsed the principal recommendations of the Special Committee and requested it to undertake a number of tasks in implementation of its mandate.

13. In resolution 3324 A (XXIX), the General Assembly appealed to all States, organizations and individuals for more generous contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and for direct contributions to the voluntary agencies engaged in assistance to the victims of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

14. In resolution 3324 B (XXIX), the General Assembly expressed its deep concern over the grave situation in South Africa and the military build-up by the Government of South Africa and its conviction that the full implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa was essential to prevent a further aggravation of the situation. The Assembly considered that mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations were essential in order to resolve the grave situation and requested the Security Council urgently to resume consideration of the question of the race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa with a view to taking action under Chapter VII of the Charter to ensure the complete cessation by all

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

2/ Ibid., Supplement No. 22A (A/9622/Add.1).

States of the supply of any arms, ammunition, military vehicles, spare parts thereof, and any other military equipment whatsoever to South Africa, as well as any military co-operation with South Africa.

15. In resolution 3324 C (XXIX), the General Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and racial discrimination and expressed once again its conviction that the release of leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of apartheid from imprisonment and other restrictions was a prerequisite for a peaceful solution. The General Assembly called upon the Government of South Africa to grant an unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to apartheid or acts arising from such opposition, as well as to political refugees from South Africa; to repeal all repressive laws and regulations restricting the right of the people to strive for an end to racial discrimination, including the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960 declaring the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other organizations unlawful; and to enable the people of South Africa as a whole to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Assembly also appealed to all States and organizations to provide appropriate political, moral and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

16. In resolution 3324 D (XXIX), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to give special attention to encouraging and promoting greater assistance to the South African liberation movements; concerted action by specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations in accordance with the recommendations in the Committee's reports; and public action in support of the resolutions of the United Nations on apartheid. It requested the Special Committee to continue its efforts to encourage and promote co-ordinated international campaigns for:

(a) A total embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa and the cessation of any form of military co-operation with South Africa;

(b) Ending of collaboration by banks and national and transnational companies with the South African régime and with companies registered in South Africa;

(c) Cessation of emigration to South Africa;

(d) Release of political prisoners in South Africa, as well as those subjected to restrictions for their opposition to apartheid; and

(e) Ending of all cultural, educational, scientific, sporting and other contacts with the racist régime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practised apartheid.

17. The General Assembly authorized the Committee to send missions to Governments of Member States and to the headquarters of specialized agencies and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations for consultations to promote the international campaign against apartheid; to hold consultations with the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid; to participate in conferences concerned with apartheid, and to organize

a seminar in 1975 to consider the situation in South Africa and the means for promoting public action against apartheid. The Assembly also decided to change the name of the Special Committee on Apartheid to "Special Committee against Apartheid" and to expand its membership.

18. In resolution 3324 E (XXIX), the General Assembly strongly condemned the South African régime for its policies and practices of apartheid, for its persistent and flagrant violations of principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and for its continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa by all available means; condemned the actions of those States and foreign economic interests which continued to collaborate with the South African régime; condemned the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa; called upon the Government of France to cease all military collaboration with South Africa and to stop the supply of arms and other military equipment to the South African régime; and called upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to cease all military collaboration with the South African régime and for that purpose to abrogate the "Simonstown Agreement". The Assembly recommended that the South African régime be totally excluded from participation in all international organizations and conferences under the auspices of the United Nations so long as it continued to practise apartheid and failed to abide by United Nations resolutions concerning Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. It requested all Governments to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid; to prohibit South African immigration offices from operating in their territories; to prohibit all cultural, educational, scientific, sporting and other contacts with the racist régime, to end any exchanges of military, naval or air attachés with South Africa; to prohibit visits of any military personnel or officials of the Department of Defence of South Africa; and to cease all co-operation with South Africa in nuclear and other modern technological research, particularly research with military applications. It condemned the policy of "bantustans" imposed by the South African régime and called upon all Governments and organizations not to accord any form of recognition to any institution or authority created thereby. The General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies of the United Nations to take steps, as appropriate, to deny all facilities to, and co-operation with, companies and organizations which assisted the South African régime or South African companies with loans, technical assistance or other means. It appealed to all Governments and organizations to provide greater assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their struggle for freedom and equality.

19. Further, the General Assembly decided on 30 September 1974 (resolution 3206 (XXIX)) to approve the report of its Credentials Committee, which had recommended the rejection of the credentials of the representatives of South Africa. On 12 November, the President of the General Assembly ruled that the Assembly "refuses to allow the delegation of South Africa to participate in its work": the ruling was upheld by a vote of 91 in favour to 22 against, with 19 abstentions.

20. On 30 September 1974, the Assembly adopted resolution 3207 (XXIX) on the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa. In that resolution,

it reaffirmed, once again, that the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination of the Government of South Africa was a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; noted the persistent refusal of South Africa to abandon its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in compliance with relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly; and called upon the Security Council "to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". The Security Council considered the matter in October 1974, but failed to reach a decision since a draft resolution recommending the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations had received the negative votes of three permanent members.

21. A number of other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session included references to apartheid and the situation in South Africa. 3/

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

22. As in previous years, the Special Committee promoted the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which had been proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1966 and which coincides with the anniversary of the incident at Sharpeville, South Africa, on 21 March 1960, in which 69 demonstrators against pass laws were killed and 180 others wounded.

23. The Special Committee held a special solemn meeting at United Nations Headquarters on 21 March 1975 to commemorate the International Day. The meeting was attended by representatives of Permanent Missions to the United Nations, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. Statements were made at the meeting by the Secretary-General; the President of the Security Council; representatives of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for Africa; the representative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the representatives of the two South African liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; and the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Messages from Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of Algeria and President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of Somalia and Chairman of the OAU, William R. Tolbert, Jr., President of Liberia; and Michel Stassinopoulos, President of Greece, were read at the meeting. A number of other messages received on that occasion were issued as a document of the Special Committee (A/AC.115/L.401 and Add.1).

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3/ See resolutions 3223 (XXIX) of 6 November 1974, 3246 (XXIX) of 29 November 1974, 3280 (XXIX) of 10 December 1974, 3300 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974, and 3328 (XXIX) of 16 December 1974.

24. In his statement at the meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee recalled the valiant struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, over decades, for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. He pledged the solidarity of the Special Committee with the many patriots who were languishing in gaol, or living under severe restrictions and hardships, because of their leadership in the struggle for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

25. The Chairman noted the momentous developments in South Africa during 1974, which had been brought about by the heroic struggle of the oppressed people, with the goodwill and support of the international community, and the significant advance in concerted international action in support of liberation in South Africa. No one but the blind, he said, could have any doubt that racism in South Africa was doomed. The only question was whether a new society would be built with the co-operation of the white minority and its leaders or in the face of its continued resistance.

26. The Chairman pointed out that the South African régime was continuing its vain efforts to impose a unilateral solution, ignoring the right of the great majority of the people to participate as equals in determining the destiny of the country. He stressed the danger of the manoeuvres of the racist régime to confuse world opinion and divide the ranks of the opponents of apartheid. He pledged that the Special Committee would fight those manoeuvres of the South African régime and maintain and strengthen the unity of Governments and peoples in the struggle against apartheid until that evil was totally eradicated. He stated also that the international community would never accept any arrangements made without the full participation of the authentic representatives of the great majority of the people of South Africa.

27. In conclusion, the Chairman made an urgent and earnest appeal to those Governments which continued to maintain relations with the Pretoria régime despite United Nations resolutions to exert all their influence to persuade the Vorster régime to free the political prisoners and banned persons in South Africa. It was a testing time for them, he said.

28. The Special Committee issued an appeal, on the occasion of the International Day, calling upon all Governments, organizations and individuals to join in a concerted international campaign to secure an immediate and unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to the criminal racist policy of apartheid in South Africa.

### C. Consideration of developments relating to apartheid

29. During the period under review, the Special Committee continued to follow the developments within South Africa and to take action as appropriate within its mandate.

#### 1. South African propaganda

30. The Special Committee gave particular attention to the propaganda offensive undertaken by the South African régime in an effort to confuse and divide the

opponents of apartheid by publicizing "reforms" and calling for "détente" and "dialogue" with African States. The Special Committee took every opportunity to expose and denounce the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime.

31. At the 295th meeting of the Special Committee, on 8 November 1974, the Chairman made a statement in which he referred to the growing isolation of South Africa and said that, faced with that isolation, the South African régime was trying to make the world believe that it was embarking on some major shifts in its policies. There was certainly some evidence that it was beginning to realize that its past course had become untenable. It seemed to him, however, that its thinking was still far removed from reality and that it was not yet ready to accept the minimum prerequisites of a peaceful and lasting solution. It seemed to be thinking in terms of "humanizing" or "reforming" apartheid - not of eliminating it. Analysing the so-called "reforms", he said they were intended to stabilize and strengthen the system of apartheid. They seemed also to be intended to divide the black people. While talking about those reforms, the régime was increasing its repression against the leaders of the black organizations who were totally opposed to apartheid and refused to be associated with any apartheid institutions. What the régime was trying to do was to make some concessions to the so-called leaders of the black people, whom it liked, in return for acceptance of apartheid. He said they could not but reject those manoeuvres and had no doubt that they would not succeed.

32. In a paper presented to the ninth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Dar es Salaam, in April 1975, the Chairman of the Special Committee reviewed and analysed the developments concerning the situation in South Africa, with special reference to the diplomatic moves of the South African régime. The so-called reforms in South Africa, he declared, were not intended to end racial discrimination, but to divert attention from the problem of apartheid, to counteract its growing isolation, to disrupt the United Nations efforts for concerted international action against apartheid, to gain time in order to build up its military arsenal, to repress resurgent resistance against apartheid in South Africa and to enforce its plans for "bantustans". 4/

33. At the 297th meeting, held on 7 February 1975, the Rapporteur, speaking on the recent developments in South Africa, with special reference to the campaign of repression against the leaders of the South African Student Organization, noted that those events had made it clear that the plea of Prime Minister John B. Vorster for six months' time to change the situation in South Africa, and the claim made by the representative of South Africa to the United Nations in the Security Council debate in October that his Government intended to end racial discrimination, were merely part of a propaganda campaign directed towards deceiving world opinion.

34. During the consultations with Governments and international organizations, at international conferences and seminars and on other occasions, the representatives of the Special Committee drew attention to the new manoeuvres of the South African

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4/ "The situation in South Africa", Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 11/75.

régime and called for intensification of concerted international action for the total eradication of apartheid. The Committee took special steps to publicize the situation in consultation with the Unit on Apartheid.

## 2. Repressive measures against opponents of apartheid

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

### Detentions and trials of black leaders

36. At the 295th meeting, on 8 November 1974, the Committee took note of the detention of a large number of black leaders under the Terrorism Act and other repressive legislation, following a meeting organized on the tenth anniversary of FRELIMO at the end of September.

37. The Committee drew the attention of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to the urgent need for assistance to the families of detainees and for legal aid to the detainees when they were brought to trial.

38. At its 297th meeting, on 7 February 1975, the Rapporteur informed the Committee that 12 Africans - members of the South African Students Organization (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC) and other organizations - had been charged in Pretoria on 31 January under the Terrorism Act. Pursuant to a decision of the Committee, the Chairman issued a statement condemning the trial.

39. At the following meeting of the Special Committee on 26 February 1975, the Rapporteur again drew attention to further arrests of leaders of black organizations and said that that indicated that South Africa would stop at nothing to carry out its campaign against all who opposed apartheid.

40. At the 306th meeting of the Special Committee, on 14 August 1975, the Rapporteur brought to the attention of the members further information on detentions and persecution of a large number of young black leaders and other opponents of apartheid by the racist régime in South Africa. Pursuant to a decision taken at the same meeting, the Acting Chairman, Eustace Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago), issued a statement on 15 August 1975, expressing the indignation and grave concern of the Special Committee.

41. On 12 September 1975, the Acting Chairman, Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), and the Rapporteur issued, on behalf of the Special Committee, a statement drawing the urgent attention of Governments and organizations to another wave of arrests and detentions in South Africa since the middle of August 1975.

### Imprisonment of Winnie Nomzeno Mandela

42. Winnie Nomzeno Mandela was imprisoned in October 1974 to serve a six-month sentence on the charge of contravening arbitrary banning orders imposed under the

notorious Suppression of Communism Act. (Her husband, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, has been in prison since 1962 and is serving a sentence of life imprisonment.) Following receipt of an appeal by her children, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a letter to the Secretary-General on 2 October, requesting appropriate action to secure Mrs. Mandela's release. In a reply on 18 October 1975, the Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions stated that the Secretary-General had conveyed not only the appeal of Mrs. Mandela's children but also his own concern to the Permanent Representative of the South African régime.

#### The illness of Abram Fischer

43. On 17 December 1974, following reports that Abram Fischer, a prominent South African jurist who had been sentenced to life imprisonment under the notorious repressive laws of South Africa in 1966, had been suffering from cancer, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement appealing to all Governments and organizations to take all appropriate action for Mr. Fischer's release.

44. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Special Committee requested him urgently to use all his "influence to secure the immediate release of Mr. Fischer so that he can spend the last days of his life in freedom". He also sent a cable to the Secretary-General of the International Committee of the Red Cross, requesting his intercession "to secure immediate release of Abram Fischer and facilities for proper medical treatment in South Africa or abroad".

45. In response to the letter from the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Secretary-General sent a cable to the Prime Minister of South Africa, on 17 December 1974, appealing to him on humanitarian grounds to grant clemency to Abram Fischer.

46. The South African régime, however, declined to accede to the Secretary-General's appeal. The Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Special Committee issued a press statement on 23 January 1975, in which they declared:

"The Special Committee regards the persistent refusal of the South African régime to grant clemency to Mr. Fischer, despite his grave illness, as yet another example of the callousness and vengefulness of that régime towards those struggling for racial equality. It hopes that the efforts to secure the release of Mr. Fischer will be intensified. The South African régime should be warned that its professions regarding a peaceful solution to the situation in South Africa cannot be taken seriously so long as it continues to persecute opponents of racial discrimination and apartheid."

47. After further protests and appeals from South Africa and abroad, the South African régime decided in March 1975 to allow Mr. Fischer to stay with his brother in Bloemfontein under restrictions. Mr. Fischer died on 8 May 1975, and the Chairman sent a telegram of condolences to his daughter, in which he stated:

"Deeply shocked at news of death of Abram Fischer. In his courageous struggle for elimination of racism and for co-operation of all South African people irrespective of race, he symbolized best traditions of South Africans. His life and sacrifice will be inspiration to them to struggle without fear and compromise against racism and build a non-racial society. We will cherish the memory of this great son of South Africa and fighter for peace and justice."

48. The Special Committee observed a minute of silence at its 304th meeting on 27 May in tribute to the memory of Mr. Fischer.

#### Action against the Christian Institute of South Africa

49. At the 305th meeting of the Special Committee, held on 25 June 1975, the Rapporteur made a statement on the developments in South Africa, with special reference to the report of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry concerning the Christian Institute of South Africa. The Christian Institute, established by churchmen opposed to apartheid, had undertaken many projects, including the training of black churchmen, and had constantly called for peaceful change in South Africa, warning that the violence of the apartheid régime would inevitably lead to violence by the oppressed people. The Rapporteur noted that on 28 May a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry had published a report that the Institute was conditioning public opinion to accept a possible, even an inevitable, violent change in the existing order, and that it was linked with the World Council of Churches. On the basis of those charges, the Christian Institute was declared an "affected organization" under the Affected Organization Act. The organization was thereby prohibited, without any trial and under severe penalties, from receiving any contributions from abroad.

50. Pursuant to a decision of the Special Committee, the Chairman issued a press statement on 30 June 1975 expressing the grave concern and indignation of the Special Committee at the action taken against the Christian Institute.

#### Campaign for the release of political prisoners

51. The Special Committee has encouraged campaigns by Governments and organizations for the release of South African political prisoners.

52. At the 296th meeting of the Special Committee, held on 19 November 1974, the Chairman said that he had received a letter from the British Anti-Apartheid Movement enclosing petitions for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and informing him of various activities planned by it in the campaign for the release of prisoners. The Special Committee sent a letter to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement expressing the Committee's appreciation.

53. On 29 November 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a tape-recorded message to the Human Rights Committee of South Africa on the occasion of its observance of Human Rights Day, at which he demanded an end to repression and the release of political prisoners. The message was heard at the meeting of the Committee in Johannesburg, which was attended by 250 persons of all racial origins.

54. On 21 March 1975, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Special Committee issued an appeal to all Governments and organizations, urging them to join in a concerted international campaign for the release of political prisoners.

55. The campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, as well as of those subjected to restrictions for their opposition to apartheid, was an item on the agenda of the Seminar on South Africa, held in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975 (see sect. D of the present report).

56. Meanwhile, at its 306th meeting on 14 August 1975, the Special Committee decided to send an appeal to all States and organizations to observe 11 October 1975 as a Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners. Accordingly, on 12 September 1975, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee, Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), issued an appeal, on behalf of the Special Committee, requesting all Governments and organizations "to reaffirm their solidarity with the South African political prisoners by stepping up the campaign for an unconditional amnesty for the political prisoners and restrictees, as well as exiles from South Africa; by ensuring the total isolation of the South African régime in accordance with United Nations resolutions; and by rendering effective support to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in the legitimate struggle for freedom". The text of the appeal was transmitted to all Governments by a letter dated 17 September 1975.

57. At its 307th meeting on 3 September 1975, the Special Committee decided to recommend to the Special Political Committee that it devote its meetings on Friday, 10 October 1975, to the observance of the Day of Solidarity with the South African Political Prisoners, and invite the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, to participate, as observers, in the debates on apartheid and in the observance of the Day of Solidarity. By letter of 17 September 1975, the Acting Chairman, Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), transmitted the recommendation to the Chairman of the Special Political Committee (A/SPC/174).

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### 3. Collaboration with South Africa

58. At its 295th meeting, on 8 November 1974, the Special Committee granted a hearing to Yoko Kitazawa, who spoke on behalf of the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches of the United States of America, and the National Christian Council of Japan. She drew attention to the increasing trade between Japan and South Africa and said that large-scale industrial development projects under construction in South Africa were being aided by long-term contracts signed by Japan for the purchase of iron ore, steel and coal. Japanese firms were supplying heavy machinery for other industrial projects under construction in South Africa. She regarded those growing economic links between the two countries as complicity in strengthening white minority rule in South Africa.

59. The Rapporteur of the Special Committee participated, on behalf of the Committee, in a meeting of the National Council of the Churches of Christ of the United States of America, held in New York on 8 November 1974, to consider the question of corporate investment in South Africa.

60. At the 297th meeting of the Special Committee, on 7 February 1975, the Rapporteur, reporting on recent developments in South Africa's mines, informed the Committee that the Government of Malawi, which had supplied South Africa with more than 28 per cent of its miners, had announced that its temporary embargo on recruitment of the miners would become permanent as of July 1975. The Government of Lesotho, which supplied more than 20 per cent of the labour for the mines, had taken over the responsibility for recruitment and was determined to get fairer conditions for its workers from the South African mining industries, including the recognition of their trade-union rights.

61. At the same meeting, the Rapporteur drew the attention of the Committee to reports that on 29 January 1975, four of five United States oil companies which had been active in Namibia had pulled out of the Territory. That was a victory, he said, for the anti-apartheid movement and for the church groups which had carried out a long campaign to persuade those companies to disinvest.

62. At its 302nd meeting, on 2 April 1975, the Special Committee considered press reports that the President of Uruguay planned to visit South Africa. On 10 April 1975, the Chairman sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of Uruguay to the United Nations, requesting him to convey to the Government of Uruguay the Special Committee's hope that it would reconsider the proposed visit of the Chief of State to South Africa and the diplomatic and consular relations which it maintained with the South African régime in the light of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

63. In his reply of 7 August 1975, the Permanent Representative of Uruguay indicated that Uruguay had maintained diplomatic and consular ties with South Africa for a number of years in accordance with its right to enter freely into international relations. The letter stated, inter alia:

"(a) The Government of Uruguay attaches the utmost importance to compliance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and to respect for the recommendations of the General Assembly,

particularly with regard to the protection and defence of human rights. However, it firmly believes that the measures referred to do not constitute an acceptable means of attaining the objectives which inspired them.

"(b) On the contrary, we believe that dialogue and relations between countries do not imply the abandonment of principles, much less acquiescence in or encouragement of certain practices which we have condemned in all forums.

"(c) In that connexion, my Government wishes to emphasize its permanent position of opposition to any type of racial discrimination, particularly apartheid. Firm and consistent in this matter, it supported the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and at the national level it is considering the formulation of additional educational programmes designed to promote respect for human rights and ensure the widest possible publicity for the principle of non-discrimination.

"(d) Our country is a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and was the first State to accept the competence of the Committee established under the Convention to receive and study relevant complaints". 5/

64. At its 303rd meeting, on 16 April 1975, the Special Committee heard two petitioners on economic collaboration between the South African régime and United States companies. Dudley Thompson, the petitioner representing the Board for World Ministries of the United Church of Christ and the Church Project on United States Investments in southern Africa, spoke about the importation of South African coal into the United States by the Southern Company. In 1973, a subsidiary of the Southern Company had signed a contract to import 2.5 million tons of coal over a three-year period at a cost of approximately \$47 million. As a shareholder in that Company, the Board for World Ministries of the United Church of Christ had submitted a stockholder resolution asking the Board of Directors to stop the purchase of coal from South Africa so long as the Government of that country maintained racially discriminatory employment policies and practices through apartheid laws and regulations.

65. Rhodes Gxoyiya, a consultant on southern Africa for the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, said that a coalition of 14 Protestant and Catholic church groups had filed a stockholder proposal with IBM calling on the Company and its subsidiaries to stop selling or leasing computers to South Africa. He noted that the computer products supplied by the United States Company to South Africa were being used by the South African Government in ways that strengthened apartheid and white rule. Examples of such uses of IBM products included three computers leased to the South African Department of Defence, one provided to the Department of Prisons, one rented to the Atomic Energy Board, and two used in the Department of the Interior.

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5/ The President of Uruguay did not visit South Africa during the period under review. However, Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa visited Uruguay in August 1975.

66. At the 305th meeting, on 25 June 1975, the Chairman drew the attention of the Special Committee to press reports that the South African Minister of Interior and Information had arrived on a "private" visit to Israel on 17 June 1975 and that the South African Consulate-General in Israel would be elevated to an embassy. The Committee noted this report as further evidence of increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, despite the warnings by the General Assembly. At its request, the Rapporteur prepared a report on recent developments concerning collaboration between South Africa and Israel.

67. At the same meeting, the Chairman reported on a proposal in the City Council of the District of Columbia to stop all purchases from four American corporations involved in South Africa. The Special Committee decided to publicize the matter.

68. It may be recalled that in 1974 the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to the fact that Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd. had been promoting tours to South Africa. In accordance with a decision taken by the Special Committee at its 290th meeting on 7 June 1974, the Chairman requested the Secretary-General to consider action to deny any facilities to that Company so long as it continued to promote tourism in South Africa.

69. By a letter dated 3 April 1975, the Assistant Secretary-General for General Services informed the Chairman of the Special Committee of a decision by the Thomas Cook Group Board "not to undertake any special promotion featuring South Africa". The Special Committee, at its 303rd meeting on 16 April 1975, took note of this action as a new and encouraging development in the international campaign against collaboration with the South African régime.

#### 4. Military co-operation with and arms embargo against South Africa

70. The Special Committee continued to follow closely the question of the military co-operation of the South African régime with other countries and the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on an arms embargo against South Africa.

71. At its 295th meeting, on 8 November 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee made a statement in connexion with press reports concerning military contacts and co-operation with South Africa by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France and other countries. He also referred to press reports on military links and collaboration between South Africa and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). At the request of the Special Committee, the Rapporteur prepared a report on military collaboration between South Africa and other countries (A/AC.115/L.398 and Add.1) for the consideration of the Special Committee.

72. Subsequently, in February 1975, the Chairman undertook a mission to Brussels and held consultations with the Secretary-General of NATO on the arms embargo. The arms embargo was also a subject of consultations during the missions of the Special Committee to a number of Governments and was discussed at the Seminar on South Africa, held in Paris from 28 April to 2 May. 6/

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6/ See sects. D and E below.

73. On 3 June 1975, the Chairman of the Special Committee received, from the Honorary Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, a letter and a memorandum on military collaboration between South Africa and several Western Powers (A/AC.115/L.408). The letter reads as follows:

"We have recently received certain documents which taken together reveal high-level military collaboration between South Africa and several Western Powers. The documents reveal that the NATO defence code is available to the Pretoria régime and has been utilized to code the equipment and spares of its new military communications system known as Project Advokaat. In view of the importance of this information, I am enclosing a memorandum together with copies of the relevant documents.

"This evidence adds substance to our warnings since 1969-70 that South Africa was being steadily integrated into the over-all Western defence system despite official statements to the contrary from the major Western Powers.

"It is easier to understand, in the light of this evidence, why countries like Britain and the USA which claim to abide by the United Nations arms embargo still feel it necessary to oppose a mandatory arms embargo.

"We also have considerable evidence of South African officials concerned with defence matters visiting a number of Western countries in the recent past to discuss other military projects."

74. The memorandum stated that companies in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark were directly involved in Project Advokaat, a modern and highly advanced communications system, with its headquarters at Silvermine, close to the Simonstown Naval base. This multimillion-dollar installation provides information on all maritime traffic from the Cape of Good Hope to North America, South America, the South Pole region and India, and was designed to expand the defence role of South Africa in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans and promote closer military alliance with the major Western Powers.

75. On 5 June 1975, the Chairman of the Special Committee held a press conference at which he made a statement on the implementation of the United Nations resolutions relating to the arms embargo against South Africa and on the military collaboration of some Western Powers with South Africa, and released the documents received from the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

76. At the 306th meeting, on 14 August 1975, the Rapporteur drew the attention of the members to several press reports concerning military collaboration with South Africa. The South African Financial Gazette of 14 March 1975 had reported that the Canadian Government had authorized the sale of three fire-fighting aircraft to South Africa; the Star, Johannesburg, of 2 October 1974, had stated that the Iranian missile-destroyer Artemis had undergone modernization in Cape Town; and the South African Digest, Pretoria, of 19 July 1974, had published information to the effect that a group of 27 Iranian seamen from the Artemis had completed a training course at Simonstown. At the request of the Special Committee, the Acting Chairman, Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), addressed letters, dated 28 August 1975, to the Governments of Canada and Iran, requesting information on the accuracy of the reports and any other comments.

77. At the same meeting, the Special Committee took note of press reports concerning the decision of the Government of France to limit the sale of military equipment to South Africa. Pursuant to a decision by the Special Committee, the Acting Chairman, Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), addressed a letter, dated 28 August 1975, to the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, requesting authoritative information.

## 5. Sports boycott

78. The implementation of General Assembly resolutions concerning the boycott of racially selected sports teams from South Africa has been a matter of continuous concern to the Special Committee.

79. On 5 December 1974, following reports on exchanges by a number of sports bodies with South African teams, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a press statement, in which he said:

"On behalf of the Special Committee on Apartheid, I am obliged to express concern over the continued contacts by some sports organizations with racially selected sports teams from South Africa in contravention of the Olympic principle and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

"In October-November, an all-white South African Springbok Rugby team toured France despite protests by many organizations and individuals in France. This team has now begun a visit to Italy. It is scheduled to play on 11 December in Brescia, where the mayor has declared his opposition to the match. 7/

"It is reported that a French Rugby team would tour South Africa in 1975.

"A South African team has participated in the World Amateur Baseball Tournament in Tampa, Florida, in November. Other teams participating in this tournament were from Canada, Colombia, Italy, Nicaragua and the United States.

"On the other hand, many sportsmen and sports bodies have shown their adherence to the Olympic principle.

"The All-India Lawn Tennis Federation refused to play the South African team in the Davis Cup final and forfeited the possibility of winning the Cup.

"In November, John Conteh - who has won European, British and Commonwealth light-heavy-weight boxing championships and was voted Sportsman of the Year by Sports Writers' Association in Great Britain - declared that he would not fight in South Africa. It would, he said, be against all my principles and an affront to my integrity and my conscience. By this decision he could risk forfeiture of the world title.

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7/ The tour of Italy was subsequently cancelled because of widespread public opposition.

"On behalf of the Special Committee, I would request all Governments concerned to take appropriate measures, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, to prevent sporting contacts with South African bodies which practise apartheid. I would appeal to all public organizations to take appropriate action against sports bodies which remain insensitive to the problem of racism and continue to maintain contacts with racist South African bodies despite the opposition of their own Governments.

"I would like to emphasize that the racist régime of South Africa derives encouragement from the continuing sports contacts and regards them as essential for its foreign policy. The adjustments it has made in its sports policy do not conform to the Olympic principle; it continues to enforce racial segregation of sportsmen and even spectators.

"International sports organizations must cut off all contacts with racist sports bodies in South Africa and recognize the non-racial sports bodies which exist for many codes of sport. The South African régime has persecuted these non-racial bodies by banning orders against their leaders, denial of passports and police action to prevent sports even between Coloured people, Indians and Africans. They deserve the solidarity and support of the sports bodies in the rest of the world."

80. At the 300th meeting of the Special Committee, on 13 March 1975, the Rapporteur made a statement on new developments concerning the further isolation of South Africa in the field of sports. He informed the Special Committee that the Australian Cricket Board had cancelled an Australian cricket tour of South Africa and that the Mexican Government had refused to grant visas to the members of the South African tennis team which was to have participated in the Davis Cup Competition in Mexico. At the request of the Special Committee, the Chairman conveyed the Committee's appreciation to the Governments of Australia and Mexico.

81. In connexion with reports that the International Lawn Tennis Federation intended to consider the question of membership of the South African Lawn Tennis Association, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to the Federation on 27 June 1975, drawing its attention to the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly requesting the international sporting bodies to exclude the racist sporting bodies in South Africa and to end all exchanges with such sporting bodies.

82. At the 306th meeting, on 14 August 1975, the Special Committee noted with regret that a Chilean team had played against South Africa in the Davis Cup tennis tournament in July 1975.

83. At the request of the Special Committee, the Acting Chairman, Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), sent a letter to all States on 2 September 1975, requesting information on actions taken by them for the boycott of racially selected teams from South Africa in pursuance of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

#### D. Seminar on South Africa

##### Organization of the Seminar

84. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session, the Special Committee had recommended that it be authorized to hold, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a seminar in 1975 in a West European capital, to consider the present situation in South Africa and the means for promoting public action against apartheid.<sup>8/</sup> It stated that such a seminar should pay special attention to an analysis of the role played by South Africa in the whole of southern Africa, the economic interests and other forces which aided and abetted the South African régime in the pursuit of its policies, and the misleading propaganda spread by them in order to thwart the efforts of the United Nations. It should identify the means to translate the widespread opposition to apartheid into meaningful action, and to develop the various national campaigns into a co-ordinated international effort under the auspices of the United Nations.

85. By resolution 3324 D (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee to hold a seminar during 1975.

86. At several meetings held between 19 November 1974 and 16 April 1975, the Special Committee discussed the arrangements for the organization of the Seminar. After consultations with UNESCO and OAU, it was decided to hold the Seminar from 28 April to 2 May 1975 at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris.

87. It was decided further that all members of the Special Committee would attend the Seminar and that invitations would be extended to other United Nations organs concerned; specialized agencies of the United Nations; OAU; a number of anti-apartheid movements, trade unions and other non-governmental organizations; and several individual experts.

##### Agenda of the Seminar

88. The agenda of the Seminar was as follows:

1. Analysis of the present situation in South Africa
2. Means for co-ordinated international action against apartheid:
  - (a) Arms embargo against South Africa
  - (b) Action with respect to collaboration by banks and national and transnational companies with the South African régime and companies registered in South Africa
  - (c) Cessation of emigration to South Africa

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<sup>8/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/9622), para. 236.

- (d) Ending of sporting and other contacts with the South African régime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practise apartheid
- (e) Campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, as well as those subjected to restrictions for their opposition to apartheid
- (f) Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements
- (g) Role of specific groups (organizations of women, workers, students, youths etc.) and strategy for public campaigns
- (h) Co-ordination of efforts by the United Nations, the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, anti-apartheid movements and other national and international organizations

#### Documentation

89. The papers submitted to the Seminar in connexion with the items on the agenda are listed in annex III to this report.

#### Proceedings of the Seminar

90. The Seminar was opened by the Chairman of the Special Committee, Edwin O. Ogbu (Nigeria). At the opening meeting, statements were made by John E. Fobes, Deputy Director-General of UNESCO; Pierre Maillard, Permanent Representative of France to UNESCO, as representative of the Government of France; Arkady N. Shevchenko, Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations for Political and Security Council Affairs, as representative of the Secretary-General; Dramane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations; George Ghelev (Bulgaria), as representative of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and Thebe David Mogami (Botswana), as representative of the United Nations Council for Namibia. On 2 May, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO, addressed the Seminar.

91. The Seminar held eight meetings from 28 April to 2 May 1975. In the course of the consideration of the items on the agenda, many suggestions were made by participants on the specific measures that might be taken to ensure the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the matter and to secure more concerted action by the international community against apartheid. These proposals and suggestions were incorporated in a Declaration and Recommendations of the Seminar (A/AC.115/L.402), prepared by a drafting committee with the rapporteur, Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines) as Chairman.

92. On 28 April 1975, the Seminar decided to send a message to the Commonwealth Conference, which was due to open on 29 April, in Kingston, Jamaica, urging support for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The message read as follows:

"The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, meeting in Seminar on South Africa, at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, has decided to stress the vital importance of a total arms embargo against South Africa and the cessation of any form of military co-operation with the South African régime.

"It considers it imperative that the United Nations Security Council should consider the matter soon and, as recommended by the General Assembly in resolution 3324 (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, take action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to ensure the complete cessation by all States of the supply of any arms, ammunition, military equipment whatsoever to South Africa, as well as any military co-operation with South Africa.

"On behalf of the Seminar and the Special Committee, I have the honour to appeal, through Your Excellency, to the Commonwealth Heads of Government to take necessary action to promote a full implementation of an arms embargo against South Africa and to facilitate a mandatory decision by the Security Council."

A similar appeal was sent to the Government of France on 2 May 1975.

93. In accordance with a decision taken at the 7th meeting of the Seminar, on 2 May, the Chairman addressed a message of solidarity to four leaders of the national liberation movement in South Africa: Nelson Mandela, John Nyati Pokela, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, and Abram Fischer. The message read as follows:

"The Seminar on South Africa organized by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid at UNESCO headquarters in Paris extends its warmest greetings to you and through you to the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. International support for the liberation struggle grows daily and gathers momentum. With the independence of Mozambique, freedom stands poised on South Africa's borders. We reaffirm solidarity with the struggle of the liberation movements, under the heroic leadership of you and your colleagues, for the total liberation of South Africa."

94. In accordance with another decision, the Chairman sent a letter to the French Rugby Federation on 2 May requesting that the planned tour of a French Rugby team to South Africa in June be cancelled.

#### Action on the recommendations of the Seminar

95. In pursuance of the Special Committee's decision, at the 304th meeting on 27 May, the Declaration and recommendations of the Seminar (A/10103-S/11708) were transmitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council, to States Members of the United Nations and to a number of non-governmental organizations. The Special Committee took the Recommendations of the Seminar into account in its activities during the year and in the preparation of the present report.

#### E. Missions to Governments

96. In resolution 3324 D (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee "to send missions to Governments of Member States for consultations to promote the international campaign against apartheid".

97. Accordingly, missions of the Special Committee had been sent for consultations with the Governments of the following Member States: Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United States of America. This section contains a very brief account of the results of the missions. Further particulars may be found in the summary records and documents of the Special Committee.

#### Mission to Belgium, 13-14 February 1975

98. The Chairman of the Special Committee visited Brussels from 13 to 14 February 1975 for consultations with the Government of Belgium, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Economic Community (EEC).

99. In his meetings with the Foreign Minister of Belgium and senior officials of the Foreign Ministry, he drew attention to the programme of work of the Committee and its concern for more effective international action. The Foreign Minister recalled that the Government and the people of Belgium had always condemned the policies of apartheid and the suppression of the blacks in South Africa and Namibia. He assured the Chairman of the full support of Belgium in efforts towards a peaceful solution of the situation. He also assured the Chairman that Belgium would continue and increase humanitarian, educational and other support to the victims of apartheid (A/AC.115/SR.298).

#### Mission to Finland, 3 to 5 May 1975

100. A delegation of the Special Committee, consisting of the Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, visited Finland from 3 to 5 May 1975. It held consultations with the Foreign Minister, officials of the Foreign Ministry and members of Parliament on ways and means of intensifying the world-wide campaign against apartheid. The delegation expressed the appreciation of the Special Committee for the Government's policy of active opposition to apartheid and for its assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements (A/AC.115/SR.304).

#### Mission to USSR and Ukrainian SSR, 5 to 10 May 1975

101. A delegation of the Special Committee, consisting of the Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, accompanied by the Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations, visited the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR from 5 to 10 May 1975. The delegation took part in the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over nazism in Europe. During the discussions with the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, Vasily Kuznetsov, and the Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian SSR, Georgi Shevel, the Chairman expressed the great appreciation of the Special Committee for the consistent support rendered by the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa from the domination of the Nazi racist régime of Pretoria. In their turn, Mr. Kuznetsov and Mr. Shevel highly praised the work of the Special Committee in promoting concerted action against apartheid and assured the delegation of continued and increased support by the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR for the efforts of the international community to eradicate apartheid (A/AC.115/SR.304).

Mission to Sweden, Norway and Denmark, 10 to 16 May 1975

102. A delegation of the Special Committee, consisting of the Chairman and the Rapporteur, undertook a mission to Sweden, Norway and Denmark from 10 to 16 May 1975 for consultations with their respective Governments. In all three countries the delegation was received by the Prime Ministers and had detailed discussions with the Foreign Ministers, officials of the Foreign Ministry and international development authorities, and members of Parliament on all aspects of international action against apartheid. The Chairman expressed the Special Committee's deep appreciation for the contribution of the Governments and organizations of those countries to the struggle against apartheid both by way of political action in the United Nations and by way of assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements. He acquainted them with the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and the Paris Seminar of the Special Committee, and with its programme of work. They assured the delegation that they intended to continue and increase their political and material support for the oppressed people of South Africa.

103. During the visit of the mission to Oslo, the Norwegian Government indicated its intention of making a contribution to the Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund (A/AC.115/SR.304).

Mission to Argentina and Brazil, 3 to 11 June 1975

104. A four-member delegation of the Special Committee, led by a Vice-Chairman and including representatives of Guinea, Hungary and India, visited Argentina and Brazil between 3 and 11 June 1975 for consultations with the respective Governments on questions relating to the international campaign against apartheid.

105. In Buenos Aires, the delegation was received by the President of Argentina and held meetings with the Foreign Minister, senior officials of the Foreign Office and members of Parliament. In these consultations, the mission emphasized the need to isolate South Africa in the political, diplomatic, economic, military, cultural and sports fields, in order to build up international pressure and thus force the South African régime to abandon its universally condemned policy of apartheid. It stressed a number of specific matters, including the release of political prisoners in South Africa, a total arms embargo against the South African régime and public action in support of the United Nations resolutions on apartheid.

106. The Government of Argentina reaffirmed its fundamental opposition to apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination, though it said there were limits to what the Government could do to prevent business and sports contacts with South Africa. It stated that it was keeping the matter under review and would use every opportunity to scale down its existing relations with South Africa. It also informed the delegation of its intention to sign the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

107. In Brazil, the delegation was received by the Foreign Minister and had discussions with senior officials of the Foreign Office and members of the Chamber of Deputies. In the consultations, the mission focused attention on areas where further action could be taken to step up the international campaign against

apartheid. It also referred to reports received by the Special Committee regarding Brazil's relations with South Africa against a background of Brazil's well-known opposition to apartheid and the various measures taken in accordance with that policy.

108. The Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assured the delegation of Brazil's abhorrence of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination. He stated that relations between South Africa and Brazil were minimal and characterized by a strong tendency of growing coldness. Brazil had offered no facilities to South Africa, banking or otherwise, and had no formal agreement with South African Airways. He informed the delegation of a decision to contribute to the Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund, and added that his Government was considering annual contributions to the various United Nations funds for assistance to victims of apartheid (A/AC.115/L.409).

Mission to Washington, D.C., United States of America, 22 to 24 June 1975

109. A delegation, led by the Chairman and including the Rapporteur and the representative of Somalia, visited Washington, D.C., from 22 to 24 June 1975 for consultations with the Department of State and members of Congress. In the discussions with State Department officials, the delegation conveyed the Special Committee's concern for more effective and concerted international action against apartheid. The delegation stressed the importance of the strict implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa and an end to all military co-operation and contacts with the South African régime.

110. In his report to the Committee, the Chairman stated that the Executive Branch of the United States Government had reiterated its opposition to apartheid, but had indicated that further action against apartheid was difficult because of sentiment in Congress and among the public.

111. The consultations in Congress convinced the delegation, however, that there was a great amount of goodwill. A number of congressmen had told the delegation that the relations with independent African States were much more important to the United States than the profitable collaboration of the corporations with South Africa.

112. The Chairman suggested development of closer contacts with the United States Congress and greater efforts to provide information to Congress and to the public in the United States about the resolutions of the United Nations concerning apartheid (A/AC.115/SR.305).

Other

113. During his visit to Lisbon from 11 to 14 June 1975 to participate in the session of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Chairman met with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, who assured him of his Government's total opposition to apartheid (A/AC.115/SR.305).

F. Co-operation with other United Nations organs

114. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with other United Nations organs, particularly the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24), the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

115. At the request of the Special Committee of 24 and the United Nations Council for Namibia, Ricardo Walter Stubbs (Peru), representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid, represented the two bodies at the meetings of the International Continuing Liaison Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, held in Moscow between 25 and 27 October 1974.

116. At the invitation of the Special Committee, representatives of the Special Committee of 24, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa participated in, and made statements at, the special solemn meeting on 21 March 1975 to commemorate the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

117. The representatives of the Special Committee of 24 and the United Nations Council for Namibia participated in, and made statements at, the Seminar on South Africa, organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975.

118. At the invitation of the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid participated in its session in Lisbon, from 12 to 19 June 1975, and made two statements.

119. The Rapporteur of the Special Committee represented the Committee and made statements at the special meeting of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization held on 19 August 1975 in observance of the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration, and at the special meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia on Namibia Day, 26 August 1975.

120. At the request of the Special Committee of 24, Guenther Mauersberger (German Democratic Republic), representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid, represented the Special Committee on Decolonization at the meetings of the Bureau of the World Peace Council Presidential Committee held in Guinea-Bissau, from 8 to 11 September 1975.

G. Association of South African liberation movements  
with the work of the Special Committee

121. In resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly declared that the South African régime had no right to represent the people of South Africa and that the liberation movements recognized by OAU were the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. Under the same resolution, the Assembly authorized the Special Committee, in consultation

with OAU, to associate the South African liberation movements closely with the work of the Special Committee. The Special Committee invited the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to attend its meetings as observers from 21 March 1974.

122. During the period under review, the Special Committee has taken further steps to associate the two liberation movements more closely with its work. Representatives of the two liberation movements were invited to address the solemn meeting on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, held on 21 March 1975. They were also invited to participate in the Seminar on South Africa organized by the Special Committee in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975. The Special Committee consulted with them on a number of occasions on various aspects of its work. The Special Committee has again extended invitations to the two liberation movements to send representatives for consultations in October 1975.

#### H. Co-operation with specialized agencies

123. During the year under review, the Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation at various levels with specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system with a view to promoting concerted international action for the eradication of apartheid.

124. The Chairman of the Special Committee met with the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris on 30 April 1975 and expressed the great appreciation of the Special Committee for the activities of UNESCO to combat apartheid and racism, and for its close co-operation with the Special Committee. He stated that the Special Committee looked forward to even closer co-operation with UNESCO in that common effort, as UNESCO could continue to play an ever increasing role in informing world public opinion of the situation in South Africa and in encouraging educators, scientists, writers and artists to take appropriate action in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

125. The Director-General of UNESCO reiterated the commitment of UNESCO to the abolition of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism and assured the Chairman that UNESCO shared the Committee's concern for more effective and co-ordinated international action against apartheid. The UNESCO secretariat, he said, would actively follow and publicize the developments in co-operation with the Special Committee and the United Nations Unit on Apartheid.

126. The Chairman of the Special Committee then consulted with the Director-General on a number of specific matters for co-operation and action.

127. In consultations with the Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO) in May 1974, the Special Committee had suggested that WHO prepare a study on the effects of apartheid on the situation with regard to health and medicine in South Africa and publicize it widely. On 24 February 1975, the Special Committee

received the preliminary study prepared by the Director-General of WHO on the health implications of apartheid, together with a copy of a resolution adopted by the WHO Executive Board requesting the Director-General to continue to collaborate with other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system to enhance concerted international action against the policy of apartheid. The Special Committee took note of the preliminary study with appreciation (A/AC.115/SR.298). At its request, the Unit on Apartheid issued the study for wider circulation. 9/

128. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) lent its co-operation to the Special Committee in connexion with the consultations between the delegation of the Special Committee and the Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body, held at Geneva on 29 May 1975 (A/AC.115/SR.305).

129. As indicated earlier, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization were represented at the Seminar on South Africa, held in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975.

#### I. Co-operation with the Organization of African Unity

130. In accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the Special Committee continued to maintain close contact and co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, which has been represented at its meetings by an observer.

131. Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of Somalia and then Chairman of OAU, sent a message to the Special Committee on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1975. Mustafa Sam, representative of OAU, made a statement at the special meeting of the Special Committee on that day.

132. At the invitation of the Special Committee, two representatives of OAU participated in the Seminar on South Africa held in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975. The Seminar had been organized in consultation with OAU and a representative of OAU was a member of its drafting committee.

133. Dramane Ouattara, the Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations, accompanied the delegation of the Special Committee on its mission to the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR from 5 to 10 May 1975.

134. At the invitation of OAU, the Chairman of the Special Committee took part in the ninth extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers held at Dar es Salaam from 7 to 10 April 1975, and presented a paper on "The situation in South Africa".

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9/ Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 5/75.

135. The Chairman of the Special Committee also participated in the twenty-fifth session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held at Rabat from 9 to 12 June 1975. The session was devoted mainly to the consideration of means for intensifying support to liberation movements in the light of the decisions of the extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers. The Chairman took the opportunity to inform the members of the Liberation Committee and the liberation movements of the work of the Special Committee and to exchange views with them.

#### J. Consultations with other international organizations

136. During his mission to Brussels, the Chairman of the Special Committee held consultations on 14 February 1975 with the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Chairman stressed the importance attached by the Special Committee to the full implementation, by all States, of the United Nations resolutions on arms embargo against South Africa. He also requested clarifications from the Secretary-General of NATO concerning press reports on military links between the South African régime and NATO. The Chairman appealed to him, and through him to the States members of NATO, to avoid any form of co-operation or contact with the Pretoria régime and to help in making the arms embargo fully effective.

137. The Secretary-General of NATO emphasized that his organization had a well-defined geographical limit which did not include South Africa. Regarding the decision of the NATO Council authorizing the NATO naval authorities to study means to protect the sea lanes around the Cape in time of war, he assured the Chairman that there was no contact with South Africa or the South African Navy, at a political, diplomatic or technical level. He also stated that the expansion by South Africa of its Navy and other armed forces was a unilateral act and that there had been no co-ordination with NATO (A/AC.115/SR.298).

138. The Chairman also met on the same day with the Director-General for External Affairs of the European Economic Community (EEC), and expressed the hope that no special benefits would be granted by EEC to South Africa so long as it practised apartheid. He referred to reports that the South African Ambassador in Brussels was accredited to EEC, that tariffs on South African citrus fruit had been reduced in 1972 and that South Africa had recently purchased 300 tons of beef from the EEC surplus at a reduced rate.

139. The Director-General assured the Chairman that EEC had concluded no special agreement with South Africa and had granted no special benefits to South Africa. He said that the South African mission to EEC had no special status to negotiate agreements. The reduction of tariffs on citrus fruit applied to all third countries and not to South Africa alone. As regards the sale of surplus beef, he said that South Africa had received no special concessions in price. He also assured the Chairman that EEC intended to comply fully with all the obligations involved in the observer status it had received from the United Nations General Assembly.

## K. Co-operation with non-governmental organizations

140. During the past year, the Special Committee against Apartheid continued to give particular attention to close co-operation with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations active in the international campaign against apartheid.

141. The Rapporteur participated in, and made a statement at, a background briefing for representatives of non-governmental organizations at United Nations Headquarters on 29 January 1975.

142. More than 30 anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations were represented at the Seminar on South Africa held in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975. The Seminar provided an opportunity for fruitful consultations with them on concerted international action against apartheid at various levels and for ensuring closer co-operation.

143. A delegation consisting of the Rapporteur and the representative of Somalia visited Brussels from 3 to 5 May 1975 for consultations with representatives of a number of non-governmental organizations. The delegation held meetings with the representatives of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the World Assembly of Youth, the Mouvement contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie, the Federation of Protestant Churches and various Catholic organizations. During the meetings, participants exchanged views on a number of specific matters relating to international action against apartheid and the contribution of each of the organizations to such action.

144. Subsequently, the Rapporteur visited Amsterdam and Geneva for consultations with a number of non-governmental organizations. In Amsterdam, he met with representatives of the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement. In Geneva, he consulted with the Secretary-General of the World Federation of United Nations Associations (Geneva), and with representatives of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Centre Europe-Tiers Monde, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (A/AC.115/SR.304).

145. A delegation of the Special Committee, led by its Vice-Chairman and including representatives of Haiti, Malaysia and Nepal, held a meeting in Geneva on 30 May 1975 with representatives of about 30 non-governmental organizations having consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The participants discussed specific actions to be taken by the non-governmental organizations and the co-ordination of international efforts against apartheid.

146. The delegation also participated in a meeting of the Sub-Committee on Racism, Apartheid and Decolonization of the Special NGO Committee on Human Rights on 29 May 1975. In the course of the discussion, the members of the Sub-Committee suggested the observance of the Day for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, on 11 October 1975, with the participation of as many non-governmental organizations as possible; emphasized the importance of the struggle to end economic collaboration with South Africa, especially by transnational corporations; and supported the proposal for an international conference to consider co-ordinated strategy in that field. They also favoured the proposal to organize in 1976, in

one of the European capitals, a conference on co-operation among non-governmental organizations involved in the struggle against apartheid (A/AC.115/SR.305).

147. In addition, during their missions to Governments, 10/ delegations of the Special Committee met representatives of many non-governmental organizations.

148. During its mission to Helsinki in May 1975, the delegation of the Special Committee visited the headquarters of the World Peace Council and held discussions with its Secretary-General and the members of the secretariat. The World Peace Council declared its full support for the recommendations of the Paris Seminar of the Special Committee and agreed to publicize and distribute papers prepared by the Unit on Apartheid. A joint press statement was issued on the results of the consultations (A/AC.115/L.403). The delegation also met with leaders of the Finnish Africa Committee.

149. At its 305th meeting on 25 June 1975, the Special Committee was informed that the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council had decided to award it the Frederik Joliot-Curie Gold Peace Medal in recognition of its contribution to the struggle for world peace. The Special Committee accepted the award with gratitude.

150. During its mission to the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR in May 1975, the delegation of the Special Committee held discussions with the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Ukrainian Peace Committee and other public organizations which have been providing very substantial assistance of all kind to the South African liberation movement.

151. During its mission to Sweden, Norway and Denmark in May 1975, the delegation of the Special Committee was able to meet representatives of many non-governmental organizations active in campaigns against apartheid and consult with them.

152. In Argentina and Brazil, the delegation of the Special Committee met the representatives of a number of non-governmental organizations of those countries.

153. The Special Committee received communications from many non-governmental organizations informing it of their activities against apartheid or suggesting United Nations action on various matters.

#### L. Representation at national and international conferences

154. During the period under review, the Special Committee participated in and followed closely the work of a number of national and international conferences dealing with the problems of racial discrimination and apartheid.

155. Walter Stubbs (Peru) represented the Special Committee in the expanded session of the Steering Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, held in Moscow from 25 to 27 October 1974. Representatives of 42 international organizations and 92 countries took part in the meetings. The measures proposed by the session included an international week for action against transnational

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10/ See sect. E above.

corporations operating in South Africa, and world-wide campaigns for putting an end to all military, financial and economic aid provided by Governments and companies to South Africa and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. (A/AC.115/SR.295).

156. At the invitation of the Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a rally organized by the movement in London on Sunday, 23 March 1975, to press for a total arms embargo against South Africa, to promote the campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and to support other United Nations resolutions for action against apartheid. The Chairman also addressed a meeting on 24 March 1975, at which leaders of a number of non-governmental organizations were present (A/AC.115/SR.302).

157. Erneste Pinto-Bazurco (Peru) represented the Special Committee at the Tenth Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers held at Algiers from 2 to 6 April 1975. The final document of the Congress contained a condemnation of apartheid and an expression of support for the struggle against apartheid carried on by the United Nations. The Congress also adopted a resolution calling for international action for the liberation of political prisoners in South Africa and the eradication of apartheid.

158. The Special Committee was represented by Kamaludin Azzat (Malaysia) at the conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), held at Cairo on 13 and 14 April 1975, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the historic Bandung Conference. The Conference was attended by representatives of the national chapters of AAPSO, the national liberation movements in South Africa, and other territories, and a number of non-governmental organizations. The Conference discussed, among other matters, the means for intensifying the "struggle against colonial and apartheid fascist régimes in southern Africa for the final assault". The final Declaration adopted by the Conference reaffirmed the continued commitment of AAPSO to the struggle against apartheid (A/AC.115/SR.304).

159. Thomas B. Sam (Ghana) represented the Special Committee at the meeting of "Canadians concerned about Southern Africa", held at Toronto on 25 June 1975, to commemorate Mozambique Independence Day and South Africa Freedom Day (A/AC.115/SR.306).

160. Guenther Mauersberger (German Democratic Republic) represented the Special Committee at the meetings of the Bureau of the World Peace Council Presidential Committee, held in Guinea-Bissau, from 8 to 11 September 1975, to discuss urgent problems facing the African continent, with special emphasis on the dangerous role of the apartheid régime in South Africa (A/AC.115/SR.309).

161. Omer Y. Birido (Sudan) represented the Special Committee at the Twelfth Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, held in Moscow, USSR, from 17 to 20 September 1975 to discuss, among other subjects, the AAPSO contribution to the process of the final liquidation of colonialism, apartheid and racism on the African continent.

162. The Special Committee sent messages to a number of other conferences to which it was unable to send representatives.

163. The Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee for Africa, Asia and Latin America jointly organized a "Tribunal against Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa". The purpose of the tribunal, which met at Bonn on 15 February 1975, was to make the public in the Federal Republic of Germany aware of the resolutions and conventions of the United Nations and to promote action in support of those resolutions and conventions. The Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message to the Anti-Apartheid Movement commending their initiative and informing them that the Special Committee attached great importance to support by non-governmental organizations and public opinion.

164. On 7 November 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a message to the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, which was holding a public meeting on that day to launch a campaign for the abrogation of the Simonstown Agreement of 1955 between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and South Africa, and for an end to all military collaboration with South Africa. He commended the Anti-Apartheid Movement for its campaign and stated:

"The Committee considers any military collaboration with the South African régime as an act against the purposes and principles of the United Nations, against the oppressed people of South Africa and against the cause of peace."

165. The Chairman sent a letter to the Annual Conference of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, held at Dublin from 2 to 4 May 1975, commending its work in support of the oppressed people of South Africa.

166. The Special Committee also sent messages to the following conferences and meetings in which it was unable to participate: Seminar on Sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, held at Amsterdam from 29 to 30 November 1974; International Conference on Zimbabwe held at Mogadiscio from 25 to 27 November 1974; session of the African Committee on Trade Union Co-ordination and Action against Apartheid, held at Tripoli from 25 to 28 November 1974; meeting of the Presidium of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, held at Cairo on 8 and 9 December 1974; Conference of the World Peace Council on Disarmament Problems, held at Stockholm from 31 May to 2 June 1975; a meeting of the International Welfare and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, held in London in June 1975, to pay a tribute to the memory of Abram Fischer; a symposium on apartheid, organized by the International Union of Students in Dar es Salaam from 16 to 18 September 1975, and a meeting of the Netherlands Anti-Apartheid Movement held at Amsterdam on 26 September 1975 to campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

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

167. The Special Committee continued its efforts to promote the signature and ratification by Member States of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It noted with appreciation the signing of the Convention by a number of Member States during the past year. As of 24 September 1975, the Convention had been ratified by the following 11 countries: Bulgaria, Chad, Dahomey, Ecuador, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Iraq, Mongolia, Qatar, Somalia and Yugoslavia. It had been signed by the following 21 countries: Algeria, Argentina, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Guinea, Jordan, Kenya, Nigeria, Oman, Poland, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Arab Emirates.

N. Funds for assistance to South Africans

168. The Special Committee has continued to follow the progress of the United Nations funds for assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa - the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa - and to encourage contributions to them.

169. It has also encouraged contributions to voluntary organizations engaged in assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. On 3 July 1975, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed an appeal to all Governments to contribute generously to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. As of 24 September 1975, the Special Committee had been informed of the following contributions to that Fund in response to the appeal: 11/

Barbados	\$US 980
Byelorussian SSR	\$US 1,000
Iraq	\$US 1,500
Netherlands	f. 20,000
Ukrainian SSR	\$US 2,000
USSR	\$US 7,000

170. The Special Committee has continued constantly to encourage contributions to the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU.

O. Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund

171. The Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund was established by the Secretary-General in January 1975, in response to General Assembly resolution 3151 C (XXVIII) of

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11/ See also Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/9622/Add.1).

14 December 1973, which authorized him to invite voluntary contributions by States and organizations to be used for the expansion of the activities of the Unit, in consultation with the Special Committee against Apartheid. The Assembly provided in its resolution that the contributions be used in particular for:

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

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

The Special Committee encouraged contributions to the Trust Fund.

172. As of 24 September 1975, the following contributions or pledges have been received by this Trust Fund:

	<u>US dollars</u>
Brazil	10,000
Finland	5,000
India	500
Kuwait	5,000
New Zealand	6,000
Nigeria	5,000
Norway	10,000
Sudan	500
Syrian Arab Republic	2,000
Zambia	1,560

P. Work of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information

173. The Sub-Committee held several meetings during the period under review and considered a number of communications in connexion with the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, as well as proposals for participation of organizations in the meetings of the Special Committee. In its reports to the Special Committee, the Sub-Committee recommended appropriate action on recommendations received from organizations (A/AC.115/L.397, A/AC.115/L.404, A/AC.115/L.405-A/AC.115/L.408).

Q. Work of the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa

174. The Sub-Committee continued to follow the developments concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions and the collaboration by States and foreign economic interests with South Africa in the political, military, economic

and other fields, in the light of the relevant provisions of the General Assembly resolutions and the decisions of the Special Committee.

175. At its 306th meeting, on 14 August 1975, the Special Committee approved the programme of work recommended by the Sub-Committee, involving the preparation of a number of papers and reports on collaboration with South Africa by its major trading partners and certain specific aspects of collaboration by some Member States and foreign interests with South Africa. Accordingly, the Sub-Committee prepared four papers for the Special Committee (A/AC.115/L.414-A/AC.115/L.417). It is continuing work on other papers and reports.

## II. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

176. In its report to the General Assembly last year, 12/ the Special Committee concluded that a new stage had been reached in the struggle of the South African people and the efforts of the international community to eradicate apartheid. It stated that "it has become imperative to focus international attention on the situation in South Africa as one of the gravest dangers to the peace, and to step up concerted international action to promote liberation and thereby avert a wider conflict".

177. The dangers inherent in the situation in South Africa and southern Africa are now generally recognized. The developments in South Africa in the past year, reviewed in the present report, show that the South African racist régime has not accepted the prerequisites of a peaceful solution, which have been clearly laid down in the resolutions of the General Assembly. In particular, it has rejected the demands of the General Assembly in resolution 3324 C (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, namely:

"(a) To grant an unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to apartheid or acts arising from such opposition, as well as to political refugees from South Africa;

"(b) To repeal all repressive laws and regulations restricting the right of people to strive for an end to racial discrimination, including the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960 declaring the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other organizations unlawful;

"(c) To enable the people of South Africa as a whole to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

178. Instead, it has tried to break out of its isolation by a diplomatic and propaganda offensive designed to deceive world public opinion; by offers of economic assistance to other States from the profits of oppression of the black people in South Africa; promises to co-operate in promoting a solution in Southern Rhodesia, while continuing to collaborate with the illegal Smith régime, in flagrant contravention of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter; and mere peripheral reforms in South Africa itself.

179. It is continuing to establish "bantustans" to divide the African people and consolidate racist domination. It has further intensified repression against the black people and all opponents of apartheid. It has greatly accelerated the build-up of its military power in order to threaten the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as the independent African States, and has tried to entice the Western Powers into closer military links.

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12/ Ibid., Supplement No. 22 (A/9622).

180. The policy of the so-called détente which is now professed by the South African régime is essentially a continuation of the "outward policy" which it launched a few years ago. It will be recalled that the General Assembly, in resolution 2775 F (XXVI) of 29 November 1971, declared that "the present tactics of the racist Government of South Africa in pursuance of its so-called 'outward policy' are designed primarily to obtain acquiescence in its racial policies, to confuse world opinion, to counter international isolation, to hinder assistance to the liberation movements by the international community and to consolidate white minority rule in southern Africa". This conclusion of the General Assembly in 1971 remains equally valid today, since the South African régime continues its efforts to consolidate and perpetuate white minority domination by ruthless repression in South Africa and deceitful manoeuvres abroad.

A. Need to step up international action

181. International action against apartheid - to isolate the South African régime and to support the liberation movement - has further advanced during the year.

182. The exclusion of the delegation of South Africa from the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly was not only indicative of the growing isolation of that régime but also provided a timely warning to it.

183. The liberation movements, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the non-aligned movement, the anti-apartheid movements and the Special Committee itself have constantly tried to counteract the South African propaganda and to uphold the principles of the United Nations resolutions. They have publicized the true facts of the situation in South Africa and stressed that there can be no compromise with apartheid and no collusion with the manoeuvres to preserve that inhuman system.

184. Regrettably, however, some Governments and economic interests have tried to take advantage of the concern of African States for peaceful solutions to the problems in southern Africa in order to increase their collaboration with South Africa and to profit from apartheid. They have aided the South African diplomatic and propaganda efforts, and have forged links with the "bantustan" leaders and other collaborators with apartheid, while opposing the liberation movements which represent the great majority of the people of South Africa. Their activities make it imperative that the United Nations launch a vigorous campaign to expose and denounce all collaborators with the South African régime.

185. The Special Committee draws attention to the fact that the manoeuvres of the South African racist régime are intended to gain time to arrange for the sham independence of the Transkei and other "bantustans" - in collusion with tribal chiefs and other collaborators - in the hope of creating a fait accompli. That is why its diplomatic and propaganda offensive abroad is coupled with ruthless persecution against all those who uphold the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa and denounce the unilateral actions of the racist minority régime to consolidate racism.

186. The Special Committee urges the international community to take urgent action to frustrate these manoeuvres of the South African régime and to support the

struggle of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa for the exercise of the right of self-determination in the country as a whole on the basis of equality of all inhabitants, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

#### B. Crucial struggle

187. The struggle for the total eradication of apartheid and for the national liberation of South Africa has now become crucial not only for attaining a just and lasting solution in South Africa but also for securing peace in southern Africa as a whole.

188. As OAU pointed out in its "Declaration on Southern Africa", adopted in April 1975, the serious threat to international peace and security, resulting from the existence of the apartheid régime in South Africa, assumes graver proportions as the apartheid régime feels insecure:

"There are two main areas of conflict in southern Africa. The first is the confrontation with colonialism. The second is the conflict with the system of apartheid which has rightly been declared by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. But whether we are dealing with the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia or illegal occupation of Namibia or racist domination in South Africa, the main opponent of Africa is the same: the South African régime and the power it wields in the three areas."

189. The Special Committee cannot over-emphasize the need for decisive action to eradicate apartheid in South Africa in order to reinforce the United Nations effort to promote the freedom and security of the peoples of neighbouring countries in southern Africa. Indeed, such action is imperative in order to avert a wider threat to peace and international co-operation in Africa. Decisive action against apartheid should also be a matter of the utmost priority, during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, as a crucial step in the struggle for the elimination of racism and racial discrimination all over the world.

190. The Special Committee therefore recommends that the General Assembly and the Security Council devote increasing attention, and all necessary resources, to concert international efforts in the inescapable and urgent task of eradicating apartheid in South Africa and securing the liberation of the South African people.

#### C. Special responsibility of the United Nations to the people of South Africa

191. The Special Committee recalls that the problem of racism in South Africa has been a matter of concern to the United Nations almost since its establishment 30 years ago. During these three decades, the United Nations has firmly supported the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of racism who have courageously struggled for justice and human equality and upheld the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. It has constantly called for a peaceful solution based on the full application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all inhabitants of South Africa as a whole.

192. The minority apartheid régime in South Africa, emulating the racist ideology of nazism, has persistently defied the appeals and demands of the United Nations and pursued its disastrous course of imposing segregation, discrimination and domination on the great majority of the people of the country. Millions of people have been subjected to imprisonment, removal from their homes and other indignities in its effort to consolidate racism. Numerous persons are today languishing in prisons in South Africa, or subjected to cruel restrictions, or forced into exile, because of their participation or leadership in the struggle for freedom and human dignity.

193. Despite the brutality of the régime, the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements have carried on a persistent struggle and inspired millions of people all over the world. They have thereby made a significant contribution not only to the international efforts for the elimination of racism but also to the struggle of mankind in defence of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

194. The Special Committee considers that on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary, the United Nations should recognize and commend this contribution of the South African people to the cause of the United Nations. It should proclaim that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid - a crime against humanity analogous to the crime of nazism, which was defeated 30 years ago. It should exclude the racist régime of South Africa from participation in the United Nations and all its agencies, and welcome the effective participation of the liberation movements as the authentic representatives of the South African people - thereby strengthening the true universality of the Organization.

D. Recognition of the right of self-determination  
and condemnation of "bantustans"

195. The Special Committee has always emphasized that the problem in South Africa is not merely the constant intensification of racial discrimination and violations of human rights of the great majority of the people, but the existence of a racist minority régime committed to the denial of the inalienable right of the black people to participate as equals in the government of the country.

196. Since the former colonial Power handed over power to the white minority over 60 years ago, the country has been ruled by racist minority régimes. These régimes have abolished even the limited and token rights granted to the black people by the former colonial Power.

197. Flagrantly violating its commitments under the United Nations Charter, the Verwoerd régime staged a referendum of white voters in 1960, the year of the Sharpeville massacre, and declared the so-called "Republic of South Africa" on 30 May 1961. Neither this so-called "Republic" nor its white minority régime is entitled to recognition by the United Nations or the international community.

198. The United Nations has repeatedly called for the total eradication of apartheid and the exercise of the right of self-determination by all the inhabitants of South

Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed. It has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle waged by all means by the oppressed people of South Africa for their inalienable rights and declared its commitment to assist them in that struggle.

199. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that the United Nations and the international community cannot accept mere modifications of racism nor any unilateral solutions imposed by white minority régimes which deny the people as a whole the right to decide the destiny of the country. All necessary steps must be taken to ensure that all powers shall be transferred to the people of South Africa as a whole, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

200. The Special Committee considers it essential that the General Assembly should once again strongly condemn the "bantustans" for what they are - a fraud of self-determination which is being perpetrated by the Pretoria régime in an open challenge to the United Nations.

201. The "bantustans" are designed to divide the African people, to relegate them to one seventh of the country, and consolidate white domination in the rest of the country though the whites will continue to remain a small minority. They are being established in collusion with tribal chiefs and authorities who do not represent the African people while all opposition to them is ruthlessly suppressed under Draconian laws and regulations.

202. The Special Committee notes that the Pretoria régime is proceeding with plans to declare the so-called "independence" of the Transkei in 1976. This "bantustan" - which is supposedly the homeland of the Xhosa people whose numbers equal those of the whites in South Africa - will cover only about 3 per cent of the land surface of the country. The so-called "independence" of this territory is being negotiated under an authority which had been established under a virtual state of emergency and in which the majority of members are government-appointed chiefs.

203. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly denounce the establishment of the Transkei and other "bantustans" and again call upon all Governments and organizations not to accord any form of recognition to any institutions or authorities of the "bantustans". It recommends further that the General Assembly again reaffirm the right to self-determination of the people of South Africa as a whole, in accordance with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, and declare that the immediate release of political prisoners and an end to repression are imperative for a peaceful solution in South Africa.

#### E. Sanctions against South Africa

204. The Special Committee attaches the utmost importance to the implementation by the international community of effective measures for the isolation of the South African racist régime in the military, economic, political, cultural, sporting and other fields so long as it practises the crime of apartheid and persistently violates the principles enshrined in the Charter. Such isolation, depriving the

racist régime of the benefits of international co-operation, constitutes the most effective assistance to the South African people in their struggle for freedom. In this connexion, the Special Committee commends the relevant recommendations of the Seminar on South Africa (A/10103-S/11708), organized by it in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975, to the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

205. The Special Committee has continued, in accordance with its mandate, to review developments concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid and the collaboration of States and economic and other interests with South Africa. It has been obliged to note with regret the continued and increasing collaboration by some States and economic interests with the South African régime. The Special Committee, in particular, notes the growing links between Israel and that régime in violation of the resolutions at the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly (A/AC.115/L.411). This collaboration should be condemned and publicized for appropriate action by all Governments and organizations.

206. While noting the progress achieved during the past year in the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa, the Special Committee notes with great regret that the Security Council has failed to take action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, as requested by the General Assembly in resolution 3324 B (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, "to ensure the complete cessation by all States of the supply of any arms, ammunition, military vehicles, spare parts thereof, and any other military equipment whatsoever to South Africa, as well as any military co-operation with South Africa". A draft resolution on the question of Namibia, calling for a mandatory arms embargo, was not adopted on 6 June 1975 because of vetoes by France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

207. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly again call for full implementation of the embargo by all States, without any reservations and qualifications whatsoever, and specifically request the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States to desist from opposition to a mandatory arms embargo.

208. The Special Committee recalls that it has repeatedly drawn the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council to the desirability of an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. Such an embargo would be an effective first step towards a general embargo on all strategic commodities, as a supplement to the arms embargo.

209. The Special Committee was greatly encouraged by the decision of the Arab States in 1973 to impose an embargo on the supply of petroleum to South Africa, and of the steps taken by several Arab States since that time. It feels that, in order to ensure the full implementation of the embargo, it is essential that all petroleum exporting countries be requested to take the necessary steps towards that end and that evasions by international companies involved in the transport of oil should be prevented.

210. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly address an appeal to all States concerned to co-operate in the implementation of an embargo on the

supply of petroleum and petroleum products and other raw materials to South Africa and authorize the Special Committee to hold consultations with Governments and organizations to promote the necessary action.

211. The Special Committee attaches great importance to the boycott of South African sports teams, selected on the basis of apartheid and in violation of the Olympic principle of non-discrimination, as a measure which has effectively demonstrated the abhorrence of apartheid on the part of Governments as well as peoples. It has constantly denounced the manoeuvres of the South African racist régime to induce sports bodies to accept mere adjustments within the apartheid system and to end the boycott.

212. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly reiterate its appeal to Governments and organizations for full adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and commend the Governments and organizations which have boycotted racially-selected south African teams. It recommends further that all Governments and organizations be requested to take appropriate steps to persuade the sports bodies which remain insensitive to the problem of racism in South African sports and connive at violations of the Olympic principle, to desist from further contacts with racist South African sports bodies. It also recommends that the Assembly declare its solidarity with, and support for, all sportsmen in South Africa who have been courageously struggling for non-racial sport despite repression by the régime.

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

213. The Special Committee considers it essential that, in this crucial period of the struggle for liberation in South Africa, the United Nations should promote much greater assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements. In addition to humanitarian assistance to the victims of repression and educational assistance to those deprived of equal opportunities, the international community should provide all types of assistance required by the liberation movements in the present stage of their legitimate struggle. In this connexion, the Special Committee draws attention to the special report it had submitted to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session on "assistance provided by Governments and non-governmental organizations to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements". 13/

214. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the substantial increase in the contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa during the past year. It also welcomes the steps taken by the United Nations Development Programme and the specialized agencies of the United Nations to provide concrete assistance to the South African liberation movements. It commends the Governments and organizations which have continued and increased their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements through the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity or through other channels.

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13/ Ibid., Supplement No. 22A (A/9622/Add.1).

215. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly invite all States, specialized agencies and organizations to provide more generous assistance in view of the increasing repression in South Africa and the new stage of the struggle for liberation. It suggests that special attention be drawn to the need for assistance to the liberation movements to enable them:

- (a) To undertake greater publicity for the struggle for liberation;
- (b) To participate effectively in international conferences;
- (c) To undertake the necessary research and planning in connexion with the struggle for liberation;
- (d) To train the necessary cadres for the administration of a non-racial State after liberation.

216. The Special Committee suggests further that the Secretary-General be requested to take appropriate steps, in consultation with the Special Committee, to promote such assistance.

#### G. Programme of work of the Special Committee

217. In the discharge of its mandate from the General Assembly, the Special Committee in the past year intensified its efforts to promote concerted international action against apartheid as a matter of universal concern.

218. It held fruitful consultations with a number of Governments on means to secure more effective implementation of United Nations resolutions. It held discussions with the Director-General of UNESCO, which has played an important role in the international campaign against apartheid, on the means for more effective action in co-operation with the Special Committee. It maintained close co-operation with a number of non-governmental organizations, sent representatives to several international and national conferences, and encouraged public action against apartheid in many countries.

219. In all its activities, the Special Committee has closely co-operated with OAU and the South African liberation movements recognized by it, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

220. The Seminar on South Africa, organized by the Special Committee at UNESCO headquarters in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975, provided a valuable opportunity for the Special Committee, the specialized agencies, OAU, the liberation movements and non-governmental organizations to exchange information and views on the international campaign against apartheid and to formulate proposals for further concerted action in the light of recent developments.

221. The Special Committee has thus not only followed the developments concerning all aspects of apartheid but has also devoted increasing attention to promoting action against apartheid in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

222. The Special Committee recommends that provision be made for the continuation and intensification of its activities during 1976. It suggests, in particular, provision for:

(a) Missions to a number of Governments, including the main trading partners of South Africa;

(b) Missions to specialized agencies of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity;

(c) Greater co-operation with the non-aligned movement;

(d) Attendance at conferences concerned with apartheid;

(e) A mission to the headquarters of the principal trade-union confederations and of non-governmental organizations active in opposition to apartheid; and

(f) Invitations to representatives of South African liberation movements and other organizations, as well as experts on apartheid, for consultations on various aspects of apartheid and on action against apartheid.

223. The Special Committee also considers it essential to organize a conference or seminar in 1976, with the participation of OAU, the South African liberation movements and non-governmental organizations:

(a) To review the recent developments in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and the manoeuvres of the South African racist régime;

(b) To analyse the role of transnational corporations and other foreign economic interests in buttressing apartheid;

(c) To formulate a co-ordinated strategy of action against economic collaboration with South Africa;

(d) To consider ways and means of counteracting South African propaganda;

(e) To formulate recommendations for promoting increased assistance to the South African liberation movements in the light of the requirements at the present stage of their struggle for liberation.

224. The Special Committee recommends that the necessary provision be made for the holding of such a conference or seminar in a Latin American country.

#### H. Dissemination of information and co-operation with non-governmental organizations

225. The Special Committee recalls that it has constantly emphasized the need for the widest dissemination of information on apartheid and the United Nations efforts towards the eradication of apartheid, in order to promote concerted action by all Governments and peoples in support of the United Nations. The Committee has also stressed the important role of non-governmental organizations in securing public action against apartheid.

226. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the work of the Unit on Apartheid, and commends the States which have contributed to the Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund. It also welcomes the steps taken by the specialized agencies of the United Nations - particularly the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, and WHO - in response to suggestions by the Special Committee to publicize the evils of apartheid with respect to their mandates. It commends the anti-apartheid movements, solidarity committees, trade unions, churches and other non-governmental organizations such as the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization which have made valuable contributions in support of the United Nations resolutions and the liberation movement, as well as in co-operation with the Special Committee.

227. The Special Committee considers that an expansion of information activity and closer co-operation with non-governmental organizations are essential in order to counteract the increased propaganda of the South African régime and its supporters abroad. It recommends that the Unit on Apartheid be provided adequate resources:

(a) To undertake publication of pamphlets and other information material for wide circulation in various languages;

(b) To issue on a regular basis bulletins on current developments, for use by the information media;

(c) To prepare special publications for trade unions, churches, and organizations of women, students, teachers and others, with a view to promoting solidarity action in support of the South African people in their struggle for liberation.

It recommends further that Governments be invited to make more generous contributions to the Unit on Apartheid Trust Fund.

228. Moreover, the Special Committee suggests that the Unit on Apartheid be requested, in consultation with the Special Committee, to prepare a review of information activity against apartheid by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, with proposals for more effective action.

229. The Special Committee wishes again to emphasize the urgent need for films and other audio-visual material in disseminating information against apartheid. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Seminar on South Africa, it suggests that the Office of Public Information be requested to produce a film on apartheid in sport in South Africa and the international campaign against sporting contacts with South Africa.

#### I. Secretariat services

230. In its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, the Special Committee emphasized that its recommendations for an expansion of the international campaign against apartheid required a substantial strengthening of the Secretariat resources devoted to the question of apartheid in South Africa in order to provide services to the Special Committee, to publicize the evils of apartheid and to undertake related tasks. It said:

"The recommendations in this report for more energetic action against apartheid during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination require the reinforcement and reorganization of the Unit on Apartheid into a centre which can help in facilitating the co-ordination of United Nations activities on all aspects of apartheid and provide the services necessary to the Special Committee in the discharge of its mandate. This centre should, in close consultation with the Special Committee:

"(a) Follow the relevant decisions and activities of all United Nations organs, as well as specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations;

"(b) Act as a clearing-house of information on the international campaign against apartheid by the United Nations, States, specialized agencies, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations;

"(c) Undertake the preparation of studies on the various aspects of apartheid and its international repercussions, as required by the Special Committee or other organs;

"(d) Ensure maximum publicity, with the co-operation of the Office of Public Information and through all media, for the evils and dangers of apartheid, and for the United Nations efforts towards the eradication of apartheid;

"(e) Promote humanitarian, educational and other assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement.

"This should be staffed with experts in economic, legal, information and other aspects, and provided with the necessary resources to enable it adequately to serve the Special Committee and help implement its decisions." 14/

231. In resolution 3151 D (XXVII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General "to reinforce the Unit on Apartheid in the Secretariat, so as to enable it to discharge the tasks indicated in paragraph 300 of the report of the Special Committee, and to provide it with the necessary staff and resources". Further, in resolution 3324 D (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly recommended that "sufficient funds be allocated for the expansion of the activities of the Unit on Apartheid".

232. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the strengthening of the Secretariat services resulting from these recommendations. It considers that further attention should be given urgently to this matter in view of the need for intensified international action as recommended in this report.

233. The Special Committee recommends that, in the light of the change of the Committee's title, the "Unit on Apartheid" in the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs of the Secretariat be renamed the "Centre against Apartheid". It also suggests that the Secretary-General be requested, in

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14/ Ibid., Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/9022), para. 300.

consultation with the Special Committee, to ensure the provision of additional staff and other resources to the Centre to enable it to discharge its three main functions, namely: (a) services to the Special Committee; (b) publicity against apartheid; and (c) the promotion of assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

#### J. Co-ordination of international efforts

234. Finally, the Special Committee wishes to emphasize the need for securing the utmost co-ordination in the efforts of the international community for the total eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

235. The Special Committee has followed the activities of a number of United Nations organs, within their terms of reference, on various aspects of apartheid. It has welcomed the important decisions taken by the World Population Conference in 1974 and the World Conference of the International Women's Year in 1975 for action against apartheid. It has encouraged action by a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. It has maintained close co-operation with OAU and the South African liberation movements.

236. The Special Committee has attempted, with the assistance of the Unit on Apartheid, to follow constantly the developments in the international campaign against apartheid and to encourage co-operation and co-ordination. Its missions to Governments and organizations, as well as its conferences and sessions abroad, have served to promote consultations with many organizations concerned on the means towards a concerted international effort.

237. The Special Committee expresses its great appreciation to all the Governments and organizations concerned for their co-operation and its hope that they would continue to lend their co-operation to the Special Committee and to the Unit on Apartheid in the further development of the campaign against apartheid.

238. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly commend all Governments, specialized agencies and other organizations which have taken action against apartheid in accordance with its resolutions, and invite them to continue to co-operate closely with the Special Committee towards a concerted international campaign against apartheid.

# ANNEX I

## REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE SEPTEMBER 1974

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## INTRODUCTION

### A. Growing isolation of the South African régime

1. During the past year, with the progress of decolonization in southern Africa and the growing international opposition to apartheid, the South African régime faced further isolation in the international community.
2. The changes in Portugal, and the emergence of a government committed to decolonization, broke the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis which had been established by the racist régime in Pretoria as a basis for its security. South Africa could no longer count on colonial Territories as buffers between it and independent African States. Moreover, with the advent of independence by Mozambique, under the leadership of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), the position of the illegal Smith régime in Rhodesia became precarious.
3. The rejection of the credentials of the South African delegation to the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly and the suspension of that delegation from participation in the proceedings of that session reflected the growing isolation of the South African régime at the international level. A move for the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations, which received a majority in the Security Council in October 1974, was not adopted because of the vetoes of three permanent members (France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America), but this could only provide limited comfort to the South African régime.
4. Several specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations took further action against apartheid.
5. Under pressure of public opinion, the United Kingdom Government decided to terminate the "Simonstown Agreement" of 1955 - the only military agreement to which South Africa had been a party.
6. France, which had been the main supplier of military equipment to South Africa during the past decade, announced in August 1975 that it would no longer sell military equipment to South Africa for "continental use". Though this declaration did not fully meet the appeals of the General Assembly and the Security Council, it reflected the strength of opinion in France and the international community.
7. In order to counteract this growing isolation and avert stronger international measures the Vorster régime resurrected its earlier call for a "dialogue" with African States, with a variation of phraseology to the now popular "détente".

### B. Proposal for "détente" with African States

8. In a statement in the South African Senate on 23 October 1974, Prime Minister Vorster said that a characteristic of southern Africa in the past decade had been

conflict and violence. The area had come to the cross-roads, he said, and had to choose now between peace or an escalation of strife. He appealed for efforts to promote "an honourable solution" to the Rhodesian problem. He said that South Africa was prepared to do all in its power to promote order and stability in Africa. It was prepared, he said, to provide economic and technical assistance to countries in Africa, especially those closer to South Africa. He stressed that the whites of South Africa were as much a part of Africa as any other people or country.

9. This statement, coming shortly before the consideration by the Security Council of the item on the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa, provoked some speculation as to whether the South African régime was, at last, prepared to reassess its policies in response to the United Nations demand and world opinion.

10. Soon after, Mr. R. F. Botha, the South African representative, told the Security Council:

"I want to state here today very clearly and very categorically, my Government does not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race and colour. Discrimination based solely on the colour of a man's skin cannot be defended. And we shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour. I would mislead you if I imply that this will happen overnight ... But we are moving in that direction. We shall continue to do so."

11. In a speech at Nigel on 5 November, Prime Minister Vorster expressed satisfaction that his appeal for peace "did not fall on deaf ears". He asked political commentators to give South Africa a chance of six months. "If South Africa is given that chance, they will be surprised at where the country will stand in 6 to 12 months' time."

12. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said at the Nationalist Party Congress at Stellenbosch on 6 November:

"I would be neglecting my duty if I did not warn of how dangerous the situation is. How long can we still depend on the Western world to support us?"

He said it was urgent that South Africa alter the image which African States had of its race policy.

13. Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of Mines, of Immigration, and of Sport and Recreation, said in Johannesburg on 11 November that South Africa would discard the image of a country which discriminated against people on grounds of race and colour. South Africa, he said, belonged to Africa. It wanted to come, and was coming, to terms with Africa.

"The way for South Africa to come to terms with the world is via Africa."

14. A series of statements such as these by leaders of the South African régime created some expectations in South Africa and abroad that the South African régime had finally recognized that the destiny of the white people of South Africa was in Africa, and not as an appendage of the West, and that it genuinely sought a peaceful solution to the problems of southern Africa.

15. But these expectations, encouraged by South African propaganda and by the friends of the South African régime, soon proved baseless. Indeed, even in the above-quoted statements, it was apparent that while the South African régime undertook to facilitate a solution in Southern Rhodesia, it was not prepared to release its own political prisoners nor abandon apartheid. It had only offered to eliminate some manifestations of racism.

16. In his statement on 6 November, Dr. Muller had stated that South Africa could "move away from racism and unnecessary discrimination without violating our policy". He only called for an abandonment of "unnecessary irritations" by applying the policy "humanely". Dr. Koornhof said on 11 November that the Nationalist Party wanted to do away with "pinpricks" which caused friction between the "peoples" of South Africa.

17. Following demands by black leaders in South Africa for a meaningful evidence of a change of policy, the spokesmen of the régime soon made it clear that there would be no weakening of white domination.

18. On 12 November, Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Interior and Information, stressed that the "policy of extending the hand of friendship" to friendly countries was within the "framework of separate development".

"To ask from us that we must overthrow our whole policy of separate development and give majority rule and integration is totally out of context. That is not our intention and we refuse to do it."

19. Mr. Vorster himself explained on 16 November that he had not asked to be given six months "to turn South Africa upside down" but only to change South Africa's position in the world. The Government, he said, could not be expected to repeal any measure which would endanger the identity of people or which would take political power out of the hands of the whites.

"I want to say it deliberately and in a spirit of the greatest friendliness to all the leaders of the black people: if there are people who are arousing your hopes that there will one day be one man, one vote in the white Parliament for you, then they are misleading you, because that will never happen."

20. He said there would be majority rule in South Africa - but it would be a majority of Tswanas in "Tswanaland", Vendas in "Vendaland" and of the Zulus and Xhosas in their "homelands", whereas the whites would continue to govern South Africa.

21. Dr. Hilgard Muller, the Foreign Minister, affirmed on 21 May 1975:

"We refuse point-blank to share our sovereignty, our self-rule, with any other population group. We strive to allow the non-white nations and groups to, as far as possible, control their own affairs." 1/

22. In short, the South African régime had sought the normalization of relations with the independent African States, even while continuing to enforce apartheid. It continued to insist that white domination in South Africa - except for the scattered reserves in one seventh of the land surface set aside for "bantustans" - was non-negotiable. It tried to persuade the African States that apartheid was no barrier to inter-State co-operation, and that with the establishment of "bantustans" - condemned by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity - the South African régime had granted the right of self-determination.

23. Its professed move away from discrimination "solely" on grounds of race or colour was not a move away from apartheid, but an abandonment of some manifestations of racism while speeding up the "grand plan" of separate development. The South African régime was seeking acceptance of South Africa as an African State, as well as recognition of South Africa (minus the "bantustans") as a "white" State.

24. Moreover, the Pretoria régime had pretensions to a role beyond its borders. Prime Minister Vorster said in a speech in Somerset East on 4 May 1975: "South Africa must remain the guardian of southern Africa." 2/

25. Thus, the "détente" proposed by Vorster was an invitation to the independent African States to abandon their commitment to the oppressed people of South Africa in return for some adjustments on racism, a readjustment of policy on Southern Rhodesia and an offer of economic assistance. The "détente" proposed by Vorster was designed not only to enhance the security of the racist régime but also to give it a dominant role in the entire region.

### C. Why "détente"?

26. The South African régime launched the campaign for a "détente" in 1974 mainly because it recognized that a disruption of African unity against apartheid and the normalization of relations with at least a part of Africa had become crucial even for the maintenance of traditional relations with the Western Powers and for attracting foreign investment. It saw that while it faced ever-stronger opposition in Africa, the Western Powers were coming increasingly under pressure to choose between friendship with the racist régime and the goodwill of Africa.

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1/ The Times, London, 22 May 1975.

2/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 5 May 1975.

27. As the Minister of Information, Dr. C. P. Mulder, told the Parliament on 2 October 1974:

"... the successful acceptance of South Africa and of its policy in the outside world will depend to a very great extent on the acceptance of South Africa as an African State in the community of African States.

"I have no doubt about that. If we could be accepted in Africa by other African countries, if it could be accepted that we are a white African country with the right to exist in Africa, then it would be very difficult for people in the outside world to discriminate against us or expel us from world organizations ...". 3/

28. The unprecedented triple veto in the Security Council by France, the United Kingdom and the United States in October 1974, which prevented the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations, was seen by the pro-government Afrikaans press as providing merely a breathing space for the Pretoria régime to adjust its relations in Africa. The Beeld (4 November 1974), for instance, recognized that the Western Powers could not give unlimited support to the South African régime against the independent African States because of their own interests in the rest of Africa. It stated:

"So where we formerly had only to talk to Europe to arrange our affairs in Africa, we now have to normalize our relations with the remainder of Africa before our problems with Europe and the West can be simplified. The diplomatic wheel has turned that perfectly.

"The new current in Africa is thus not only important to one sector of our relations with the outside world - it will determine our situation on the entire front."

29. Mr. N. F. Treurnicht, a National Party Member of Parliament, pointed out that "détente" had become essential to attract foreign investment. He recalled, in a statement in Parliament on 21 April, that the economic development programme of South Africa, for the five years between 1974 and 1979, had estimated the requirements of development capital at R37 thousand million. He added:

"They will be found in the next four or five years, too, precisely because the Government is engaged in the policy of détente and détente politics with regard to the outside world, with regard to Africa and with regard, too, to South Africa. This gives our own industrialists and developers confidence in the future. What is more, when we consider the outside world and the capital we require from the outside world, this also creates confidence in the financiers of the Western world in particular, but of those in the Middle East as well ... In other words, the Government's policy is creating a basis of order, peace and friendly coexistence that encourages the investors of the outside world to invest in South Africa." 4/

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3/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 2 October 1974.

4/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 21 April 1975.

D. Diplomatic contacts with other States

30. The South African régime embarked on vigorous diplomatic and propaganda efforts to develop high-level contacts with African and other States.

31. It had held a series of meetings with Zambian officials from August 1974, mainly in connexion with efforts for a peaceful settlement in Southern Rhodesia.

32. Prime Minister Vorster visited the Ivory Coast in September 1974, Malawi in October 1974, and Liberia in February 1975 for discussions with the Chiefs of State. 5/

33. An official delegation of the Central African Republic, led by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Alphonse Koyamba, and including the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Joachim da Silva-Nzengue, visited South Africa in February 1975. The two countries signed an agreement under which South Africa offered to provide R4 million to help finance a tourist hotel complex near Bangui. 6/

34. On 15 July 1975, it was announced that the Minister of Information of the Ivory Coast, Mr. Dona-Fologo, would make an official visit to South Africa in August.

35. The South African régime had also been exploring every opportunity for breaking out of its isolation by contacts in other regions of the world, especially where public awareness of the inhumanity of apartheid and of United Nations resolutions had been weak. In this context, it had been particularly active in Latin America.

36. There had been a rapid expansion of South African diplomatic missions and consulates in Latin America since 1972, and special efforts had been made to increase trade with and investment in Latin America.

37. The South African Minister of Mines and Sport, Dr. P. J. Koornhof, attended the inauguration of the President of Nicaragua in November 1974 and visited several other Latin American countries. A South African trade mission visited Paraguay and Uruguay in January 1975. 7/ A South African ambassador presented his credentials in Chile in 1975.

38. Prime Minister Vorster visited Paraguay and Uruguay in August 1975.

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5/ Significantly, Mr. Vorster was accompanied to the Ivory Coast and Liberia by the head of the Department of Information and the head of the Bureau for State Security (the Secret Service).

6/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 15 March 1975. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Central African Republic, Mr. Joseph Potoilot, was reported to have said in an interview on 4 March 1975 that his Government was willing to co-operate with South Africa on an economic level. (AFP, 4 March 1975.)

7/ Financial Times, London, 15 January 1975. The mission was reported to have offered a credit of R33 million (about \$50 million) to Paraguay for agricultural, mining, communications and construction projects. The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 11 January 1975.

## E. Propaganda offensive

39. The diplomatic offensive was coupled with a massive propaganda offensive designed to convince public opinion that positive changes were taking place in South Africa by government initiative or because of economic growth. According to this propaganda, the policy of "separate development" - or "multinationalism" as apartheid is now frequently euphemistically called - had entered a positive phase and the Government itself was eliminating discrimination by pressing ahead with this policy. It only needed to be given encouragement by the international community and time to educate the white public opinion. Moreover, economic growth was essential to improve the condition of the blacks so that greater economic collaboration with South Africa, rather than economic sanctions, was called for.

40. Black South Africans were increasingly used to reinforce the régime's propaganda abroad. The leaders of "bantustans" had been encouraged and assisted to embark on numerous visits abroad to counteract anti-apartheid campaigns for economic disengagement from South Africa, while blacks who opposed foreign investment had been subjected to persecution and denial of passports under repressive laws.

41. The Minister of Information, Dr. C. P. Mulder, indicated that non-white information officers were being trained and would be posted abroad in November 1975. 8/ They would be posted this year in New York, London, Cologne and Paris - in the four countries which were regarded by the Department of Information as priority areas. 9/

42. The emphasis placed on propaganda was reflected in the fact that the budget of the Department of Information was increased to over R10 million in 1975/76, an increase of about one third over the previous year. The Department launched its biggest and costliest advertising campaign in March 1975 with a series of three advertisements abroad, entitled: "Could an organization like NATO have a base in Simonstown, South Africa?", "Could the next Olympics be in Pretoria, South Africa?", "Could the headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa be in Johannesburg, South Africa?". By May 1975, these advertisements were placed in the following newspapers at a cost of R182,927.92:

United Kingdom: The Times, The Guardian, The Observer and The Sunday Times Colour Magazine.

United States of America: The New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Newsweek, Time Magazine, U.S. News and World Report, Journal of Commerce (United States and international editions).

France: International Herald Tribune.

Austria: Die Presse. 10/

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8/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 2 October 1974, cols. 4234, 4235 and 4289.

9/ Ibid., cols. 4234, 4235 and 4288.

10/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 23 May 1975, Questions and Replies, cols. 1030-1031.

43. An important activity in the South African propaganda effort is the "guest programme" under which influential people from abroad are invited to visit South Africa. In 1974, various departments of the South African Government brought 664 official guests from abroad. 11/

44. The Minister of Foreign Affairs disclosed on 13 March 1975 that the Department of Foreign Affairs had invited about 100 persons to South Africa in 1974 - sometimes in conjunction with other Departments. They included: 12/

(1) President Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, and a suite of 30 officials and advisers;

(2) Sir Michael Havers, M.P., Solicitor-General in the previous Conservative Government in the United Kingdom, and Lady Havers;

(3) Mr. H. S. P. Monro, M.P., Assistant Secretary of State for Health and Education in Scotland in the previous Conservative Government and subsequently Secretary for Scottish Affairs in the Shadow Cabinet, and Mrs. Monro;

(4) Dr. Frans Josef Röder, Prime Minister of Saarland, Federal Republic of Germany, and his executive assistant;

(5) Mr. Fritz Logemann, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry, in the Federal Republic of Germany, and his executive assistant;

(6) Mr. S. Normand, Director of Trade Relations in the Ministry of Economics and Finance in France, and five officials from his own and other ministries;

(7) Mr. B. Larrera de Morel, Director of Foreign Trade of France, and 38 officials and executives of major industrial concerns and banks in France;

(8) Mr. P. Dellenbach, Chief Director in the Ministry of Agriculture of France, with three representatives of organized agriculture; and

(9) Mr. J. Camus, a member of the Argentine parliament, and his secretary.

45. The Department of Information, for its part, invited 164 persons under its "guest programme", at a cost of about R500,000: they came from South America, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan. 13/ The Deputy Minister of Information claimed:

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11/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 29 April 1975, col. 5014.

12/ Ibid., 13 March 1975, cols. 464-465.

13/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 29 April 1975, col. 5017.

"We invite people to South Africa who are opinion-formers in their countries ... We had the opportunity of inviting a recognized journalist from Austria to this country as our guest. Upon his return he wrote 35 different articles over a period of about six weeks, which appeared in newspapers and/or publications in Austria, articles which were objective and favourable towards South Africa and its people. If that same space had had to be bought, we would not have been able to buy it even for R200,000." 14/

46. Those invited to South Africa in 1974/1975 by the Department of Information included: 15/ Rev. Daniel Lyons, Editor of the National Catholic Register, New York; Mr. Moses Newson, of the Baltimore Afro-American; Mr. Arnold Foster, General Adviser of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Mr. J. A. Parker, a black writer from Washington; Dr. O. Olson, President of the Central Canadian Synod of the Lutheran Church; Mr. H. Köster, Deputy Chief Editor of the Deutsche Presse-Agentur; Mr. B. Couch, Maori representative on the New Zealand Rugby Board; Mr. P. J. Prins, Chief Editor of Algmeen Dagblad; Mr. R. Quesnoy, Assistant Chief Editor of La Voix du Nord, France; and Mr. G. C. van Dam, member of the Second Chamber of the Netherlands.

47. In addition, the South Africa Foundation, established by businessmen to improve South Africa's image abroad, had invited many prominent persons to tour South Africa as its guests. One of the most recent guests was Mr. Jean-Philippe Lecat, a former French Minister of Information and presently chairman of a special committee to advise the French Government on raw materials. 16/

48. Several guests were invited by private companies or individuals with the assistance of the Department of Information. For instance, in January 1975, six United States Congressmen and six members of the British Parliament toured South Africa at the invitation of a Mr. Werner Ackermann, a Pretoria businessman. 17/

49. In the propaganda for "détente", a key role had been played by business interests, such as Mr. Harry Oppenheimer of the Anglo American Corporation.

50. The concern of Mr. Oppenheimer was disclosed in his chairman's address to Anglo American in May 1975 when he said that "uncertainties resulting from the recent political events in Mozambique and Angola had adversely affected investment attitudes towards South Africa". In this context, he welcomed the moves by Prime Minister Vorster and referred to the incalculable economic benefits which nations in central and southern Africa would derive from "a relaxation of tension and co-operation on a regional basis". He argued that the building of a just society in South Africa could happen differently from that which was normally

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14/ Ibid.

15/ Statement by the Minister of Information. House of Assembly Debates, (Hansard), 2 October 1974, col. 4307.

16/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 17 July 1975.

17/ Ibid., 21 January 1975; The Times, London, 21 January 1975.

accepted elsewhere in Africa and said that the régime was conferring with what he called the "black leaders who are emerging as heads of the eight homelands now in various stages of constitutional development". 18/

51. His statement was welcomed by the supporters of the régime. Die Volksblad, a pro-government newspaper, noted with satisfaction on 16 May that Mr. Oppenheimer gave the same message that the Nationalist Party had struggled so long to drive home, by recognizing the "bantustan" leaders as the true black leaders in South Africa.

#### F. Grave situation in South Africa

52. While the South African régime spent much effort on the diplomatic and propaganda offensive to normalize relations with other States, there was no significant improvement in the grave situation in the country.

53. The gravity of the situation was reflected by the doubling of the military budget between 1974 and 1975, and the plans for a rapid increase in the military build-up set out in a White Paper on Defence, tabled in Parliament in 1975. 19/

54. The increase in military preparations was coupled with an intensification in repression against the black people and all opponents of apartheid. 20/

55. The Minister of Justice said in Parliament on 4 June 1975, in defence of repressive action against the Christian Institute of Southern Africa:

"... it would not behoove or pay us in South Africa to build up a strong police force to combat terrorists and to build up a strong defence force to fight conventional wars, to enable us, when the bell tolls, to win on the battlefield while we lose on the home front ... We shall not tolerate a situation in this country in which our foundations crumble while the blood of our young men is being spilled on the borders." 21/

56. The South African régime has adamantly refused to heed demands for the release of political prisoners, the ending of repressive legislation and the withdrawal of the bans on the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, steps which the United Nations had recognized as the prerequisites for a peaceful solution.

57. Instead, it detained and persecuted a large number of leaders of the black people and enacted further repressive laws and regulations. It sought to curb all opponents of apartheid and repression as enemies of the South African "way of life".

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18/ Advertisement in Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 16 May 1975.

19/ For details, see chap. V.

20/ See chap. IV.

21/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 4 June 1975, col. 7425.

58. The new wave of repression appears to reflect the continued and increasing resistance by the oppressed people and their liberation movement.

59. Die Vaderland, a pro-government newspaper, argued in an editorial on 13 March 1975 that the security laws and the powers given to the Security Police and Government, though not popular, were necessary "in our peculiar circumstances". It added:

"At this very moment there are again indications of something brewing that does not bode well for race relations and possibly even for State security. The recent riots on several mines create the impression of having been more than wage disputes or tribal fights. They suggest deliberate organization behind the scenes.

"The happenings at yesterday's trial in which 13 members of the South African Student Organisation appeared, ominously recall the atmosphere of the early 1960s. It affords no cause for complacency."

#### G. Rejection of the manoeuvres of the South African régime

60. The protestations by the South African régime regarding its desire to move away from discrimination had been denounced by the South African liberation movement. They had also been exposed by the black leaders in South Africa and by other opponents of racism who had demanded, in particular, the release from prison of the genuine leaders of the people as a first test of the régime's sincerity.

61. Numerous demonstrations had been held in South Africa during the past year demanding the release of political prisoners and detainees. At a meeting held in Durban on 8 December 1974, to observe Human Rights Day, Mr. M. J. Naidoo, President of the Natal Indian Congress, declared:

"The white electorate must know that blacks will not sell out for an empty promise, and they will not be hoodwinked into giving credibility for words only ...

"Blacks will always be wary of any suggested change as long as so many respected leaders remain imprisoned, banned, banished or exiled."

62. The National Union of South African Students declared in a statement on 10 December 1974:

"If Mr. Vorster is serious about this change, we demand that he release all political prisoners and lift all repressive political measures, an action which would make a significant contribution to genuine peaceful change."

63. A black renaissance convention, one of the most representative black conferences held in Hammanskraal in mid-December under the sponsorship of a number of church groups, condemned the "separate development policy and all its institutions", and all forms of racism and discrimination. It said:

"This Convention declares that legalized racism in South Africa is a threat to world peace and, therefore, calls upon all the countries of the world to withdraw all cultural, educational, economic, manpower and military support to the existing racist government and all its racist institutions."

It resolved further:

"We dedicate ourselves towards striving for:

"(a) A total, united and democratic South Africa free from all forms of oppression and exploitation;

"(b) A society in which all people participate fully in the government of the country through the medium of one man, one vote;

"(c) A society in which there is an equitable distribution of wealth; and

"(d) An anti-racist society."

64. The Convention called upon all the people and all organizations to co-ordinate their efforts towards securing the release of all political prisoners, detainees and banned people. 22/

65. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) gave thorough consideration to the situation in South Africa, at the ninth extraordinary session of its Council of Ministers, held in Dar es Salaam in April 1975. It stated in a declaration adopted at that session, which was subsequently endorsed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in August:

"South Africa is trying to camouflage the reality of the obnoxious system of racial oppression in South Africa by resorting to such highly orchestrated propaganda on the removal of petty-apartheid. The aim of Vorster's Government in this exercise of white-washing apartheid is clear: to deceive world public opinion into believing that some radical changes are taking place in the Republic of South Africa and thus reduce the régime's international isolation ...

"Africans cannot and will never acquiesce in the perpetuation of colonial and/or racist oppression in their continent. That is why any talk of détente with the apartheid régime is such nonsense that it should be

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22/ The World, Johannesburg, 17 December 1974.

treated with the contempt it deserves. What the OAU demands is the dismantling of the institutions of oppression and repression against the non-white people by the racist minority. Otherwise, Vorster's outcries about détente can only have one meaning in so far as the situation within South Africa is concerned. And this is that free and independent Africa should co-exist with apartheid and thus acquiesce in the daily humiliation, degradation, oppression and repression of the African people in South Africa ...

"The OAU has repeatedly warned that the apartheid régime constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. This threat assumes graver proportions as the apartheid régime feels insecure. Despite Vorster's claims at the end of last year that given six months or so the world would be surprised by the changes that would be initiated from within the apartheid republic, the situation has taken a turn for the worse as evidenced by the mass trial of students, the consolidation and strengthening of the 'bantustans' and the vast increase of South Africa's military budget ...

"Confronted with this unabashed determination of the apartheid régime to maintain its white supremacist system, the OAU's responsibility is clear. We must ostracize, and urge the rest of the world to ostracize, the South African régime as at present organized ...

"If and when the leaders of the apartheid régime of South Africa decide to abandon their racist policy, they should initiate discussions with the liberation movements of South Africa. The régime should immediately and unconditionally release the nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, and lift the restriction order on Robert Sobukwe, as well as hundreds of other nationalist leaders who are now in South African jails or under restriction orders.

"The ninth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity resolutely reaffirms free Africa's total rejection of apartheid and all its manifestations, including any so-called 'independent homelands' within South Africa ... The Council reiterates its support to the national liberation movements of South Africa in their struggle in all its forms. It also calls for the intensification of international effort with the co-operation of governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations for the eradication of apartheid."

66. The position of the South African liberation movements and OAU have obtained wide support from Governments and organizations all over the world. Indicative of this wide support was the unanimous endorsement of the OAU Declaration by the Seminar on South Africa organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975, in which representatives of a number of Governments and non-governmental organizations participated.

I. ENFORCEMENT OF APARTHEID AND ADJUSTMENTS WITHIN APARTHEID - SECTION ONE

67. The statements and actions of the South African régime during the past year reflect a determination to push ahead with its "grand apartheid", designed to consolidate and perpetuate white domination, while agreeing to the relaxation of some of the manifestations of racism (in what is termed "petty apartheid"), such as "whites only" signs on park benches, in order to deceive public opinion.

68. While South African propaganda speaks of a move away from racial discrimination, and highly publicizes the elimination of some "unnecessary irritations", the main thrust of the actions of the South African régime is the speeding up of the bantustan policy in the hope of creating a fait accompli. In its own view, there is no contradiction between the enforcement of apartheid and the elimination of discrimination "purely on the grounds of race and colour". In fact, it claims that discrimination would be abolished by more apartheid.

69. As the South African Minister of Mines, of Immigration, and of Sport and Recreation, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, pointed out recently, what the South African régime intends is essentially what former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd had said in 1961:

"... having regard to the latest world developments, we arrived at this clear standpoint that discrimination must be eliminated by carrying separation far enough". 23/

70. The Minister of Interior and Information, Dr. C. P. Mulder, declared on 2 October 1974:

"It is very clear that we cannot condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race or colour, but the facts of the matter are that our policy is in fact aimed at getting away from discrimination. We have already said this. If the policy of separate development is carried through to its logical conclusion, we will in fact get away from colour discrimination." 24/

71. The pledge to end discrimination implies no relinquishing or relaxation of absolute and exclusive white control of the sovereign Parliament. All that involves is the creation of "bantustans" over one seventh of the country as the mythical "homelands" for the African people who constitute 70 per cent of the population. White domination will be perpetuated in six sevenths of the country: Africans will constitute a majority even in this area and will continue to be subject to discrimination, but the discrimination will supposedly not be on the basis of race or colour but because they would be aliens.

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23/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 16 June 1975, col. 8548. The statement of Dr. Verwoerd, quoted by Dr. Koornhof, was from the Hansard for 1961, col. 4618.

24/ Ibid., 2 October 1974, cols. 4287-4288.

72. The "solution" envisaged by the South African régime is based on its premise that the African people are not entitled to equal rights in the country as a whole but only to a small fraction of the land.

73. It may be recalled that, under the Native Land Act of 1913, about 7 per cent of the land surface of the country was reserved for the Africans: this was the tribal land to which Africans had been confined by a series of wars in the nineteenth century. The Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 provided for the addition of 6,210,000 hectares to the African reserves, as a compensation for the removal of African voters from the common roll in the Cape Province, and prohibited African landownership in the rest of the country. Though this additional land was promised within five years, it has not yet been fully provided in almost 40 years: 1,250,000 hectares remain to be transferred.

74. The present régime has repeatedly declared that this was the final division of land and has announced its intention to partition the country on that basis. <sup>25/</sup> The African reserves are being further divided into 10 "homelands" on an "ethnic" or "tribal" basis to set up "bantustans" for the African people whom it has unilaterally divided into 10 "nations". These "nations" would, in due course, be led to "self-determination" and "independence".

75. The remainder of South Africa, or six sevenths of the country, would be a "white area" under white domination. In that area, there would be over 9 million Africans, as against 4 million whites, but the Africans would become "aliens" remaining there at the sufferance of the whites to minister to the needs of the whites. There would also be almost 3 million other blacks - the Coloured people and Indians - but they would be entitled to no representation in the sovereign Parliament, but only to separate institutions with limited municipal powers.

76. The régime's "move away from discrimination" is essentially the enforcement of this fraud of self-determination, which has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, against the resistance of the black people who constitute an overwhelming majority all over the country. It represents no significant change in policy.

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25/ As the Rand Daily Mail wrote in an editorial on 5 August 1972:

"The Native Trust and Lands Act was a shady piece of work when enacted 36 years ago. Its apportionment of less than 14 per cent of the country for exclusive African ownership was a cynical exercise in white self-interest. South Africa has changed much since then, particularly in regard to Government attitudes. Now we have the Nationalists' bantustan programme with its promise, at least in words, of an independence to come. Yet the less than 14 per cent remains the framework ...

"The 1936 framework, already unrealistic, has grown more so with the African population explosion and demands by bantustan leaders for additional land."

77. The apartheid régime has, indeed, been implementing this fraudulent "solution" in the past generation by ruthless repression against all opponents of apartheid. It has forcibly moved hundreds of thousands of people from their homes in order to remove African freehold rights in the "white areas", to segregate the blacks into separate locations in the cities and the towns, and to consolidate the scores of isolated reserves into "homelands" or "bantustans". It set up tribal authorities in the "homelands" against the strong resistance of the African people, and has been granting them very limited powers of self-government with "legislative assemblies" consisting of a majority of government-appointed chiefs.

A. Speeding up of the implementation of the "bantustan" policy

78. During the past year, the régime has speeded up the implementation of the "bantustan" policy.

79. In October 1974, it announced "self-government" for the eighth "bantustan", the Basotho-Qwaqwa, designated as the "homeland" of the South Sotho (or Seshoeshoe) people. This tiny "bantustan" consists of only 45,742 hectares of land. Of the 1,452,000 South Sotho people, only 24,833, or 1.7 per cent, reside in this area.

80. In May 1975, Parliament approved proposals by its "Select Committee on Bantu Affairs" concerning consolidation of African reserves. The proposals concerned the purchase of additional land, as required under the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936; removal of Bantu freehold land outside the reserves, called "black spots", and consequent forced resettlement of Africans; and readjustments to consolidate the scattered African reserves into a smaller number of blocks. 26/

81. The régime reiterated again that "it is not prepared to increase the 1936 quotas in respect of the allocation of more land to Bantus", 27/ and has thus ignored the demands of all the "bantustan" authorities for more land. Referring to consultations with these authorities, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said on 16 May 1975:

"... in these consultations the Bantu governments do not have the right to say what white land we should give them. The Bantu governments do not have the right to designate the presents they are receiving. They do, however, have the right to be consulted on what we wish to take away from them." 28/

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26/ According to the Government, about 130,000 persons will need to be moved as a result of these proposals. Statement by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 15 May 1975, col. 6075. Other estimates are much higher.

27/ Statement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 14 May 1975, col. 5926.

28/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 16 May 1975, col. 6191.

82. These consolidation proposals reduce the reserves from more than 100 pieces of land to about 36, but do not provide contiguous territories for most of the "bantustans".

83. The position is somewhat as follows:

<u>Bantustan</u>	<u>Number of blocks of land</u>	
	<u>At present</u>	<u>After "consolidation"</u>
Transkei*	2	3
Ciskei*	17	1
KwaZulu	48	10
Lebowa	15	6
Venda	3	2
Gazankulu	5	4
Bophuthatswana	19	6
Basotho-Qwaqwa	1	1
Swazi	2	2
South Ndebele	(not yet established)	

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\* In the case of Transkei and Ciskei, this takes note of subsequent legislation authorizing the transfer of Glen Grey and Herschel from Ciskei to Transkei.

84. Referring to the "consolidation" of KwaZulu, the Rand Daily Mail commented on 16 May 1975:

"The present 48 separated areas will be reduced to 10 still-separated bits and pieces. How in heaven's name is such a patchwork quilt going to govern itself? Will there be dozens of border posts manned by countless officials to allow for people travelling from one chunk of land to another? What sort of army-to-be will KwaZulu need to defend itself against possible attack? What about water supplies? Telegraph lines? Rail lines?

"It's nonsense, and Mr. Botha and the Government must know it."

85. Meanwhile, the régime has been carrying on talks with the "bantustan" authorities in the Transkei on granting independence to that territory in the hope of creating a fait accompli. The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, had asked in March 1974 for independence in five years, but he disclosed on 22 April 1975 that Transkei would become independent in October 1976. It was announced on 11 August 1975 that a cabinet committee of South Africa and Transkei had reached agreement on several practical aspects of "independence": the problem of land and other matters were deferred.

86. A cursory analysis of the position of the "bantustans" shows that the scheme is utterly fraudulent.

87. First, as noted earlier, most of the "bantustans" will not have a contiguous territory. A large part of the de jure population of these "bantustans" will be outside their territories, as indicated in the following table:

<u>Bantustan</u>	<u>Ethnic group</u>	Population of "bantustan", 1970 (in thousands)	Population of ethnic group, 1970 (in thousands)	Percentage of population outside "bantustan"
Transkei) Ciskei )	Xhosa	2,161	3,930	45.0
KwaZulu	Zulu	2,057	4,026	48.9
Lebowa	North Sotho (or Sepedi)	899	1,604	44.0
Venda	Venda	239	358	33.2
Gazankulu	Shangaan (or Tsonga)	234	737	68.2
Bophuthatswana	Tswana	600	1,719	65.1
Basotho-Qwaqwa	South Sotho (or Seshoeshoe)	24	1,452	98.3
Swazi	Swazi	82	499	83.6

Note: The figures on population do not take into account the recent consolidation proposals which, however, will not change the position substantially.

88. Secondly, the "bantustans" are not economically viable and can only be utterly dependent on the "white area". As most of the able-bodied workers are employed in the "white area", the resident population of the "bantustans" consists mainly of women, children and the old and infirm. Even small-scale industries in the "bantustans" will need to depend on the markets in the "white area".

89. The economic position of the "bantustans" is reflected in their present budgets. For instance, of the Transkei budget of R87.8 million for 1975/76, grants from the South African Government account for R60.7 million. 29/ Of the Lebowa budget of R36.9 million, the income from local sources is only R9.5 million and the balance is provided by the central government. 30/

29/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 14 March 1975.

30/ Ibid.

90. As Mr. Phil Bonner, lecturer in African history at the University of Witwatersrand, pointed out, the régime's plans will lead not to the establishment of sovereign independent States but to a more sophisticated technique of labour control. The small and fragmented "bantustans" will be a ready source of hungry people to be imported into the "white area" as migrant labourers, while the threat of deportation of recalcitrant labourers to the reserves will act as a deterrent to the mobilization of African workers for better wages and conditions. 31/

91. Thirdly, the "bantustan" "solution" is no solution for the "white area" either. As Mr. R. E. Enthoven, a member of the white Parliament, pointed out:

"What we will find is a situation at the turn of the century where 10 million people will have 13 per cent of the country and 44 million people will live on the remaining 87 per cent of the country. Those 44 million people who live here will still be governed by 7 million whites. In other words, we will still not have solved our race problems." 32/

92. Fourthly, the régime has been trying to enforce this solution by a parody of "self-determination" after ruthless suppression of opposition by the Africans. The "bantustans" will be established at the request of the authorities constituted by the régime. In the "assemblies" of the "bantustans", the elected members are outnumbered by nominated tribal chiefs. The elections have been held under a virtual state of emergency created by repressive legislation, and after the gaoling of leaders of the liberation movements which have condemned the "bantustans". 33/

93. The régime has been pressing these unrepresentative authorities to seek independence, and suppressing all black leaders who denounce the scheme. By accepting "independence", the "bantustan" authorities would become the accomplices in a conspiracy to divide and dispossess the African people of South Africa. They would have signed away the right of the African people to the resources of six sevenths of the country which have been created by their labour.

94. The entire scheme is so fraudulent that even the "bantustan" leaders have rejected the sham "independence" of the territories. At a meeting of the nine leaders of the "bantustan" authorities on 17 November 1974, eight of the

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31/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 5 April 1975.

32/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 15 May 1975, col. 6073.

33/ The Transkei, which is due to be declared "independent" in 1976, has been subject, since 1960, to Proclamation 400, which was similar to the declaration of a state of emergency. In 1974, at the request of the "bantustan" authorities in the Transkei, the South African régime introduced legislation to empower "bantustans" to ban any organization, prohibit or restrict any office-bearers of any such organization, to restrict any African to a particular place and prohibit dissemination of any speech or statement by any African. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 15 October 1974, cols. 5387-5388.

participants (except Chief Matanzima of Transkei) issued a joint statement that they had no intention to seek independence. They declared that the Africans were entitled to a joint future with the whites and a share in the country's riches.

## B. Coloured people and Indians

95. Since the Coloured people and Indians, who number nearly 3 million, cannot be relegated to separate areas, their future has long been a problem even for the theorists of apartheid. The régime has now invented for them a "solution" of "self-determination" without sovereignty.

96. Addressing on 8 November 1974 a meeting of the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC), an apartheid institution with very limited powers, Prime Minister Vorster said that the white group had fulfilled a leading role in the constitutional development of South Africa and would continue to do so in the foreseeable future. The Government accepted that the Coloured population should be directed to "self-determination" on a "parallel" basis to the whites, within the broad geographic borders of one country. While the white Parliament was sovereign in South Africa, and there could not be a second sovereign Parliament in the same territory, it had to be prepared to consider the wishes of Coloured political leaders in matters affecting both groups.

97. Mr. Vorster suggested the strengthening of CRC, and the establishment of a cabinet committee - under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister and consisting of the executive committee of CRC (to be renamed a cabinet) and an equal number of white cabinet ministers - to consider matters of mutual concern to the Coloured people and the whites.

98. He announced that the Government was prepared to grant the Coloured people representation on bodies dealing with matters of joint interest - such as the Group Areas Board, the Housing Commission, liquor licensing boards, the Wage Board, road transportation boards and the Race Classification Board.

99. Mr. Vorster declared:

"I believe that if we move forward in the way that I have indicated here there need be no doubt in the Coloured community over their acceptance as full and equal citizens of South Africa and that they can realize their citizenship to the full ...

"I ask you, as responsible and realistic people, to accept this factual situation. Representation in the white Parliament is not the only way in which you can realize your political and other aspirations." 34/

The offer was rejected by the leaders of the Coloured people.

100. Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, said Mr. Vorster had "merely confirmed that we will remain second class citizens in the land of our birth". 35/ Referring to the proposal for a cabinet committee, Mr. Leon said:

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34/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 9 November 1975.

35/ Ibid.

"Mr. Vorster mustn't expect us to fall for that kind of tripe ...

"If we are given any statutory powers, we will use them to try to repeal such oppressive measures as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, race classification legislation, in fact, all discriminatory laws in force. Can you see the Government going along with that?"

He said that Coloured people of standing would not serve on the statutory bodies which, to a large degree, had been used against them. Participation in them, he said, could also have serious implications for African-Coloured relations.

"Eight million urban Africans, living in a similar way to urban Coloureds, can't be wished away. And we certainly will never become their co-oppressors." 36/

101. Mr. David Curry, deputy leader of the Labour Party, said that Mr. Vorster wanted to perpetrate racial discrimination and "expected the Coloured people to help in the process". Pointing out that the Race Classification Board and the Group Areas Board were "official instruments for discriminating against the Coloured people", he said that participation in them "is unthinkable to us and the proposals are an insult to the Coloured people". 37/

102. In the elections for CRC, held on 19 March 1975, the Labour Party contested on a platform of full citizenship rights for the Coloured people and rejection of CRC. It won 31 of the 40 elective seats. 38/

103. Meanwhile, opening the meeting of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) 39/ on 27 November, Prime Minister Vorster said that what he had offered the Coloured community would also be granted to the Indian community. He warned that confrontation with the Government would lead nowhere.

104. Even members of the Council expressed disappointment. Mr. Baldeo Dookie said that Mr. Vorster had merely asked for the support of the Indian community for "the implementation of separate development and White baaskap". He added:

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36/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 15 November 1974.

37/ AFP, 9 November 1974.

38/ Anticipating the results of the CRC election, the Government introduced a bill in Parliament on 21 March giving the Minister of Coloured Relations full powers to take over the functions and powers of CRC if he was satisfied that it failed to exercise them. After the enactment of this bill, the Labour Party decided reluctantly to participate in CRC, while reiterating its demand for full citizenship rights and direct representation in Parliament.

39/ SAIC is, even by admission of government spokesmen, unpopular in the Indian community. It consists of 15 nominated members and 15 chosen by electoral colleges of local councils which had been boycotted by large sections of the community.

"Despite the Prime Minister's warning, I say we will never be satisfied unless there is integration at all levels in our society."

Mr. A. Rajbansi, a member of the Executive Committee of the Council, said:

"Anything short of a say in the country's legislative process is unacceptable. We don't believe in 'parallel' development." 40/

### C. "Consultations" with the black people

105. The South African régime has held discussions with the leaders of the "bantustans" and other apartheid institutions and has claimed in its propaganda that it has been consulting the black leaders. The consultations were initiated largely for propaganda, as African and other States have declared that if the South African régime sought a "dialogue" with them, it should first hold a dialogue with the oppressed people. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that the United Nations General Assembly has declared that the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - are the authentic representatives of the great majority of the people of South Africa, and called upon all Governments and organizations not to accord any form of recognition to "bantustans" imposed by the South African régime.

106. The régime's consultations with the collaborators with the apartheid institutions are, therefore, designed to hoodwink world opinion. They have not been genuine discussions with the real representatives of the people on the basis of equality. A brief review of the consultations is illustrative.

107. The "bantustan" leaders, conscious of their utter ineffectiveness in their individual discussions with the régime, decided, at a meeting in Umtata on 8 November 1973, to approach the Prime Minister jointly to present grievances. Subsequently, at a meeting with Prime Minister Vorster on 6 March 1974, they presented a number of grievances such as inadequacy of land; racial discrimination; wage gap; disparity in revenue and expenditure in the "homelands"; position of the blacks in urban areas and the problems of black businessmen in urban areas; medium of instruction in African schools; pass laws; and powers of "bantustans". The meeting produced no concrete results except giving an opportunity to Prime Minister Vorster to claim that he was consulting black leaders, and the establishment of a committee to look into allocation of tax revenue to the "homelands".

108. Prime Minister Vorster held another joint meeting with the "bantustan" leaders on 22 January 1975. Again, they raised a number of grievances, particularly of Africans outside the reserves:

(1) They asked for freehold form of land tenure for Africans settled in the urban areas. Mr. Vorster rejected freehold, but offered to look into a form of lease-hold with no permanence.

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40/ The Star, Johannesburg, 28 November 1974.

(2) They asked for the abolition of various restrictions on African traders in African locations and Mr. Vorster agreed to consider them.

(3) They asked for the repeal of the pass laws, limiting the freedom of movement of Africans, which have long been resented by Africans. Mr. Vorster refused to abolish the laws and invited them to co-operate with an official appointed to revise and amend the regulations. 41/

(4) They asked for trade union rights for African workers and this was rejected.

(5) They asked for the release of political prisoners. Mr. Vorster refused to release Mr. Nelson Mandela and other leaders in prison. He only agreed to consider relaxing the arbitrary restrictions on Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, and allowing the return of some exiles, whose only offence was leaving South Africa without passports, if the "bantustan" leaders vouched for them.

109. In short, these meetings were not genuine consultations but merely occasions for "bantustan" leaders to communicate grievances and receive the decisions of the authorities. Moreover, the "bantustan" leaders were encouraged to present the grievances of the urban Africans in order to reinforce the apartheid fiction that all Africans belong to the "bantustans". The results of the meetings have been meagre.

110. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of KwaZulu, was obliged to warn, in an interview in the Johannesburg Financial Mail (14 February 1975), after the last meeting, that if "the Prime Minister does not deliver any goods to us that we can deliver to our people, then the meeting looks as if we are participating in a facade to give respectability to the oppression of our people".

111. The consultations with the Coloured people and the Indians have been similar to those with "bantustan" leaders.

112. Prime Minister Vorster received a delegation of the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) on 5 September 1974. The delegation asked for full equality for the Coloured people. Mr. Vorster made it clear that government policy "did not allow for Coloureds to sit in Parliament". He only offered a strengthening of CRC and a statutory consultative body (or cabinet council) with both white and Coloured members.

113. Mr. A. "Lofty" Adams, a member of the delegation, said that the meeting was "an exercise in absolute futility". 42/

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41/ The "bantustan" leaders appointed a committee of three for this purpose. Chief Buthelezi, however, declined to become a co-author of any "improved influx control system", as the system itself is rejected by the Africans.

42/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 6 September 1974.

114. Prime Minister Vorster met again with representatives of the liaison committee of CRC on 24 January: the talks were boycotted by the Labour Party. Mr. Vorster reiterated that the concept of one Parliament was not acceptable. The discussions were mainly within the framework of Mr. Vorster's proposals in November for the strengthening of CRC. It was announced that there had been agreement on some matters 43/ but, as indicated earlier, the Labour Party, which rejected the proposals, won the next election to CRC.

115. The Prime Minister met with the executive committee of the Indian Council on 24 January 1975 and agreed to consider some of the grievances of the Indian community. He rejected Indian representation in Parliament, and offered them what he had offered to the liaison committee of CRC. 44/

116. Rand Daily Mail reported on 7 February 1975 that dissatisfaction with the Indian Council had increased in the Indian community since the above-mentioned meeting with the Prime Minister.

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43/ Ibid., 25 January 1975; South African Digest, Pretoria, 31 January 1975.

44/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 23 January 1975.

## II. ENFORCEMENT OF APARTHEID AND ADJUSTMENTS WITHIN APARTHEID - SECTION TWO

117. The South African régime and its supporters have highly publicized some reforms or concessions made by the régime in the past year in accordance with its newly announced policy of reducing "unnecessary discrimination" which causes friction among the people.

118. These concessions, while they do ameliorate suffering in some cases, are all within the framework of the policy of apartheid and in no way represent an effort to eliminate apartheid or to ensure full equality irrespective of race, colour or creed. They are, in fact, intended to reinforce apartheid by facilitating the implementation of the régime's plans to set up "bantustans" and consolidate white domination in six sevenths of the country.

119. These concessions relate to what is described by some South Africans as "petty apartheid" - the host of laws, regulations and practices which subject Africans outside the reserves to constant discrimination, segregation and humiliation. They are, in their totality, hardly "petty". What the régime has undertaken is to remove some excessive measures which are not essential for maintaining white domination.

120. Before analysing the concessions in some detail, some general aspects may be noted.

121. First, several of the concessions represent, in fact, a mitigation of some oppressive measures enacted under the Nationalist Party's régime in the past generation. Some of these measures were so unjust that even white groups had expressed opposition. As Beeld, an Afrikaans newspaper, commented on 26 May 1975 in connexion with several of the recent concessions:

"None of these steps represents, in itself, a big change. Together they restore to some extent the old situation that existed for many years under a nationalist régime."

122. Secondly, in the case of some concessions, the régime had acted in response to strong international pressure and in order to avert further isolation in the international community.

123. Thirdly, the South African régime takes the position that Africans can advance only within limits accepted by the white voters and white trade unions. This sets narrow limits for any advancement, since the whites have been indoctrinated by racism. The black people are discriminated not only by legislation such as the statutory job reservation, but also by the practices of white communities and racist white trade unions.

124. Fourthly, some of the reforms even highlight continued racial discrimination. As Douglas Brown wrote in The Observer, London, on 9 March 1975:

"Some of these (modifications in what has come to be known as 'petty' apartheid), to the outsider, will seem ludicrously inadequate, even to the point of adding insult to injury.

"Those black passengers on the luxurious Blue Train between Johannesburg and Cape Town who are told that they need no longer take their meals in their compartments but may enter the dining car, where they will be waited on by white stewards who have specifically volunteered for this task, will scarcely feel that they are making a triumphant entry into the human race.

"As for the newly-recruited black traffic cops in Johannesburg, who have been instructed to 'leave the scene' if their authority is challenged by a white driver - surely their advancement will remind them only that in South Africa neither road safety, nor justice, nor respect for uniformed officers of the law takes precedence over race prejudice."

125. Fifthly, as Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party Member of Parliament, said on 17 June 1975:

"... although (the recent changes) may be meaningful ... in terms of white politics in South Africa, they do not mean a row of beans to the average black citizen of South Africa except for one or two exceptions, viz., the 30-year lease for urban Africans and the increased mobility granted to Indian people". 45/

126. Sixthly, in many cases the régime acted ostensibly in response to representations by apartheid institutions, however unrepresentative, while ignoring widespread demands over the years by the black people and their organizations. It has thereby tried to persuade the black people that they should forsake their demands for total equality and accept the collaborators with the régime as their leaders if they sought any amelioration of oppression. 46/ It hopes thus to foist its chosen instruments on the oppressed people, and to arrange with these so-called leaders to barter away the fundamental rights of the great majority of the people. At the same time, it hopes to deceive the world by claiming that it is consulting black leaders and making reforms in consultation with them.

127. Seventhly, some of the moves by the régime are designed to create and accentuate differences among the black people in order to strengthen white domination.

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45/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 17 June 1975, col. 8645.

46/ The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, said on 1 May 1975:

"There will always be progress initiated by the Government if the Government's principles are adhered to, the more so if we are assisted by dialogue which is conducted on a friendly basis ..." House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 1 May 1975, col. 5231.

128. Meanwhile, the implementation of all apartheid measures continues. Hundreds of thousands of Africans are arrested annually for the contravention of pass laws. Communities are forcibly moved to enforce segregation, continuing the "resettlement" of 2 million people during the National Party régime. Repression against opponents of apartheid continues.

129. The following is an account of the developments which have been publicized abroad as an evidence of positive changes in South Africa.

A. Admission of blacks to some theatres

130. The Administrator of the Cape Province announced on 29 January 1975 that the Nico Malan theatre complex in Cape Town, which had been restricted to whites, would be opened to blacks. This announcement was highly publicized as evidence of progress in eliminating racial discrimination.

131. This complex had been built in 1971 with taxpayers' money, including the taxes of the blacks, but the blacks were entirely excluded and they had no similar facilities in Cape Town. Many whites, including some Afrikaner leaders, protested the exclusion of blacks as unjust and boycotted the complex. 47/ A survey in 1973 showed that 6 out of every 10 people in the Cape supported black admission to the theatre. 48/

132. The announcement of 29 January did not mean an end to racial segregation in Nico Malan or affect theatres in other cities.

133. The Nico Malan theatre management decided in June that the musical "Pippin" could not be presented at the theatre because some of the players were black. Even the Beeld, an Afrikaans newspaper, termed the decision "shameful". 49/

134. The Department of Community Development announced in February 1975 that Africans, Coloured people and Indians may be allowed only to special performances at the Coliseum theatre in Johannesburg. Only Coloured people and Indians may be admitted to the Civic Theatre in the city, after special permission in each case, but Africans would be excluded: the audience would be segregated by race. 50/ This was no more than a return to the situation which existed a few years ago.

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47/ Among scores of prominent persons who announced a boycott of the complex were Mr. Brian Bamford, a United Party leader; Mr. Justice Andries Beyers; Dr. Chris Barnard, heart surgeon; and Lady Packer, novelist. Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 13 December 1970.

48/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 3 February 1975.

49/ Beeld, 26 June 1975.

50/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 6 February 1975.

135. There has been no change in other theatres despite demands by city councils and public groups. The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, announced on 1 July that the régime had no intention of permitting unrestricted mixing. Mixed audiences would be allowed only where there were no "equivalent" facilities for blacks, and the details would be determined by the régime in consultation with the venue managements concerned.

#### B. Admission of blacks to some hotels

136. Much publicity has been given to recent legislation concerning admission of blacks to some white hotels, restaurants and bars.

137. Under the Liquor Amendment Bill, published on 25 April 1975, black diplomats and their families and foreign black visitors are exempted from race restrictions in these establishments. The Minister of Justice would also be given discretion to allow certain liquor licencees, which are granted "international status", the right to admit South African blacks "of certain classes", on conditions he lays down. 51/ The application must be made by the owners and the license is renewed annually.

138. Technically, this is hardly an advance as all hotels were in the past legally entitled to accommodate blacks, though they had in practice excluded them because of the attitudes of white clients and the regulations on liquor. Under the new legislation, the right to admit blacks is restricted to those hotels which are granted permission to admit blacks: other hotels will need to telephone Pretoria for permission each time they wish to accommodate a black person.

139. The Government has encouraged some five-star hotels in the past few years to admit black diplomats and visitors. These hotels have also served leaders of apartheid institutions and black sportsmen, under special permits granted by the régime for each occasion.

140. Under the new legislation, it is expected that five-star hotels and some hotels on tourist routes would be encouraged by the régime to apply for exemption from race restrictions, but most of the others are likely to continue to exclude blacks. 52/

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51/ It is anticipated that the conditions would probably include a ban on mixed swimming and dancing.

52/ In the whole of South Africa, there are 1,317 hotels for whites, and 47 for blacks - 2 for Africans; 1 for Coloured people; 8 for Asians; 20 for Asians and Coloured people; 15 for Asians, Coloured people and Africans; and 1 for Asians and Africans. Of the 47 hotels for blacks, 5 are two-star hotels and the rest one-star hotels. Reply to questions in Parliament by the Minister of Tourism. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 6 May 1975, cols. 888-891. The above figures do not include the few hotels in the African reserves.

141. The Financial Mail pointed out on 30 May 1975:

"Of course, there's plenty of scope for Government to turn this Act into a hollow fraud: Liquor Board Chairman Eric le Roux could simply restrict the number of applications for international status. He intimated as much before the Select Committee (on the Liquor Amendment Bill) - one international pub in Pretoria (horrors), three at most in Johannesburg, two in Durban, one in Port Elizabeth, in East London perhaps one, and in Cape Town no more than two.

"And Jimmy Kruger says the new deal will be applied in a strict and limited way.

"Nationalist sources say this will not be the case. In practice the National Liquor Board will try to give a pretty wide spread of 'international' pubs."

#### C. Relaxation of some restrictions on urban Africans

142. On 1 May 1975, Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister for Bantu Administration and Development, announced some concessions for Africans in the urban areas, in response to representations made by the "bantustan" leaders on 22 January:

- (1) He said that Africans would be able to buy the "right of occupation" of their homes in the segregated African locations on a 30-year leasehold tenure, and to bequeath their houses or sell them. The land would belong to the local authorities. This was a return to the system which had existed until 1967 when the Government issued an administrative regulation that blacks could only rent houses in these locations. 53/ The right to ownership, or to 99-year leases, which the Africans enjoyed in some urban areas in the past, had been abolished by the apartheid régime earlier and the restoration of such a right is not contemplated.
- (2) Mr. Botha also announced that the severe restrictions imposed in 1963 on African traders in the African locations concerning licenses, range of business, and partnership would be relaxed. 54/
- (3) He announced, finally, that doctors and other professional Africans would be able to have their own offices and consulting rooms in African

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53/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 1 May 1975, cols. 5231-5232. Mr. Botha said that, under regulations before 1967, Africans already had such right of occupation with respect to 120,000 of the 444,000 houses in African locations. Ibid.

54/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 1 May 1975, col. 5233.

locations. 55/ This was a reversal of a directive issued in 1969 in order to oblige them to move to the African reserves.

143. These concessions represent a measure of abandonment of the policy that Africans in the "white area" outside the reserves, that is, six sevenths of the country, are "temporary sojourners", with no permanence and no rights. But the régime has made it clear that land ownership and political rights are out of the question for the Africans in the "white area". The concessions are mainly an attempt to placate members of the small African middle class.

144. The Johannesburg Financial Mail (9 May 1975) commented:

"Two steps back and one forward brings the urban African to where he was eight years ago. But, believe it or not, that's progress."

#### D. Abolition of some restrictions on movement of Indians

145. The Minister of Indian Affairs announced on 12 June 1975 that the restrictions on interprovincial movement of Indians, under several old laws and regulations, were abolished with immediate effect. He said that this decision had been taken in response to the plea by the South African Indian Council to the Prime Minister on 24 January 1975. 56/

146. Until then, Indians required special permits to move from one province to another, and were subject to restrictions on travel or residence in various areas.

147. The Minister indicated, however, that the Orange Free State Law which prohibits settlement of Indians in that province would continue in effect. The prohibition on immigration of Indians to South Africa would not be altered. 57/

#### E. Restoration of part of "District Six" of Cape Town to Coloured people

148. In May 1975, the Minister of Community Development, Mr. J. Loots, announced, in response to strong representations by Coloured people and some whites, that part of "District Six" of Cape Town would be restored to the Coloured people. The representations were supported by the N. G. Kerk, the Dutch Reformed Church. 58/

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55/ Ibid., col. 5234.

56/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 June 1975, col. 8163.

57/ Ibid. South Africa allows immigration of whites only. The Indian community has often asked for approval for immigration of non-South African spouses of South African Indians.

58/ Beeld, 26 May 1975.

149. "District Six" had been the traditional residential area of the Coloured people of Cape Town. The decision by the Government a few years ago to declare it a white residential area and uproot the Coloured population had led to bitter resentment among the Coloured people. The present decision only covers a part of the area. Many Coloured residents of the area have already been forced to move to bleak locations outside the city.

150. Welcoming this step as partially righting a wrong, Beeld (26 May 1975) pointed to other injustices which had been inflicted under the Group Areas Act and called for change. It wrote:

"... on the Rand towns have disappeared which were actually the creation of their inhabitants, where a warm community life existed in spite of, and in the midst of, misery - and which are now replaced by the antiseptic uniformity of Soweto or those enormous hostels of Alexandra or Lenasia.

"These decisions were taken by a white Government, without effective consultation with the people directly affected. It is unnecessary to elaborate on how that has influenced our relations. We hope the new approach that is in evidence in the case of District Six and home ownership will be carried still further, in the interests of better relations, but above all in the interests of peace."

151. It may be recalled that the United Nations has, since 1950, called on the South African régime to refrain from forcible removals of people under the Group Areas Act. The Special Committee has repeatedly drawn attention to the grave injustices and suffering inflicted on the black people by these removals.

#### F. Repeal of Masters and Servants Acts

152. By the General Law Amendment Act, enacted in October 1974, the Masters and Servants Acts and portions of the Bantu Labour Act of 1964 were repealed. (The Masters and Servants Acts consisted of many laws enacted before the Union of South Africa was established in 1910.) The repealed laws made it a crime for African servants to break a contract and involved other provisions which doomed African workers, especially farm and domestic workers, to serfdom or slavery. Thousands of Africans have annually been prosecuted under these laws.

153. The repeal was undertaken mainly to avoid legal action abroad, especially in the United States, where anti-apartheid groups instituted court proceedings to prevent importation of South African coal on the ground that it had been produced by slave labour.

#### G. Wages and training of African workers

154. There have been some limited improvements as regards the wages, training and employment of black workers, both because of the continuing struggles of these

workers in the factories and mines and because of other factors such as scarcity of skilled labour, reduction in foreign workers in the mines, inflation, and the international campaign against foreign economic interests involved in South Africa.

155. South Africa's Economic Development Programme for 1974-1979 concluded that the gap in skilled labour requirements could not be fully bridged by white immigrants. Some 30,000 skilled jobs - or an average of 5,000 a year - would have to be given to blacks, trained and utilized "within the framework of government policy".

156. As a result, the régime and the companies have continued the practice of fragmenting or redefining skilled jobs formerly held by whites and employing blacks in those jobs. The blacks are usually employed at much lower wages, and often on a temporary basis.

157. In February 1975, the Pretoria City Council decided to employ African drivers for its tractors, but to implement the decision progressively so that whites and Africans do not drive tractors side by side. The Council decided to pay the Africans R82 a month, or less than subsistence level, while whites receive R230-298 a month. The Rand Daily Mail (3 February 1975) commented:

"This is racialism of the worst kind. Blacks are to be given the chance of doing more skilled work without suitable reward for their services."

158. In July 1975, the régime announced that Coloured artisans would be allowed to undertake some building work formerly reserved for white artisans, provided that there was no replacement of white artisans and that no Coloured artisan was in a supervisory capacity over a white. 59/

159. The régime has proceeded to set up training centres to train African workers for skilled jobs: the cost of training would be borne by employers who would receive tax allowances for their expenditure. The first centre, with a capacity of 140, was established in Bloemfontein in April 1975: seven Africans were enrolled for a welders' assistants course. 60/

160. Because of continuing unrest in the mines, especially by workers imported from neighbouring countries, the mining companies were obliged to improve the wages and make some concessions. The problem became particularly serious from April 1974 when Malawi stopped recruitment of labour for South Africa's mines. The régime allowed the mining companies to recruit labour not only in the reserves, as in the past, but also in the urban areas: this was possible only if wages were substantially increased. The Government also promised to consider applications for a larger number of families at the mines, in place of migrant workers.

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59/ South African Financial Gazette, Johannesburg, 25 July 1975.

60/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 18 April 1975. Eventually the régime plans to establish 16 centres.

161. The minimum wages for African underground workers were increased from 120 cents a shift on 25 June 1974, to 160 cents on 1 December 1974 and 220 cents on 1 June 1975. 61/ Despite special efforts at recruiting black miners in South Africa and Rhodesia, the mines have been short of their requirements of African labour as seen in the table below.

African workers on the gold mines\*

<u>Country of origin</u>	<u>October 1973</u>	<u>October 1974</u>	<u>June 1975</u>
South Africa	70,120	78,024	107,387
Lesotho	74,766	69,014	78,667
Botswana	17,614	13,615	16,578
Swaziland	4,139	4,755	8,861
Tropical (Malawi and Rhodesia)	109,789	79,745	26,073
Mozambique	<u>86,171</u>	<u>82,509</u>	<u>95,490</u>
Total	371,599	327,662	333,056

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Source: Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 29 January 1975.

\* Surface and underground.

Julian Burgess wrote in The Guardian, London, of 29 January 1975:

"A large part of South Africa's interest in détente with black Africa concerns the threat to the labour supplies on which its mines, and ultimately its whole economy, depends ... With only a quarter of the mines' labour currently coming from South Africa, the threat to the South African economy is quite clear."

162. Despite the recent improvements, however, the wages of the black workers remain at starvation level.

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61/ Ibid., 30 May 1975. The increases hardly bridge the disparity in black-white wages. According to the Financial Mail, 25 July 1975, the average monthly wage of African miners was R79 a month and of white miners R700 a month in July 1975. During that month, the white miners obtained a five-day week which would enable them to earn another R200 if they chose to work on Saturdays.

163. A survey on Non-white Employment in the year ended June 1975, conducted by Urwick-International, disclosed that the average wage of African labourers rose during the year to R80 per month and the average wage of Coloured labourers to R100. This was far below the cost of basic necessities for a family (Household Effective Level), estimated by the Institute for Planning Research of Port Elizabeth University, at R156-171 for Africans and R173-190 for the Coloured people. 62/

164. The low wages are largely a result of the denial of trade union rights to the African workers. The Government has remained adamant in refusing to allow Africans to join multiracial trade unions or to recognize African trade unions, partly for fear that the unions may form a base for "political power".

#### H. Revision of pass laws and establishment of "rehabilitation institutions"

165. The régime has rejected demands to abolish the influx control laws (or pass laws) which restrict the movement of the African people at the risk of severe penalties. It has, instead, appointed an officer to revise the regulations in consultation with a committee of "bantustan" leaders.

166. According to a recent calculation, almost 10,500,000 Africans were arrested and prosecuted under the pass laws during the Nationalist Party rule from May 1948 to the middle of 1973. 63/ Dr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town commented:

"It is a staggering figure and difficult to comprehend. But if we imagine the arrest of all adult Africans, we begin to get some idea of the number of people involved ...

"When we whites talk fondly of détente, we should bear in mind that until the whole system is changed we have not begun to even tackle the problem." 64/

167. Because of the resentment generated by increasing prosecutions and the economic and other problems posed by hundreds of thousands of arrests, the régime has in the past few years taken some steps to reduce prosecutions or to mete out punishment other than imprisonment. A few years ago, it set up "aid centres" in major cities and decided that pass law offenders would first be referred to those centres. As a result, the number of prosecutions declined by about 100,000 between 1971/72 and 1972/73. Yet the total number of prosecutions was as high as 515,608 in the latter year. 65/

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62/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 8 August 1975.

63/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 4 February 1975.

64/ Ibid.

65/ Ibid.

168. According to the latest available figures, the number of persons referred to the "aid centres" and the number not prosecuted were as follows: 66/

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Africans referred to "aid centres"</u>	<u>Number not prosecuted</u>
1972	93,063	17,865
1973	138,980	44,385
1974	170,685	130,620

169. These figures are, however, deceptive. Many of those not prosecuted have been deported to the reserves: the number "repatriated" to the reserves was 92,885 in 1973. As Dr. David Welsh of the University of Cape Town commented, the new procedure "merely eliminates one step in the process. It solves nothing." 67/

170. On 6 July 1975, the Government published new regulations providing that "idle and undesirable" Africans may be detained in "rehabilitation institutions" in the "bantustans" for up to three years. The conditions of detention would be similar to those in prisons. 68/ The regulation has caused alarm, and has been criticized even by several "bantustan" leaders.

#### I. Increase in funds for African education

171. In recent years the Government has increased the grant for African education, after pegging it for two decades at R13 million - which resulted in tragic deficiencies. The total expenditure for African education in 1974-1975 was estimated at R150 million. 69/ But per capita expenditure on a black child was R40 per year, as against over R400 for a white child. 70/ As Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party Member of Parliament, pointed out, the gap is much wider than the difference in per capita expenditure. A white child enjoys 11 years of free schooling: there is no compulsory education for African children and they have an average of three years of schooling. 71/

172. The Government announced in May 1975 that it intends supplying textbooks free

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66/ Ibid., 6 February 1975.

67/ Ibid., 6 February 1975.

68/ Ibid., 19 July 1975. "Proclamation for Rehabilitation Institutions in the Bantu Homelands", Government Gazette, 6 June 1975.

69/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 16 May 1975.

70/ Ibid.

71/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 17 June 1975, cols. 8647-8648.

of charge to all African pupils by 1977. 72/ White pupils have received free textbooks since 1969 but the African pupils did not. African pupils are still required to pay school fees, while education is free for the whites.

J. Recruitment of blacks to diplomatic and information services

173. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, told Parliament on 10 September 1974 that the Government had decided, in principle, to allow "citizens" of the Transkei and members of the Coloured and Indian population groups to be trained for the diplomatic and the information services and to appoint such persons to the staffs of some of the missions abroad. 73/

174. He announced on 25 April 1975 that the Department would soon proceed with the recruitment of "non-white members for the diplomatic service". 74/

175. While the recruitment of Africans is meant for eventual service with "bantustans", 75/ the employment of other blacks is apparently intended mainly for propaganda purposes.

K. Amendment of the Military Discipline Code

176. After many years of exclusion of blacks from military service, except as labourers, the régime has recently begun recruiting blacks to the Defence Force, for various functions, including service on the borders.

177. In April 1975, the Military Discipline Code was amended to provide that "superior officer" is any superior officer and not merely a white superior officer. The only practical effect of this amendment is that whites would be required to salute black superior officers: this had become necessary because of the recruitment of blacks into the Defence Force. But since there are very few black officers in the Defence Force and since there are no integrated units, there would be few occasions in which a white would be required to salute a black officer. No white would serve under a black officer.

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72/ Statement by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 6 May 1975, col. 5476.

73/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 10 September 1974, col. 2588.

74/ Ibič., 25 April 1975, col. 4810.

75/ Five Transkeians are being trained for diplomatic service. Four of them will be posted to South African embassies in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn. Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 13 August 1975.

L. No end to racial discrimination

178. As may be seen from the foregoing account, the moves of the South African régime do not presage an end to racial discrimination, even in the distant future. Indeed, it is not possible to eliminate racial discrimination within the policy of the present régime as discrimination is at the core of that policy, which seeks to preserve South Africa as a white-dominated State. The Africans are to be entirely deprived of any rights.

179. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development reaffirmed on 1 May 1975 that the policy of the régime as regards Africans outside the reserves is as follows:

"These people are here, as far as we are concerned, for all time, but on a casual basis: they are here because they come here to work, but without land ownership rights and without political rights, because if one interferes with those two basic cornerstones, we say, one may write Ichabod as far as whites in this country are concerned." 76/

180. The policy was elaborated the next day by Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, as follows:

"... Bantu persons are allowed in the white homeland to do work which they can do here and not because they have equal claims with whites to be present here ... The Bantu persons who have been admitted into the white areas are here in terms of our policy of separate development. They are secondarily here in the white areas in an unattached or a casual capacity ... They are therefore not integrated with the whites into a unity of equals or potential equals ... That is the kernel of our policy. These Bantu workers in industry cannot advance as apprentices, as journeymen, as technicians, as managers and entrepreneurs to an equal status with the whites ... They are not permitted to do so in terms of our policy." 77/

181. The result of this policy, as Mr. C. W. Eglin, Progressive Party Member of Parliament, pointed out, is cruel discrimination. A white immigrant can move freely in South Africa, obtain skilled work and join a trade union, while an African South African cannot. The children of the immigrant can go to white schools where per capita expenditure is 10 times that in African schools. The immigrant can become a citizen and vote for Parliament, while no black South African can.

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76/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 1 May 1975, col. 5245.

77/ Ibid., 2 May 1975, cols. 5354-5357.

"Clearly this is discrimination. It has nothing to do with nation to nation differentiation. This is discrimination in its most cruel form on the basis of race in South Africa." 78/

182. The recent adjustments have, therefore, been marginal and have not persuaded the Africans of the sincerity of the régime. An opinion survey by Markinor, a market research group, published on 18 June 1975, showed that only 10 per cent of the Africans polled considered that race relations in South Africa had improved in the past two years. More than 75 per cent felt things were much the same and 13 per cent believed they had deteriorated. 79/

183. As Mr. Peter Hain, a leader of the anti-apartheid campaign, pointed out recently:

"None of these changes has altered the basic fabric of the most institutionalized system of racialism the world has ever known ...

"There seems to be a direct link between a more flexible and outward-looking policy abroad and a vicious suppression of anything that smacks of domestic political dissent." 80/

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78/ Ibid., 4 February 1975, col. 137.

79/ The Times, London, 19 June 1975.

80/ Letter to the editor, Daily Telegraph, London, 8 May 1975.

### III. REPRESSION AGAINST OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID

184. The protestations of the South African régime concerning its intention to eliminate racial discrimination and apartheid have been coupled in the past year with a refusal to release the political prisoners, as demanded by the international community and, in fact, with severe repression against opponents of racial discrimination and apartheid. It hopes in particular, by suppressing all opponents of "bantustans", to secure recognition for the so-called leaders of these "homelands" who are rejected by the African people.

185. Prime Minister Vorster said in the House of Assembly on 18 April 1975:

"I hold talks (with other Governments) on the basis of the policy of separate development, the policy of this Government; I hold talks on the basis that the black homelands will become independent; and I hold talks in the hope of clearing the way for those homeland leaders, as and when they become independent, to take their full and equal place in world organizations. But if there is any person who believes that he can conduct talks with South Africa on the basis that Nelson Mandela is the leader of the black people of South Africa, then I want to tell them now that they should not waste their time discussing with me." 81/

186. In order to deceive public opinion, the régime was reported to have laid down a formula in January 1975, under which it would consider representations by "bantustan" authorities for the release of individual prisoners belonging to the "ethnic group" of the "bantustan" concerned. No collective demand for release of political prisoners would be considered.

187. Dr. Cedric Phataudi, Chief Minister of the "bantustan" of Lebowa, commented:

"Mandela and Sobukwe spoke for all blacks, not just their own ethnic group. We should be able to speak up in cases where we feel release is justified, whether or not the individual involved is from our particular homeland." 82/

Even more significant is the fact that the leaders of the liberation movement had been gaoled for their struggle against apartheid and all manoeuvres to perpetuate that system, including the creation of "bantustans". To make the release of these

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81/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 18 April 1975, cols. 4380-4381.

82/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 15 January 1975.

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prisoners dependent on appeals by the "bantustans", and the mercy of the apartheid régime is, as noted by many South African observers, no more than a fraud. 83/

188. None of the political prisoners has, indeed, made representations for release through the "bantustan" authorities.

189. Meanwhile, following evidence of widespread enthusiasm among the black people of South Africa over the victory of the liberation movement in Mozambique, demonstrated in part by rallies on 25 September 1974, the régime launched nationwide arrests of young black leaders belonging to the South African Students Organization (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC) and other bodies belonging to the "black consciousness movement". Those gaoled included political student and trade union leaders, as well as playwrights, poets and other cultural workers who had sought to promote the unity of the oppressed people in opposition to apartheid and its institutions. These leaders were detained incommunicado for long periods under the notorious Terrorism Act with no access to families or lawyers.

190. Thirteen of the detainees were charged in the Pretoria Supreme Court in February 1975, under the Terrorism Act. Despite assaults and ill-treatment in prison, they defiantly sang freedom songs during their appearances in court and were joined by black spectators. As one Afrikaans newspaper commented after one of their appearances in court:

"The happenings at yesterday's trial in which 13 SASO members appeared ominously recall the atmosphere of the early 1960s. It affords no cause for complacency." 84/

In June 1975, the Court quashed the indictments against the accused as vague and improper. But the régime proceeded to institute new charges against 11 of the accused.

191. Meanwhile, a number of other detainees continue in detention - some for almost a year - and there is increasing concern over their safety. More than 50 young black leaders are reported to have fled from South Africa to avoid persecution.

192. Spreading the net of repression ever wider, the South African régime acted in May 1975 against the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, a group committed to non-violence and non-racialism. The Institute was declared an "affected organization" under the Affected Organization Act, thereby preventing it from receiving any funds from abroad for its constructive activities. The régime had taken similar action earlier against the National Union of South African Students.

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83/ Mr. David Sibeko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, wrote in a letter to the Special Committee on 17 January 1975:

"By compelling political prisoners to accept 'leadership' of the traitors from bantustans as part of the conditions for their release, Vorster is deliberately forcing these patriots to accept the very fraudulent apartheid system against which they have been fighting, the system which has landed them in incarceration."

84/ Die Vaderland, 13 March 1975.

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193. The régime has also prepared plans to institute a permanent commission on internal security, designed to persecute all anti-racist groups, and to suppress opposition to apartheid by university students and staff.

194. The callousness and, indeed, vengfulness of the régime against the opponents of apartheid was demonstrated in several cases. In October 1974, it gaoled Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of Mr. Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, who is serving a sentence of life imprisonment for his opposition to apartheid. She had been subjected to stringent restrictions for over a decade under arbitrary banning orders and constantly harassed by the Security Police. She was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for alleged infringement of the banning orders. Following an appeal by her daughters, the Special Committee and the United Nations Secretary-General called for her release, but the régime refused. Instead, it applied to the Court for a further term of imprisonment, which was rejected. The Prisons Department announced on 30 January 1975 that she would be granted no remission. 85/

195. Mr. Abram Fischer, the highly respected jurist who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1966 for his support of the liberation movement, fell seriously ill in November 1974 and it was discovered that he had been suffering from terminal cancer. Despite appeals for his release from leaders in South Africa and numerous organizations abroad - and by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations Secretary-General - the régime refused to release him. Three months later, on 10 March 1975, it allowed him to stay with his brother in Bloemfontein, under severe restrictions and for a limited period of convalescence. The régime had rejected repeated appeals by Mr. Fischer's daughter to allow him to stay with her in Johannesburg. It decided to confine him in Bloemfontein, presumably in the conviction that Mr. Fischer would attract less attention in that city. He died on 8 May 1975.

#### A. Attack on black consciousness organizations

196. It may be recalled that the black consciousness movement developed in the late 1960s with the establishment of several new legal organizations, such as SASO and BPC. These organizations filled a gap in legal activity by the black people in the struggle for liberation since the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960, and the suppression of other organizations (such as the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions) by repressive measures against their leaders.

197. Despite the hostility of the régime, these new groups acquired large popular support, especially in the segregated black universities and among the urban black youth. They played an important role in counteracting tribal and other divisions fomented by the régime, and in reinforcing the unity of all the African people with other oppressed people such as the Coloured people and Indians. They

opposed the activities of those blacks, especially tribal chiefs in the "bantustans", who co-operated with the régime in implementing its apartheid policies.

198. Alarmed at the effectiveness of this movement, the Pretoria régime attempted to paralyse it by a series of banning orders or other restrictions against its leaders. Eight SASO leaders were banned in 1973 and five SASO presidents were restricted by 1974. But the movement carried on its activities, under new leaders. The régime has now resorted to more ruthless repression in a determined effort to suppress this movement, especially after the establishment of a transitional Government in Mozambique had aroused great enthusiasm among the black people and alarm among the supporters of the régime.

199. SASO and BPC called for a series of rallies, beginning on 25 September 1974, to celebrate the establishment of a transitional Government in Mozambique under the leadership of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and the tenth anniversary of the launching of armed struggle by FRELIMO. On 24 September, the Minister of Justice, acting under the Riotous Assemblies Act, banned all meetings of SASO and BPC until 20 October. However, several thousand persons gathered at the site of the rally in Durban on 25 September and began singing freedom songs, chanting slogans and giving the black power salute. Police surrounded the crowd which was, by all accounts, peaceful, and unleashed their dogs. They arrested about 14 persons at the site. Other demonstrators were bitten by police dogs and were picked up when they went to the hospital for treatment. SASO and BPC offices in Durban were raided on the same evening, and more members and office-bearers were arrested all over the country.

200. Also, on 25 September, a meeting of over 1,000 students took place at the students' hall at the University of the North at Turfloop. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Students' Representative Council rather than SASO so that it would not be covered by the ban. Police, armed with gas pistols, scatter guns and batons, arrived on the scene and ordered the students to leave the hall. When the students proceeded to the sports ground, police fired gas cartridges into the crowd, baton-charged the students and unleashed police dogs on them. 86/

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86/ The Black Academic Staff Association of the university said in a memorandum to the rector:

"Given the peaceful nature of the celebration, which consisted of speeches and songs culminating in the African national anthem, we contend that police intervention was uncalled for ...

"It is our contention that whatever student violence there was, was instigated by police violence; in a very real sense the police did incite the students." Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 30 September 1974.

201. On 16 October 1974, more than 1,400 students of the university marched to the Mankoenq police station. They presented a petition, signed by all the students at the university, demanding the release of detained student leaders, and staged a one-hour sit-in. During the demonstration, Mr. Cyril Ramaphose, chairman of the local committee of SASO was arrested. 87/

202. The Security Police continued to arrest, detain and interrogate black leaders all over the country. A number of Africans prominent in the black consciousness movement were detained on 7 November. Further arrests were made at the end of January, in early February 1975 and in March 1975. More than 40 persons - belonging to SASO, BPC and other black organizations, were known to have been detained under the Terrorism Act, though the régime refused to furnish any information.

203. It soon became clear that the Government was intent on suppressing the black consciousness groups by ruthless means. The attack was particularly directed at SASO, BPC, the Black Community Programme and the Black Allied Workers' Union, as well as at cultural organizations such as the Theatre Council of Natal, and the People's Experimental Theatre in Johannesburg. The detainees also included leaders of the "Anti-CRC front" or AFRO, a group urging boycott of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, an apartheid institution; and the South African Student Movement, a youth movement primarily active in high schools. Numerous others were arrested for brief periods for questioning. Some of the detainees against whom there were no charges were released after long periods of confinement and were warned that they might be called as State witnesses in their colleagues' trials: refusal to give evidence is punishable by imprisonment for 12 months, renewable indefinitely. More than 50 members of the black consciousness movement were reported to have fled from the country to escape police persecution and torture and pressures to force them to testify against their colleagues.

204. Twelve of the detainees were charged on 7 February, and another on 10 February, under the Terrorism Act. The indictment alleged that they had conspired between 1968 and 1974:

To transform the State by unconstitutional revolutionary and/or violent means;

To create and foster a feeling of racial hatred, hostility and antipathy by blacks towards whites;

To denigrate the whites and to represent them as inhuman oppressors of the blacks;

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87/ The Star, Johannesburg, 16 October 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 17 October 1974.

To induce, persuade and pressurize the blacks to totally reject the white man and his way of life;

To eulogize and encourage emulation of persons who have been convicted of crimes of terrorism, subversion and sabotage;

To portray historical events in such a way as to cause and encourage further feelings of hostility, resentment or hatred by blacks towards whites;

To make, publish, produce and/or distribute subversive and anti-white utterances, writings, poems, plays and dramas;

To discourage foreign investment in the Republic and to call upon foreign investors to disengage themselves from the Republic; and

To discourage foreign organizations and Governments from recognizing or co-operating with the Republic.

205. During their appearances in court on various preliminary motions, between February and June, the accused defiantly sang freedom songs and raised black power salutes. The court was crowded with spectators, despite police intimidation and the spectators joined the accused in songs and salutes. They sang "Asikhathali" ("We don't care") 88/ and shouted "Amandhla Ngawethu" ("Power to the people").

206. On an application by defence counsel that the indictment was too vague, Mr. Justice Boshoff ordered the State on 16 May to provide further particulars. Subsequently, on 12 June, he ruled that the State had not provided adequate particulars and adjourned the Court to 23 June when, he indicated, he would set out the reasons for quashing the indictment.

207. When the Court convened on 23 June, the State announced that it was withdrawing charges against two of the accused, and that it would draw up a new indictment against nine of the accused and separate charges against two others. The 11 detainees were again charged on 27 June and remanded.

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88/ "We don't care even if we are arrested  
We are determined to be free  
The burden is heavy  
It needs unity  
We don't care even if they shoot us  
We are determined to be free  
The burden is heavy ...  
We don't care even if we are killed  
We are determined to be free  
The burden is heavy  
It needs unity."

208. About 25 other detainees, who have spent long periods in detention without access to family, friends or counsel, remain in prison. There has been growing anxiety as to the safety of these detainees. 89/

209. Meanwhile, on 18 February 1975, the Council of the University of the North announced that it had decided to ban the South African Student Organization on the campus, and to disband the Students' Representative Council. In a statement on 19 February, condemning the decision, SASO disclosed that a number of its members, and even their relatives, had been refused readmission to the university.

B. Action against the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the Christian Institute

210. Simultaneously with the attack on the black consciousness movement, the South African régime stepped up persecution of various bodies which espouse racial equality and recognize the rights of the African majority. Since it was unable to prosecute them in courts even under its massive repressive legislation, it resorted to other devices.

211. In February 1972, it set up a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate four organizations - the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and the University Christian Movement. In July 1972, the Select Committee was replaced by a Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations. 90/

212. A number of persons refused to testify before the Commission and were prosecuted under the Commissions Act.

213. In a lengthy report on NUSAS in 1974, the Commission alleged that NUSAS had anti-South African objectives, and constituted a danger to internal security.

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89/ In November 1974, relatives of five of the detainees brought an urgent application before the Pretoria Supreme Court to restrain the Security Police from assaulting the detainees or subjecting them to any unlawful form of duress. The Court rejected the application. When 12 of the detainees were charged on 7 February, their defence counsel told the Court that the accused had been severely assaulted during the long periods of detention. "This very morning, some of the accused say they were assaulted by members of the Security Police", he added. (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8 February 1975).

90/ The ruling Nationalist Party and the opposition United Party were represented in the Select Committee and the Commission of Inquiry. The Progressive Party refused to participate in them.

Referring to the campaign by NUSAS to publicize the wages and working conditions of black workers, the Commission stated:

"NUSAS's action in this connexion is really a means to another end, and that is political change to overthrow the existing order in South Africa and to replace it with an anti-capitalistic system which has sometimes been described as 'black socialism'." 91/

NUSAS, which has a membership of about 30,000, mainly in English-language universities, had espoused the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and had been under attack from the régime for more than a decade.

214. Even before the Commission's report was considered by Parliament, the Government served banning and house arrest orders on eight leaders of NUSAS.

215. It also enacted an "Affected Organizations Act, 1974" under which the State President is empowered to act against any organization if he is satisfied, after a report submitted by three magistrates, that the organization is engaged in "politics ... with the aid of or in co-operation with or under the influence of an organization or person abroad". Receipt of contributions from abroad would then carry a penalty of a fine of R 10,000 (\$14,800) or five years' imprisonment, or both.

216. On 10 September 1974, the régime declared NUSAS, the NUSAS Welfare and Student Action Department, the NUSAS Education Department, and Aquarius (cultural department of NUSAS) to be "affected organizations". 92/

217. NUSAS had received all its overseas support from the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund in Geneva, for its humanitarian and cultural programmes. The effect of the régime's action was, therefore, to undermine programmes such as the granting of scholarships and loans to medical students, prisoners and their dependants, and other school children; literacy training programmes; worker education programmes; community development plant; and a wide variety of research undertakings, including those into African wages and working conditions.

218. In May 1975, the Commission of Inquiry published a report that the Christian Institute of Southern Africa was aiming at a "black-dominated socialist State" and "conditioning public opinion to accept a possible, even an inevitable, violent change in the existing order". The report was denounced in South Africa and abroad, as the Institute was committed to non-violence and had espoused the principles of the Lusaka manifesto for peaceful change. It had been engaged in many projects such as training of black churchmen, and a study on "Christianity in Apartheid Society", and had received contributions for these projects from churches in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Canada, the Nordic countries and the United States of America.

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91/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly air-mail edition, 17 August 1974.

92/ Government Gazette, 13 September 1974; House of Assembly Debates, (Hansard), 13 September 1974, cols. 2835-2836.

219. However, on the basis of the above-mentioned report, the Christian Institute was declared an "affected organization". 93/

220. Another report by the Commission on the University Christian Movement (UCM) was published in June 1975. The Commission found that the UCM, which was dissolved in 1972, had espoused the concept of "black power" and had engaged in dangerous activities bearing on internal security. 94/

221. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Vorster announced on 27 May 1975 that he intended to introduce legislation next year to establish a permanent internal security commission as recommended by the Commission of Inquiry in 1973. 95/ The proposal had been widely condemned as a move designed to institute an inquisition against organizations and individuals who cannot be charged in a court of law, and to suppress all opposition to racism as "un-South African".

222. Another recent move to suppress opposition to apartheid arose from an inquiry into the universities.

223. A Commission of Inquiry into Universities was set up in 1968 mainly to inquire into the question of financing of universities, but its terms of reference were made broad enough to include political activities. The Commission showed particular interest in means to pressure the universities to stop anti-racist political activities by students and staff.

224. In an interim report tabled on 30 October 1974, the Commission declared that the university system should be based on "multinationalism" or apartheid. It said:

"A unique characteristic of the university in South Africa is that it finds its place in a social order based on the principle of multinational separate development."

It rejected the attitude of the English-language universities that they should be free to make academic appointments from the best qualified people without regard to race, colour or creed.

225. It recommended that the Minister of Education should be entitled to call on universities to prevent their students' representative councils from joining any interuniversity organizations such as NUSAS. It also recommended that the Minister could fine a university up to R 2,000 (\$2,800) for each student arrested for protest activities, and up to the annual salary of any lecturer arrested. 96/

226. A second interim report of the Commission, dealing specifically with the "non-academic activities of students on and off campus" was tabled in Parliament on 11 February 1975. It called for legislation to force NUSAS to cease its "political activities" and to break its hold on the students' representative councils.

93/ Government Gazette, 30 May 1975; House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 30 May 1975, cols. 7043-7044.

94/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 9 June 1975.

95/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 27 May 1975, Questions and Answers, col. 1058.

96/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 31 October 1974.

227. The Commission suggested that the Universities Act be amended so that if the Minister concerned "is satisfied that any interuniversity organization or student organization is engaging in political activities ... is taking an active part in politics, or is seeking to promote any political aim in a non-academic manner, he may by notice in the Gazette declare such an organization to be an undesirable organization". A university which allows money to be paid to an "undesirable" organization would forfeit R 10,000 of its state subvention.

228. Calling for legislation to control student political action, the Commission proposed that the permission of the local magistrate be obtained for every demonstration to be held by students in a public place outside the grounds of the university, and for the distribution of any pamphlet or leaflet in a public place (including schools). It suggested that the powers of the university councils be extended so that a student or member of staff may be barred or dismissed "summarily and without giving reasons": (a) if he or she took part in an unauthorized demonstration or campaign, or in an approved demonstration which had turned into a political demonstration; or (b) if he or she was party to an action which was disruptive of discipline at the university, or involved occupation of any university building or damage to property.

229. The recommendations of the Commission were denounced by the students and staff at English-speaking universities and a large segment of the press. Even some Afrikaans newspapers criticized them as extreme. The régime appears to have deferred legislation because of the opposition, while taking other repressive action against NUSAS, as indicated earlier.

### C. Other developments

230. The continued trials, bannings and other forms of persecution of opponents of apartheid reflect the vengefulness of the régime and the increasing resistance to apartheid.

#### (a) Trials under the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act

231. In addition to the trial of the young leaders of the black consciousness movement, noted earlier, the régime has instituted several trials during the period under the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. On 18 October 1974, Mr. Clarence Hamilton, an 18-year-old student, was convicted in Johannesburg on the charge of writing a pamphlet and poems calling for violent change in South Africa. He estreated bail and escaped before the Court delivered the sentence.

232. On 18 June 1975, Mr. David Thabang Seloane, 20, and Mr. Wenzile Ngalo, 24, were sentenced to five years' imprisonment each on the charge of attempting to undergo military training. The evidence at the trial showed that they were among a number of people who were listening to broadcasts of the liberation movement and had gone to Botswana to contact the movement.

233. Mr. Joel Paile, a student and Pretoria organizer of SASO, was charged at the end of June 1975 with the possession of a banned publication, The African Communist. The charges were withdrawn on 4 July. Mr. Paile said that he had never seen the publication until the Security Police claimed to have found it in his room.

234. Mr. Dennis Raymond Payne, 48, was charged in Durban on 2 July under the Terrorism Act.

235. Two lecturers and a student at the Natal University were detained in June under the Terrorism Act. 97/ No particulars about the detainees or the charges against them are available.

(b) Trials of workers

236. With the continued struggle by African workers for a living wage and trade union rights, the régime has frequently resorted to trials under its repressive labour legislation.

237. Typical was the case of municipal labourers of Randburg who refused to clock in for work at the beginning of November 1974. They were immediately arrested on the charge of breaking contracts: 89 of them were sentenced to a fine of R 20 (or 20 days) and deported to the reserves. 98/

(c) Ill-treatment and torture of prisoners

238. The ill-treatment and torture of prisoners in South Africa continues to be a matter of grave concern.

239. As noted earlier, several of the young black leaders detained during the year under the Terrorism Act have been subjected to brutal assaults during interrogation.

240. A letter from Mr. Sean Hosey, an Irish trade unionist jailed in South Africa, disclosed that he was losing the use of one of his eyes. His family was convinced that this was due to the conditions to which he had been subjected in prison. 99/

241. A trial of prison warders at the Leeuwkop prison for violations of prison regulations has revealed widespread ill-treatment of African prisoners.

242. The case arose from the death of one convict and assaults on another convict who was hospitalized for four weeks following police interrogation for alleged theft of R 60. On 9 October 1974, in the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg, Mr. Justice Hiemstra sentenced three warders to 18 months' imprisonment each, and two others to suspended sentences, for murder and assault with intent to commit bodily injury.

243. The judge said that the facts of the case were almost identical with those of the famous Bultfontein case of 1963. (Five policemen had been sentenced in

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97/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 28 June 1975; Civil Rights, Cape Town, 14 July 1975.

98/ The World, Johannesburg, 6 November 1974.

99/ Morning Star, London, 14 February 1975.

that case to seven years' imprisonment for ill-treating two African prisoners, one of whom subsequently died. The trial disclosed that such abuses took place in all South African prisons). The methods used by the police at Leeuwkop Prison included almost drowning the victim in a tub of water, beating him with a baton and searching his rectum. The judge commented:

"Ten years have passed since then (Bultfontein case) and a person finds that the same methods are being used. The first thing that comes to mind is the use of the rubber baton whenever the slightest suspicion arises.

"There is a spirit in certain sections of society which we cannot stamp out, namely that a particular person can be treated with contempt, especially when he is powerless.

"That is not fighting crime, that is crime itself. The ill-treatment to which a man is subjected just because he is defenceless and - I am afraid I must say it here with distaste and even shame - just because he is black, stands in sharp contrast with the instructions on discipline in the Prison Regulations.

"The example which the whites set (for) the non-whites here is loathsome and objectionable ...". 100/

244. The judge was also highly critical of the conduct of the Police Department after the warders were charged. While the three warders sentenced to prison were discharged from the force, the two others who received suspended sentences were merely suspended from their jobs, pending a departmental inquiry. The senior officer at the time of the assaults, a Lieutenant Potgieter, who was also known to have been involved in the assaults, was promoted to Captain and reinstated on the job. 101/ Mr. Justice Hiemstra said: "(This) exposes a cynicism on the part of the prison authorities which I cannot condemn too strongly". 102/

245. On 23 October 1974, the Minister of Justice and Prisons, Mr. J. T. Kruger, told the House of Assembly that it would serve no purpose to launch a general inquiry into conditions existing in the prisons.

(d) Banning and house arrest orders

246. The Government continues to utilize its arbitrary powers to issue banning and house arrest orders in order to persecute leaders of the black people and other opponents of apartheid.

247. The number of persons under banning and house arrest orders has decreased because of expiration of some orders, escape of banned persons from the country

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100/ Rand Daily Mail, 9 October 1974.

101/ Ibid.

102/ Ibid.

and other reasons. 103/ But the arbitrary powers remain one of the régime's main weapons of repression and intimidation. The régime has also vengefully continued to harass banned persons on charges of contravention of banning orders.

248. Typical of the régime's attitude is its treatment of Mr. John Maroo, 49, an African from Johannesburg. Mr. Maroo was released on 28 December 1974, after serving 11 years in prison for political offences. He was immediately banished and restricted to Ga-Rankuwa, near Pretoria, while his wife and three children are in Johannesburg. His family was not informed of the banishment and had great difficulty in locating him. 104/ The World, Johannesburg, commented on 9 January 1975:

"The inhumanity of South Africa's security laws is something which should make all decent people recoil in horror ...

"As long as people are treated in this manner and as long as the Government displays this type of arrogant disrespect for human dignity, any talk of real change in South Africa will remain meaningless."

249. The régime has, however, relaxed some banning orders because of continued protests. In December 1974, it withdrew the banning orders on Mr. Godfrey Pitje, an attorney, at the request of the Lebowa "bantustan" authorities. 105/ On 6 April 1975, the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr. James Kruger, announced that one of the restrictions on Mr. Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, had been lifted so that he could practise as a lawyer in Kimberley. Mr. Sobukwe had been sentenced to three years in prison in 1960, and then kept in prison for six more years under a special law. Since 1969, he had been confined to Kimberley under severe restrictions.

250. On the other hand, the régime has harassed several banned persons and charged them with contravention of the orders. At least five persons - Mrs. Winnie Mandela, Mr. Peter Magubane, Mr. Stanley Ntwasa, Mr. Halden Cheadle and Mr. Madoda Christopher Sibande - were obliged to serve terms of imprisonment under such charges during the period under review.

#### (e) Passport and visa refusals

251. The régime has continued to resort to the denial of passports to persons who have voiced criticism of apartheid.

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103/ The South African Institute of Race Relations reported in May 1974 that 1,240 persons had been restricted since the enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. The Times, London, 28 May 1974. As of 30 June 1975, 26 whites and 121 blacks were restricted by banning orders served under this law. Government Gazette, 11 July 1975.

104/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 4 January 1975. The World, Johannesburg, 8 January 1975.

105/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 30 December 1974.

252. In December 1974, for instance, the police confiscated the passports of four leaders of the Christian Institute: Dr. C. F. Beyers Naudé, Director; the Rev. Brian Brown, Administrative Director; Mr. Peter Randall, Director of Raven Press, associated with the Institute; and Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, an organizer of the Programme for Social Change, a division of the Institute. 106/

253. Mrs. Ethel de Keyser former Executive Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Great Britain, was denied a visa to visit her brother, Mr. Jack Tarsish, who was serving a 12-year sentence in Pretoria Central Prison under the Sabotage Act. Mrs. de Keyser had learned only in July 1974 that her brother had undergone a serious heart operation in May, and immediately applied for a visa to visit him. In December, she was informed by the South African authorities that her application had been denied. As Mrs. de Keyser is the only living relative, and the South African prison regulations only permit immediate relatives to visit political offenders, Mr. Tarsish was unable to have any visitors. 107/

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106/ The Times, London, 12 December 1974.

107/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 2 December 1974.

#### IV. BUILD-UP OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES

254. The South African Government has increased its military expenditure again this year, continuing in its programme of military expansion and modernization. The Defence Budget for the financial year 1975/76 amounts to R948 million, an increase of 36 per cent over the previous financial year. This amount is about 18 per cent of the entire budget, and 3.7 per cent of South Africa's Gross National Product. If the functions of auxiliary bodies such as the Armaments Board, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR), and the Departments of Public Works and Community Development, carried out on behalf of the Department of Defence, are added, the total expenditure in 1975/76 on military matters would amount to about R989 million. 108/ The rapid increase in military expenditure was due to a decision made by the South African Government in 1974 to compress its 10-year defence programme into five years. 109/

255. A White Paper on defence and armaments production issued in March 1975 listed the countering of all forms of insurgency and the maintenance of a "credible and balanced conventional force" as the main reasons for the increased defence budget. In order to carry out these two main tasks, the land forces would be reorganized into a counter-insurgency force and a conventional force, and the Air Force would be so reorganized as to provide these forces with the necessary air support for landward operations. The White Paper envisaged a substantial expansion programme, which would include the acquisition of additional submarines and interceptor jet aircraft. Plans envisaged the construction of six fast missile-carrying naval craft, a new generation of mine counter-measure vessels which would replace the existing mine sweepers, a vessel to replace the defence vessel Somerset, and a third harbour tug to be used at Salisbury Island. The White Paper announced that expansion plans of military installations on Salisbury Island, Simonstown, Silvermine, and Saldanha Bay, were proceeding on schedule. 110/

256. The South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, disclosed in a radio interview in June 1975 that the South African Defence Force had undertaken an extensive recruitment drive throughout the Republic to make up the shortages existing in a number of musterings. He said the main targets of the campaign would be national servicemen, scholars and university students. 111/

257. At the same time, South Africa appears to have increased its military activity on the country's borders. While declining to discuss the situation on any specific border, the Minister of Defence stated that "the defence force has the mobility to take action at places where it is at the moment not regarded as being present". 112/

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108/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 and 28 March 1975.

109/ Military expenditure has more than trebled in the past five years. It was R305 million in the financial year 1971/72.

110/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 and 28 March 1975.

111/ Reuters, from Johannesburg, 1 June 1975.

112/ The Star, Johannesburg, 6 November 1974.

258. Admiral A. H. Biermann, Commander-in-Chief of the South African Defence Force, stated in February 1975 that substantial new allowances would be given to members of the Force beginning in 1975 to "compensate members of the Force for exceptional service conditions peculiar to service in the Permanent Force", such as the hardships of border duty. 113/

259. In October 1974, the South African Minister of Police announced that, starting in July 1975, 500 national servicemen would be drafted annually into the South African Police to relieve manpower shortages caused by counter-insurgency operations. He said that a volunteer corps of policemen was being formed to take over border duties. Members of the Police Reserve would be called up for a period of 30 days every year for five years. Policemen who left the Force before having served a year would be liable for national military service and for a five-year service in the active Police Reserve. A statement issued by the South African Permanent Mission to the United Nations declared that the South African Government intended to reduce the number of policemen serving on the borders in the future. 114/ South Africa, according to press reports, was strengthening its military forces and replacing police with army units in the Caprivi Strip and on the border between Namibia and Angola. 115/

#### A. Expansion of the armed forces

260. The South African Defence Force had begun recruiting and training Africans in various capacities. Newspapermen allowed to visit the Caprivi Strip in June 1974 reported that African trackers were attached to the South African forces operating on the border and were being paid regular wages. The South African Police have been using black constables on the border and in Rhodesia. 116/

261. During the newsmen's visit to the Caprivi Strip, Admiral H. H. Biermann announced that the Army intended to use armed African guards to expand the watch units, and had launched a recruiting campaign among Africans. The Africans, he said, would be guarding military installations within the country's borders, and would undergo intensive training in the use of weapons. 117/

262. In December 1974, Major General J. R. Dutton, Acting Chief of the Army, announced that the Army would recruit African soldiers. The African soldiers, he said, would be allowed to carry arms and enjoy the same pay and conditions of service as the white soldiers. They would, however, be employed "within the

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113/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 1 March 1975.

114/ The Star, Johannesburg, 25 October 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 February 1975; South African Permanent Mission to the United Nations, "South African Police on border duty", 29 October 1974.

115/ The Guardian, London, 3 July 1974.

116/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 16 June 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 2 August 1974.

117/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 15 June 1974; Die Transvaler, 15 June 1974.

framework of Government policy" and would not be allowed to serve with whites in integrated units. There was no question, therefore, of Africans who attained rank being able to give orders to whites of lower rank. The General said the Army intended to form an independent African unit along similar lines of the Coloured Cape Corps; a number of trained African soldiers would probably be employed in white units as drivers, but would not be integrated with the whites. The General also said that for the time being there was no plan to create an African officer corps, but that eventually each race group would be commanded by its own officers. He said the highest position to which Africans could advance was sergeant major. He announced that Africans could now volunteer for training as security guards, cooks, firemen, drivers and dog handlers. Selection tests would be severe, with loyalty to South Africa as the primary consideration. 118/

263. In December 1974, it was also announced that Africans, Coloured people and Indians would be recruited for the South African Air Force and that they would eventually be allowed to train as fighter pilots. 119/

264. The first 48 African soldiers to be recruited completed their training in December 1974. Of the group, 15 would serve as instructors in the African Corps. The South African Defence Force was building a training centre for African recruits. 120/

265. In May 1975, seven soldiers of the South African Cape Corps (composed exclusively of Coloured people) were commissioned as lieutenants. They became the country's first black officers. (Until then the highest rank a Coloured could reach was warrant officer.) The military discipline code was amended so as to require white non-commissioned officers to salute all officers, whether white or not. 121/

266. The first 224 soldiers of the South African Cape Corps Service Battalion (a voluntary military service system established for the Coloured people in 1973) completed their training in December 1974. According to Brigadier G. H. McLoughlin, Brigade Commandant of the Cape Corps, they were the first Coloured national servicemen trained in the use of automatic weapons and in counter-insurgency operations. This was the first group, he said, from which junior leaders (a total of nine) had been selected. The group had also supplied a platoon of drivers and cooks for border service. 122/

118/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 14 December 1974; The New York Times, 10 December 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 10 December 1974; The Times, London, 10 December 1974.

119/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 6 December 1974.

120/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 20 December 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 5 December 1974.

121/ The Guardian, London, 16 May 1975.

122/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 6 December 1974.

267. It will be recalled that in May 1974, the South African Defence Headquarters announced that an all-Indian special service battalion would be established as a unit of the South African Navy. The first group of 33 men underwent preliminary basic training at Saldanha Bay from October to December 1974. The trainees were to man the new naval base on Salisbury Island, near Durban, where training of one-year volunteers for the Indian Battalion was to begin in early 1975. According to South African Defence Headquarters, "in due course officers and non-commissioned officers will be selected from the battalion to help train their own people". The Indians would have "attractive career prospects" on land and at sea. 123/

268. It was reported in October 1974 that the South African Navy had concluded an intensive three-month recruiting campaign in the United Kingdom. It had signed up former Royal Navy technical officers and senior ratings, notably divers, submariners and nuclear, chemical and biological experts on three-year contracts with the option of having a full pensionable career to the age of 60 on assuming South African citizenship. A spokesman for the South African Defence Force stated that "similar recruiting campaigns take place from time to time and in various countries". 124/

#### B. Expansion of military installations

269. The South African Naval Headquarters would move out of Simonstown into the massive new complex now under construction in the Silvermine area within approximately two years, according to press reports in December 1974. It was officially announced that work had started on a three-storey above-ground extension to the underground bunkers which presently house a communications and operational base to provide offices and facilities for the Director of Naval Operations, the Director of Air Operations, the naval hydrographer and the Director of Naval Intelligence. This would mean a consolidation of the Navy's operations. Simonstown would remain the Navy's main operational base, housing its submarine and surface fighting forces. 125/

270. The South African Government had decided to go ahead with plans for a major expansion of the Simonstown harbour, as originally announced in April 1974. A R15 million contract was awarded to a Cape Town civil engineering firm for the expansion of the harbour to almost double its present size, and the construction of a submarine basin. According to press reports, the expanded harbour would incorporate 2,005 metres of berthing (as against 939 metres at present) to accommodate an additional 40 to 50 ships, and provide for the emergency docking of warships outside as well as inside the quays. Construction was expected to take about 58 months, but, according to the Navy's Director of Works, the submarine basin would be completed within 19 months of the project's commencement. Work began in early 1975. 126/

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123/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 24 May 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 4 December 1974.

124/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 4 October 1974.

125/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 5 December 1974.

126/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 9 August and 15 November 1974.

271. The South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, announced in July 1974 that Salisbury Island, near Durban, would be restored as a fully operational naval base. He stated that the restoration would lead to an increase in the number of warships based in Durban as soon as the island was ready to provide full logistic, administrative, technical and recreational services. 127/

272. The South African Navy's newest training base, TS Woltemade, was commissioned recently. The base, situated at Sandvlei, Western Cape Province, would be used for the training of naval cadets. 128/

### C. Manufacture of Arms

273. The South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, declared in December 1974 at a function commemorating the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Armaments Board and the Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR), that South Africa was now practically self-sufficient in ammunition and rifles, and did not need to import them. The Minister said that considerable progress had been made in the past 10 years in the development, procurement and manufacture of armaments, so that the country had nothing to fear from a boycott. Speaking in the House of Assembly in April 1975, the Minister reiterated that ARMSCOR had brought the country to a point where the international weapons boycott had largely been "neutralized", ARMSCOR, he said, had helped to develop know-how so that the most sophisticated weaponry could be produced locally. 129/

274. The South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, stated in a press interview in September 1974 that South Africa was already manufacturing its own armoured personnel carriers, and that it would be building its own tanks "within the foreseeable future". Die Burger, a Cape Town newspaper, called the new development "a great breakthrough which will considerably increase the striking power of the South African defence force", adding that "from a strategic point of view this is of the greatest significance, because South Africa has hitherto been completely dependent on the outside world for its tanks". 130/

275. Mr. Botha announced on 10 December 1974 that locally manufactured guns would be available by January 1975. The guns are being produced by ARMSCOR at competitive prices. The Minister also announced that high quality pistols in various calibres would be manufactured and marketed by ARMSCOR in 1975. 131/

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127/ The Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 14 July 1974.

128/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 1 November 1974.

129/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 6 December 1974; The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 30 November 1974; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 24 April 1975.

130/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 4 October 1974; Die Burger, 16 December 1974.

131/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 December 1974; South African Digest, 3 January 1975.

276. Mr. Botha announced in February 1975 that the South African Government was planning to build six high-speed naval vessels equipped with the most modern guided missile systems. A study group consisting of representatives of the South African Armaments Board and naval experts had been sent abroad to acquire the requisite know-how. The Government had also enlisted the services of an international firm of shipbuilding consultants. The Minister said that "the studies and training have been successfully concluded, and a further milestone has been reached in South Africa's self-sufficiency by the commencement of the building, in South Africa, of the most modern ships". 132/

277. Mr. Botha also disclosed in February 1975 that the Atlas Aircraft Corporation had successfully testflown two new planes manufactured entirely in South Africa under foreign licence. These were the Kudu, a lightweight, single piston-engined aircraft designed for reconnaissance and transport tasks, and the Impala Mark II, an improved version of the Impala Mark I already in use by the South African Air Force for a number of years. 133/

#### D. Implementation of the arms embargo

278. The Simonstown Agreement between the United Kingdom and South Africa was formally terminated on 16 June 1975. It was reported that the United Kingdom naval mission would be recalled and the post of Senior Naval Officer in South Africa would be abolished. The British Foreign Office stated that warships would continue to call occasionally at Simonstown, but only "on a customer basis when it is operationally necessary to do so". In addition, South Africans applying for training in the Royal Navy would be treated like applicants from any other country with whom the United Kingdom has no formal treaty relationships. 134/

279. Discussing the termination of the Agreement in the House of Assembly on 17 June 1975, Mr. P. W. Botha, South African Minister of Defence, said that South Africa would continue to improve its facilities at Simonstown, Walvis Bay, Durban and Port Elizabeth "in a spirit of independence" and primarily to provide South Africa's growing Navy with its own facilities. Simonstown, the Minister said, was being developed for South Africa's own purposes and safety in the first place. It would be placed "at the disposal of others who wish to develop it in a spirit of mutual respect and co-operation in the service of freedom". As far as he was concerned, the Minister said, "a unilateral agreement with one country will not be entered into again. We shall co-operate with all friendly countries on common tasks, but on our conditions." The Minister continued by declaring that South Africa was finding the manpower to build up Simonstown, the electronic equipment, the arms, the ships, the aircraft for maritime defence, and "the goodwill of other countries". 135/

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132/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 14 February 1975.

133/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 22 February 1975; South African Digest, Pretoria, 28 March 1975.

134/ The Times, London, 17 and 18 June 1975; The Financial Times, London, 17 and 18 June 1975; The Guardian, 17 June 1975.

135/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 17 June 1975, col. 8582.

280. Speaking at a National Press Club luncheon in Washington on 10 June 1975, Mr. Cornelius P. Mulder, South African Minister of Interior and Information, reportedly urged the United States and other Western Powers "to shoulder their responsibility" in the Indian and South Atlantic oceans. While South Africa was prepared to fulfil her role in protecting the Cape sea route, he said, a stronger Western presence there was in the interest of the "free world". In reply to a question, Mr. Mulder reportedly said that the South African Government would "very favourably consider any United States application to establish a base in the Republic". 136/

281. In June 1975, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement released information concerning alleged links between South Africa and NATO in a memorandum which was submitted with relevant documentation to the Special Committee against Apartheid. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement stated that the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark had been engaged in the planning and development of Project Advokaat, a naval surveillance system established by South Africa at Silvermine. The system allegedly allows South Africa to keep under surveillance an area stretching from South America to Bangladesh and including the entire African continent. According to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Advokaat had permanent channels linking it with the United Kingdom Admiralty and the United States Navy; and the equipment section of the Federal Republic of Germany was directly engaged in the building of Advokaat. Documents released by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement showed that orders for parts of the system had been placed with companies in the above-mentioned countries, using NATO forms and NATO stock codes. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement stated that "South Africa is now within the NATO defence code area and its military equipment and spare parts are codified and recorded in the same way as for NATO members". 137/

282. NATO spokesmen denied that NATO had had any part in providing equipment for Project Advokaat. They stated that the NATO supply coding system was not classified, and could be disclosed freely to countries outside the alliance by whichever member nation was selling equipment. They said that a special NATO code number had been given to South Africa at the request of France and that South Africa had used the NATO codification system since the early 1960s. They said that the supplies of equipment had no connexion with NATO, and were a purely bilateral commercial operation. 138/

283. Six Republican Congressmen from the United States Congress spent two weeks in South Africa in January 1975 at the invitation of Mr. Werner Ackermann, a South African businessman. Although tourism was officially given as the purpose of the trip, the itinerary of the Congressmen, which was arranged by South Africa's Department of Information, included a briefing from South Africa's

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136/ Comment and Opinion, Pretoria, 20 June 1975.

137/ Memorandum by Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary, British Anti-Apartheid Movement, to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, 3 June 1975 (A/AC.115/L.408).

138/ The Guardian, London, 11 and 19 June 1975; The Times, London, 11 June 1975; Morning Star, London, 11 June 1975.

military and visits to the Simonstown naval base, the Silvermine communications facility and the Atlas Aircraft Corporation. The group was led by Mr. Robert Wilson, ranking Minority member of the House Armed Services Committee, and included another member of that Committee, Mr. G. William Whitehurst. Mr. Wilson was reported to have made statements in favour of an American presence in Simonstown and opposing sanctions. He also reportedly said that relaxing the arms embargo would in fact be helping a friend at the United Nations, a nation - he said - which had made extraordinary progress in race relations. After its return, the delegation met with Mr. William Middendorf, Secretary of the United States Navy, who reportedly emphasized the strong necessity to secure Simonstown as a port for United States warships. Some of the Congressmen indicated that they would soon raise the matter before the Armed Services Committee in Washington, D.C. 139/

284. A similar visit to South Africa by three Democratic Congressmen from the United States took place in April 1975, also at the invitation of the said Mr. Werner Ackermann and following an itinerary arranged by the South African Department of Information. Two of the Congressmen, Mr. John Dent and Mr. Richard Ichord, were members of the House Armed Services Committee and had reportedly opposed sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. After visiting South Africa, the Congressmen went on to Southern Rhodesia. Upon their return, they were reported to have stated that they would work to improve relations between the United States and South Africa. 140/

285. In April 1975, Mr. Melvyn Laird, former United States Secretary of Defence, visited South Africa on a "private" visit, at the invitation of the Managing Director of the Reader's Digest Association of South Africa. While in South Africa, Mr. Laird stated at a press conference that the United States "could" review its arms embargo on South Africa. He emphasized, however, that he was speaking as a "former Congressman". 141/

286. The Acting Chief of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General Robert Rogers, disclosed at a press conference in Pretoria on 3 December 1974 that the first consignment of Mirage F-1 jet fighters ordered by the South African Government from France would arrive in South Africa in early 1975. He declined to disclose how many planes had been bought, and at what price. He said, however, that South African pilots and ground crews were undergoing

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139/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 10 February 1975; Washington Office on Africa, Washington, D.C., Notes on Africa, February 1975.

140/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 19 March 1975; Business Week, 21 April 1975.

141/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 5 April 1975; Business Week, 21 April 1975.

instruction on the F-1 in France. He denied press reports that South Africa would be selling its Mirage III planes to Southern Rhodesia after the arrival of the new planes. 142/

287. While in Paris to attend the International Air Show in June 1975, the South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, disclosed that South Africa intended to buy from France two submarines of the "Agosta" class as part of its programme to build up its submarine fleet. Mr. Botha said that negotiations were virtually complete, and that he expected to sign the R45 million contract early next year. 143/

288. Four French warships visited South Africa at the end of February 1975. The flotilla was led by the 22,000-ton aircraft carrier Clemenceau, reportedly the biggest French warship to call at a South African port in peacetime. 144/

289. Press reports have indicated that Euromissile, a joint French-German company, was supplying South Africa with an anti-tank missile called "Milan". 145/

290. The South African subsidiary of the French company, Sodeteg, reportedly one of the leading project designers and co-ordinators in Europe, had been contracted to project two military hospitals for the South African Public Works Department. 146/

291. General Meir Amit, former head of Israel's intelligence services and present chairman of Koor Industries (a state corporation and one of Israel's largest industrial organizations), was reported to have disclosed during a recent visit to South Africa that senior Israeli military officers visit South Africa regularly to lecture South African officers on modern warfare and counter-insurgency techniques. Although declining to give details, General Amit stated that the South African Defence Force was benefiting from Israel's experience and know-how in the field of military electronics manufacture. 147/

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142/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 4 December 1974; The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 7 December 1974; South African Digest, Pretoria, 13 December 1974. Earlier press reports had indicated that South Africa intended to buy 48 Mirage F-1 planes, and that the planes would be eventually manufactured in South Africa.

143/ South African Department of Information, Pretoria, 9 June 1975, reported in Daily Report, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 10 June 1975. South Africa has already bought from France three submarines of the "Daphne" class.

144/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 26 February and 4 March 1975.

145/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 20 February 1975; Blätter des Informations-Zentrums Dritte Welt, No. 39, November 1974.

146/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 22 November 1974.

147/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7 July 1975; The Washington Post, 8 July 1975; The New York Post, 14 July 1975.

292. A recent report in the Daily Telegraph of London indicated that South Africa was building six missile boats, which, it said, would probably be equipped with the Gabriel missile, manufactured in Israel. Earlier reports in the British press that Israel would sell the Gabriel to South Africa had been denied by Mr. Elkousa Valli, spokesman for the Israeli aircraft industry. 148/

293. South Africa is organizing an international air show to take place at the new Lanseria Airport in October 1975. According to the organizers, the Department of the Interior had agreed to lift visa restrictions for visitors, and the Department of Foreign Affairs had offered its help for the show. The airport manager disclosed that companies like Aérospatiale of France and the British Aircraft Corporation had promised to support the show. 149/

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

149/ The Star, Johannesburg, 25 July 1974.

## V. SPORTS AND APARTHEID

294. The international campaign against apartheid in sports in accordance with the Olympic principles of non-discrimination and the resolutions of the United Nations scored further advances during the past year. Several Governments and sports bodies took firm action against exchanges with racially selected South African sports teams. The campaign was supported by wide segments of public opinion in many countries. Particular reference may perhaps be made to the decisions of India and Mexico to prevent their teams from playing the South African team in the Davis Cup tennis tournament; the cancellation of the Australian cricket tour of South Africa on the advice of the Australian Government; the reaffirmation by the New Zealand Government of its opposition to sports exchanges with South Africa; and relevant actions taken by other countries, including Canada, Guyana, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan and Trinidad and Tobago.

295. Faced with growing international isolation and pressures from sportsmen in South Africa, the South African régime made some seeming concessions to allow sports competitions between whites and blacks. These concessions were, however, strictly within the policy of apartheid: integration at the club level and merit selection of teams continue to be banned. The régime and its supporters stepped up their propaganda (and other efforts) to persuade sports bodies that genuine progress was being made and to dissuade them from boycotts. They had been able to entice some sports bodies to undertake exchanges with racially selected South African sports teams during the past year.

296. Some international sports bodies continued to be insensitive to the problem of racism in sports, and continued to contravene the Olympic principle, so that further effort by the international community is essential to secure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

### A. The sports policy of the South African régime

297. While non-racial sports competitions had not been legally prohibited in South Africa, the apartheid régime had used its powers and influence to prevent non-racial sports and merit selection. Only the white sports federations were recognized by the South African Government until the early 1960s as representatives of the country and were affiliated to international bodies. The sports bodies of the black people were able to obtain very inferior facilities from municipalities. The business companies contributed to white sports bodies but gave little to the black bodies though the latter had larger memberships and the customers of the companies were largely black.

298. Meanwhile, non-racial bodies developed for several codes of sports and pressed for an end to all racial discrimination in sports by the Government, the white sports bodies and business sponsors. The Government and its supporters tried to suppress these bodies by preventing them from using municipal grounds, by repressive measures against their officials and by other forms of pressure and

intimidation. 150/ But the non-racial bodies survived with popular support, and were able to persuade many international sports bodies to exclude or suspend the South African all-white sports federations.

299. The international campaign against apartheid in sports, encouraged by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and other bodies, and endorsed by the United Nations, drew wide public support in many countries, including those which had traditional sporting relations with South Africa. Many Governments and sports bodies had taken action to prevent exchanges with racially selected South African teams.

300. Faced with isolation in international sports, and consequent pressures by some South African sportsmen, the South African régime and the white sports bodies had been making some "concessions" in the past decade. But these "concessions", providing for "multinational" rather than "multiracial" or "non-racial" sports, were within the framework of apartheid and did not meet the Olympic principle of non-discrimination.

301. Under the "multinational" policy of the South African régime, which had gradually unfolded, the various "nations" were required to practise sport separately. The teams of the various "nations" could compete against each other in "open international" or "multinational" tournaments with prior permission of the Government required for each tournament. Integration at club and provincial levels is prohibited, as are mixed trials which lead to "sports integration".

302. In other words, the sportsmen are required to accept the basis of apartheid - that South Africa is divided into various "nations" - i.e., Africans are aliens in six sevenths of the country - in order to obtain permission to compete in a few government-approved tournaments at the national level. After competing in these tournaments, they are obliged to participate in segregated sports at club level.

303. In 1962, Prime Minister Verwoerd announced that for Olympic sports, the South African team would be representative of all the "nations" of South Africa: the team would not have Springbok colours, which are reserved for the whites. In 1967, Prime Minister Vorster extended this to all world championships. Moreover, exception was made in the case of cricket and Rugby on the grounds that these were not world sports and that South Africa had traditional relationships in these sports only with a few white countries.

304. The present Minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr. P. J. Koornhof, reaffirmed the policy in a debate in the Senate on 23 April 1975. He said:

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150/ For instance, Mr. Morgan Naidoo, President of the non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation, was served with banning orders in November 1973. Mr. Hassan Howa, President of the South African Cricket Board of Control, and Mr. Norman Middleton, President of the South African Soccer Federation, have been denied passports to attend conferences of international sports bodies. Several leaders of non-racial sports bodies have been forced into exile by repression.

"The sport policy of the Government is that on club, provincial and national level, every nation in South Africa practises and administers its sport separately." 151/

"Our standpoint is that the Springbok team is a white team. For years and years the Springbok colours have been registered as white colours, and we have no intention of renouncing this." 152/

"... if we are now asked to arrive at a merit selection team at the top level in cricket we shall have to begin integrating from the bottom upwards, and we shall have to hold integrated trials. Then we say that we are opposed to this and that we are not in favour of this." 153/

305. Some adjustments were also made as regards control of sports, as selection of teams by all-white bodies was unacceptable to international sports federations. The white sports federations had been contacting other sports federations - the separate "Bantu", Coloured and Indian federations which had been encouraged by the régime in accordance with its apartheid policies, and the non-racial sports federations which had been bravely struggling for an end to racism - with a view to setting up a mixed body for the selection of teams.

306. The white bodies tried at first to persuade the black sports bodies to affiliate with them in a subordinate status. When this failed, they tried to set up liaison committees of white and black sports bodies for international contacts. 154/ They had then used some black sports administrators to lobby against exclusion in international federations on the grounds that black sportsmen would suffer.

307. The Minister of Sport and Recreation told Parliament on 11 June 1975:

"The policy provides that co-ordination may be effected on the highest level by liaison between equal representation of all the national groups in the form of a liaison committee or top-level body, as the sports body concerned prefers. This arrangement is being made in order to comply with certain requirements. In the first place, in order to make international liaison and affiliation possible for everyone, this may only take place in a co-ordinated manner on the highest level. Secondly: To be able to have sports meetings of an international or multi-national nature ..." 155/

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151/ Republic of South Africa. Senate Debates (Hansard), 23 April 1975, col. 2314.

152/ Ibid., col. 2326.

153/ Ibid., col. 2327.

154/ A liaison committee known as the South African Amateur Athletic Committee was set up in October 1974, but the non-racial South African Amateur Athletics Board refused to join it.

155/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 11 June 1975, col. 8099.

The non-racial sports federations had firmly rejected these manoeuvres and insisted on full implementation of the principle of non-discrimination at all levels of sports.

308. With these adjustments within apartheid, the South African régime had been claiming that its policy provided the fullest opportunity to all men and women in South Africa, regardless of race or colour, to reach the highest level in sport. The régime and its supporters spent large amounts on deceptive advertisements in other countries to counteract boycotts, and some blacks on tours defended sports exchanges with South Africa. 156/

309. Some sports administrators had been persuaded that the régime was moving in the right direction and would be further encouraged by an end to boycotts.

310. The South African régime and the white sports bodies had also spent large amounts of money to entice individual sportsmen or local teams to visit South Africa.

311. It may perhaps be recalled in this connexion that the Olympic principle, endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly, allows no exceptions or compromises. The South African régime continues to interfere in the administration of sports and prevent the implementation of the Olympic principle. It had repeatedly declared that sports would need to function within the confines of its political policy. On the other hand, non-racial sports bodies existed for many codes of sport and they had been struggling for an end to all racism. They had denounced all manoeuvres to enable the racist white sports bodies to restore international contacts with some mere concessions to blacks, and had called for continued international boycott. They had stressed that any compromise on principle would undermine the struggle against racialism in sport.

312. As The South African Swimmer, the newsletter of the non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation, said recently:

"The purpose of multinational sports meetings is stark and clear for it is intended to persuade the unsuspecting outside this country into believing that apartheid does not affect sport. How untrue! We would rather deny ourselves the doubtful 'distinction' of participating in the multi-nationals and being considered honorary whites for a few days or a week, so long as we suffer, for the rest of the year, the indignity of being contained, confined,

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156/ For instance, photographs of several leading black and white South African sportsmen were published in advertisements placed in a number of newspapers by a "Committee for Fairness in Sport" headed by Mr. G. P. E. Wolmarane of Johannesburg. The photographs, taken mainly at "multinational" events approved by the régime, show black sportsmen playing tennis, cricket, soccer, and other sports with whites. Mr. M. N. Pather, Secretary of the non-racial South African Council on Sport, described the Committee's campaign as "an exercise to hoodwink the sporting fraternity on a world-wide basis, when, in fact, there is no real mixing in sport here". (The Graphic, 21 February 1975.)

controlled and contaminated by the shackles of group areas, separate development, an official state 'sports policy' and the full gambit of racial legislation under which we have suffered since 1652." 157/

B. New developments in the past year

313. During the past year, the Government announced two moves which had been highly publicized as positive steps.

314. Speaking in the House of Assembly on 14 October 1974, the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr. P. J. Koornhof, announced that teams of white, African, Coloured and Asian soccer associations would be allowed to compete against each other in a "Champion of Champions" series. 158/ The competitions were to be by teams chosen by segregated racial sports bodies and not by multiracial teams chosen on merit. Mr. Norman Middleton, President of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation, rejected this as a mere extension of "multinationalism". Nothing short of total integration at club level would satisfy footballers, he said. 159/

315. On 4 March 1975, Dr. Koornhof announced that the Government had agreed to the selection of "multinational invitation" Rugby and cricket teams to play a touring French Rugby team and the Derrick Robbins cricket team respectively. He said:

"At the request of the French Rugby Union, the Government has decided that the South African Rugby Board may arrange a special match in which an invitation team consisting of the various nationals of South Africa may participate.

"The playing of this match does not mean that there is a change in the Government's position, that is, that sport on club, provincial and national levels is to be played by the various racial groups separately.

"It confirms that merit teams, which naturally assumes integration in this respect, is against Government policy. It also does not prejudice selection of a white Springbok team.

"The tour programme also includes two test matches against the Springboks, as well as a test against the Coloureds and a test against the Bantu peoples." 160/

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157/ Quoted by Mr. Peter Hain in The Guardian, London, 24 May 1975.

158/ He also announced that a black boxer could meet a white boxer for the South African championship, and that the Proteas, a Coloured Rugby team, could play against the Springboks.

159/ Rand Daily Mail, 16 October 1974.

160/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 14 March 1975.

316. While white sports administrators welcomed the announcement as a step in the right direction, as a mixed team in these two sports was allowed for the first time, non-racial sports organizations rejected the move as a sop to the outside world in order to enable the French Rugby Union and the Derrick Robbins cricket team to resist demands to cancel the South African tour. They pointed out that a few blacks would be handpicked for the invitation teams by the white bodies. The South African Cricket Board of Control and the South African Rugby Union, the two non-racial bodies, announced that no players from their associations would play for the invitation teams.

317. Meanwhile, the Government has continued to take action against any mixed competitions at the club, local or provincial level. Cricketers, in particular, pressed for an end to Government action against non-racial sport, especially because of their concern to avoid the cancellation of the Australian tour of South Africa, scheduled for 1975. They felt that this tour was crucial for maintaining some international contact.

318. In November 1974, the white Transvaal Cricket Union and the non-white Transvaal Cricket Federation announced an agreement to integrate the game at the club level and run multiracial leagues from the next season. They said the interprovincial leagues would not be integrated at that stage because interprovincial matches were "public" in terms of the law, and Government permission would be required. Mr. Joe Pemansky, Chairman of the Transvaal Cricket Union, had stated earlier: "Cricket cannot wait for other sports to take the lead and the Minister of Sport has been made aware of the extreme urgency of the situation." 161/

319. But the Minister of Sport, Mr. Piet Koornhof, said on 27 January 1975 that the plan to start a multiracial cricket league in Transvaal province was not in accordance with the Government's policy. 162/ He told the Senate on 10 April 1975:

"With regard to reports in the press that the Transvaal or any other cricket union is contemplating the establishment of mixed club competitions, I now want to state by repetition clearly and frankly that such action will not be in accordance with Government policy and that violation and disregard of the policy of the Government will force us to regard it in a serious light ..." 163/

The attitude of the Government has frustrated efforts by cricket associations to discuss modalities for an end to racial discrimination and segregation in cricket.

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161/ The Star, Johannesburg, 8 November 1974. The Transvaal decision follows small-scale moves towards mixed cricket during the past few years. In Natal, a multiracial side, the Aurora Club, has been playing white teams for more than a year, despite threats of government action.

162/ Financial Times, London, 28 January 1975.

163/ Republic of South Africa. Senate Debates (Hansard), 10 April 1975, col. 1651.

### C. Developments in individual sports

#### Athletics

320. The South African Government gave permission for the staging of "Comrades Marathon" in Natal on 31 May 1975 as an "open international event" in which whites and blacks could compete. But only those affiliated to clubs belonging to the South African Amateur Athletic Union (SAAAU) were allowed to participate.

321 Mr. Ishwarsingh Rajkumar, a top black runner, could not compete as he belonged to a non-racial body. His application to join the Savages Athletics Club, an all-white body and an affiliate of SAAAU, was rejected. 164/

322. The attitude of the Government was demonstrated by the case of Mr. Isaac Thoka, 26, an African, who was running on a public road near Pretoria in March 1975, alongside a marathon of 350 whites, to practise for the "Comrades Marathon". A policeman ordered him to stop and threatened him with arrest. After protests by several white runners, the Transvaal Police Department said the policeman was correct, as the permit to stage the race had been granted on condition that it should be for whites only.

323. In November 1974, the New Zealand Government rejected an application by the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association to invite three South African athletes. 165/

324. Miss Andrea Lynch, Britain's world record-holder in women's athletics, announced in March 1975 that she had turned down an invitation to compete in South Africa in April. 166/

325. The organizing committee for the 1976 Olympics in Montreal, Canada, withdrew an invitation to South African athletes to participate in the pre-Olympic competition in the summer of 1975. 167/

#### Bodybuilding

326. The International Federation of Bodybuilders had decided to hold the 1975 world bodybuilding (Mr. Universe) championships in Pretoria from 4 to 11 November 1975, despite protests by several organizations. The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee had launched a campaign for the cancellation or boycott of this event.

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164/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 25 March 1975.

165/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 16 November 1974.

166/ The World, Johannesburg, 3 March 1975.

167/ The New York Times, 20 March 1975.

## Boxing

327. In May 1974, the Government announced approval for participation of whites and blacks in boxing tournaments on a "multinational" basis. Whites and blacks would have their trials separately and the winners would fight each other. Such multinational tournaments were held in Johannesburg in February-March 1975. 168/

328. Victor Galindez of Argentina, the light heavy-weight champion of the World Boxing Association, fought against Pierre Fourie of South Africa in Johannesburg in April 1975. 169/

329. Mr. John Conteh, Britain's light heavy-weight boxing champion, announced that he would refuse to defend his title in South Africa. He said: "It is against my principles to fight in South Africa. I consider it an affront to my integrity to fight in South Africa both as a British person and a sportsman." 170/

## Cricket

330. The third Derrick Robbins touring cricket team visited South Africa in March 1975. Two black cricketers - an African and a Coloured - were included in a South African "invitation" team for one of the matches with the touring team: the team was selected by the all-white South African Cricket Association.

331. The Australian Cricket Board of Control announced in February 1975 that the Australian cricket tour of South Africa, scheduled for late 1975, would not take place. The Board said it did not wish to defy the wishes of the Australian Government. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam had reportedly warned that if an Australian team was to visit South Africa, Australia might face a cricket boycott by other cricket-playing nations, such as the West Indies, India and Pakistan. 171/

332. Mr. Graeme Pollock and Mr. Lee Irvine, leading South African cricketers, commented that the Australian decision meant the end of their own test careers, but called on the South African Cricket Association to keep fighting for mixed cricket at all levels in South Africa. 172/

168/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 22 February 1975.

169/ Ibid., 12 April 1975.

170/ Ibid., 7 November 1974.

171/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 19 February 1975. The Australian Government had earlier refused Mr. Boon Wallace, President of the South African Cricket Association, a visa to visit Australia to discuss the proposed Australian cricket tour. The refusal followed the Australian Federal Government's policy of refusing all officials and members of racially segregated clubs and teams permission to enter Australia. The Immigration Minister, Mr. Clyde Cameron, told Parliament on 18 February that a visa had been denied to Mr. Wallace because the Australian Government was "utterly opposed to South Africa's apartheid policies".

172/ Ibid.

333. The Governments of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago refused to allow the Derrick Robbins cricket team to tour their countries because the team had toured South Africa a year earlier, while the Pakistan Cricket Board of Control instructed Pakistan cricketers not to join the Derrick Robbins Eleven.

334. The St. Albans Cricket Club of Christchurch, New Zealand, unanimously rejected a proposal to tour South Africa in April 1975 and decided, instead, to tour Australia and South-East Asia. 173/

#### Cycling

335. Open "multinational" cycling championships were organized by the white South African Cycling Federation in the four provinces in March-April 1975 in a move to regain membership in the International Amateur Cycling Federation (FIAC). 174/

#### Football

336. At the executive meeting of the International Football Federation (FIFA), held in Rome on 6 November 1974, the African Football Confederation proposed the expulsion of South Africa. 175/ The executive decided to send a three-man delegation to South Africa to examine racial discrimination in football, and to report in 1975. The executive would then make recommendations to the 1976 World Football Congress in Montreal, where the question of expulsion would be decided. 176/ The delegation would be led by Mr. Harry Cavan, Vice-President of FIFA and head of the Northern Ireland Football Association. The other two members of the delegation are Mr. Rito Altantara of Senegal and Dr. Abdal Halim of the Sudan, both executive members of the African Football Confederation.

337. Meanwhile, the President of FIFA, Mr. Joao Havelange, accepted an invitation from Mr. Dave Marais, President of the Football Association of South Africa, to visit South Africa. Mr. Marais was reported to have told the press: "Obviously I am very relieved, but there is no doubt that we will have to move towards non-racial soccer at all levels before 1976 Congress." 177/

338. A "Champion of Champions" soccer tournament, with the participation of teams of the racial soccer bodies, was staged in South Africa, with government permission, in April 1975. (Similar contests had taken place during the South African Games in 1973.) The non-racial soccer body refused to participate in the tournament.

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173/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 12 December 1974.

174/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 22 February 1975.

175/ South Africa was suspended from FIFA in 1964.

176/ The Star, Johannesburg, 7 November 1974.

177/ Ibid.

339. There was violence on 12 April 1975 when a white team played against a black team in Johannesburg. Several sports officials were reported to have commented that the so-called "multinational" games encouraged racial tensions. The Minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr. Koornhof, threatened that he might stop "multinational" games if there was any more rowdiness at matches. 178/

### Golf

340. South Africa won the World Cup Golf tournament in Caracas, Venezuela, in November 1974. Mr. Gary Player of South Africa participated in the Australian Open Golf Championship in Perth and won his seventh championship on 3 November. 179/ It was reported that Brazilian golfers participated in a golf match in Bloemfontein in March 1975. It was also reported that a South African women's golf team would make a tour of Britain in June 1975, and play in the British Open Championship. 180/

341. Japan declined to grant a visa to Mr. Gary Player to compete in the open tournament in Japan in September 1974. Malaysia refused visas to the South African men's golf team to compete in the World Cup in November 1974. 181/

### Gymnastics

342. A 470-member South African gymnastics team participated in the sixth World Gymnaestrada Festival, held in Berlin from 1 to 6 July 1975. It included gymnasts of various racial origins, but they had been chosen in accordance with the apartheid policy. Anti-apartheid groups demonstrated in protest against the participation of the South African team.

### Judo

343. A seven-man South African judo team participated in the European junior championships in Tel Aviv in November 1974. South Africa had been invited to send a team to the championships, though it was not affiliated with the European Judo Association. 182/

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178/ The Guardian, London, 16 April 1975.

179/ Gary Player took a black golfer, Vincent Tshabalala, with him to Australia to divert attention from apartheid to his personal generosity. But there were demonstrations against him, organized by the South Africa Liberation Centre and other groups. (Australia, 30 October 1974.)

180/ The Star, Johannesburg, 16 November 1974.

181/ Natal Mercury, 11 February 1975.

182/ The Star, Johannesburg, 7 November 1974.

## Lifesaving

344. It was disclosed on 14 October 1974 that South Africa had withdrawn from the 1974 World Lifesaving Championships in Barcelona, Spain, after several countries threatened boycott. 183/

## Parachuting

345. The second World Parachuting Championships were held in Pretoria on 30 August 1974, with the participation of parachutists from Australia, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. 184/

## Rugby

346. The all-white Springbok Rugby team toured France in November-December 1974. Despite protests by 46 anti-apartheid and other organizations, the French Rugby Federation refused to cancel the tour and the Foreign Ministry declined to intervene. Anti-apartheid groups organized large demonstrations at the matches and they had to be played with strong security protection.

347. In connexion with the visit of the Springbok team to Nice, a city which had recently become twinned with Cape Town, the Justice and Peace Committee of the Diocese of Nice declared: "Parishioners would do better to twin themselves with black Christian communities in the Cape rather than cheer the Springboks." 185/

348. The Springbok team was scheduled to tour five Italian cities in December 1974, after the tour of France. But the matches were cancelled as a result of strong opposition by students, workers and political groups. The tour had been organized by the Italian Rugby Federation in spite of opposition by the Italian Olympic Committee. 186/

349. A French Rugby team toured South Africa in May-June 1975, despite demands by many organizations for a cancellation of the tour and a letter from the Special Committee against Apartheid.

350. In an effort to offset opposition, the French Rugby Federation requested that it play a "representative" South African team, and the South African régime agreed that the all-white South African Rugby Board could arrange a mixed Rugby team to be selected by its invitation, rather than merit selection, to play a special match against the French touring side. Mr. Albert Ferrasse, President of the French Rugby Federation, expressed satisfaction with the decision of the South African régime but it was reported that several top French players had declared themselves unavailable for the tour. 187/

183/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 15 October 1974.

184/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 30 August 1974.

185/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8 November 1974.

186/ Corriere della Sera, Rome, 3 December 1974.

187/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 8 March 1975.

351. The non-racial South African Rugby Union unanimously rejected an invitation from the Rugby Board to take part in the match against the French team. In a statement released after its annual meeting in Cape Town, the Rugby Union declared on 7 April 1975:

"The South African Rugby Union is appreciative of the invitation but regrets that participation is in conflict with the principles of this Union. The Union's principle of non-racialism in sports demands that integrated Rugby be played at club, provincial and national level ...

"The Union's refusal to participate is a result of the hypocrisy and political dishonesty on the part of the powers that be ...

"The Union believes that because it is an invitation match, it is quite clear that the Government's refusal to permit merit selection is not based on a principle but rather on a blind and selfish prejudice which they can remove by extending such an invitation. This Union, having noted the Government's determination to retain the status quo so far as Rugby is concerned, will now necessarily be forced to adopt such measures as may be necessary to ensure that its non-racial ideals are realised." 188/

352. The French team played 11 games, during its tour: eight against white teams, and one each against an African team, a Coloured team and a mixed team. The invitation team included two Coloured players and two Africans. At the end of the tour on 28 June, the President of the French Rugby Federation was reported to have invited a mixed South African Rugby team to tour France in the near future.

353. In New Zealand, Prime Minister Wallace Rowling reaffirmed in January 1975 that the New Zealand Government would ask the New Zealand Rugby team, the All Blacks, to cancel their planned tour of South Africa, scheduled for the middle of 1976, unless there was a change in the situation. 189/ He said on 20 April that an announcement by the South African Rugby Board that the All Blacks would play a multiracial invitation team and separate African and Coloured teams on their scheduled tour, was welcome but would make no difference to Government policy. He declared:

"Until a sporting code, whether Rugby or any other, accepts multiracial sport at all levels and teams are selected on that basis, they will not be welcome in New Zealand." 190/

354. However, the Chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union, Mr. J. L. Sullivan, announced at the annual meeting of the Union on 3 April 1975 that it would proceed with the tour of South Africa. He said:

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188/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8 April 1975.

189/ Ibid., 3 January 1975.

190/ New Zealand Herald, 21 April 1975.

"The New Zealand Government has stated quite categorically that although it does not approve or support such visits, it does not and would not go to the extent of restricting the freedom of New Zealanders to travel overseas. We will exercise that freedom." 191/

355. The Halt All Racist Tours (HART) launched a nation-wide campaign against the proposed tour. Mr. Trevor Richards, the national Chairman of HART, expressed confidence that the tour would not go ahead "because New Zealanders are sick and tired of this country's involvement in apartheid sport." 192/

356. Meanwhile, the New Zealand Government announced in February 1975 that members of the Diggers Rugby Club of South Africa would not be permitted to tour New Zealand; they had been invited by the Petone Rugby Club. 193/

357. According to South African press reports, Mr. Teddy Lacroix, President of the Belgian Rugby Federation, said in October 1974 that Belgium intended to send its national Rugby team to South Africa in 1976. 194/

### Snooker

358. The International Federation for World Snooker and Billiard Championships, meeting in Dublin in November 1974, confirmed its earlier decision that the World Snooker Championships for 1976 would be held in South Africa. 195/

### Swimming

359. The all-white South African Amateur Swimming Union organized a "multinational" championship in Johannesburg in February 1975, with Government approval. The non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation, rejecting an invitation to participate in the championship, said:

"Our affiliates expressed the view that there should be one body controlling the sport in the country so that there would be non-racial galas throughout the country.

"Our affiliates were not interested in isolated inter-race events as suggested by the white national and provincial bodies." 196/

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191/ Marlborough Express, New Zealand, 3 April 1975.

192/ Mail Express, New Zealand, 4 April 1975.

193/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 1 March 1975.

194/ The Star, Johannesburg, 28 October 1974.

195/ The Star, Johannesburg, 18 November 1974. The 12 countries represented in the Federation are: the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, India, Sri Lanka, New Zealand, Australia, Isle of Man, Canada and South Africa.

196/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 5 October 1974.

## Tennis

360. Tennis players of various racial origins participated in the South African Sugar Circuit International Tennis Championships, sponsored by the South African Association, between 9 December 1974 and 12 January 1975. The non-racial tennis body, the Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union, did not participate in this tournament which was managed by the all-white South African Lawn Tennis Union and black bodies affiliated with it.

361. In October 1974, India refused to play South Africa in the finals of the Davis Cup tennis tournament. The All India Lawn Tennis Association said in a statement on 29 October:

"In the absence of any assurance for the removal of racial discrimination and the starting of integrated and mixed play in all sports in the country at national and international levels, India is not in a position to play South Africa." 197/

362. The Davis Cup Management Committee, meeting in Rome on 7 November, awarded the cup by default to South Africa. Ignoring demands for the exclusion of South Africa from the Davis Cup tournament, it allowed South Africa to participate in the North American Zone in 1975. (South Africa had been allowed in the South American Zone in 1974.) Mexico won the semifinals in this Zone and the Mexican Government decided, in March 1975, not to allow the Mexican team to play against South Africa. Chile, however, played South Africa in Santiago on 19 July 1975. 198/

363. The decisions of India and Mexico to forfeit the opportunity of winning the Davis Cup Championships, because of their opposition to apartheid, increased pressure to exclude South Africa from the competition.

364. However, the Davis Cup Nations Committee, meeting in London on 3 July 1975, rejected by 24 votes to 22 a motion by Australia to expel South Africa on the grounds that its participation was disrupting the competition. A motion by India to withdraw the trophy from South Africa was ruled out of order. The Committee accepted South Africa's entry for 1976 and decided to include the President of the South African Lawn Tennis Union, Mr. Ben Franklin, in the Davis Cup Management Committee.

365. It was reported that the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland threatened to dissociate themselves from the Davis Cup if any country was barred from competing on "political grounds". On the other hand, India and Mexico were reported to have indicated that they would not compete in 1976. 199/

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197/ Comment and Opinion, Pretoria, 8 November 1974.

198/ The New York Times, 20 July 1975. The Chilean team defeated the South African team.

199/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 3 and 4 July 1975.

366. At the annual meeting of the International Lawn Tennis Federation in Barcelona on 9 July 1975, a motion by Hungary and Romania to expel South Africa was not debated. 200/ Only 15 countries supported debate while 28 countries voted against and 22 abstained. Mr. Dennis Brutus, President of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, told the press in London on 13 July that nations opposed to apartheid had decided to withdraw from international tennis competition to protest against the continued participation of South Africa. 201/

367. Meanwhile, the Governments of Japan and Mexico took action to prevent South African tennis teams from playing in their countries.

368. The Japanese Government decided - in accordance with its declaration of June 1974 that it would deny visas to South Africans who wished to enter Japan for sporting activities - to refuse a visa to Mr. Cliff Drysdale to play in tennis tournaments in Japan so long as he retained his South African citizenship. According to the South African press, Mr. Drysdale had held both South African and British passports for the past 10 years with the knowledge and consent of the South African Minister of Interior. He lives in the United States and has a lucrative contract in Japan. The Japanese Consul in Houston, Texas, withheld issuance of a visa on his British passport until he returned his South African passport and showed proof that he had renounced his South African citizenship.

369. The Mexican Government refused to permit Mr. Frew McMillan and Mr. Bob Hewitt of South Africa to play in the World Championship Tennis doubles tournament held in Mexico City in April 1975. Mr. Hewitt travelled on an Australian passport and Mr. McMillan on a British passport. Both arrived in Mexico on tourist visas: the Mexican immigration officials ordered them to leave the country. 202/

#### Water polo

370. It is reported that Israel has had a number of sports contacts with South Africa. The Israeli Maccabi Water Polo team toured South Africa in December 1974. 203/

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200/ The Times, 15 July 1975.

201/ Ibid.

202/ The New York Times, 30 April 1975.

203/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 9 December 1974. Dr. Israel Pled, Chairman of the Maccabi World Union, expressed confidence at the end of a 12-day visit to South Africa that South African Maccabi would take part with a large and representative team in the next Maccabiah Games in Israel in July or August 1977 (ibid., 11 January 1975).

## ANNEX II

### List of documents of the Special Committee (September 1974-September 1975)

- A/AC.115/L.391 Report of the Special Committee on assistance provided by Governments to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements
- A/AC.115/L.392 The International NGO Conference Against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa (Geneva, 2 to 5 September 1974)
- A/AC.115/L.393 Communication dated 23 September 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.394 Letter dated 18 September 1974 from H.E. Mr. Mario Pedini, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Italy, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.395 Economic relations between France and South Africa - Memorandum submitted by the African National Congress of South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.396 Israel and South Africa - Development of Relations, 1967-1974, by Peter Hellyer
- A/AC.115/L.397 Fifth report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information
- A/AC.115/L.398 Note on recent developments concerning military collaboration between South Africa and other countries
- A/AC.115/L.399 Recent developments in South Africa's mines
- A/AC.115/L.400 Actions taken by Governments concerning sports contacts with South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.401 and Add.1 International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- A/AC.115/L.402 Declaration and recommendations of the Seminar on South Africa, held in Paris from 28 April to 2 May 1975
- A/AC.115/L.403 Text of joint press statement by the delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the World Peace Council, Helsinki, 5 May 1975
- A/AC.115/L.404 Sixth report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information

- A/AC.115/L.405      Communication dated 21 May 1975 from Mr. David M. Sibeko, Head of the Pan Africanist Congress Mission to Europe and the Americas, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.406      Communication dated 30 May 1975 from Mr. David M. Sibeko, Head of the Pan Africanist Congress Mission to Europe and the Americas, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.407      Communication dated 14 May 1975 from Mr. Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Director of the International University Exchange Fund, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.408      Communication dated 3 June 1975 from Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.409      Report on the Special Committee mission to Latin America (3 to 11 June 1975)
- A/AC.115/L.410      Note on recent developments in the build-up of South African military forces
- A/AC.115/L.411      Note on recent developments in the relations between South Africa and Israel
- A/AC.115/L.412      Note on developments concerning sports and apartheid in South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.413      Note on developments concerning repression against opponents of apartheid in South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.414      Note on recent developments in foreign investment and finance in South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.415      Note on recent developments in the diplomatic and other official relations of the South African régime with States Members of the United Nations
- A/AC.115/L.416      Note on recent developments in the direction of trade of South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.417      Note on South African Airways and other airlines flying to and from South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.418      Review of developments in South Africa since September 1974
- A/AC.115/L.419      Letter dated 2 September 1975 from the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid

ANNEX III

List of papers submitted to the Seminar on South Africa<sup>a/</sup>

1. The situation in South Africa

Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid

2. South African propaganda

3. Some facts and figures on South Africa

4. Build-up of South African military and police forces

Nicasio G. Valderrama, Rapporteur, Special Committee against Apartheid

5. Violations of United Nations resolutions on arms embargo against South Africa

Africa Institute of the USSR, Academy of Sciences and the Soviet  
Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee

6. Arms supplies to South Africa

7. Note on recent developments in foreign investment and finance in South Africa

8. Foreign monopolies strengthen economically and politically the racist régime in South Africa

Africa Institute of the USSR, Academy of Sciences and Soviet Afro-Asian  
Solidarity Committee

9. White immigration to South Africa (Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 3/75)

Christian Institute of Southern Africa

10. White migration to Southern Africa: a European study (Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 7/75)

Angola Comité Amsterdam

Anti-apartheid movements in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and  
Northern Ireland

Boycott Outspan Aktie, Leiden

Centre Europe - Tiers Monde, Geneva

Comité contre le colonialisme et apartheid, Brussels

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<sup>a/</sup> See chap. I, sect. D, of the present report. Except as otherwise indicated, the documents were prepared by the Unit on Apartheid, United Nations Secretariat.

Ecumenical Research Exchange, Rotterdam

Informationsstelle Sudriches Afrika, Bonn

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa

11. Actions taken by Governments concerning sports contacts with South Africa (A/AC.115/L.400)

Nicasio G. Valderrama, Rapporteur, Special Committee against Apartheid

12. Sports boycott: recommendations for international action

Trevor Richards, National Organizer, National Anti-apartheid Committee, New Zealand

13. South Africa and Apartheid in sports

Abraham A. Ordia, President, Supreme Council for Sport in Africa

14. Exclusion of South African sports bodies from international sports

15. Paper on political prisoners in South Africa

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa

16. Political prisoners in South Africa (Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 12/75)

17. United Nations funds for assistance to South Africa

18. United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 6/75)

19. Japan's Commitment to Apartheid

Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee

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