

**REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON *APARTHEID***

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No.22 (A/9622)



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New York, 1974

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/11522.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

27 September 1974

Sir,

... I have the honour to send you herewith the report adopted unanimously by the Special Committee on Apartheid on 27 September 1974.

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 3151 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Edwin Ogebe OGBU
Chairman
of the Special Committee on Apartheid

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

INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee on 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. The Special Committee is now composed of the following 16 Member States: Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

3. On 15 January 1974, the Special Committee unanimously re-elected Mr. Edwin O. Ogbu (Nigeria) as Chairman for the year 1974. On 24 January 1974, the Special Committee unanimously elected Mr. Eustace Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) and Mr. Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian SSR) as Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines) as Rapporteur.

4. In accordance with the decisions of the Special Committee at its 272nd meeting on 24 January 1974 and at its 275th meeting on 7 March 1974, its two Sub-Committees were reorganized as follows: The Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information is composed of Algeria, Haiti, India, 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. Mr. Ahmed Oucif (Algeria) was elected Chairman of the first Sub-Committee, and Mr. Ricardo Walter Stubbs (Peru) of the second Sub-Committee.

5. The Special Committee decided, on 1 April 1974, to transmit for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council a special report on the assassinations of Mr. Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro, former Acting Secretary-General

of the South African Student Organization (SASO), and of Mr. John Dube, Deputy Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) (A/9591-S/11254).

6. On 26 June 1974, the Special Committee decided to transmit to the Secretary-General a report prepared by the Rapporteur on the killings of African mine workers in the Lorraine Gold Mine and in the Harmony Gold Mine in South Africa for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council (A/9653-S/11328).

7. At its 293rd meeting, on 27 September 1974, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. It consists of:

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

In accordance with a request contained in General Assembly resolution 3151 D (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the Special Committee is also submitting several special reports.

8. 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 appreciation to the Organization of African Unity as well as to the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations for their continued support of the work of the Committee. It also wishes to express its great appreciation to Mr. Arkady N. Shevchenko, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, for his valued co-operation and to the members of the secretariat of the Special Committee for their assistance.

9. Finally, the Special Committee wishes to express its gratitude to Governments of Member States, as well as 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

10. In its annual report submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council on 2 October 1973, 1/ the Special Committee made a number of recommendations for action by the principal organs of the United Nations. It also submitted special reports on implementation by States of United Nations resolutions on apartheid (A/9168); military build-up in South Africa and implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa (A/9180-S/11005) 2/ and the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid (A/9169 and Corr.1), held at Geneva in June 1973.

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

11. After considering the reports of the Special Committee, as well as the reports of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, adopted eight resolutions on apartheid /3055 (XXVIII) and 3151 A to G (XXVIII)/, as well as other related resolutions. 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.

12. In resolution 3055 (XXVIII), the General Assembly again called upon the Government of South Africa to grant forthwith unconditional release to all persons imprisoned, interned or otherwise restricted for their opposition to apartheid. It appealed to all Governments, organizations and individuals to undertake more vigorous and concerted action to publicize and support the legitimate cause of all those persecuted in South Africa for their opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination.

13. In resolution 3151 A (XXVIII), the General Assembly commended the resolution adopted by the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid to the attention of Governments, specialized agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and requested the Secretary-General to promote and facilitate the effective participation of trade union organizations in the observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

14. In resolution 3151 B (XXVIII), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee to intensify its efforts in the discharge of its mandate and authorized it: (a) to hold a special session in Europe in 1974; (b) to send missions to Governments of Member States for consultations on action against apartheid; (c) to send representatives to the Organization of African Unity for consultations on co-operation in action against apartheid; (d) to participate in conferences concerned with apartheid; and (e) to hold consultations with experts, African

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/9022).

2/ For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1973.

liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, anti-apartheid movements, trade union organizations and other non-governmental organizations concerned with the campaign against apartheid, in order to consider ways and means of intensifying international action against apartheid.

15. In resolution 3151 C (XXVIII), the General Assembly requested the Secretariat, in consultation with the Special Committee, to step up efforts to publicize: (a) the evils and dangers of apartheid in South Africa; (b) the legitimate and just struggle of the people of South Africa for the eradication of apartheid; (c) the efforts of the United Nations to promote the eradication of apartheid; and (d) actions against apartheid taken by specialized agencies, regional organizations, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations. It also invited Governments and non-governmental organizations to co-operate in the production and dissemination of publications and other information material on apartheid in as many languages as possible.

16. In resolution 3151 D (XXVIII), the General Assembly requested the Special Committee, inter alia, to continue to follow, as a matter of priority, the developments concerning the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and the collaboration of States and economic and other interests with the South African régime, and to promote a world-wide campaign for the release of all those imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to apartheid. It further requested the Special Committee to intensify its co-operation with other United Nations organs concerned with southern Africa.

17. In resolution 3151 E (XXVIII), the General Assembly called upon all Governments to initiate and intensify action against apartheid in the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations; requested the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to expedite the publication and distribution of the educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa and to consider convening a conference of prominent educators, writers and other intellectuals on their role in the struggle against apartheid; and invited all organizations, institutions and information media to intensify their campaigns against apartheid in observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Assembly also requested the Secretary-General and the Special Committee to take appropriate steps to encourage public action against apartheid.

18. In resolution 3151 F (XXVIII), the General Assembly expressed its appreciation to the Governments, organizations and individuals that had contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and again appealed to all States, organizations and individuals for generous annual contributions to the Trust Fund and for direct contributions to the voluntary agencies concerned.

19. Finally, in resolution 3151 G (XXVIII), the General Assembly condemned the South African régime for its repeated acts of inhumanity and aggression and its continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council; reaffirmed that the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa by all available means for the total eradication of apartheid is legitimate and deserves the support of the international community; requested the Security Council to consider urgently the situation in South Africa and the aggressive actions of the South African régime with a view to adopting effective measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and in particular: (a) to ensure that all Governments

implement fully the arms embargo against South Africa, without any exceptions as to the type of weapons, and prohibit any violations of the arms embargo by companies and individuals within their jurisdiction, (b) to call upon the Governments concerned to refrain from importing any military supplies manufactured by, or in collaboration with, South Africa, and (c) to call upon the Governments concerned to terminate any existing military arrangements with the South African régime and to refrain from entering into any such arrangements; and condemned the actions of States which, by their continued political, military, economic and other collaboration with the South African régime, encourage it to persist in its inhuman and criminal policies, and called upon them urgently to cease all such collaboration. The Assembly declared that the South African régime had no right to represent the people of South Africa and that the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity were "the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people".

20. It appealed to all Governments and organizations to provide generous humanitarian, educational, political and other assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their struggle for freedom.

21. A number of other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session included important references to apartheid and the situation in the Republic of South Africa. In resolution 3057 (XXVIII), the Assembly invited United Nations organs to participate in the observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by intensifying and expanding their efforts towards ensuring the rapid eradication of racism and racial discrimination. The Decade was launched, at solemn ceremonies at United Nations Headquarters, during the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1973. By its resolution 3068 (XXVIII), the General Assembly adopted and opened for signature and ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

B. Organization of the work of the Special Committee

22. In accordance with the request of the Special Committee, its Working Group, consisting of the Officers of the Special Committee and the Chairmen of the two Sub-Committees, met frequently during the period under review to consider the programme of work of the Special Committee. It was guided by the reports of the Special Committee to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, as well as provisions of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at that session. In accordance with the recommendations of the Working Group, the Special Committee gave utmost attention to the means for intensifying concerted international efforts for the total eradication of apartheid as a matter of universal concern, to more effective co-ordination with other United Nations bodies concerned, as well as to greater co-operation with specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations. The Committee devoted utmost attention to making the most effective arrangements for the special session held in Europe from 18 May to 1 June 1974, and to the missions for consultations with Governments, specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations. As a result of the pressure of work in connexion with these important undertakings, the Special Committee has had to defer consideration of some of the other matters within its mandate.

C. Statement on the Decade for Action to Combat
Racism and Racial Discrimination

23. By its resolution 3057 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973, the General Assembly designated the 10-year period beginning on 10 December 1973 as the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and invited Governments, United Nations organs, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to participate in the observance of the Decade, and to intensify their efforts towards ensuring the rapid eradication of racism and racial discrimination. The Programme for the Decade contains a number of references to specific measures for securing the full and universal implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid.

24. The Special Committee considered resolution 3057 (XXVIII) at its 269th and 270th meetings, on 20 November and 13 December 1973. Pursuant to its decision, the Chairman issued the following statement on 17 December:

"On behalf of the Special Committee on Apartheid, I wish to make an earnest appeal to all Governments, organizations and peoples to join in the effective observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which was launched by the United Nations on 10 December 1973.

"The Special Committee on Apartheid has been greatly encouraged by the General Assembly's decision to launch the Decade and by the emphasis it placed on intensified action against apartheid within the framework of the Programme for the Decade. The Special Committee, for its part, pledges to redouble its efforts within its mandate, towards the eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

"The Special Committee is strongly convinced that the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted at this session of the General Assembly, can greatly advance the international efforts for the eradication of the policies and practices of apartheid. It hopes that this Convention will be signed and ratified soon by all Governments and vigorously enforced.

"The General Assembly has, moreover, in resolution 3151 (XXVIII) adopted on 14 December, recommended a number of concrete measures by States, international and national organizations and individuals, which, if fully implemented, can ensure the speedy eradication of apartheid. It has invited all organizations, institutions and information media to intensify and develop campaigns for the isolation of the South African racist régime and in support of the liberation movements of the oppressed people of South Africa, in observance of the Decade and in co-operation with the Special Committee.

"The Special Committee trusts that all Governments, organizations and individuals will join in concerted action against apartheid, in accordance with the provisions of all the resolutions on apartheid adopted at this session of the General Assembly, and thereby contribute effectively to the purposes of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination."

25. The Special Committee has taken into account the Programme for the Decade for Action in its activities during the year in discharge of its mandate.

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

26. By its resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973, the General Assembly adopted and opened for signature the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. The Convention had been strongly supported by the Special Committee as an important legal instrument in the international campaign against apartheid. The Special Committee devoted special attention during this year to promoting its signature and ratification by Member States.

27. At its 271st meeting on 15 January 1974, the Special Committee decided to issue an appeal to all States. Subsequently, the Chairman addressed letters to the Chairmen of the various regional groups of Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America and Western Europe and other States, requesting them to draw the attention of their members to the International Convention and to convey to them the Special Committee's appeal for early signature and ratification.

28. In his letter of 17 January 1974, Mr. H. M. A. Zakaria (Malaysia), Chairman of the Asian Group for January, informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that he had circulated to all members of the Asian Group the appeal of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

29. The Special Committee took note of the signatures and ratifications by a number of States. To date, the following States have become signatories to the Convention:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Date of signature</u>
Syrian Arab Republic	17 January 1974
Algeria	23 January 1974
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	12 February 1974
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	20 February 1974
Guinea	1 March 1974
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	4 March 1974
Oman	3 April 1974
Hungary	26 April 1974
German Democratic Republic	2 May 1974
Philippines	2 May 1974
Mongolia	17 May 1974
Jordan	5 June 1974
Poland	7 June 1974

Nigeria	26 June 1974
Bulgaria	27 June 1974
Democratic Yemen	31 July 1974
Somalia	2 August 1974
Romania	6 September 1974

To date instruments of ratification of the International Convention have been deposited with the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs by the following States:

<u>State</u>	<u>Date of deposit of instrument of ratification</u>
Hungary	20 June 1974
Bulgaria	18 July 1974
German Democratic Republic	18 August 1974

30. At its 293rd meeting, the Special Committee took note of the fact that only 21 countries had signed or ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as at 27 September 1974. The International Convention will come into force after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification.

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

31. In 1974, as in previous years, the Special Committee promoted the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which coincides with the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960, in which peaceful demonstrators against racial discrimination in the township of Sharpeville (South Africa) were killed by the South African régime. On 15 February 1974, the Special Committee adopted an appeal prepared by the Rapporteur for the universal observance of the International Day, and requested Governments and organizations to publicize, as widely as possible, the inhumanity of apartheid and the grave dangers it poses for international co-operation and peace. The appeal was addressed to all States, specialized agencies, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concerned.

32. On 21 March 1974, the Special Committee held a special meeting at United Nations Headquarters to commemorate the International Day. At the invitation of the Special Committee, the meeting was attended by representatives of permanent missions to the United Nations, specialized agencies and OAU. The representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, South African liberation movements recognized by OAU, attended the commemorative meeting as observers. Statements were made by the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, the President of the

Security Council, the Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, the representative of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the representative of the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, as well as representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

33. A message from General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and current Chairman of OAU, was read at the meeting. Messages in connexion with the International Day were also received from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, the Sudan, Indonesia and the Federal Republic of Germany; the Minister of State for Defense and Foreign Affairs of Pakistan; the Permanent Mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic; the Prime Minister of Jordan; and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines. 3/ Pursuant to a decision of the Special Committee, the texts of the messages were issued as press releases by the Office of Public Information.

34. In his statement at the meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee said that apartheid was not only an intolerable affront to human dignity, but a crime against humanity which threatened to engulf southern Africa in a conflict which could not but have grave consequences far beyond that part of the African continent and far into the future of mankind. The Special Committee was confident, he said, that apartheid and racism in South Africa would soon be eradicated by the South African people with the assistance of the international community. It had no doubt whatever that the South African people would achieve their liberation and play their rightful role in Africa and the world.

35. The United Nations had proclaimed its determination to ensure that the destiny of South Africa was decided by all the people of South Africa, regardless of race, creed or colour. It had declared that the racist régime which ruled the country by terror did not, and could not, represent the South African people. It

3/ Communications on activities in connexion with the International Day were subsequently received from the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria; the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of San Marino; the Permanent Representatives of the German Democratic Republic, Madagascar, the Byelorussian SSR, the State of Kuwait; the Organization of African Unity; the Organization of American States; the United Nations Industrial Development Organization; the International Monetary Fund; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; the African National Congress of South Africa; the World Federation of Trade Unions (Prague); the International Organization of Journalists; the World Federation of Democratic Youth; the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees of the Soviet Union; Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia; the Gandhi Peace Foundation; and the United Nations Associations of Cuba and of Bulgaria.

had now addressed a strong warning to the South African régime and there could be no doubt as to the inevitable consequences of any further defiance. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid provided for the punishment of those who continued to perpetrate the crime of apartheid or to abet the criminals.

36. The Special Committee had always recognized that the principal role in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa belonged to the South African people and their liberation movements and that the task of the international community was to assist them in that struggle. It was, therefore, happy to initiate even closer association with the two organizations of the liberation movement in its efforts to promote international action against apartheid.

37. The Chairman of the Special Committee stressed that the United Nations had called on all Governments, organizations and individuals to deny any co-operation or assistance, direct or indirect, to the racist régime which had utilized the economic and other resources of that country to entrench racism. The Special Committee, he said, was distressed at the attitudes and actions of the major trading partners of South Africa which bore a share of the responsibility for the constant aggravation of the situation at the cost of immense human suffering.

38. The Chairman stated, in conclusion, that the destiny of South Africa must be decided and would be decided by the genuine representatives of the South African people and not by the so-called leaders foisted on them by the racist régime. No one could dispossess the African people of their inalienable right to participate as equals in the determination of the future of the country as a whole. He urged the international community to unite its efforts to ensure that no one profited from the racist oppression in South Africa and that the oppressed people were provided with all the assistance they needed in their struggle for the principles of the United Nations.

39. The Special Committee subsequently took note of information received by it on the observance of the International Day in various countries.

40. At the 278th meeting, on 27 March 1974, the representative of Peru informed the Special Committee that on 21 March activities had been organized in schools and other institutions in Peru to draw attention to the evils of racial discrimination and apartheid in commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

41. In a letter dated 1 May 1974, the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that, on 21 March 1974, the Philippine Government had sponsored a television programme "Sandiwa" in commemoration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The programme had been prepared by the Bureau of Broadcasts, Department of Public Information, Manila. Special guests interviewed were the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Acting Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs, Manila, who expounded on the role of the Philippines in the elimination of racial discrimination. A TV film showing

United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim delivering a message on racial discrimination had also been shown during the programme. The letter was circulated to the members of the Special Committee.

F. Solidarity with political prisoners in South Africa

42. The Special Committee has continued to follow closely developments concerning the repressive measures against opponents of apartheid and the treatment of the political prisoners by the racist South African Government. It has encouraged and promoted an international campaign of solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa.

43. In accordance with a decision of the Special Committee at its 258th meeting on 13 September 1973, the Chairman addressed, on 19 September 1973, a letter to the Chairman of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly (A/SPC/160) transmitting the text of a statement on political prisoners in South Africa adopted by the Special Committee on Apartheid on 17 August 1973 (A/AC.115/L.369). He drew special attention to the appeal by the Special Committee to all Governments and organizations to observe 11 October 1973, which coincided with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) calling for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, as a day of solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa and to pledge their support for more vigorous international action in support of the legitimate cause of these prisoners. In this connexion, he requested on behalf of the Special Committee that the Special Political Committee devote one or two meetings on 11 October to the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. He also conveyed a request that the South African liberation movements be invited, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to participate in the debates on "the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" in the Special Political Committee.

44. The Special Political Committee devoted its 861st, 862nd and 863rd meetings, held on 11 and 12 October 1973, to the observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

45. In his statement at the 861st meeting, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid said that the struggle in South Africa was essentially a struggle between the supporters of the United Nations and the "racist clique" which had imposed its leadership on the white minority. During this period, he said, more and more Governments had recognized the dangers of apartheid and had agreed on measures to be taken, but the United Nations efforts had remained ineffective because of the non-co-operation of a few powerful States and some economic and other interests. The United Nations and the international community, he said, must launch a programme at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly for concerted and effective action to eradicate apartheid.

46. The Special Political Committee also heard statements by the representatives of 54 Member States, as well as representatives of the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, Amnesty International, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

47. At its 863rd meeting, on 12 October 1973, the Special Political Committee approved by acclamation a draft resolution 4/ condemning the failure of the Government of South Africa to comply with the repeated requests of the General Assembly and the Security Council for the release of all persons imprisoned, interned, or otherwise restricted for their opposition to apartheid.

48. Messages and statements containing information on activities in connexion with the observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners were received from the Permanent Representatives of Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, the Netherlands and the Ukrainian SSR. The Permanent Representative of the Philippines stated at the 861st meeting of the Special Political Committee that ecumenical prayers were being said in the Philippines on 11 October 1973 for the cause of the political prisoners in South Africa. Messages were also received from the British Anti-Apartheid Movement; the World Peace Council; the African National Congress of South Africa; the Polish Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; the International Commission of Jurists; the World Federation of Democratic Youth; the International Organization of Journalists; the Ghana National Committee on Apartheid; the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; the Defence and Aid Fund in the Netherlands; the Halt All Racist Tours in New Zealand; the Amnesty International; the Ahmed Timol Memorial Committee in South Africa; the Ghana National Youth Council; the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement; and the Italian Anti-Apartheid Movement.

49. At its 259th meeting, on 19 September 1973, the Special Committee was informed about the intention of the Ahmed Timol Memorial Committee to organize in Johannesburg on 21 October 1973 a meeting to commemorate the deaths in prison of Mr. Ahmed Timol and other opponents of apartheid. The meeting was to be organized in response to the United Nations call for an international day of solidarity with political prisoners.

50. In accordance with a decision taken at the same meeting, the Chairman sent a cabled message to the organizers of this solidarity meeting, as follows:

"On the occasion of the meeting organized by the Ahmed Timol Memorial Committee to commemorate the deaths in detention of Ahmed Timol, valiant opponent of apartheid, who died in detention two years ago, as well as 21 other persons known to have died in detention, I wish to commend the organizers and the participants for their action in opposition to brutal repression of opponents of apartheid in South Africa. The Special Committee remains strongly convinced that the release of leaders of oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of apartheid is essential for a peaceful solution to this grave situation. We denounce the criminal torture and ill-treatment of persons detained for opposition to apartheid and demand punishment of culprits. We pledge full solidarity with those persecuted during the struggle for freedom and human dignity recognized by the United Nations as legitimate."

4/ Adopted on 26 October 1973 by the General Assembly as its resolution 3055 (XXVIII).

51. Subsequently, the Special Committee received information to the effect that two days prior to the meeting scheduled by the Ahmed Timol Memorial Committee, the Minister of Justice had prohibited such public meetings. However, an indoor meeting had been organized at the Witwatersrand University by the Students' Representative Council. Some 400 persons, both black and white, had attended and the main address was given by Mrs. Helen Joseph, who had been under house arrest for many years. The message from the Special Committee was read at the meeting.

52. The Special Committee stressed the cause of the South African political prisoners in its activities throughout the year, especially during its special session in Europe from 18 May to 1 June 1974.

53. At the 290th meeting on 7 June 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee recalled that on 12 June it would be 10 years since Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other leaders of the South African liberation movement had been sentenced to life imprisonment. Those men were in prison, he said, because they had valiantly led their people in the sacred struggle against racist oppression and exploitation, and for freedom and dignity. As the United Nations General Assembly had recognized in its resolution 3055 (XXVIII), with only the delegation of the South African régime voting against, there could be no peaceful solution in South Africa without the liberation of those genuine leaders and fighters for justice. He was gratified that many organizations would be observing that anniversary and that calls for release of political prisoners were echoed by some people inside South Africa itself. He drew attention, in this connexion, to a statement of 17 May 1974 by the National Union of South African Students calling for the release of South Africans banned, banished, detained or imprisoned for their active opposition to apartheid and white domination, as the first step towards a lasting and peaceful solution of the situation in South Africa.

G. South Africa Freedom Day

54. At the 291st meeting on 26 June 1974, the Chairman recalled that South Africa Freedom Day on 26 June was annually observed by the African National Congress of South Africa and allied organizations, even at great risk under the conditions of illegality in the past decade. The Chairman said:

"It is significant that the South Africa Freedom Day coincides with the anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter. This coincidence shows the faith of the freedom fighters of South Africa in the principles of the United Nations. It reminds the United Nations of its obligation to assist the people of South Africa to secure their freedom from racist oppressors.

"... the Special Committee renews its pledge to discharge its duty, to the best of its ability, in support of the struggle of the South African people until they win their liberty and join the community of nations, and the community of independent African States, as a State of all the people who live in that country."

55. The Chairman participated in the observance by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement of South Africa Freedom Day in London on 30 June, and delivered an address on behalf of the Committee.

H. Co-operation with other United Nations organs

56. In accordance with paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 3151 D (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, requesting the Special Committee to continue and intensify its co-operation with other United Nations organs concerned with southern Africa, the Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with a number of other 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, the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the Commission on Human Rights.

57. The Special Committee invited the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to address the meeting on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1974. The Special Committee also invited the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 to participate in the session in Europe, held from 18 May to 1 June 1974. The President of the Council participated in the meetings in Dublin on 20 May. The Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 had intended to participate in the meetings in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, but was prevented from doing so by illness, and sent a statement instead.

58. At the request of the Special Committee of 24 and the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Arturo Montoya of Peru, representative of the Special Committee on Apartheid, represented these bodies at the meetings of the World Peace Council in Sofia, Bulgaria, from 16 to 19 February 1974. The representative of the Special Committee of 24, Mr. Nicolas Mondjo of the Congo, represented the Special Committee on Apartheid, at its request, at the eleventh session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, held in Baghdad, Iraq, from 24 to 27 March 1974.

59. The Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia have held frequent consultations on matters of common concern to the three bodies. Illustrative of the close co-operation among the three bodies was the joint statement issued by the three presiding officers on 9 May 1974 on the situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination following the overthrow of the Caetano régime in Portugal. They declared that a collective approach should be viewed in the context of the interrelation of the problems of the area; for it was common knowledge, they stressed, that developments in Angola and Mozambique had significant relevance to the struggle of the oppressed peoples in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. 5/ The statement was issued in Amman:

5/ The full text of the joint statement was issued in document A/AC.109/447; it was mentioned also in document A/AC.115/L.384.

"The current developments in Portugal must be viewed in their proper perspective. The first and foremost observation, obvious to all, is that the end of the Caetano era is a clear demonstration of the bankruptcy of Portuguese colonialism. It is a recognition of the futility of the murderous colonial wars waged by the Portuguese military forces in Angola, Mozambique and the illegally occupied parts of Guinea Bissau. If the world recognizes that the cause of the recent coup in Portugal emanates from the futile colonial wars in Africa -- as all reports so far seem to confirm that it does -- then it is equally important to realize the fact that the changes that have been brought about by those who have taken power in Portugal were only made possible by the effectiveness, determination, resilience and sacrifice of the peoples in the Portuguese-dominated Territories led by their national liberation movements."

60. At the invitation of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines), Rapporteur, represented the Special Committee and made a statement on its behalf at a special meeting, held on 26 August 1974 to commemorate Namibia Day.

61. The delegations of the Special Committee of 24, the Special Committee on Apartheid and the United Nations Council for Namibia co-operated closely at the International NGO Conference against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa, held in Geneva from 2 to 5 September 1974. At the request of the delegations of the Special Committee on Apartheid and the Council for Namibia, Mr. Phillip Palmer of Sierra Leone, head of the delegation of the Special Committee of 24 made a joint statement on behalf of the three United Nations bodies at the closing plenary meeting of the International NGO Conference.

I. Association of South African liberation movements

62. 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 the Organization of African Unity were the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. By the same resolution, the Assembly authorized the Special Committee, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, to associate the South African liberation movements closely with the work of the Special Committee.

63. In reply to a letter of the Chairman of the Special Committee of 19 February 1974, the Assistant Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations indicated on 25 February 1974 that the Organization of African Unity fully supported the idea of close association of the Special Committee with the South African liberation movements recognized by OAU, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa with its external headquarters in Morogoro, United Republic of Tanzania, and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania with its external headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

64. At its 275th meeting on 7 March 1974, the Special Committee decided to seat representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress as observers at all its open meetings without the right of vote. The Special Committee also invited the leaders of the two organizations to attend the commemorative meeting on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, on 21 March 1974.

65. At the 277th meeting on 21 March 1974, Mr. Mzwondile Piliso, member of the National Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Mr. Potlako Leballo, Acting President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, took their places at the Committee table as observers. The Chairman welcomed them, on behalf of the Special Committee, as the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and expressed hope for even closer association with them. The two representatives of the South African liberation movements made statements at that meeting.

66. On 26 March 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee, accompanied by the two representatives of the South African liberation movements, met with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and acquainted him with the programme of the work of the Special Committee.

67. At its 278th meeting on 27 March 1974, the Special Committee held consultations with them on various aspects of its work.

68. Representatives of the two liberation movements attended subsequent meetings of the Committee whenever possible, including some of the meetings during the special session in Europe.

J. Consultations with Governments

69. At its 260th meeting on 24 September 1973, the Special Committee requested and authorized the Chairman to hold consultations with leaders of delegations to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on international action against apartheid. Accordingly, the Chairman met with the Rt. Hon. Norman E. Kirk, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand; Mr. Renaat Van Elslande, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium; Mr. Otto Winzer, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic; Mr. Abbas Ali Khalathari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran; Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland; and Mr. Guiseppe Lupin, Minister without portfolio, Chairman of the Italian delegation. Mr. Frank Edmund Boaten, Representative of Ghana, represented the Chairman at a meeting with Mr. Max van der Stoep, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

70. At all the meetings, the Chairman emphasized the view of the Special Committee that apartheid was a problem of concern to all countries of the world and stressed the seriousness of the situation in South Africa. He informed the heads of delegations of the Special Committee's programme of work, with special reference

to the proposal to hold a session in Europe in 1974 and the proposal that delegations of the Committee should visit a number of capitals for high-level discussions with Governments. The Chairman expressed the appreciation of the Special Committee for the steps taken by the various Governments in support of international action against apartheid. He pointed out the need for the total isolation of the South African régime and full implementation of the provisions of United Nations resolutions, including those concerning assistance to the victims of apartheid and their liberation movements. He also expressed the hope that the Western countries would reconsider their position regarding membership in the Special Committee on Apartheid.

71. The Chairman also drew the attention of some of the Governments to reports concerning the collaboration of these countries with the South African régime and appealed for action in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

72. The Chairman reported to the Committee that these consultations had been most useful. The Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic had stated that his Government would be happy to arrange for the Committee to hold a session in its capital. He promised also to consider the possibility of reprinting material produced by the Unit on Apartheid and possibly having it translated into other languages, including German. The Foreign Minister of Ireland had promised to inform the Committee whether arrangements could be made for it to hold a session in Dublin. The Foreign Minister of the Netherlands had indicated that he would be very happy if the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Committee could visit the Netherlands. He confirmed that his Government intended to increase its contribution to the United Nations and other funds providing assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. The Prime Minister of New Zealand had expressed the hope that the Chairman would be able to visit New Zealand.

73. At the 263rd meeting on 17 October 1973, the Chairman informed the members of the Special Committee that he had received a letter dated 27 September 1973 from the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, in connexion with the visit of the delegation of the Committee to Bonn in August 1973. It read in part:

"In keeping with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations the Federal Government is of the opinion that South Africa's continued presence in Namibia has no foundation in international law. The Federal Government hopes that United Nations efforts to bring about an understanding in negotiations with South Africa will be successful."

74. The Special Committee transmitted the letter to the President of the Security Council and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

75. During the special session in Europe from 18 May to 1 June 1974, the Chairman and members of the Special Committee held a series of consultations with the Foreign Ministers or high Government officials of Ireland, Italy, Austria, the German Democratic Republic, Denmark and Hungary on concerted international action against apartheid. During these meetings, the Chairman of the Special Committee emphasized that the struggle against apartheid was a struggle not only of the black people of South Africa, but of all the people of South Africa and of all humanity. The consultations dealt with a number of specific matters concerning concerted international action against apartheid.

K. Consideration of developments relating to apartheid

1. Assassinations of South Africans in exile

76. At its 273rd meeting on 7 February 1974, the Chairman informed the Special Committee of a cable received from Mr. David Sibeko of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania concerning the assassination by letter bomb of Mr. Abraham Tiro, a leader of the South African Student Organization, in Gabarone, Botswana. The Committee also received a communication dated 7 February 1974 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana on the circumstances of the death of Mr. Tiro, conveying the text of a statement issued by the Government of Botswana condemning the inhuman and dastardly manner in which Mr. Tiro's life had been taken. Mr. Tiro's death, the Botswana Government stated, would not detract from the validity of his criticisms of conditions in South Africa, nor would it deter others from speaking out against the situation in that country. That kind of terrorism, it added, would not change the attitude of the Government of Botswana towards those who sought refuge there from oppression in their own countries.

77. The Chairman sent, on behalf of the Special Committee, a cable of condolences to the family of Mr. Tiro. The cable read:

"The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid was deeply shocked at news of the death of Abraham Tiro, outstanding leader of the black people of South Africa. Please accept our condolences. His death further underlines danger of continued persistence of crime of apartheid and need for its total eradication. The Special Committee will continue and intensify efforts towards achievement of freedom in South Africa for which Abraham Tiro dedicated his life."

78. At its 274th meeting on 15 February 1974, the Chairman drew the attention of the Special Committee to a similar assassination by a letter bomb of Mr. John Dube, Deputy Representative of the African National Congress of South Africa in Lusaka, Zambia. The explosion caused injuries to a number of other leaders of liberation movements. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman addressed a telegram to Mr. Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress, conveying the sympathy and solidarity of the Special Committee. On 27 March 1974, the Special Committee received a letter from the Permanent Mission of Zambia to the United Nations describing the circumstances of the death of Mr. Dube.

79. On the proposal of the Chairman, the Special Committee decided to prepare a special report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on the assassinations of Mr. Tiro and Mr. Dube.

80. At its 279th meeting on 1 April 1974, the Special Committee adopted the text of a draft report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, prepared by the Rapporteur (A/9591-S/11254).

2. Military build-up in and arms embargo
against South Africa

81. The Special Committee continued to follow the question of the military build-up in, and the arms embargo against, South Africa and considered it at its 269th, 270th, 289th and 291st meetings.

82. At its 269th meeting, on 20 November 1973, the Special Committee considered a cablegram received from Mr. Abdul S. Minth, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United Kingdom, stating that three Westland Wasp helicopters had been supplied to South Africa and that two of them were currently undergoing pre-delivery tests. At the 270th meeting on 13 December 1973, the Chairman stated inter alia:

"In June 1970, when the United Kingdom Government had disclosed its intention to supply military equipment to the South African régime, the Special Committee had expressed its serious concern and had made a special report to the Security Council. Since then, the Security Council and the General Assembly had again called for the strict implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa.

"The argument that the military equipment was for so-called defensive purposes had been rejected by the United Nations. The General Assembly had now branded the South African régime as criminal, and it would hardly be appropriate for a Member State to arm the racist régime for the defence of its criminal policies, especially when the United Nations was launching the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination."

83. The Special Committee then decided to request the Rapporteur to prepare a note containing all available information on this question.

84. In a note circulated to the members of the Special Committee on 16 January 1974, the Rapporteur observed that the news of a further shipment of helicopters to South Africa from the United Kingdom had appeared simultaneously in the British and South African press in November. Apparently, the British Government had approved the export licence for seven helicopters in January 1973. Without public announcement the first three helicopters - production line code 91, 92 and 93 - had arrived in Cape Town at the end of November. Press reports indicated that the helicopters had been dispatched in time to take part in a joint naval exercise, code-named "Capex", involving the British and South African navies. Furthermore, according to the South African press, the two Governments intended to step up this type of Anglo-South African co-operation.

85. At the concluding meeting of the special session of the Special Committee in Geneva on 31 May 1974, the Chairman referred to newspaper reports that the new Chief of State of France had announced that he would ban the sale of French

weapons to countries which might use them against the right of the peoples to determine their own future. The Chairman said, "I trust that this decision applies to the South African régime which, more than any other régime, falls under this definition. On this understanding, I would like to congratulate the Government and people of France."

86. Again the Special Committee at its 291st meeting on 26 June 1974, took note of a communiqué adopted by the French, Belgian, Danish, Dutch, Swiss and West German Anti-Apartheid movements on 31 May 1974 concerning the statement by the new President of France on the sales of arms; in which they expressed the hope that the statement "will be reflected by a cessation of the sale of arms by France to the South African racist régime, a policy which is moreover in conformity with the international obligations of France and with its most profound traditions".

3. Struggles by African workers in South Africa

87. At its 273rd meeting on 7 February 1974, the Rapporteur presented two reports to the Special Committee on recent strikes by African textile workers in Durban and on "developments concerning repression of opponents of apartheid". He pointed to the ruthlessness with which the South African régime was continuing to suppress organizations which opposed the evil system of apartheid. He made specific reference to the five-year banning and house arrest orders served on three young white trade union leaders who had helped African workers to organize a new trade union in Durban. After considering the reports, the Special Committee condemned the infringement of trade union rights in South Africa and decided to bring the matter to the attention of the Preparatory Committee of the Trade Union Conference.

4. Killings of African mine workers in South Africa

88. During the past year, the Special Committee considered on several occasions the killings of African mine workers by the South African police.

89. Soon after the massacre of mine workers at Carletonville, ^{6/} the Special Committee, at its 259th meeting on 19 September 1973, authorized its Chairman to request the Secretary-General to take steps to ensure that an impartial inquiry into the massacre was held and to suggest that organizations having consultative status with the United Nations might be asked to assist in the matter. In a letter dated 21 September 1973 addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Secretary-General stated that he had asked the Permanent Representative of South Africa to ascertain from his Government whether it would accept a representative of the Secretary-General to participate in the inquiry to be

^{6/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/9022), para. 64.

undertaken or whether it would agree to an outside investigation. The Secretary-General stated that the Permanent Representative had referred to a press report attributing to his Prime Minister the position that his Government would not accept participation of a United Nations representative in the inquiry.

90. At its 289th meeting held at Geneva on 31 May 1974, the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to a report of another killing of African mine workers by the South African police at the Lorraine Gold Mine on 28 May 1974. The Committee issued a statement in which it "condemned this savage act as another crime by the South African régime in support of economic interests engaged in the brutal exploitation of Africans". It went on to say: "This act shows the need for concerted international action against this crime and assistance to the oppressed black people of South Africa. The Special Committee warns that this crime cannot long go unpunished. It calls for speedy action by the international community and Governments to sign and ratify the International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and to take all other necessary measures to put an end once and for all to the killings of African workers for protesting against starvation wages. The Special Committee expresses its sorrow over this tragedy, and wishes to convey its condolences to the families of those who died."

91. Subsequently, the Special Committee received information on another shooting of mine workers at the Harmony Gold Mines in Virginia, Orange Free State. It took note of a cable received from Otto Kersten, General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, condemning the killings by South African police of three African workers at this mine.

92. At its 291st meeting on 26 June 1974, the Special Committee adopted a report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, prepared by the Rapporteur, on the killing of African mine workers (A/9653-S/11328). The report stated, inter alia:

"The Special Committee is gravely concerned over the repeated killings of African miners and considers that this development can no longer be viewed in isolation from the entire deteriorating situation in South Africa, resulting from the inhumanity of the policy of apartheid.

"The international community cannot remain silent in the face of these repeated killings of African mine workers whenever they demonstrate for an improvement of their conditions."

5. Developments in "bantustans"

93. The Special Committee continued, during the period under review, to expose and denounce the manoeuvres of the racist South African Government regarding the "bantustans".

94. At its 276th meeting on 14 March 1974, the Special Committee considered information that the Transkei National Independence Party, the ruling party of the "bantustan" called Transkei, established by the white minority régime for the Xhosa people, had decided to ask for independence within the next five years.

95. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman issued a statement, which read in part as follows:

"I would like to recall that the United Nations General Assembly has, in resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, categorically 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. It has declared that the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity are the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

"In earlier resolutions, the General Assembly has condemned the establishment of 'bantustans' and the forcible removal of the African people of South Africa to these areas as a violation of their inalienable rights, contrary to their inherent right to self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the country and the unity of its people.

"The latest move of the Transkei National Independence Party, which is in line with the manoeuvres of the white racist régime, should deceive no one.

"The Special Committee affirms, in the words of the Freedom Charter adopted by the South African people in 1955, that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people'. The present white régime has no right to represent the people of South Africa nor to dispossess the African people of their rights in the country as a whole. The ruling party in the Transkei, established under apartheid laws and under the protection of the brutal repression of opponents of racism by the white racist régime, has no right to speak for the African people of South Africa.

"The Special Committee draws attention, in this connexion, to the fact that the General Assembly, in resolution 3055 (XXVIII), adopted by a virtually unanimous vote on 26 October 1973, expressed its strong conviction that 'the release of leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of apartheid from imprisonment and other restrictions is essential for a peaceful solution of the grave situation in South Africa'. Genuine leaders of the African people and of the people of the Transkei, such as Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki, are now serving sentences of life imprisonment on Robben Island, while other leaders, such as Oliver Tambo, are in exile.

"A peaceful solution of the grave situation in South Africa requires, as the United Nations organs have repeatedly emphasized, the liberation of all the opponents of apartheid, the repeal of all repressive laws and regulations, and the attainment of majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage.

"The Special Committee calls on all Governments and peoples to reject the fraudulent manoeuvres of the South African régime and the apartheid institutions established by it, and to support the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their legitimate struggle for freedom."

6. Apartheid in sports

96. During the period under review, the Special Committee continued to give particular attention to the question of apartheid in sports in the light of the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

97. At its 269th meeting on 20 November 1973, the Chairman informed the Special Committee of a letter from the Permanent Representative of Peru stating that the Peruvian Government had rejected an invitation for Peruvian athletes to participate in an event to be held in Pretoria and that it had refused to permit the South African polo team "Springboks" to enter the country. It further stated that the Government had succeeded in dissuading Peruvian sportsmen from participating in contests in South Africa and had decided to refuse to permit South African sportsmen to enter Peru, as long as the policy of apartheid was maintained.

98. At its 270th meeting on 13 December 1973, the Special Committee considered the text of a letter from the Prime Minister of New Zealand to the Chairman of the New Zealand Lawn Tennis Association expressing opposition to a visit by a South African tennis team to New Zealand. In his letter the Prime Minister stated:

"As you know, my Government is firmly opposed to the principle and practice of apartheid in South Africa - a system of inhumanity which in its rigour, and in the extreme length of time for which it has been maintained by the South African Government, represents not only a withdrawal of ordinary human charity, but constitutes a grave breach of the fundamental human rights which the Charter of the United Nations guarantees. As such it has repeatedly been condemned, and the tolerance of that internal system by United Nations members or their citizens has long since ceased to be a matter on which a purely private judgement disregarding the attitude of the United Nations should be exercised."

99. In a letter dated 13 December 1973, the Special Committee expressed its deep satisfaction with the position taken by the New Zealand Government.

100. At its 272nd meeting on 24 January 1974, the Special Committee considered a letter dated 15 January 1974 from the Honorary Secretary of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, concerning a planned visit of the British and Irish Lions Rugby team to South Africa on 15 May 1974. The Special Committee commended the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement for its efforts to stop the tour and expressed its condemnation of any and all exchanges with racially selected South African sports teams, as such exchanges violated the Olympic principles, as well as the principles of the United Nations.

101. At its 274th meeting on 15 February 1974, the Special Committee considered another letter dated 5 February 1974 from the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, enclosing a declaration on the proposed tour of the Lions Rugby team to South Africa. The declaration opposing the tour was signed by 225 prominent people in Ireland, including the Minister for Foreign Affairs, two other Cabinet Ministers, a number of members of Parliament, two bishops and several other churchmen, 15 trade union leaders, the Chairman of Aer Lingus, Mr. Sean MacBride (the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia), as well as many prominent intellectuals. The Special Committee once again commended the action of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement on its important declaration. At its 281st meeting held in Dublin, on 20 May 1974, it expressed its special appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Ireland of the fact that three Cabinet members had signed the declaration.

102. At its 274th meeting on 15 February 1974, the Special Committee decided to communicate with the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations concerning information that the Italian Lawn Tennis Association had agreed to act as host to the Federation Cup Lawn Tennis Tournament, in which South Africa would participate.

103. In an aide-mémoire dated 6 March 1974 to the Permanent Representative of Italy, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Eustace Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago), pointed to the firm stand against South African sport taken by the Italian Sports Organizations and particularly by the Italian Olympic Committee under the leadership of Mr. Giulio Onesti, and stated that the participation of the South African racially selected team would be contrary to United Nations resolutions on this issue, the most recent being resolution 3151 (XXVIII).

104. Also in accordance with a decision reached at its 274th meeting on 15 February 1974, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee conveyed the concern of the Special Committee to the Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations and appealed to his Government to prohibit a Chilean team from playing a South African team in the South American Zone of the Davis Cup Competition.

105. At its 275th meeting on 7 March 1974 the Rapporteur introduced a note on developments concerning sports contacts with South Africa. He stated that the international campaign against apartheid in sport was gaining ground in various parts of the world, particularly in Western Europe, New Zealand and Latin America. However, some Governments and sports organizations had failed to implement the

relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 3551 G (XXVIII). Pursuant to the decision of the Committee at that meeting, the Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, issued the following statement on 12 March 1974:

"The General Assembly of the United Nations has repeatedly requested all States and national and international sports organizations to cease all exchanges of sporting events with South African teams selected under apartheid policies, in violation of the Olympic principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation.

"Time and again the Special Committee has stressed its conviction that the implementation of these requests and firm adherence to the Olympic principle by Governments and sporting organizations would demonstrate the international community's abhorrence of the practice of racial segregation and discrimination in sports in South Africa, universal support for South African sportsmen who have been struggling for non-racialism, and unequivocal opposition to white racist sports bodies and repression by the racist régime.

"The Special Committee is gratified that various Governments have taken action in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly by such measures as prohibition of the entry of racially selected South African teams to their countries, denial of any official support to contests with such teams, and advice to national sports organizations to abide by the United Nations resolutions. The Special Committee has noted with satisfaction the decision of sports organizations and individual sportsmen to boycott racist South African sports bodies and racially selected South African teams, as well as the growing public support for such boycotts in many countries.

"Meanwhile, the South African régime and the white racist sports bodies are engaged in various manoeuvres to deceive public opinion by some semblance of reforms, while continuing at the same time to issue banning orders against leaders of non-racial sports organizations and to resort to intimidation by withdrawal of passports, in order to prevent them from enjoying international recognition and participating in international sports contacts. It has sought, by propaganda and repression, to silence non-racial sports organizations lest it suffer the odium of further international isolation.

"The Special Committee is concerned that some contacts with racist South African teams are continuing because the Governments concerned have failed to take the necessary action and some sports organizations continue to collaborate with South African sports bodies. The Special Committee believes that it is this non-observance of the Olympic principle that has enabled a South African team to participate in the Davis Cup tennis tournaments in the Latin American Zone.

"The Special Committee commends the Latin American countries which have abided by the decisions of the United Nations and particularly Argentina's action this year to prevent its team from playing against

South Africa at the risk of forfeiting the match. But it notes with regret that teams from Brazil and Ecuador have played against South Africa, and that Chile and Colombia reportedly have agreed to play against it in the finals in Bogotá.

"It also notes with regret that the World Life-Saving Championships are scheduled to be held in South Africa - with the participation of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom; that a South African team will participate in the Second World Women's Golf Tournament in Japan at the end of March; and that the Lions Rugby team of the United Kingdom and Ireland intends to tour South Africa in May 1974 despite strong opposition in those countries, including a statement signed, among others, by the Foreign Minister of Ireland.

"The Special Committee, therefore, invites the attention of all the Governments concerned to resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1973, which reads in part as follows:

'10. Calls upon all Governments which have not yet done so:

'(a) To take all necessary action to ensure the cessation of exchanges with South African sports teams selected in violation of the Olympic principle;

'(b) To draw the attention of national sports organizations to the provisions of United Nations resolutions on apartheid in sports;

'(c) To deny any assistance or recognition to exchanges with racist sports teams from South Africa;

'(d) To end all cultural, educational and civic contacts and exchanges with racist institutions in South Africa'."

106. At its 279th meeting on 1 April 1974, the Chairman drew the attention of the Committee to a letter from the Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations concerning sports exchanges with South Africa. He stated that, owing to unexpected circumstances, a tennis match that had taken place in the port of Guayaquil against a team of the Republic of South Africa had escaped his Government's control, and that it was taking all the necessary measures for the strict implementation in the future of the resolutions of the General Assembly in that regard. The Committee decided to publicize the letter, and the Chairman, on behalf of the Special Committee, addressed a letter dated 2 April 1974 to the Permanent Representative of Ecuador, expressing satisfaction and commending the Government of Ecuador for its opposition to apartheid and all forms of racism.

107. At its 291st meeting on 26 June 1974, the Chairman drew the attention of the Committee to a letter from the Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations informing the Committee of action taken by the Australian authorities to

dissuade Australian sporting bodies from participating in sporting events in South Africa. The Committee decided to publicize the contents of the letter and authorized the Chairman to convey the Committee's appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Australia.

108. At its 280th meeting on 7 May 1974, the Special Committee considered a letter received from the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria (see A/9597) which stated that because the Bulgarian Gymnastics Federation had opposed the participation of a South African team in the Seventeenth World Championship to be held in Varna, Bulgaria, the Board of Directors of the International Gymnastics Federation had decided to rescind its decision to hold the XVIIIth World Championship in Bulgaria.

109. The Special Committee sent a letter of appreciation to the Bulgarian Government and to the Bulgarian Gymnastics Federation for their loyalty to the Olympic principle and adherence to the General Assembly resolutions on apartheid. It also sent a letter to the International Gymnastics Federation expressing the Committee's serious concern regarding its attitude.

110. Meanwhile, the Chairman of the Special Committee addressed a letter, dated 15 May 1974, to the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning reports that the 1974 World Gymnastics Championships would be held in Munich, Federal Republic of Germany, in place of Varna, Bulgaria. Recalling the General Assembly resolutions, the Chairman expressed the hope that the Federal Republic of Germany would take all the necessary measures in pursuance of the General Assembly's resolutions on sports.

7. Collaboration with South Africa

111. In accordance with paragraph 2 (a) of General Assembly resolution 3151 D (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, requesting the Special Committee to continue to follow, as a matter of priority, the developments concerning the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and the collaboration of States and economic and other interests with the South African régime, the Special Committee continued, during the period under review, to devote special attention to developments in the field.

112. At the 270th meeting on 13 December 1973, the Committee took note of information received from the Citizens Association for Racial Equality in New Zealand to the effect that the Portage Licensing Trust in West Auckland had banned the import for its outlets of South African wines produced by forced labour. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman conveyed its appreciation to the Portage Licensing Trust for the action taken by it.

113. At its 275th to 279th meetings, the Special Committee considered information on a planned visit of the President of Paraguay to South Africa. On 11 March 1974, the Chairman sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of Paraguay to the United Nations requesting him to convey to the Government of Paraguay the Special Committee's hope that it would reconsider the proposed visit of the Chief of State to South Africa and the diplomatic relations which it maintained with the South African régime in the light of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

114. In his reply of 20 March 1974, the Permanent Representative of Paraguay indicated that Paraguay had maintained diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa for approximately 10 years and that the proposed visit of the Chief of State in no way implied identification of any kind with the current internal policies of other States. The letter stated, inter alia:

"(a) His Excellency Army General Alfredo Stroessner, the President of the Republic of Paraguay, has received a personal invitation signed by Mr. Jacobus J. Fouché, the President of the Republic of South Africa:

"(b) Paraguay, like many other countries, has maintained diplomatic and consular relations with the Republic of South Africa for approximately 10 years;

"(c) The Republic of South Africa has rendered to the Republic of Paraguay valuable technical assistance in agriculture, medicine and mining;

"(d) The Republic of Paraguay urgently needs connexions that will enable it to receive all the co-operation possible for its over-all development;

"(e) His Excellency the President of the Republic of Paraguay and his Government remain faithful to the traditional principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. This visit in no way implies identification of any kind with the fortuitous internal policies of other States, as is demonstrated by the daily relations and contacts between countries with diametrically opposed ideological systems;

"(f) The Republic of Paraguay, in the exercise of its sovereignty, has the right to arbitrate, within the international community to which it belongs, the means that are advantageous to its imperative and inescapable national interests."

115. In his reply of 3 April 1974, the Chairman stated:

"Having carefully considered the information and views conveyed in your letter, the Special Committee finds it essential to reiterate that the visit of the Chief of State of Paraguay to South Africa will contravene the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions and will encourage the Government of South Africa in its policies of oppression of the great majority of the population of that country on the grounds of race. Many States Members of the United Nations have implemented the resolutions of the General Assembly at considerable sacrifice because of their opposition to racial discrimination, oppression on the grounds of race, and because of their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

"On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to request you to convey a renewed appeal to the Government of Paraguay to avoid all acts which are in contravention of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and in so doing to demonstrate its opposition to racism and its loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter."

116. In his reply of 30 April 1974, the Permanent Representative of Paraguay said that his Government did not feel that it had anything to add to what had already been stated in its previous letter (A/AC.115/L.382).

117. The Committee took note of the fact that the Chief of State of Paraguay had visited South Africa in April 1974 and that the two countries had signed agreements on co-operation in various fields.

118. In a letter dated 20 March 1974, the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations informed the Special Committee that the Government of Lebanon had severed diplomatic, consular, economic and cultural relations with Portugal and South Africa. This was considered by the Special Committee at its 278th meeting held on 27 March 1974. In accordance with its decision, the Chairman sent a letter to the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations on 2 April 1974 requesting him to convey to his Government the great appreciation of the Special Committee for the action taken by it in accordance with United Nations resolutions on apartheid in South Africa.

119. At the 278th meeting on 27 March 1974, the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to press reports indicating that the Government of Israel had upgraded its diplomatic mission in South Africa to an embassy and that an ambassador had been appointed. After considering this information, the Special Committee requested its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa to prepare a report on recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa. The report of the Sub-Committee was issued as document A/AC.115/L.383.

120. In accordance with the decision of the Committee, the Chairman sent a letter on 2 April 1974 to the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations drawing his attention to the fact that the maintenance of diplomatic relations with the racist South African Government ran counter to several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since 1962. He stated, on behalf of the Special Committee, that "the raising of the level of the diplomatic mission in South Africa is a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly", particularly after the General Assembly had declared, in resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, that the South African régime had no right to represent the people of South Africa. He requested the Israeli Permanent Representative to convey to the Government of Israel the great concern of the Special Committee and its hope that the Government would reconsider its decision and terminate its diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South African racist Government, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

121. In a letter of 30 April 1974, the Permanent Representative of Israel acknowledged the receipt of the Chairman's letter.

122. At its 291st meeting on 26 June 1974, the Special Committee considered an announcement by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the South African régime to the effect that South Africa and Brazil had decided to raise the status of their respective diplomatic missions from legations to embassies.

123. In accordance with the decision of the Special Committee, the Chairman addressed a letter on the same day to the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations, similar to the letter of 2 April to Israel referred to above. In his reply dated 11 July 1974, the Deputy Permanent Representative of Brazil stated:

"On May 1974 all Legations in the Brazilian Foreign Service were terminated, on administrative grounds, and as a result our former Legations were raised to the level of Embassies'.

"Therefore as regards South Africa, such a measure should not be viewed as having any particular political content, being merely the follow-up of an administrative decision.

"As Your Excellency is no doubt aware, the Brazilian delegation did not participate in the vote on resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) as we have steadfastly supported the principle that sanctions or measures aiming at isolating a country from the international community are not the right and effective way of bringing about changes in its behaviour and outlook.

"We have, on the other hand, condemned as steadfastly the practices of apartheid which so clearly run counter to the objectives of the Charter and are abhorrent to a country such as Brazil, whose social fabric is woven by the integration of all races in equality and justice."

124. At its 280th meeting on 7 May 1974, the representative of Peru informed the Special Committee that the Colegio de Ingenieros of Peru had rejected an invitation to participate in the Third South African Congress on Construction from 13 to 17 May, in Durban. The Colegio was a professional association with no governmental ties. He further stated that the decision was therefore significant and testified to the effectiveness of his Government's efforts to encourage observance of the United Nations resolutions concerning apartheid.

L. Special session in Europe

125. It will be recalled that in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, the Special Committee recommended that it be authorized to hold a special session in Europe during 1974, the first year of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, in order to promote the international campaign against apartheid and to enable the Committee to meet with and consult a large number of international and national non-governmental organizations. The report also stated that such a session would enable the Committee to consult with several Governments at the highest level, as well as with directors-general of a number of specialized agencies concerned with the problem of apartheid. 7/

126. By resolution 3151 B (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee to hold a special session in Europe during 1974.

127. After extensive consultations with Governments and organizations, the Special Committee decided at its 273rd meeting on 7 February, to hold the special session from 18 May to 1 June 1974 in the following European cities:

Dublin, Ireland, 18 to 21 May

Rome, Italy, 21 to 24 May

Berlin, German Democratic Republic, 24 to 29 May

Geneva, Switzerland, 30 May to 1 June

128. The Special Committee announced that the purpose of the session was to make a contribution towards wider public awareness of the problem of apartheid, of United Nations concern and activity in the field and of the need and possibilities for action by individuals and their Governments and non-governmental organizations, and thereby promote concerted anti-apartheid action by Governments and non-governmental organizations during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

129. To that end, the Committee decided that the agenda for the session would be: "Concerted international action to eradicate apartheid, as a matter of universal concern, and the role of public opinion," with 10 specific items allocated for discussion in the various cities, as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------|
| (a) Role of anti- <u>apartheid</u> movements | Dublin |
| (b) Role of the churches | Dublin |
| (c) Role of foreign investment | Dublin |
| (d) "Bantustans" | Dublin |

7/ Ibid., paras. 290 and 291.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|
| (e) | Special responsibility of Western European countries and particularly the main trading partners | Rome |
| (f) | Role of trade unions and of organizations of students, writers, artists, sportsmen and others | Rome |
| (g) | Importance of assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement | Rome |
| (h) | <u>Apartheid</u> as a threat to the peace | Berlin (GDR) |
| (i) | Interrelationship of southern African problems | Berlin (GDR) |
| (j) | Means towards concerted action by Governments and non-governmental organizations | Geneva |

130. The following papers were submitted to the special session in connexion with the items on the agenda:

- | <u>Title</u> | <u>Author</u> |
|--|--|
| 1. "The role of anti- <u>apartheid</u> movements in Western Europe" <u>8/</u> | Kader and Louise Asmal, Vice-Chairman and Honorary Administrative Secretary respectively, of the Irish Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement |
| 2. "The Christian Churches and Racism (with special reference to the Roman Catholic Church)" <u>9/</u> | Father Austin Flannery, Chairman, Irish Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement |
| 3. "South Africa: aspects of Foreign Investment and Finance" (A/AC.115/L.385) | Mr. Vela Pillay, Executive Committee, Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement |
| 4. "The Role of Trade Unions in the Fight against <u>Apartheid</u> " <u>10/</u> | Mr. Pim Juffermans, Associate, Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement of the Netherlands |

8/ Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 4/74.

9/ Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 11/74.

10/ Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 15/74.

5. "Importance of Assistance to the Oppressed Peoples of South Africa and to the Liberation Movements" 11/ Mr. Dramane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations
6. "Apartheid as a Threat to the Peace" Professor Vasily G. Solodovnikov, Director, Africa Institute, Moscow
7. "Interrelationship of Southern African Problems" United Nations Secretariat

131. During the special session, the Committee held nine formal meetings with the participation of a large number of anti-apartheid movements, non-governmental organizations and individual experts. The meetings took place in the four European cities, as indicated above and below:

<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of meetings</u>	<u>Agenda item considered</u>	<u>Introduced by</u>
Dublin	20 May	2	Paragraph 129 (a) above	Mr. Kader Asmal, Vice-Chairman, Irish Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement
			Paragraph 129 (b) above	Father Austin Flannery, Chairman Irish Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement
			Paragraph 129 (c) above	Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Honorary Secretary, British Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement
			Paragraph 129 (d) above	Mr. David Sibeko, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)
Rome	22 May	2	Paragraph 129 (e) above	Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria) Chairman, Special Committee on <u>Apartheid</u>
			Paragraph 129 (f) above	Mr. Eustace Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago), Vice-Chairman, Special Committee on <u>Apartheid</u>
			Paragraph 129 (g) above	Mr. Dramane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of the United Nations
Berlin, German Democratic Republic	27 and 28 May	3	Paragraph 129 (h) above	Professor Vasily G. Solodovnikov, Director, Africa Institute, Moscow
			Paragraph 129 (i) above	Mr. Ahmed Oucif (Algeria), Special Committee on <u>Apartheid</u> ; Professor, Dr. Peter Alfons Steiniger, President, League for the United Nations of the GDR

11/ Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 16/74.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of meetings</u>	<u>Agenda item considered</u>	<u>Introduced by</u>
Geneva	31 May	2	Paragraph 129 (j) above	Mr. Romesh Chandra, Chairman, NGO Sub-Committee on Colonialism and <u>Apartheid</u>

132. In addition to the above-mentioned meetings, the Committee also participated in a number of public meetings:

- (a) A meeting in Dublin on 20 May on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement;
- (b) A meeting in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, on 25 May, to observe Africa Liberation Day;
- (c) A meeting in Leipzig, German Democratic Republic, with Dr. Karl Heinz Mueller, Lord-Mayor, and officials of the City Council; and
- (d) A meeting with students and professors of the Herder Institute of the Karl Marx University, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic. The Chairman laid flowers at the monument to Patrick Lumumba.

133. Some members of the Committee also participated in a scientific colloquy on "The Struggle of the Peoples against the Crime of Apartheid", held at Humboldt University, Berlin, on 28 May, and at a get-together organized by the League for the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic.

134. The Chairman of the Committee also delivered an address before the Human Rights Information Group of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome on 22 May.

135. On 30 May, the Committee met in Geneva with the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation and consulted on the actions taken by trade unions in implementing the resolution adopted by the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held at Geneva in June 1973.

Meetings with Governments and specialized agencies

136. During the session, the Chairman, accompanied by the two Vice-Chairmen, held consultations with leaders of a number of Governments, as follows:

Austria	Mr. Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, Minister for Foreign Affairs
Ireland	Mr. Erskine Childers, Chief of State Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Italy

Mr. Mario Pedini, Under-Secretary for Foreign
Affairs

German Democratic Republic

Mr. Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of State
Mr. Oskar Fischer, Acting Minister for Foreign
Affairs

137. The Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen also met with the Directors-General and senior officials of three specialized agencies as well as with senior officials of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. They discussed with them concerted action against apartheid and ways in which these agencies and the Committee could co-operate in seeking wider public awareness of the problem of apartheid.

138. The agencies and the representatives with whom the consultations took place, are noted below:

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

Mr. Francis Blanchard,
Director-General
Mr. Bertil Bolin, Assistant
Director-General

United Nations High Commission
for Refugees (UNHCR)

Mr. Charles Mace, Deputy to
the High Commissioner
Mr. Gilbert Jaeger, Director
of Assistance in the Office of
the High Commissioner

World Health Organization (WHO)

Dr. Halfdan Mahler,
Director-General
Dr. Thomas A. Lambo, Deputy
Director-General

Food and Agriculture Organization of
the United Nations (FAO)

Mr. Addeke H. Boerma,
Director-General

139. Details of these meetings with leaders of Governments and heads of specialized agencies are contained in relevant sections of the present report.

140. On 31 May, the Chairman and a Vice-Chairman met with Mr. Gullmar Bergenstrom, Chairman of the Employers' Group of the ILO Governing Body, and Mr. Raphael Lagasse, Secretary-General of the International Organization of Employers (IOE), which had adopted a resolution during 1973 in support of international action against apartheid.

Private audience with His Holiness Pope Paul VI

141. On 27 May, the Committee was received at the Vatican in a private audience by His Holiness Pope Paul VI. During this audience, His Holiness reiterated the Catholic Church's abhorrence of racial discrimination.

Participants at the special session

142. The Special Committee invited the two other United Nations bodies concerned with southern African problems - the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - to take part in the proceedings of the special session. The President of the Council for Namibia, Mr. Rashleigh E. Jackson (Guyana), participated in the meetings of the Committee in Dublin on 20 May. The Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24), Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), had planned to attend the meetings in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, but was unable to make the journey because of illness: he sent a statement which the Committee received with great appreciation. He also requested members of the Special Committee who also served on the Special Committee of 24 to follow the proceedings on matters having direct relevance to the question of decolonization.

143. The Chairman of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Mr. Adedokun A. Haastrup (Nigeria), took part in the meetings of the Special Committee in Rome at its invitation.

144. The Special Committee also invited OAU to participate in the session. The Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations in New York, Mr. Dramane Ouattara, accompanied the Committee and took part in all the meetings. The Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations in Geneva, Mr. Salah Bassiouny, also took part in the meetings in Geneva.

145. Representatives of the two South African liberation movements recognized by OAU, which enjoy observer status with the Committee, also took part in the session. Mr. David Sibeko, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), participated in the meetings in Dublin and Geneva. Mr. Mzwandile Piliso and Mr. M. P. Naicker, representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa, took part in the meetings in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, and Mr. Sobizana Mngqikana represented that organization in Geneva.

146. At the invitation of the Committee, the Reverend Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund, London, attended the meetings in Dublin, and Professor Vasily G. Solodovnikov, Director of the Africa Institute, Moscow, attended the meetings in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, to present papers.

147. More than 50 non-governmental organizations accepted the invitation of the Committee and participated in the special session. The names of these organizations, as well as their representatives who took part in the meetings in each of the cities, are indicated below:

Dublin: 20 May 1974 (281st and 282nd meetings) 12/

Anti-Apartheid Movement of Ireland, Dublin	Father Austin Flannery O.P. Mr. Kader Asmal Mr. Bill Meek Mrs. Louise Asmal
Anti-Apartheid Movement of the United Kingdom, London	Mr. Abdul S. Minty
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Brussels	Mr. Andrew Kailembo
Resources Protection Campaign, Dublin	Mr. David Neligan
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin	Mr. Daltun O'Ceallaigh
Union of Students in Ireland, Dublin	Mr. Pat O'Brien
International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	Mrs. Phyllis Altman
National Union of Students of the United Kingdom, London	Mr. Steve Parry, National Secretary
 <u>Rome: 22 May 1974 (283rd and 284th meetings)</u>	
Federation of Trade Unions	Mr. Sauro Magnani
Instituto per le Relazioni con i Paesi Africani, Latino Americani e Medio Oriente, Rome	Professor Giampaolo Calchi Novati Mrs. Dina Forte Miss Liliana Magrini
Italian Society for International Organizations	Mr. Franco A. Casadio
International Fellowship of Reconciliation	Mrs. Hedi Vaccaro Mr. Maurizio Salvi
Liberation and Development Movement	Mr. Vieri Ceriani
Italian League for Human Rights	Mr. Oriette Avenati Mr. Mauro Ferrantelli, (General Secretary)

12/ Mr. J. A. MacMahon, secretary to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Ireland, the Most Rev. Dermot Ryan, attended the meetings as observer on behalf of the Archbishop.

International Documentation on the
Contemporary Church (IDOC)

Mr. William Jerman (Editor,
IDOC Bulletin/Officer-in-Charge
of Documentation Department)

FAO, Human Rights Information Group

Mrs. Victoria Bawtree

Berlin, German Democratic Republic: 27 and 28 May 1974 (285th-287th meetings)

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity
Organization, Cairo

Dr. Moursi Saad El Dine,
Deputy Secretary-General
Mr. Joseph Nhalnhla

International Association of Democratic
Lawyers, Brussels

Mr. Robert Dachet

International Union of Students, Prague

Mr. Labeed Abbawy, Vice-President
Mr. Colombo Abubacer Hasi Nur,
Secretary

International Organization of Journalists

Mr. Gerhard Vogel

Women's International Democratic
Federation, Berlin (German Democratic
Republic)

Mrs. Kate Molale
Mrs. Vuyiswa Nokwe
Mrs. Tara Reddy
Mrs. Pilar Sanchez
Mrs. Helga Dickel

World Federation of Democratic Youth,
Budapest

Mr. Patrick Ojong, Deputy
Secretary-General
Mr. R. Achun, Vice-President

League for the United Nations in the
German Democratic Republic

Professor Dr. Peter Alfons Steiniger,
President
Mr. Kurt Olivier, Vice-President
Mrs. Felicitas Richter
Secretary-General

Solidarity Committee of Czechoslovakia

Mr. Jan Ledl
Mr. Lacina

Solidarity Committee of the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics

Dr. Losif R. Grigulevitch,
member of the Executive Board
Professor V. E. Chirkin
Mr. E. A. Samoilov

Solidarity Committee of the German
Democratic Republic

Mr. Kurt Krueger, Secretary-General
Dr. Gerth

Solidarity Committee of Bulgaria	Mr. Sdravko Mitowski, Deputy Chairman
Peace Committee of the Hungarian People's Republic	Dr. F. Nagy Dr. Andras Balogh
Peace Committee of Czechoslovakia	Dr. Kracek
Peace Committee of the German Democratic Republic	Professor Dr. Gunther Drefahl, President Mrs. Hammerschmidt
Peace Committee of Romania	Mr. Nicolae Stoian
Peace Committee of Poland	Professor Dr. A. B. Mrozek
Yugoslav League for Peace	Professor Branimir Jankovic
Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (German Democratic Republic)	Mr. Heinz Franke, member of the Executive Committee
Federation of Evangelical Churches	Mr. Bapst Mrs. Adles
 <u>Geneva: 31 May 1974 (288th and 219th meetings)</u>	
Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, Cairo	Mr. Joseph Nhalnhla
International Commission of Jurists, Geneva	Mr. Niall MacDermott, Q. C. Secretary-General
International University Exchange Fund, Geneva	Mr. Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Director
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Geneva	Mrs. Edith Ballantyne, Secretary-General
World Council of Churches, Geneva	Dr. Baldwin Sjollem, Director, Programme to Combat Racism
World Federation of Democratic Youth, Bucharest	Mr. Patrick Ojong, Deputy Secretary-General
World Federation of United Nations Associations, Geneva	Mr. Conrad Gerber, Assistant to the Secretary-General
World Peace Council	Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary-General Mr. Joe Jele, Secretary
Committee against Colonialism and <u>Apartheid</u> , Brussels	Professor Mrs. Paulette Pierson-Mathy

Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement - West Germany	Mr. Jürgen Grefe Mr. Schmidt
Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement - Denmark	Mr. Niels Munk Plum
Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement - France	Maître Jean-Jacques de Felice Mrs. M. J. Moumbaris
Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement - Switzerland	Mr. Gilbert Rist Pasteur Bungener Father Perrot
Anti- <u>Apartheid</u> Movement - Netherlands	Mr. Pim Juffermans
Africa Bureau, London	Rev. Michael Scott

148. A number of Governments were represented at the meetings as observers, as indicated below:

<u>Place</u>	<u>Embassy</u>	<u>Representatives</u>
Dublin	Argentina	Mr. George Mouhourat
Rome	Argentina	Dr. Marta Briano de Dolti
	Czechoslovakia	Dr. Lydia Paulaskóva
	Netherlands	Mr. A. F. Tielman
Berlin, German Democratic Republic	Argentina	Mr. Roberto A. Bianchi
	Bangladesh	Mr. Anwar Hashim
	Czechoslovakia	Mr. Ivan Kramár
		Mr. Gunter Linde, German Democratic Republic
Geneva	Argentina	Mr. Carlos Alberto Passalacqua
	Burundi	Mr. Julian Nahaye
	Czechoslovakia	Mr. Jan Strucka

149. In addition, representatives of southern African liberation movements, recognized by OAU, other than those of South Africa, participated as observers at the meetings in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, on 27 and 28 May. They were:

Frente de Libertação de Mocambique	Mr. F. Massingue Mr. A. Panguena
Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola	Mr. A. Dos Santos
South West Africa People's Organization	Mr. Hishongua Mr. Daniel Shihepo
Zimbabwe African People's Union	Mr. T. George Silundika Mr. S. Ndlova

150. A number of suggestions for action emerged in the consultations during this special session, which the Chairman described on 7 June, at the Committee's 290th meeting, as "perhaps the most important undertaking of the Committee in the 11 years of its existence". The Committee took action on a number of these suggestions, while others are reflected in the conclusions and recommendations of the present report.

M. Missions to Governments

151. By its resolution 3151 B (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee "to send missions to Governments of Member States for consultations on action against apartheid". On 3 to 4 June 1974, the Chairman visited London and met with Mr. David Ennals, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom; Miss Joan Lestoz, Parliamentary Under-Secretary; Mr. Arnold Smith, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat and leaders of the anti-apartheid movement and other public organizations opposed to apartheid and colonialism. The consultations dealt with the current situation in southern Africa. The Chairman reported to the Special Committee that the Government of the United Kingdom had reaffirmed its opposition to apartheid and had assured him that the points raised by him would be seriously considered during the current review of the policy towards South Africa.

152. Subsequently, the Chairman visited Paris and, on 28 June 1974, was received in his official capacity as the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid by Mr. Geoffroy de Courcel, Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry of France. At the meeting, the Chairman raised a number of specific matters relating to international action against apartheid.

153. At the invitation of the Government of Japan, the delegation of the Special Committee, consisting of the Chairman and the Rapporteur and accompanied by the Chief of the Section for African Questions, visited Tokyo from 8 to 11 September 1974 and held consultations with high Government officials on matters relating to concerted international action against apartheid. The delegation met with Mr. Toshio Kimura, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone, Parliamentary Vice-Minister of International Trade and Industry, as well as other high officials and leaders of public organizations concerned with apartheid and related matters. The Minister for Foreign Affairs reaffirmed Japan's basic policy of co-operation with the United Nations and its Government's opposition to apartheid and colonialism. In pursuance of this policy, the Minister stated Japan had taken steps to stop sports and cultural exchanges with the Republic of South Africa and had recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. He stressed Japan's intention to spare no efforts for the peaceful solution of the problems of racism and colonialism.

154. At the invitation of the Government of New Zealand, the Chairman visited New Zealand from 12 to 15 September 1974, and held consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Wallace E. Rowling and high Government officials as well as leaders of public organizations concerned with the struggle against apartheid. The Chairman reported to the Special Committee on the missions to Japan and New Zealand at its 292nd meeting, on 19 September 1974 (A/AC.115/SR.292).

N. Representation at national and international conferences

155. By its resolution 3151 B (XXVIII), the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee to participate in conferences concerned with apartheid. In addition to conferences which had been anticipated earlier and indicated in its report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, 13/ the Special Committee received invitations, during the period under review, to attend a number of other meetings and conferences. It made arrangements for representation at these meetings or sent messages.

World Congress of Peace Forces

156. Mr. Nur Elmi (Somalia) represented the Special Committee at the World congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow from 25 to 31 October 1973, under the sponsorship of an international preparatory committee including representatives of the World Peace Council and other non-governmental organizations. In his statement at the 269th meeting of the Special Committee, Mr. Nur Elmi said that over 3,000 delegates from more than 140 countries, representing over 1,000 organizations, had participated in the Congress. They included many prominent leaders of Governments, political parties and non-governmental organizations, as well as high-level representatives of the African liberation movements. Speaking at a plenary meeting of the Congress, Mr. Nur Elmi had stressed the great importance attached by the Special Committee to action by non-governmental organizations against apartheid and called for increased assistance and support to the liberation movements.

157. The Congress had adopted, he pointed out, important documents on matters of concern to the Special Committee. It had called on all peace forces to work for the complete and unconditional implementation of United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonialism, apartheid and other forms of racism. It had recognized the national liberation movements as the sole lawful representatives of their peoples and countries and called for every possible support and aid for them in their struggle for self-determination and national statehood.

World Peace Council

158. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with the World Peace Council through consultations with its secretariat and by sending representatives to attend conferences concerned with apartheid.

159. The representative of Peru, Mr. Arturo Montoya, represented the Special Committee at a regular session of the World Peace Council in Sofia, Bulgaria, from 16 to 19 February 1974, which was attended by over 100 delegations from various States and representatives of about 20 organizations. He reported on his participation at the 275th meeting of the Special Committee, on 7 March 1974. He said:

"The main idea was co-operation among international organizations in order to resolve the problems and conflicts arising in areas of tension. Properly co-ordinated co-operation could facilitate support for liberation movements and help the struggle against all forms of discrimination."

13/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/9022), paras. 293-295.

160. The Special Committee did not send a delegation to the twenty-fifth anniversary meetings of the World Peace Council in Paris in May, since it was then holding meetings in Berlin, German Democratic Republic. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman sent on 25 May 1974 a message of greetings to the World Peace Council in which he stated:

"I wish to commend the World Peace Council for its recognition that the defence of peace requires effective international action to secure the total eradication of apartheid and racism and to enable the oppressed people of South Africa to achieve their inalienable rights to freedom and dignity.

"I have noted that, as early as 1950, in an address to the United Nations, the World Peace Council declared:

'We consider the violence employed to hold peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjugation as a powerful menace to the cause of peace and we proclaim the right of these peoples to freedom and independence. At the same time we raise our voices against every form of racial discrimination for it promotes hatred between peoples and endangers peace.'

"In recent years, the World Peace Council has made a valuable contribution by its firm support to the South African Liberation Movement. It has also encouraged the unity of all forces opposed to apartheid towards effective public action in support of the struggle for liberation.

"The Special Committee appreciates greatly the co-operation and support of the World Peace Council and welcomes your efforts against apartheid as an indispensable complement to the efforts of the United Nations and the Special Committee.

"We look forward to continued co-operation with you in the common struggle against apartheid and racism which is, indeed, a struggle for peace and justice."

Non-Governmental Organizations' Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization

161. The representative of Peru, Mr. Arturo Montoya, represented the Special Committee at the meeting of the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization, held in Geneva from 23 to 24 February 1974 to discuss preparations for the Conference of the Non-Governmental Organizations on Apartheid and Decolonization. The meeting was attended by representatives of international and national non-governmental organizations and liberation movements. Representatives of a number of intergovernmental organizations were also present. Mr. Montoya reported on his participation at the 275th meeting of the Special Committee. Mr. Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines), the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, represented it at a meeting of the NGO Sub-Committee in Geneva on 3 and 4 June 1974. He reported on his participation at the 290th meeting of the Special Committee.

162. A delegation consisting of Mr. Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukrainian SSR), Mr. Alexandre Verret (Haiti) and Mr. Hajdi Jazzar (Syrian Arab Republic) represented the Special Committee at the International NGO Conference against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa, held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva from 2 to 5 September 1974. Mr. Vladimir N. Martynenko, who led the delegation of the Special Committee, reported on its participation in the Conference at the 292nd meeting, on 19 September 1974 (A/AC.115/L.292).

Other conferences

163. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman sent messages of greetings to a meeting organized by the Ahmed Tamei Memorial in October 1973; to a Conference organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, in December 1973; to the second session of the African Committee on Trade Union Co-ordination and Action against Apartheid, held in Kinshasa, Zaire, from 27 to 29 March 1974; and to an Africa Week meeting organized by the African Anti-Apartheid Committee in June 1974. The Chairman also sent a message of greetings to the eleventh Congress of the International Union of Students, held in Budapest, Hungary, from 7 to 14 May 1974.

0. Co-operation of the Special Committee with other organizations in the struggle against apartheid

1. Co-operation with specialized agencies and other organizations in the United Nations system

164. 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.

165. On 6 May 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee met with the representatives of the specialized agencies at the United Nations Headquarters and stressed that the problem of apartheid was a matter of common concern for all at the United Nations and in the specialized agencies. The Special Committee, he said, had always attached great importance to co-operation with the specialized agencies in the struggle against apartheid.

166. He pointed out that the General Assembly had suggested that each of the agencies should formulate its own programme of action against apartheid in the light of the recommendations of the Special Committee. He made special reference to the role that all agencies should play in promoting publicity against apartheid in reaching the public all over the world and in bringing together all non-governmental organizations concerned with their respective fields, irrespective of their political or other affiliations, so that apartheid could be taken up by all of them as a common human problem. He also drew attention to the specific suggestions made by the Special Committee with respect to action by UNESCO, FAO and WHO.

167. During the special session of the Special Committee in Europe in May and June 1974, the Chairman of the Special Committee, accompanied by the Vice-Chairman, met with the Directors-General of FAO, the ILO and WHO, and the Deputy United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for consultations on concerted international action against apartheid and ways in which the respective agencies and the Special Committee can co-operate in seeking wider public awareness against apartheid. Press releases were issued on the results of each of these meetings.

168. On 22 May 1974, the Chairman met in Rome with the Director-General of FAO, Mr. A. H. Boerma, and drew attention to the request of the Special Committee that FAO study and publicize the crucial problem of discrimination and oppression as regards landownership in South Africa, where the minority has appropriated 87 per cent of the land. He suggested that FAO could play an important role in acquainting the public with the effects of apartheid within its field of competence.

169. The Director-General recalled that IAO had no relations with the Government of South Africa. It had often reiterated its firm opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination. He said that FAO was prepared to co-operate with the United Nations in the dissemination of information on apartheid and he welcomed the suggestions of the Chairman.

170. The Chairman met with the Director-General of the International Labour Office, Mr. Francis Blanchard, in Geneva on 30 May, and expressed appreciation of the actions taken by the ILO and its Director-General in opposition to apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and in support of the trade union rights of all workers in that country. He recalled, in particular, the assistance of the ILO in facilitating the International Trade Union Conference on Apartheid held at Geneva in June 1973, and in publicizing the results of the Conference. He expressed satisfaction that that Conference had led to greater action by the trade union movement against apartheid. He said that the Special Committee was anxious to promote international solidarity action in support of full trade union rights for all workers in South Africa, in accordance with the ILO Declaration against apartheid and the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Committee valued, he stressed, the role of the ILO both as an organization specially concerned with labour, and as a tripartite organization of governments, employers and workers, in the international efforts for the eradication of apartheid.

171. The Director-General pledged ILO's continuing support of the Special Committee's efforts. He presented the Chairman of the Special Committee with copies of the tenth special report of the Director-General on the application of the Declaration concerning the policy of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa, submitted to the 1974 session of the International Labour Conference. He noted that the report reviewed the developments which had taken place in South Africa during the 10 years since the adoption by the Conference in 1964 of the Declaration and Programme on apartheid. It also contained a review of the Special Committee's own efforts during the year. The Director-General assured the Chairman of the readiness of the ILO to continue to co-operate with the Special Committee and the United Nations Secretariat in all appropriate ways, in publicizing the

situation in South Africa and assisting the people subjected to apartheid and racial discrimination.

172. The Special Committee attended a meeting of the Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body on 30 May 1974. Mr. Joseph Morris of Canada, Chairman of the Workers' Group, stated that trade union centres around the world had been asked to report on action taken by trade unions on the resolution adopted by the International Trade Union Conference on Apartheid. Information was still being received from various parts of the world and the Special Committee would receive a full report later. The Bureau of the Committee also met with the Deputy Director-General of ILO and other ILO officials.

173. On 30 May 1974, Mr. Gullmar Bergenstrom of Sweden, Chairman of the Employers' Group of the ILO Governing Body, and Mr. Raphael Lagasse, Secretary-General of the International Organization of Employers (IOE), had an informal meeting with the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee. They recalled the resolution adopted last year by the IOE Executive Committee on Apartheid. That resolution urged world employers "to give full support in their field of competence to all action seeking to guarantee freedom and dignity, economic security and equal opportunity for all peoples in South Africa". It noted "with concern that discrimination based on apartheid continues to be the declared official policy practised in the Republic of South Africa, despite deep-rooted social forces of change that are at work and of which some of the South African employers are themselves the prime movers".

174. On the same date, the Chairman met in Geneva with Mr. Charles Mace, Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, and Mr. Gilbert Jaeger, Director of Assistance of UNHCR. The Chairman expressed appreciation to the office of UNHCR for its co-operation with the Special Committee and its assistance to refugees from the Republic of South Africa. They discussed the present needs for assistance and the means to promote adequate contributions to meet those needs.

175. The Chairman met in Geneva on 31 May 1974 with Dr. Halfden Mahler, Director-General, and Dr. Adeoye T. Lambo, Deputy Director-General, of the World Health Organization. The Chairman recalled that the Special Committee had suggested that WHO prepare a study on the effects of apartheid in the field of health and medicine and had called upon members of the medical profession to take action against apartheid.

176. The Director-General recalled the resolutions on apartheid adopted by the Executive Board and the World Health Assembly and reiterated the readiness of WHO to co-operate with the United Nations in the dissemination of information on the health effects of apartheid and in all efforts to eliminate that discriminatory and untenable practice.

2. Co-operation with the Organization of African Unity

177. During the period under review, the Special Committee continued to maintain close contact and co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which

has been represented at its meetings as an observer. The Administrative Secretary-General participated in the 259th meeting of the Special Committee, on 19 September 1973.

178. General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and the then Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, sent a message to the Special Committee on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1974. Mr. Dramane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of the OAU to the United Nations in New York, made a statement at the special meeting of the Special Committee on that day.

179. At the invitation of the Special Committee, OAU was represented at the special session of the Special Committee in Europe in May and June 1974. The Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations, Mr. Dramane Ouattara, presented a paper entitled "Importance of assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and to the liberation movements" at the meeting in Rome on 22 May, and took an active part in all the meetings during the session. The Executive Secretary of OAU to the United Nations in Geneva, Mr. Salah Baissouny, also participated in the meetings in Geneva on 31 May.

180. In a letter of 25 June 1974 addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Ouattara conveyed the gratitude of the Organization of African Unity for the invitation to join the Special Committee in its session in Europe and OAU's satisfaction at the success of the session.

181. Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé, Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations, represented the Special Committee at the session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Mogadishu in June 1974.

3. Co-operation with non-governmental organizations

182. As in the past, the Special Committee maintained close co-operation with many anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations of churches, workers, journalists, jurists, women, students and others active in the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination.

183. On 19 December 1973, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter to these organizations, drawing their attention to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, and inviting, on behalf of the Special Committee, their continued co-operation in the implementation of the provisions of these resolutions.

184. Replies containing information and specific proposals on further action within the framework of the international campaign against apartheid were subsequently received from the International Documentation on the Contemporary Church, Rome; the New Zealand Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa; the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Moscow; the International Organization of

Journalists, Prague; the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Washington, D.C.; the Ghana National Committee on Apartheid, Accra; the World Confederation of Labour, Brussels; and the World Student Christian Federation, Geneva.

185. As indicated earlier, the special session of the Special Committee, held in Europe from 18 May to 1 June 1974, provided an opportunity to hold fruitful consultations with a large number of national and international organizations on concerted international action against apartheid at various levels, and to develop better contacts and strengthen co-operation with many non-governmental organizations with headquarters in Europe.

186. The Special Committee also maintained close co-operation with the Non-Governmental Organizations' Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization. 14/

P. Action by trade unions at the national and international level

187. At its 272nd meeting on 24 January 1974, the Special Committee took note of telegrams from the South African Congress of Trade Unions, Lusaka, and from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), Brussels, protesting against the arrest of African textile workers on strike in Durban, South Africa.

188. At its 273rd meeting on 7 February 1974, the Special Committee received a letter from ICFTU stating that its Finance and General Purposes Committee had allocated the sum of \$3,000 for relief assistance to the families of the victims of the Carletonville massacre. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman sent a letter to ICFTU commending its action.

189. At its 274th meeting on 15 February 1974, the Chairman drew the attention of the Special Committee to a letter dated 4 February 1974 from ICFTU, and a telegram dated 9 February 1974 from the World Confederation of Labour, both dealing with the banning of three trade union leaders in South Africa. The ICFTU letter stated, inter alia:

"We emphasize that as long as South Africa, which paradoxically claims to be a civilized country, does not respect the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights and universally recognized trade union rights it will remain a threat to world peace. Therefore, we consider it an urgent priority for the United Nations to take all necessary measures to end this situation through the establishment of human and trade union rights in South Africa."

The telegram from the World Confederation of Labour read as follows:

"Following telegram 28 January World Confederation of Labour strongly

14/ For details concerning participation by the Special Committee in preparations for the NGO Conference on Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa and in the Conference itself, see section B above.

protest against five-year banishment by South African Government of three textile trade union leaders in Durban following recent strike 10,000 African workers. Request urgent United Nations action for reinstatement Hemson Davis Cheadle and for recognition of trade union rights for African workers."

190. The Special Committee decided to send letters to the two confederations expressing appreciation for their concern and the hope for closer co-operation between the trade unions and the Committee with a view to concerted international action.

191. The Special Committee also attended, in the course of the special session in Geneva, a meeting of the Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body on 30 May 1974 (see para. 172 above).

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

192. The Sub-Committee continued its work in close co-operation with the Working Group, especially in connexion with the communications and proposals for participation of organizations in the meetings of the Special Committee during its session in Europe.

193. The Sub-Committee also submitted a report (A/AC.115/L.387) to the Special Committee on Apartheid, in which it recommended appropriate action on communications from organizations circulated in documents A/AC.115/L.389 and A/AC.115/L.390.

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

194. The Sub-Committee continued to follow the developments concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions and the collaboration by States, foreign economic interests and other groups with South Africa in the political, military, economic and other fields, in the light of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 3151 (XXVIII) and the decisions of the Special Committee.

195. At its 9th to 11th meetings between 25 February and 18 March 1974, the Sub-Committee decided to give priority to the preparation of the draft of a special report on "Assistance provided by Foreign Economic Interests to the South African Régime in Resisting International Action against Apartheid", requested by the General Assembly in paragraph 2 of resolution 3151 D (XXVIII). It also decided to prepare:

(a) A report on official relations of South African régime with States Members of the United Nations (A/AC.115/L.386);

(b) A report on relations between Israel and South Africa (A/AC.115/L.383);

(c) Background papers on relations of individual countries with South Africa to be used by missions of the Special Committee.

196. At the request of the Sub-Committee, the Secretariat prepared a bibliography of Recent Publications on Collaboration with South Africa 15/ and a periodic "Review of Recent Developments concerning the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa" for its consideration.

197. The Sub-Committee also decided to explore the possibility of obtaining expert papers on various matters within its mandate for publication by the Unit on Apartheid or as working papers of the Special Committee. Pursuant to its request, a paper by Mr. Gilbert Rist, a Swiss expert, on the relations between Switzerland and South Africa was published by the Unit on Apartheid. 16/

15/ Unit on Apartheid Paper, 4 April 1974.

16/ Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 9/74.

II. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

198. The developments during the past year have led to the further isolation of the South African régime and signalled a new stage in the struggle of the South African people and the efforts of the international community to eradicate apartheid. At the same time, as the South African régime has resorted in desperation to military and repressive measures to stem the tide of liberation, 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.

199. The heroic struggle of the peoples of Territories under Portuguese domination, the fall of the fascist régime and the emergence of a new Government in Portugal which has embarked on a course of democratic transformations and has accepted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, have opened the possibilities for the early transition to independence of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. The 'unholy alliance' of the South African régime, the Ian Smith clique in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists - which has long resisted United Nations efforts against colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa - has been broken. The South African régime has become more isolated than ever.

200. The international campaign for the elimination of apartheid has been gaining momentum all over the world, with increasing recognition by Governments, as well as by public organizations, of the need for greater assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for freedom. The collaborators with the apartheid régime have faced increasing opposition in their own countries.

201. Despite the ruthless repression practised by the South African régime, resistance to apartheid has continued in South Africa. The racist régime has had to resort to even more repressive measures in an attempt to suppress the black organizations and to intimidate the students and churchmen opposed to apartheid. The black workers have continued their struggles in defiance of laws which deny them elementary trade union rights. The Coloured Peoples Representative Council, an apartheid institution created by the Pretoria régime, has itself denounced apartheid and demanded full equality for the Coloured people. Even some of the "bantustan" leaders, aware of the strength of sentiment among the black people, have been obliged to voice opposition to some of the fundamental aspects of apartheid. The liberation movements of the South African people have gained increasing international recognition.

202. Meanwhile, resistance has intensified in Namibia, the Territory for which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility in 1966 and where the South African régime continues its illegal occupation in defiance of the United Nations and international law. The illegal South African administration in the Territory has resorted to inhuman repression against the leaders of the people and this has aroused revulsion around the world. The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), where the presence of the South African forces and the support of the South African régime have so far propped up the illegal racist minority régime, has gained ground.

203. Despite these clear manifestations of the march of liberation in southern Africa against colonialist and racist oppression, the Pretoria régime has continued to resist the liberation struggle. Instead of heeding the repeated appeals and demands of the United Nations for an end to aggression in Namibia and Zimbabwe, and for a peaceful settlement of the grave situation in South Africa in accordance with the principles of the Charter, it has greatly expanded its military budget and rushed its troops to the borders. It has thereby further aggravated the grave danger to the peace in the region.

204. Some Governments and economic interests - ignoring the lessons of the struggle for liberation in the Territories under Portuguese domination - have regrettably continued and stepped up their collaboration with the South African régime. Their activities encourage that régime in its suicidal course, aggravate the situation in southern Africa as a whole and increase the suffering of millions of oppressed people struggling for liberation.

205. The Special Committee has been particularly concerned in the past year with the actions of some countries which have developed closer relations with the white minority South African Government, in flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions. Notable in this connexion is Israel which has continued to develop close relations with the South African régime in political, military, economic, cultural and other fields, despite the condemnation by the General Assembly in resolution 3151 (XXVIII).

206. The Special Committee feels that, with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in the face of heroic resistance by the liberation movements and the support of the international community, the situation in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe should become a matter of primary concern to the United Nations. The United Nations and all its associated organizations, in developing and implementing a comprehensive and effective strategy for the elimination of oppression in this area and the liberation of millions of long-suffering peoples, must, above all, focus their attention on concerted action against the South African régime. It is the perpetrator of racism in South Africa, and of aggression in Namibia. It is the protector of racism and colonialism in Southern Rhodesia. Action against this régime is imperative in order to avert the threat to the peace in southern Africa which can have the gravest international consequences.

207. The general lines of international action to secure the eradication of apartheid, and to end the threat to the peace in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole, have been laid down in the resolutions of the General Assembly, notably in the resolutions on apartheid, together with the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, adopted at the twenty-eighth session. What is required is an intensified and more co-ordinated effort to promote international action at all levels - by Governments and intergovernmental organizations, by non-governmental organizations and individuals - in the light of the provisions of these resolutions.

208. The Special Committee on Apartheid, in the discharge of its mandate from the General Assembly, has heightened its activities during the past year, concentrating

its efforts on promoting concerted international action against apartheid as a matter of universal concern. It has stressed that apartheid is not merely a local problem but a situation which requires the attention of Governments and peoples all over the world. It has emphasized the importance of appropriate action by Governments and all intergovernmental organizations, as well as by non-governmental organizations and the public. This was, indeed, the theme of the special session in Europe undertaken by the Special Committee in May-June 1974, which provided the opportunity for consultations with a number of Governments and specialized agencies of the United Nations, as well as numerous non-governmental organizations.

209. The Special Committee has also dispatched missions to several of the main trading partners of South Africa in order to consult with them, to persuade them to take further action in implementation of United Nations resolutions and to promote concerted action by all States, both those which have implemented these resolutions and by States which have so far resisted effective action.

210. The Special Committee has, moreover, maintained continuous contacts with numerous non-governmental organizations which have been active in opposition to apartheid - such as the anti-apartheid movements, the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee and many other national and international organizations. It has paid special attention to action by trade unions at the national and international level. It has encouraged the convening of the International NGO Conference against Colonialism and Apartheid in Africa, held in Geneva in September 1974, and sent a delegation to participate in it.

211. It has constantly called on Governments and organizations, irrespective of any ideological or other differences, to join in the efforts against apartheid, which is now universally recognized as an evil, a menace and, indeed, a crime against humanity.

212. It has emphasized that the struggle in South Africa is not a struggle of groups of different racial origins, but a struggle of the overwhelming majority of the people, under the leadership of their liberation movements, against racism. The victory of the people in this legitimate struggle and the total eradication of apartheid, are in the interests of all the people of South Africa and of the world.

213. In all its activities, the Special Committee has closely co-operated with the Organization of African Unity and the South African liberation movements recognized by it. It has also maintained the closest liaison with the other United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa, notably 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 the United Nations Council for Namibia.

214. The Special Committee feels that, in order to meet the needs of the present situation, the lines of action laid down in the decisions of the General Assembly at the twenty-eighth session should be reaffirmed and that further steps should be taken to promote an intensification of concerted international action against apartheid at all levels. To this end, it submits the following recommendations for the consideration of the General Assembly.

A. Consultations for concerted international action against apartheid

215. The Special Committee considers it essential that the United Nations must greatly expand its efforts to secure concerted international action against apartheid, in the light of the activities of the Special Committee in the past year which are reviewed in the present report. To this end, the consultations initiated by the Special Committee with Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations will need to be continued and widened in scope.

Consultations with Governments

216. In accordance with the mandate from the General Assembly, the Special Committee has held consultations at a high level with a number of Governments, particularly with some of the main trading partners of South Africa, on the means to promote international action against apartheid and wider implementation of United Nations resolutions. The free and frank exchanges of views in these consultations have resulted in some progress in action by Governments. Moreover, they have initiated a dialogue, in place of the deadlock between the main trading partners and the great majority of Member States, which characterized the situation for several years.

217. Delegations of the Special Committee have also visited some countries which have fully supported the United Nations resolutions for consultations on what further action they might take, individually or in concert with other States, in the implementation of these resolutions.

218. The visits to the various capitals have also enabled the Committee to publicize the United Nations efforts against apartheid and seek greater public support for these efforts.

219. Without exaggerating the progress which has been achieved in these consultations with Governments, the Special Committee believes that such consultations can promote a trend towards more concerted action by all Governments opposed to apartheid. It hopes that an awakened public opinion against apartheid and racial discrimination in their countries, as well as the sharpening of the struggle in South Africa, will help persuade the main trading partners of South Africa to review their policies and co-operate with the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations in taking concerted action against apartheid.

220. The Special Committee recommends that provision be made for a continuation and intensification of these consultations with Governments. It also suggests that the main trading partners of South Africa should be urged to find alternatives to trading with South Africa and to discuss among themselves in consultation with the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, if necessary, concrete and concerted steps to implement the United Nations resolutions.

Consultations with specialized agencies of the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations

221. In resolution 3151 E (XXVIII), the General Assembly called upon all Governments to initiate action in the specialized agencies and other intergovernmental

organizations, as necessary, to intensify concerted efforts against apartheid and, in particular, to formulate programmes of action against apartheid in the light of the recommendations in the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

222. The Special Committee has consulted during the past year with the Directors-General (or deputies) of four of the agencies in the United Nations system - the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - and with the representatives of all these agencies in New York. These exchanges of views have been fruitful and resulted in concrete steps by some of the agencies in support of the international campaign against apartheid.

223. The Special Committee has noted with satisfaction that the World Population Conference, held in Bucharest, Romania, in August 1974, condemned apartheid in South Africa and requested the United Nations Fund for Population Activities "to undertake special studies on the effects of apartheid on the populations of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and to present its report to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid".

224. The Special Committee has also noted with satisfaction that the Conference on the results of the International Hydrological Decade and Future Programmes in Hydrology - which was held in Paris from 2 to 14 September under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the World Meteorological Organization - excluded South Africa from participating in the Conference, having noted "the harmful effect of the presence of the delegation to the success of the Conference".

225. The Special Committee considers that the specialized agencies and other institutions in the United Nations system, as well as other intergovernmental organizations, can contribute even more substantially to the international efforts against apartheid. It believes that consultations with the Directors-General or governing bodies of these organizations are essential to secure effective and co-ordinated action.

226. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that provision be made to enable it to continue consultations with specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations in order to promote the formulation of programmes of action against apartheid, and to encourage greater co-ordination in the activities of these organizations against apartheid.

227. At the same time, the Special Committee considers it essential that the General Assembly express strong disapproval of the activities of intergovernmental organizations which continue to collaborate with the South African régime in disregard and contravention of the resolutions of the United Nations. In this connexion, it recommends, in particular, that the United Nations lend no co-operation to the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration until it ceases collaboration with South Africa.

Consultations with trade unions

228. It will be recalled that the International Conference of Trade Unions against

Apartheid, held at Geneva in June 1973, had unanimously adopted important decisions towards the implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid and developing greater support by all workers and their trade union organizations for the oppressed workers in South Africa engaged in a legitimate struggle against the racist minority régime. The General Assembly, in resolution 3151 A (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, commended the resolution of 16 June 1973 of this Conference to the attention of Governments, specialized agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

229. Pursuant to the recommendations of the Conference, trade union organizations in many countries have stepped up action against apartheid. An African Committee on Trade Union Co-ordination and Action against Apartheid was established to implement these recommendations.

230. The Special Committee has increased its contact with trade union organizations, at the national and international levels, during the past year. It also held useful consultations with the Workers' Group of the ILO Governing Body in Geneva on 31 May 1974.

231. It will be recalled that, pursuant to the recommendation of the International Conference, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee, in resolution 3151 A (XXVIII), to maintain liaison with the Preparatory Committee of the Conference "with a view to promoting maximum participation by the trade unions at the national and international levels in action against apartheid in South Africa".

232. Towards this end, the Special Committee intends to devote its next special session, in March 1975, to consultations with the members of the Preparatory Committee. It recommends that the necessary provision be made to enable the members of the Preparatory Committee to attend the session at the Headquarters of the United Nations.

Consultations with anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations

233. Conscious of the great importance of informing world public opinion of the situation in South Africa and encouraging it to take action in support of United Nations resolutions, the Special Committee has given special attention in the past year to contact and co-operation with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations engaged in public action against apartheid. The special session of the Special Committee in several cities in Europe has enabled it to consult with a large number of such organizations. The Committee has also kept in close contact with the NGO Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization and sent a delegation to attend the International NGO Conference against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa organized by it in Geneva in September 1974. The Chairman and delegations of the Special Committee have held consultations with a number of anti-apartheid movements which have played an important role in the movement of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

234. The Special Committee is particularly anxious that the closest co-operation be maintained with organizations in West European countries which continue to maintain

extensive military, political, economic and other relations with South Africa. It recommends that adequate provision be made for the representatives of the Special Committee and the Unit on Apartheid to visit the West European capitals, as necessary, for consultations with the organizations active in opposition to apartheid.

235. Moreover, in the light of consultations with non-governmental organizations, the Special Committee considers that a small conference or seminar - bringing together the representatives of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations - is desirable in order to study the recent developments in southern Africa and consult on co-ordinated action.

236. It, therefore, requests that it be authorized to organize, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, 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. The 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 aid and abet 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.

237. The Special Committee suggests that the seminar should consist of no more than 35 participants and should be held for a duration of five days in a West European capital, possibly the headquarters of a United Nations specialized agency, after careful preparation. Its report would be submitted, through the Special Committee, to the next session of the General Assembly.

B. Special international campaigns against apartheid

238. The Special Committee considers it desirable that the United Nations launch and promote co-ordinated international campaigns, in co-operation with the liberation movements and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, on certain specific questions of crucial importance. Such campaigns should be preceded by intensive consultations and the widest dissemination of all relevant information. It recommends that campaigns be launched in 1975, under the United Nations auspices, on the following issues:

- (a) Arms embargo against South Africa;
- (b) Collaboration by banks and multinational companies with the South African régime;
- (c) Emigration to South Africa;
- (d) Release of political prisoners in South Africa.

(a) Arms embargo against South Africa

239. The Special Committee is deeply distressed that the arms embargo against South Africa, called for by the Security Council more than a decade ago, and reaffirmed by the Security Council and the General Assembly on several occasions, is not yet fully effective. In the context of the present grave situation in South Africa and the rapid military build-up undertaken by the South African régime, it is imperative that a world-wide campaign should be organized in order to persuade all Governments to enforce the arms embargo without any exceptions, to cease all forms of military co-operation with the South African régime and to prevent their nationals from undertaking any activities which assist the South African régime in its military build-up.

240. The Special Committee considers it essential that the General Assembly and the Security Council launch a special and solemn appeal to the Government of France to cease supply of any military equipment to the South African régime. They should call for the abrogation of the "Simonstown Agreement", which has become a pretext for continuing naval co-operation between the United Kingdom and South Africa, and call on all countries to refrain from entering into any such arrangements.

241. They should call on those countries which have exchanged military, naval and air attachés with South Africa to terminate such relations forthwith. In this connexion, the Special Committee notes with appreciation the recent action of the Government of Australia in terminating such relations.

242. The General Assembly and the Security Council should, moreover, call on all countries to refrain from allowing their naval vessels from visiting South African ports; deny training to South African armed forces personnel; cease any co-operation in research which is intended for the use of the South African armed forces; and prohibit the entry into their countries of members of South African armed forces and South African agencies concerned with military build-up.

243. The Special Committee, moreover, is gravely concerned over attempts by French companies to sell to other countries the Croatale missile, developed by South Africa in co-operation with France. It considers it necessary to remind Member States to refrain from importing any military supplies manufactured by, or in collaboration with, South Africa.

244. The Special Committee is also gravely concerned over press reports that other countries are utilizing South African military installations and that certain elements in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are actively pressing for closer collaboration between NATO and South Africa. It recommends that the General Assembly and the Security Council should launch an urgent appeal to all Governments, and to world public opinion, for an immediate end to any form of military collaboration with the South African régime. They should stress that any such collaboration is an act against the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as against the cause of peace. They should call on all Governments and organizations to exert all their influence to persuade those Governments which continue military co-operation with South Africa to desist from such action.

(b) Collaboration by banks and multinational companies with the South African régime

245. The Special Committee considers that the assistance provided to the South African régime by multinational corporations and banks is one of the main factors which has enabled and encouraged that régime to pursue its racist policies in defiance of the United Nations.

246. It has welcomed the campaigns launched by anti-apartheid movements, church groups, trade unions and others in several Western countries to dissuade these vested interests from continuing with their activities. The Special Committee feels that the United Nations should support and encourage national and international campaigns to this end.

247. In this connexion, the Special Committee wishes to draw particular attention to the crucial role played by international banks in support of the South African régime. It has taken note of a memorandum submitted to it by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Great Britain (A/AC.115/L.385) and studies published by other organizations. 17/

248. Following public protests in the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries against loans to South Africa, several banks appear to have resorted in recent years to secret loans through consortia. One multinational banking firm, the European American Banking Corporation, of New York, is reported to have raised secret loans totalling over \$210 million to the South African Government and its agencies. 18/

249. South African interests have also been establishing multinational companies abroad in partnership with foreign interests. These companies have acted as a channel for the extension of South African interests even into areas where the Governments have instituted economic sanctions against South Africa.

250. It is essential that the United Nations should investigate and publicize constantly all instances of economic collaboration with South Africa in order to encourage world public opinion to exert its influence to persuade the interests concerned to desist from such collaboration. The Special Committee also considers

17/ Business as Usual, published by the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches; The Frankfurt Documents: Secret Bank Loans to the South African Government, published by the Corporate Information Centre of the National Council of Churches in the United States of America.

18/ "EABC is jointly owned by six of the largest banks in Europe - The Deutsche Bank, West Germany; the Société Générale, France; Midland Bank, UK; Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank N.V. of the Netherlands; the Société Générale de Banque S.A. of Belgium; and the Creditanstalt-Bankverein of Austria. EABC represents the link between these European financial interests and the US money market. It is also one of the most powerful banking groups in the world." Frankfurt Documents, p. 3A.

it essential that the United Nations and associated organizations should encourage this campaign by denying any assistance to corporations which are actively involved in South Africa.

(c) Emigration to South Africa

251. The South African régime has been exerting great efforts to obtain white immigrants, particularly skilled workers, to reinforce apartheid and white domination.

252. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that a number of trade unions, anti-apartheid movements and church groups have campaigned against emigration to South Africa by publicizing the inhumanity of apartheid and pointing out that the South African régime seeks immigrants to bolster white supremacy and deny elementary rights to the black workers. It has noted that the number of white emigrants to South Africa has recently declined.

253. The Special Committee considers that the United Nations should encourage and support the organizations which are engaged in the campaign against emigration to South Africa. It should again call on all Governments to close South African immigration offices, to prohibit recruitment campaigns for immigrants to South Africa and to ban advertisements for employment in South Africa. It should explore, in co-operation with the ILO, the possibility of an international convention against emigration to South Africa so long as the régime in that country pursues the policy of apartheid.

254. In this connexion, the Special Committee also draws attention to its recommendation (see para. 227 above) that the United Nations cease all co-operation and contact with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration until it excludes South Africa from the purview of its activities.

(d) Release of political prisoners in South Africa

255. The Special Committee has always attached great importance to a continuous campaign for the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or otherwise restricted in South Africa for their opposition to apartheid. It notes with satisfaction the progress of this campaign since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3055 (XXVIII) of 26 October 1973. It was gratified that the campaign attracted widespread participation in many parts of the world, including South Africa. From the United Kingdom the Special Committee received petitions signed by more than 25,000 persons demanding the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and calling on the United Nations to exert every pressure on the South African régime to achieve this end.

256. The Special Committee considers it essential that the campaign should be continued and extended. In this connexion, the Special Committee recalls the strong conviction expressed by the General Assembly in resolution 3055 (XXVIII) that "the release of leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of apartheid from imprisonment and other restrictions is essential for a peaceful solution of the grave situation in South Africa".

C. Other recommendations

(a) Expansion of the Special Committee

257. The Special Committee recommends that its membership be increased, in order to ensure representation for regions which are not at present represented and to enable a larger number of States to participate in the discharge of the mandate of the Special Committee.

(b) Name of the Committee

258. The Special Committee recommends that its name be changed to "United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid".

(c) Representation of the liberation movements in the Special Committee

259. The Special Committee recalls that in pursuance of paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 3155 G (XXVIII), it has invited the two South African liberation movements recognized by OAU to participate in its work as observers. It recommends that the General Assembly make the necessary financial provision to enable representatives of these movements to participate effectively in the work of the Committee, not only at Headquarters but also in its missions and sessions away from Headquarters.

(d) Boycott of racially selected sports teams

260. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction the progress achieved in the exclusion of South African sports teams, selected in violation of the Olympic principle, from international sports. It commends the Governments and organizations which have contributed to this end.

261. At the same time, the Special Committee notes that a number of individual sports clubs and sportsmen are visiting South Africa for sports competitions despite the resolutions of the United Nations against contacts with racially selected sports teams of South Africa and disapproval by their Governments. It recommends that the names of sportsmen and sports administrators undertaking such tours despite due warnings should be widely publicized for appropriate action by Governments and organizations.

(e) Dissemination of information

262. The Special Committee considers it essential that the United Nations should greatly expand its efforts to disseminate information on apartheid in order to reach wider segments of the public in all countries. It should produce more films and audio-visual material, ensure wider distribution of publications in all languages and co-operate with Governments and national anti-apartheid organizations in the adaptation and dissemination of information. It should make special efforts to disseminate information in support of the international campaigns recommended above.

263. The Special Committee hopes that adequate provision will be made in the budget for this purpose, and that Governments would consider generous voluntary contributions to enable the expansion of the activities of the Unit on Apartheid.

ANNEX I

Review of developments in South Africa since September 1973

Introduction

In the general elections of 24 April 1974, the ruling National Party, led by Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster, was elected to its seventh consecutive term since coming to power in 1948 on a platform of apartheid and white domination. The National Party emerged with a clear victory over the other white political parties and increased its margin to more than a quarter of a million votes over the opposition United Party. ^{1/} The election was widely viewed inside South Africa as a reaffirmation of the policy of apartheid by the white electorate despite the gains of the Progressive Party, which increased its representation in the House of the Assembly from one to six seats. The representation of the parties, as compared with the results of the 1970 elections, is as follows:

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1974</u>
National Party	117	122
United Party	47	41
Progressive Party	1	6

The Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Democratic Party, which also contested the elections, failed to win a single seat.

While jubilant at its electoral victory, the South African régime was soon alarmed by the change of Government in Portugal and the commitment of the new Portuguese Government to end its colonial rule over Mozambique and Angola. Instead of seeking a peaceful solution in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, both the ruling Nationalist Party and the opposition United Party have united in calling for greater military measures to cope with the new situation. As a result, South Africa has appropriated the largest military budget ever, and has emphasized the strengthening of the border defence forces by increasing expenditure for those forces alone to almost R 300 million (\$420 million).

During the past year, the South African régime has continued to implement its apartheid policies and to apply its repressive legislation against opponents of apartheid in defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It has continued to cause misery to millions of black people by enforcing the pass laws and influx control regulations; by pursuing its removal policies, which have

^{1/} The results of the voting were as follows:

	<u>Votes polled</u>
National Party	636,585
United Party	363,459
Progressive Party	58,768
<u>Herstigte Nasionale</u> Party	39,568
Democratic Party	10,449

uprooted entire communities and "re-settled" them in faraway and poverty-ridden "bantustans" with which they have little, if any, connexion. It has imposed arbitrary restrictions on many leaders of black organizations opposed to apartheid. It has used the Commission of Inquiry on Internal Security ("Schlebusch Commission") to intimidate liberal South African organizations from working to bring about peaceful change in the Republic or to alleviate the suffering caused by apartheid.

The events of the past year have also shown that after 25 years of forcing its racial policies on the black majority, and attempting to reward those who accepted the racist institutions, the régime has still not been able to curb resistance or to win acquiescence in its policies. Black workers have gone on strike by the thousands, despite the very strict penalties which are imposed, thus showing heroic determination to struggle for their rights and against the apartheid labour laws which deny elementary trade union rights to African workers. Even the racist institutions which have been established by the Government - the "bantustans" and the Coloured Persons Representative Council - have been obliged to protest against measures which form the basis of apartheid.

Some significant developments in South Africa over the past year are highlighted below.

A. Enforcement of apartheid measures

The white minority régime is continuing to implement the hundreds of discriminatory apartheid laws and regulations without let-up. It has also relentlessly pursued its removal scheme, under which hundreds of thousands of Africans and other black people have been uprooted from their homes and re-established elsewhere.

The South African Institute of Race Relations attempted in 1972 to work out the total numbers of people moved and resettled under the Government's plans between 1960 and 1970. Working from official figures, projections, induction and estimates, they estimated that 1,820,000 people had been moved. The breakdown was as follows. 2/

2/ See "Mass population removals and break-up of family life in South Africa", memorandum of the Africa Bureau, London, published by the United Nations Unit on Apartheid "Notes and Documents", No. 13/74.

Abolition of labour tenancies on white farms	340,000
Laws prohibiting squatters living on white farms	656,000
Elimination of "black spots" <u>3/</u> in the rural areas	97,000
"Endorsement out" of the urban areas under pass law offences and other legislation controlling the lives of urban Africans (particularly the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964) <u>4/</u>	400,000
Re-siting of urban townships in the neighbouring reserves	327,000

Subsequently, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, stated in Parliament in February 1974 that, since 1948, approximately 181,788 Africans had been removed from "black spots", small scheduled areas and outlying parts of other scheduled areas, and "re-settled" in the "bantustans". 5/

Apart from the number of blacks who have already been moved, many tens of thousands of people are scheduled to be moved in the future. On 13 March 1973, the Minister of Bantu Administration stated that 69,000 Africans remained to be moved from "black spots" in the white areas and that this figure might be influenced by the consolidation of the Bantu "homelands". On 1 August 1974, it was reported that 130,000 Africans were to be removed to the Lebowa "homeland" alone, and that 4,000 African families were scheduled for removal to Vendaland. 6/

Dr. Cedric Phatudi, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, condemned the proposed removals. He said that when these proposals were put before his "government" they were immediately rejected. He went on to say:

"We cannot go on removing people and unsettling them for the rest of their lives." 7/

The Minister of Community Development, Mr. A. H. du Plessis, gave statistics in Parliament on the number of families which had become "disqualified" for residence

3/ Act No. 42 of 1964.

4/ A "black spot" is a pocket of black-owned or mission land which is farmed by Africans but surrounded by white-owned land.

5/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 13 February 1974, col. 78.

6/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 1 August 1974.

7/ Ibid.

in their homes as a result of reservation of areas for particular racial groups under the Group Areas Act and those who had been resettled as at 31 December 1973. They were as follows:

<u>Number of families</u>	<u>Disqualified</u>	<u>Resettled</u>
Whites	1,648	1,549
Coloured people	73,758	49,145
Indian	38,678	29,230
Chinese	1,233	71 <u>8/</u>

Thus 35,322 families were still to be resettled under the Government's policy of separation of the races.

The Minister also stated that 5,031 Indian traders had become disqualified under the same Act, and that, of this number, 4,239 had still to be resettled. 9/

According to other statistics provided by the Government, 138,980 Africans were arrested under the influx control and Bantu (Urban Areas) Act regulations and were sent to aid centres. Of these, 94,393 were eventually prosecuted and 92,886 were endorsed out to their so-called homelands as "superfluous appendages". 10/

In addition, 493 persons were prosecuted and 304 convicted for contravention of the Immorality Act, 11/ which prohibits sexual intercourse between persons of different races. The following table shows the prosecutions and convictions according to race for the year ending June 1973. 12/

	<u>Prosecutions</u>	<u>Convictions</u>
Whites	266	166
Coloured persons	57	30
Asians	8	4
Africans	162	104 <u>13/</u>

8/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 18 February 1974, col. 104.

9/ Ibid., 12 February 1974, col. 71.

10/ Figures supplied by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 25 February 1974, col. 152.

11/ Act No. 21 of 1960.

12/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 19 February 1974, col. 108.

13/ Until 1973, the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act (No. 48 of 1953) made it illegal for Africans to strike. Contravention of the law carried a penalty of R 600 (\$840), three years in prison, or both. In 1973, however, in response to massive illegal strikes by blacks in Durban and elsewhere, the law was amended to permit strikes, but only under such severe restrictive conditions as to make them virtually impossible.

It was revealed that the Government had continued to prosecute Africans for going out on strike to improve their wages and working conditions. During 1973, 244 Africans were arrested and 169 of them were criminally charged under the provisions of the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act. 14/

Although the Government has continued to implement the apartheid laws and regulations unabatedly, it has permitted certain "adaptations" to be made to its policy, in order to meet the needs of the white minority. These adaptations have been falsely hailed in South Africa and abroad 15/ as a "relaxation of apartheid".

One of the developments which has led to such confusion is the raising of the colour bar in certain occupations in order to meet the shortage of skilled white workers: Africans have been allowed to fill more job openings which had hitherto been reserved for whites, but at lower wage levels.

A recent case in point was the announcement in Durban that 34 Africans would become crane operators. Press reports indicated that they would be paid lower wages than their former white counterparts. The railways assistant manager in Durban, Mr. B. L. Lombard, confirmed this and said that Africans thus employed were not on the same grade. But he refused to disclose their wages on the ground that the matter was a "departmental affair". 16/

Another example of the "loosening" of job reservation was the statement by the Minister of Health, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe, who said that under "certain circumstances of crisis", the Government would agree to black nurses ministering to white patients, even in provincial hospitals which are the recipients of State funds. The pay scales of the nursing staff, however, would be determined on the basis of race, as in the past.

Perhaps the "example" which attracted the widest attention was the decision of the municipalities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth during the past year to ease what have been called "petty apartheid" restrictions by removing "whites only" signs from a number of public places, such as park benches, museums and the like. The response of the Government was revealed when the Prime Minister stated in Parliament on 7 February:

14/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 19 February 1974, col. 108.

15/ See, for example, The Star, weekly air mail edition of 2 February 1974, quoting article by Mr. Peter Younghusband in the London Daily Mail, which said, "the cornerstone (of job reservation) finally gave way under ever-mounting pressures ...".

16/ The Star, Johannesburg, 7 December 1973.

"Where such amenities are not prescribed by law, but the arrangement thereof vests in city councils, the Government will constantly keep an eye on the position and should city councils' intended steps cause friction or disturb the peace, the Government will not hesitate to intervene and to rectify the situation.

"Where action by city councils flows from political expediency or neglect to create proper amenities for each population group, and then such action leads to intervention by the Government, city councils will have to take the blame for it." 17/

The municipalities, however, were not "challenging" the Government's policy of apartheid.

As the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr. David Bloomberg hastened to add after the Prime Minister's warning:

"We are not seeking a confrontation with the Government. Whatever we do will be within the law and in accordance with Government policy." 18/

Thus, it would seem that whatever adjustments are made to the system of apartheid, they do not, and are not permitted to, weaken the basic structure of the system.

B. Implementation of "bantustan" policy

The so-called "bantustan" policy, under which a mere 13 per cent of the land has been allotted to the African majority and the rest of the land surface to the white minority, is being implemented despite widespread criticism both inside South Africa and abroad. Critics of the policy have noted that those Africans who are forced to live in these reserves exist under conditions of extreme poverty and that these territories are not economically viable. A recent study conducted by Natal University has shown, for example, that 88 per cent of household incomes in the Transkei and the Ciskei, two of the "bantustans", are below the Poverty Datum Line. 19/ Critics of the Government's "bantustan" policy have also pointed out that not all of the land offered to the reserves by legislation enacted as long ago as 1936 has yet been purchased and transferred. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, stated in answer to a question in Parliament on

17/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers,
8 February 1974, col. 26.

18/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 February 1974.

19/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 18 January 1974, quoting a study conducted
by Mr. Gavin Maasdorp, Senior Research Fellow at Natal University.

22 February 1974 that 1,216,851 hectares of land still remain to be acquired in order to fulfil the quota provided for in the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936. 20/

The Government has resisted demands by the "bantustan governments" for more land and it has stated that it is not prepared to provide any land beyond that allotted by the 1936 legislation. Most recently, in a statement opening the Bophuthatswana Legislative Assembly on 12 March 1974, the Minister of Bantu Administration warned against any "false hopes" for a greater share of the land of South Africa. He went on to say:

"It is wrong ... to assert, as is done in some circles, that South Africa's land has still to be divided up between white and the Bantu nations.

"It must be realized that, historically, the division of land has taken place.

"All that remains for the Government ... to do is purchase land in order to acquire land to compensate the 'black spots' and unsuitably situated reserves, and to acquire the balance of land still due for acquisition in terms of the additional land allocation of 1936." 21/

In an interview in February 1974, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. Braam Raubenheimer, stated that the increase in the African population since 1936 - from 5.6 to more than 16 million - could not be taken into consideration in providing land. "If we did", he said "we would continue handing over land until there was not enough left for whites". 22/

In an attempt to deflate the criticism of its "bantustan" policy, the Government has undertaken of late a number of new measures to speed up the implementation of its policy of territorial separation of the races. To that end, it has recently allotted substantial sums of money in the South African budget. The 1973/74 budget provided R 221.6 million on revenue account and R 57.2 million on loan account to the Department of Bantu Administration. Of this sum, R 142.9 million was for grants-in-aid to the "bantustan governments", a rise of 44.6 per cent over the previous year. 23/

20/ House of Assembly Debates (Mansard), Questions and Answers, 22 February 1974, col. 140. The Government is committed, however, to the purchase of all the land owed under the 1936 legislation.

21/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 13 March 1974.

22/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 3 February 1974.

23/ 1973/74 Estimates of the Expenditure to be defrayed from the Revenue and Loan Accounts, as reported in The Star, Johannesburg, 29 March 1973.

The budgetary allowance for 1974/75 is R 136.3 million in direct grants-in-aid to the "bantustan governments" and R 47.8 million to the South African Bantu Trust Fund, which purchases land for the consolidation of the "bantustans". 24/

It may be recalled that in the past, the Government prohibited private investment by whites in the economy of the "homelands". Recently, however, following criticism in some quarters in South Africa for the slowness with which its "bantustan" policy was being carried out and the widespread poverty in these areas, it began to permit such investment. It set up an industrial "decentralization" scheme (as it was called), which provided "incentives" to private investors to invest capital in the "bantustans" on an agency basis (i.e., that ownership of the industries would be transferred at some future date to blacks).

In a move to increase agricultural production in the "homelands", the Government stated that it intends shortly to permit private capital and expertise to be used to develop the agricultural sector. It was reported that the scheme, which will operate on an agency basis similar to the industrial decentralization (i.e. private participation) plan, is to be gradually introduced and will be conditional on the entrepreneurs undertaking to advance local black personnel to "the highest roles of management responsibility". The announcement, which appeared in the October 1973 issue of the livestock and meat industry journal, Meat, stated that particular attention would be given to irrigation projects and cash crops like sugar, cotton and sisal. The article further stated that homeland chiefs would be requested to make land available for these co-operative projects and for the demonstration of efficient farming techniques. 25/

On 18 December 1973, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, announced the creation of a new post of Director of Homeland Affairs as from 1 December 1973. Mr. C. J. Grobler, the then Deputy Secretary of Community Affairs, was appointed to fill the post, which would co-ordinate activities in the "homelands". 26/

24/ 1974/75 Estimates of the Expenditure to be defrayed from the Revenue and Loan Accounts, as reported in the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 15 August 1974.

25/ The Star, Johannesburg, 27 October 1973, quoting article in Meat.

26/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 19 December 1973.

C. Resistance to apartheid

The events of the past year show clearly that despite 25 years of repression the régime has utterly failed in its efforts to suppress opposition to apartheid and win acquiescence in its policies. Leaders of the black majority and other opponents of apartheid have been gaoled, restricted or forced into exile by the régime in order to deprive the black majority of its leadership, to paralyse its national organizations, and intimidate it from continuing opposition to apartheid.

At the same time, the régime has promoted apartheid institutions, with the acceptance of some blacks who were willing to compromise or were pressured to accept such institutions. The régime has tried to promote acceptance of these institutions and their leaders by repressing any opposition to them. Thus, in recent years, it has imposed harsh restrictions on black organizations like the South African Students' Organizations and the Black Communities Programme of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, which obtained independent public support because of their opposition to compromise and collaboration with the racist institutions.

But these efforts of the régime have failed and it has received set-backs from even the apartheid institutions it has established. Resistance to apartheid has also been demonstrated by the widespread strikes of black workers and recent developments within the churches.

1. "Bantustan" leaders call for federation

While the régime is pressing ahead with the creation and consolidation of "bantustans" in order to divide the African people on a tribal basis and implement its fraudulent "bantustan" policy the "leaders" of the "bantustans" have become increasingly restive at their predicament. The Government has rejected their requests for additional land to enable the territories to become more viable. Ignoring their demands for greater security for the Africans outside the reserves, the régime has continued to forcibly move hundreds of thousands of Africans to the reserves, which are treated as dumping grounds for the old and infirm.

"Bantustan leaders" have recognized that they had to co-operate in order to obtain greater consideration for their representations. But they have also countered the Government's efforts to divide the African majority on tribal lines.

On 8 November 1973, six "bantustan leaders" held talks in Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, to work out a common strategy to deal with the South African Government. 27/ In announcing plans for the meeting, Chief of Bophutatswana,

27/ Those who attended the "mini-summit" conference held in South Africa, were: Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Ciskei; Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu; Chief Lucas Mangoch of the Bantustan of Lebowa; Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu; Mr. Collins Mokoena, Minister of the Bantustan of Bophuthatse; Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa; and Mr. Lennox Sebe, Minister of the Bantustan of Bophuthatse. Chief Patrick Mphahlele of the Venda Bantustan and Chief Weiso of the Bantustan of Basotho Qua Qua were absent.

stated that the object of the meeting was to achieve consensus among the "bantustan" leaders. Once this consensus had been obtained, they would be able to approach the South African Government with a much more powerful voice when they sought "redress". 28/

While details of the meeting's decisions were not publicized, it was reported that the "bantustan" leaders had criticized the Government's policy of setting up different "bantustans" based on tribal groups, and that they had spoken out in favour of replacing the fragmented "bantustans" with a single black nation, although they conceded that this would be a long-term policy.

Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu stated that blacks could never discuss terms with whites as long as they were separate entities. "We can only bring white South Africa to its knees if we achieve and use black solidarity", he said. 29/

Professor Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu echoed these words and stated that the summit meeting had "one burning desire to achieve black freedom".

"We must de-emphasize all the things that separate us and rather emphasize those things which unite us." 30/

It is believed that the majority of "bantustan" leaders agreed that federation should precede autonomy. On this question Professor Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu has said:

"I would put federation before independence, because if it is after independence, it will mean federate after we have given up our land claims as South Africans." 31/

The Guardian, commenting on the significance of the decision to federate, wrote:

'(It) does not lie in the immediate practicality of the scheme. The Bantustans are still wholly economically dependent on the South African Government and politically subservient to it. They have no constitutional authority at present to group themselves into a single 'nation'.

28/ The Star, Johannesburg, 30 October 1973.

29/ The Guardian, London, 9 November 1973.

30/ Ibid.

31/ To the Point, Johannesburg, 1 December 1973.

"But this is the most important move in 25 years of apartheid rule towards the formation of a black anti-apartheid front by leaders created by the apartheid system." 32/

Following these discussions, the "bantustan" leaders sought an interview with Prime Minister Vorster on a number of matters on which they had reached agreement. In January 1974, before these talks took place, however, the Prime Minister made a statement in which he rejected the proposed plan for federation. He was quoted as having said that any such talks were "unacceptable to him". In a report appearing in the Nationalist Sunday newspaper, Report, the Prime Minister was quoted as having said that the form of co-operation between the people of South Africa had still to be worked out, and that it would be "stupid" to do this before the states concerned (i.e. the "bantustans") were "responsible and independent". He said that he was not prepared to deliver the sovereignty of his own people over to any other people, no matter how well-intentioned these others were, or whether they were black or white. 33/

2. Coloured Persons' Representative Council rejects apartheid

The other significant defeat for the Government's apartheid policies occurred in August 1974 in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council (CRC), which had been established in 1969. It will be recalled that in the elections to CRC the following year, the Government suffered a stunning defeat when the Labour Party, which opposed apartheid, won a majority of the elected seats. The Government packed CRC with nominated members from the pro-apartheid Coloured Federal Party, thus enabling it to elect the executive.

But the artificial majority of the Federal Party was destroyed on 23 July 1974, when one of its members crossed the floor and voted with the opposition Labour Party to give the combined opposition the majority of votes in the Council. 34/ The vote took place over a Labour Party motion which condemned so-called separate development and all its institutions, including CRC itself. The motion called for the abolition of the Council until full political rights were granted "to all people". 35/

Even Mr. Tom Swartz, Executive Chairman of the Council, gave notice that he would not oppose the no-confidence motion to be introduced the following day by Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party. Mr. Swartz was quoted as having said:

32/ The Guardian, London, 9 November 1973.

33/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 28 and 29 January 1974.

34/ The move gave the opposition a combined total of 31 votes (Labour Party, 27; Independents, 2; Social Democrats, 1; Republican Party, 1) to the Federal Party's 29.

35/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 24 and 25 July 1974.

"There is no Coloured person who supports apartheid. The time (has) come when Coloured people should say to the Government: 'Our people don't want this policy'." 36/

Later, Mr. M. D. Arendse of the Labour Party tabled a motion which called for the resignation of Mr. Swartz, because of the Federal Party's defeat in the non-confidence debate. One of the members of the Federal Party was quoted as asking whether the Council was competent to accept the motion since Mr. Swartz had not been elected to his post but had been appointed by the State President. 37/

Commenting on the significance of developments in CRC, the Johannesburg Star said in an editorial on 25 July:

"The Government's Coloured policy, such as it is, has reached the end of the line. Nothing could illustrate its bankruptcy more dramatically than yesterday's non-confidence vote in the Coloured Representative Council.

"That members of the once-docile Federal Party should cross the floor to vote with the Labour opposition is striking enough. That they should do so in order to condemn separate development - and indeed the very existence of the CRC - constitutes a massive rejection of what Pretoria has to offer the 2 million Coloured people."

Following this defeat, on 3 August, the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe, prorogued the Council until a date yet to be determined. 38/

3. Resistance by black workers

In other related developments, black workers continued to go out on strike for better wages and working conditions, in defiance of the very strict penalties for so doing. While no precise statistics are available on the number of such "illegal" strikes, it is apparent that these strikes are being widely used by African employees as the only way to win redress of their legitimate grievances. 39/ A number of such strikers have been prosecuted by the Government; 40/ police dogs

36/ Ibid., 25 July 1974.

37/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 3 July 1974, Mr. Swartz had originally been defeated in the elections, but had been appointed by the State President in the Government's move to pack the CRC with its supporters.

38/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 3 July 1974.

39/ The Star, Johannesburg, reported on 3 August 1974, for example, that 16,000 black strikers in East London and Durban were back at work after winning pay rises, but many others were still on strike.

40/ The Minister of Police told Parliament on 19 February that 244 persons had been arrested and 169 of them were charged with illegally striking during 1973. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 19 February 1974, col. 108.

and tear gas have been used to break up other strikes; 41/ some of the striking employees have been sacked by the companies. 42/

As Prof. Leslie Rubin has pointed out in a statement to the Special Committee, resort to strike requires great courage on the part of the black workers. He said:

"We must never forget what the decision to strike by an African in South Africa means. Not only is it a crime for him to do so - a crime punished by severe penalties - but in most cases the inevitable consequence is complete disruption of his life. He faces a concatenation of disasters. Conviction means loss of work, loss of the right to reside in the township, which is followed by being 'endorsed out' to some putative homeland or a transit camp." 43/

4. Resistance by the churches

Opposition to apartheid has continued in some of the churches in South Africa. The South African Council of Churches, at its conference at Hammarskraal on 5 August 1974, adopted a resolution on conscientious objection. The resolution reads in part as follows:

"The Conference therefore:

" ...

"4. Commends the courage ... of those who have been willing to go to jail in protest against unjust laws and policies in our land, and who challenge all of us by their example;

" ...

"6. Prays for the Government and people of our land and urgently calls on them to make rapid strides toward radical and peaceful change in our society so that the violence and war to which our social, economic and political policies are leading us may be avoided."

Subsequently, the Government introduced a Defence Amendment Bill into Parliament which would counter the move of the church to sanction conscientious objection. According to the terms of the proposed new law, if a Churchman counsels conscientious objection to a member of his congregation, or even preaches on the subject, he will be liable to a term of imprisonment of up to 10 years.

In early September, Cardinal McCann, who chaired the South African Bishops

41/ See for example, The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 27 July 1974.

42/ Ibid.

43/ See "Apartheid and the International Community", statement made during the special session of the Special Committee, published by the Unit on Apartheid in "Notes and Documents", No. 11/73.

Conference, said that bishops could not obey the Defence Bill, if it was brought into force in its present form. 44/

On 8 September 1974, however, in clear defiance of the penalties under the proposed legislation, The Most Rev. Denis Hurley, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, was quoted as saying that because of the unjust situation in South Africa, young South Africans should refuse to fight on the borders. 45/

D. Repressive measures

The white minority Government has continued to use the harshest repressive measures to ensure its ability to control opposition to its policies of apartheid.

Despite the existence of a massive armoury of repressive legislation, the régime has continued to enact more such legislation, in an attempt to suppress opposition to apartheid. In recent months, it has enacted two more such laws - the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act 46/ and the Affected Organizations Act. 47/ Another proposed law, the Defence Amendment bill, is presently being debated in Parliament, but has not yet been enacted. These laws should be seen as an extension of the discriminatory apartheid legislation, because they are intended to institutionally preserve the status quo and to make it more difficult to bring about peaceful change in the Republic.

In October 1973, it was announced that a departmental inquiry would be held to investigate the latest allegation of police torture of detainees. The announcement followed the trial of Mr. Adam Brown, an African who alleged that he had been beaten and suspended from a pole for two hours during "investigation" by Detective Sergeant I. F. Viviers. The detective denied the charge.

In acquitting the accused of all charges, Mr. Justice Van Heerden of the Cape Town Supreme Court, stated:

"It is about time an investigation was made into this sort of thing. It comes before the courts too often." 48/

The Minister of Police was subsequently asked in Parliament whether any action had been undertaken as a result of the judge's remarks on police interrogation techniques. He would only say:

44/ The bill is still before Parliament and has not yet been adopted. The Times, London, 9 September 1974.

45/ Ibid.

46/ Act No. 30 of 1974.

47/ Act No. 31 of 1974.

48/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 18 October 1973.

"The only steps taken were that investigation was instituted into the allegations against the detective sergeant concerned. The case was referred to the Attorney-General who declined to prosecute. The honourable member should read fewer newspaper reports." 49/

The Schlebusch Commission into Internal Security completed its fourth and final report into two of the four South African organizations it had been investigating - the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the South African Institute of Race Relations. 50/ The reports, which run to thousands of pages, were tabled in Parliament on 16 August 1974. While no specific action had yet been taken against these organizations by the Government in 1973, it served stringent banning orders on seven NUSAS executive members.

And the régime has continued to persecute opponents of its policies of apartheid and white supremacy, despite repeated appeals by the United Nations and the international community to end its policy of repression.

1. New legislation

The provisions of the three laws mentioned above - with special attention to their arbitrary and repressive character - are briefly described below.

(a) Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act

According to the terms of the above-named Act, a magistrate can prohibit any and all meetings for 48 hours if he has "reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered". The Minister of Justice can ban any meetings anywhere for any period of time if he deems it necessary for the maintenance of public peace or if he has "reason to apprehend that feelings of hostility between the races (i.e. between whites and blacks) would be engendered". On this latter ground, the Minister is empowered to ban even a particular individual from attendance at a meeting.

In three significant areas, the Amendment Act tightens up the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act, which has been on the statute books since 1956. 51/ Firstly, while the original Act authorized the control and prohibition of public meetings, which were defined as "gatherings of 12 or more persons in public places", section 1 of the new law extends the same power to private meetings, by substituting the words "any gathering" for "public gathering". It also adds the phrase "whether the purpose of such gathering is lawful or unlawful".

49/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 20 August 1974, col. 126.

50/ Reports on the Christian Institute and the University Christian Institute have not yet been completed.

51/ Act No. 17 of 1956.

Secondly, while under the original Act a magistrate was empowered to ban a public gathering "if he were so authorized by the Minister", prior permission of the Minister is no longer required. Thus lesser officials are vested with substantial power to ban demonstrations and meetings.

Thirdly, the provision relating to the procedures the police must follow before using force to disperse a gathering, held to be in contravention of the law, has been amended. The original Act required the police to give three warnings in both official languages (i.e. English and Afrikaans) that force would be used if the people attending the gathering did not disperse. Under the Amendment Act, a Warrant Officer need only give one warning in what is termed a "loud voice".

This provision appears to be aimed at avoiding the repetition of the situation which took place in June 1972 when the police brutally assaulted more than 600 student demonstrators without giving them proper warning to disperse. The cases against the students were later thrown out of court and the judges were highly critical of the manner in which the police had acted.

Subsequently, 31 university students sued the Government for assault and wrongful arrest. On 25 February 1974, the Minister of Police told Parliament that out-of-court settlements totalling R 24,250 (\$33,950) had been paid out to the complainants. 52/ It was also reported that the Minister of Police had made out-of-court settlements of R 10,000 (\$14,000) to 11 students and a caretaker at the University of Cape Town, who had brought similar suits against the police. 53/

Under the new Act, anyone who convenes, encourages, promotes or addresses a gathering which has been prohibited is liable to a maximum penalty of one year's imprisonment for the first offence, and gaol terms of up to two years for any subsequent contraventions. Any person who either publicizes or attends an illegal gathering is liable to a penalty of six months' imprisonment or a fine of R 100 (\$149).

In piloting the bill through the Senate on 26 February, Mr. Jannis Kruger, the Deputy Minister of Justice, stated that the powers being sought by the Government were not needed to cope with an existent emergency situation in the country, but to prevent such a situation from arising. Later, when the opposition United Party sought certain limitations as to the manner in which such extreme legislation would be used, Mr. Kruger accused it of wanting to force the Government to wait "til there was blood on the streets before giving it the power to deal with emergency situations. 54/ He added that it was necessary to impose a general ban because of the difficulty of deciding in advance when trouble might erupt.

52/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 21 February 1974, cols. 139-40.

53/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 March 1974.

54/ Ibid., 27 February 1974.

The Deputy Minister rejected two amendments proposed by the United Party and declared that only the bill in its original form would meet the Government's requirement. The bill was adopted, as originally submitted, by a vote of 98 to 42.

(b) Affected Organizations Act

In terms of the above-named Act, the State President is empowered to act against any organization if he is "satisfied", after a report submitted by three magistrates, that "politics" are being engaged in by that organization, "with the aid of or in co-operation with or under the influence of an organization or person abroad". Contravention of the law carries a penalty of up to R 20,000 (\$28,800) or 10 years' imprisonment, or both. The bill was adopted by Parliament by a vote of 97 to 41.

As with the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act, the terms of this new law are extremely wide. Nowhere is the term "politics" defined, although, according to the stated purpose of the Act, an organization receiving financial aid from abroad can be declared "affected" only if it is engaged in politics. It is believed, however, that this legislation is aimed at certain organizations such as NUSAS and the Christian Institute, which have received grants from abroad for research and educational and humanitarian activities.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party Member of Parliament, said that it was "obvious that the Government intended emasculating organizations that criticize its racial policies". 55/

The Sunday Times of Johannesburg commented that the argument that an organization should be able to raise all its own funds in the country was not tenable. It went on to say:

"Most of the funds that are sent to South Africa by foundations, churches and other bodies abroad are intended for welfare, educational and similar purposes. If this money cannot be raised in South Africa itself, this is a reflection on South Africans, not on the foreign institutions." 56/

Even Die Vaderland, the pro-Nationalist newspaper, while supporting the Government's proposed legislation, was reported to have said that the grounds on which an organization became "affected" within the terms of the law required clearer definition. 57/

The Vice-President of NUSAS, Mr. Carel Tip, who condemned the legislation, said that NUSAS received all its overseas support from two Geneva-based agencies with development programmes all over the world, namely the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund. If NUSAS was declared "affected", it would mean the drastic curtailment of some of its programmes, such as the

55/ Ibid., 21 February 1974.

56/ Ibid., 27 February 1974.

57/ Ibid., 21 February 1974.

granting of scholarships and loans to medical students, prisoners and their dependants, and other school children; literacy training programmes; worker education programmes; community development plans; and a wide variety of research undertakings - including those into African wages and working conditions. The fact that the Government did not like any of these programmes, Mr. Tip went on to say, throws the credentials of the Government and not those of NUSAS into question. 58/

It was reported that church and labour organizations abroad were concerned about the legislation. The Trade Union Congress (TUC) of Great Britain was reported to have stated that it would examine the Act carefully to see whether it could be used to prevent TUC and other labour groups from sending money to South Africa to assist in the organization of black workers. 59/

In Geneva, the World Council of Churches was reported to have expressed its fear that the new law might affect some organizations which are critical of the Government's racial policies. 60/

(c) Defence Amendment Bill

In early September 1974, the régime introduced a Defence Amendment Bill in Parliament, in response to a resolution adopted by the South African Council of Churches which sanctioned conscientious objection. 61/ The terms of the proposed Amendment Act presently before the House of Assembly make it a crime punishable by up to 10 years' imprisonment for a churchman to counsel conscientious objection to a member of his congregation, or even to preach on the subject.

2. Commission of Inquiry on Internal Security

The Commission of Inquiry on Internal Security (commonly known as the "Schlebusch Commission") has completed its final reports into two of the four South African organizations it had been investigating - NUSAS, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement. 62/ The reports on NUSAS and the Institute of Race Relations, which run to thousands of pages, were tabled in Parliament in August 1974.

58/ Ibid.

59/ Ibid.

60/ Ibid.

61/ The circumstances leading to the introduction of this new bill, as well as church reaction to it, are noted in section C of the present annex.

62/ In January 1972, Prime Minister Vorster announced that the time had come to investigate the four organizations. He set up a Parliamentary Select Committee to do so, but the Committee was unable to complete its work by the time of the prorogation of Parliament. In July 1972, the work was taken over by a Commission of Inquiry.

The Commission's majority report, which was signed by all six National Party members, called for Government action against the youth programme of the South African Institute of Race Relations, in the absence of "appropriate action by the Institute". 63/

The Commission was also reported to have unanimously recommended the following:

"That steps be taken to combat the actions of people and organizations who were encouraging arms and economic boycotts against South Africa as part of an attempt to bring about a radical change in the existing political order.

"That the Minister of National Education and the university authorities should give attention to a situation which allowed people who were not genuine students to register year after year at universities, thus gaining access to the campuses for 'purposes other than studying'.

"That measures be considered to prevent political activities in South Africa from being supported and influenced by financial help from abroad. 64/

"That recognized political parties should be allowed to operate on university campuses on an equal footing with other groups.

"That NUSAS's welfare activities should come under the control of the machinery established by the National Welfare Act of 1965." 65/

In so far as NUSAS was concerned, the report stated that the organization was not representative of South African students and that it had anti-South African objectives. With regard to the campaign by NUSAS to publicize the wages and working conditions of black workers, and help alleviate their situation, the Commission unanimously 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'.

"This has to be brought about by stirring up industrial and labour unrest and by inciting blacks and whites against each other, by polarizing them against each other, and eventually by inciting them to conflict, even violent conflict, against each other." 66/

63/ The three United Party members did not support this recommendation.

64/ This recommendation has already been acted upon by the adoption of the Affected Organizations Act noted above.

65/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 August 1974. While the United Party members signed the majority report, including its conclusions and recommendations, they presented a minority report which called for a special judicial tribunal to examine all executive action taken in terms of South Africa's security legislation.

66/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 August 1974.

The Commission went on to say:

"This situation is fraught with dangers to which the commission feels constrained to draw the attention of Parliament and the Government. The possibility of dangerous outbursts must always be borne in mind and this calls for constant vigilance and readiness for quick action." 67/

The Commission did not make detailed recommendations with regard to action to be taken against the organization.

On 16 August 1974, during the special debate in Parliament on the Commission reports, the Prime Minister stated that they had been submitted to the Attorney-General, who would decide whether the findings of the Commission revealed any criminal offence. He said that this was properly the function of the Attorney-General, not of the Commission or Parliament. 68/

Mr. John D'Oliviera, Parliamentary Correspondent for the Rand Daily Mail, reported on 16 August that it was almost certain that NUSAS would be declared an "affected organization" and that its considerable foreign financial support would be cut off.

He also reported that the Government was preparing to introduce legislation to provide for a permanent Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security, which had been unanimously recommended in the first interim report of the Schlebusch Commission in 1973.

Student reaction to the Commission's findings and the action of the Government was swift and critical. A mass meeting of over 1,000 students took place at the University of Witwatersrand to protest the reports. Mr. Glen Moss, President of the Students' Representative Council at the University, warned that nobody could be blamed if an organization went underground after the legal boundaries in South Africa were narrowed. 69/

3. Repressive measures against opponents of apartheid

The South African white minority régime has continued to persecute opponents of its policy of apartheid and white supremacy, despite repeated appeals by the United Nations and the international community to end such repression.

New trials have been instituted under the Terrorism Act 70/ and the Suppression of Communism Act. 71/ In addition, a number of persons were sentenced under the Commissions Act 72/ for refusing to give evidence before the Schlebusch Commission.

67/ Ibid.

68/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 19 August 1974.

69/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 August 1974.

70/ Act No. 83 of 1967.

71/ Act No. 44 of 1950.

72/ Act No. 8 of 1947. Infringement of the Act carries a penalty of up to six months' imprisonment or a fine of R 50.

A large number of persons have been subjected to arbitrary banning orders under the Suppression of Communism Act. Most of these people have never been charged formally in court with any contravention of the law, but have been restricted by order of the Minister. A number of persons have been so restricted on several successive occasions.

Some of the people who have been banned have been those who had been released from prison after completing a term of imprisonment for their opposition to apartheid; punishment is thus extended even beyond the period set by the courts.

On 8 February 1974, on behalf of the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. S. L. Muller, revealed in Parliament that 67 persons had been restricted under the Act during 1973, as follows:

Whites	12
Coloured persons	2
Asians	8
Africans	45 <u>73/</u>

The Government has also continued to harass banned persons for highly technical infringements of the banning orders. In 1973, 24 persons were prosecuted and 19 convicted, as follows:

	<u>Prosecutions</u>	<u>Convictions</u>	<u>Acquittals</u>
Whites	11	8	3
Coloured persons	3	3	0
Asians	1	1	0
Africans	9	7	2 <u>74/</u>

According to official notices appearing in the Government Gazette and reports in the press, a large number of people have been banned and restricted during the last year. Of particular importance is the fact that the régime has recently been imposing these harsh restrictions on many leaders of black organizations, such as the South African Students' Organization and the Black Communities Programme of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, which are opposed to compromise and collaboration with racist institutions. By so doing, the régime apparently hopes to assist those who accept such institutions to claim the leadership of the black people.

73/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and Answers, 8 February 1974, cols. 31-32.

74/ Ibid.

E. Build-up of South African military forces

South Africa's military build-up has been greatly accelerated of late, especially following the recent developments in territories under Portuguese administration. A total of R 702 million (\$912.6 million) has been allocated for defence for the year 1974/75. This amount, which represents 12.8 per cent of the total budget, constitutes an increase of R 229,078,000 over the previous year. It is more than double the appropriation for the year 1972/73. 75/ It is noteworthy that the increase alone over the previous year (R 229,078,000) represents as much as the entire budgetary allocation for defence in 1965, when the Republic was already well into its programme of military build-up.

Of the total amount allocated to defence in the new budget, R 311,620,000 has been made available for the acquisition of armaments, an increase of R 134,544,000 over the previous year.

An accompanying analysis of the defence expenditure reportedly stated that the Defence Force was concentrating on strengthening its land forces - the section that would be most directly responsible for dealing with "terrorism". Expenditure for "landward defence" has almost doubled from R 161 million to nearly R 293 million. Expenditure on air defence is up from R 44 million to R 62 million. On maritime defence it is up from R 28 million to almost R 56 million. 76/

The massive increase in the defence allocation was widely viewed in South Africa as reflecting the Government's "growing concern" over the security of its borders, especially in view of recent developments with regard to the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. 77/

The Minister of Finance stated in his budget speech:

"I think the increase in the Defence Vote will meet with general approval.

"The political situation in other parts of southern Africa gives no cause for immediate concern, but it is clearly prudent for us to build up our defences against any eventuality." 78/

75/ Figures for the defence allocation for the last three years are as follows:

1974/75	R 702,000,000
1973/74	R 472,022,000
1972/73	R 335,336,000.

76/ The Star, Johannesburg, 17 August 1974.

77/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 15 August 1974.

78/ Ibid.

In an interview on 14 August 1974, the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, spoke of what he termed "the increase in 'terrorist' warfare against South Africa" and said that the country's Defence Force would have to be readied to meet those threats. He made a warning:

"It is vital that South Africa should be adequately prepared - so well prepared that a hostile African power would think twice before launching an attack.

"South Africa has no plans, and never will have, to attack any other state but potential enemies must be persuaded that to attack this country would be a futile and costly adventure.

"To prepare for peace, we must be prepared for war. This is the base of our policy." 79/

The Minister claimed that the increased expenditure on defence was necessary not only in South Africa's interests, but in the interests of the free world. He said that sea lanes around the Cape and the industrial potential which South Africa was building up had to be protected. "And we must protect the overflight rights and air facilities that we can make available. We must protect the modern harbours around our coasts. You can't do that unless you are prepared to spend on defence." 80/

1. Expansion of the armed forces

According to the latest study put out by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, 81/ the strength of the South African armed forces is 110,000, consisting of 18,000 regulars in the Permanent Force and 92,000 reserves, in the Citizen Force. This is divided as follows:

SOUTH AFRICAN ARMED FORCES: 1974/75			
	Regular forces	Reserve forces	Total
Army	10,000	80,000	90,000
Navy	2,500	9,000	11,000
Air force	5,500	3,000	8,500
Total	18,000	92,000	110,000

79/ Ibid.

80/ The Star, Johannesburg, 15 June 1974.

81/ The Military Balance 1974-1975 (London, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1973).

In addition, there are reported to be an additional 75,000 in the Commandos, who are trained and organized as a "Home Guard". 82/ This force can presumably be quickly assembled in time of "emergency", enabling the armed forces to be freed for more active military duty.

It will be recalled that in late 1972, it was announced that a voluntary military service system known as the South African Cape Corps Service Battalion, was established for the "Coloured people" of South Africa. In January 1973, the first 130 Coloured volunteers, aged between 18 and 21 years, began their training at the Cape Corps Training Centre at Fauré in the Cape province. These trainees are eligible, after training, to join and take up commissions in the Permanent Armed Forces of the Republic.

In May 1974, it was announced that a special service battalion for Indians would be established as a unit of the South African Navy, and that the training of the first 200 Indians would begin in Durban in January 1975. 83/

The Government has recently been recruiting some blacks for the armed forces. For the first time, newsmen were recently permitted to see black policemen training for border duty. The Johannesburg newspaper, The Sunday Times, also carried a report on 14 April 1974 that white, Indian, Coloured and black South Africans were fighting side by side in the border war against "terrorists".

Speaking before a passing-out parade of Coloured policemen at the Bishop Lavis Training College in Cape Town on 10 April, the Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, stated that before undergoing service at the border, the men were given an intensive training course in counter-insurgency operations at an undisclosed location near Pretoria. 84/

It was also reported that a recruiting drive has started with an advertisement in the African newspaper, The World, for African guards in the South African Army who will be equipped with FN rifles. 85/ The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, said:

"I believe that the Defence Force not only has a place for the whites of our country but that it can offer Coloured people a share in the maintenance of the military security of South Africa. We are busy with this. I believe that the Defence Force can give the Indian population an opportunity to help ensure the security of our country and we are busy with this also. But I also believe the Defence Force must gradually and with thorough training enable black governments also to make a contribution in the maintenance of

82/ Ibid.

83/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 25 May 1974.

84/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 April 1974.

85/ The Star, Johannesburg, 15 June 1974.

orderly development and progress. I hope that our Bantu, our black governments and black nations will play their part towards achieving and perpetuating conditions of peace and security.' 86/

2. Expansion of military installations

Parallel with the expansion of the military forces and the acquisition of military equipment, the Defence Department has also announced the expansion of military installations.

In Cape Town on 25 April 1974, the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, announced plans to almost double the size of the South African Navy harbour in Simonstown. The plans are reported to include proposals to reclaim large areas from the sea and thus substantially expand the shore establishment. 87/ This was believed to be the first time that such extensive enlargements of the harbour have been made since the Simonstown installation was built early in this century.

In September 1973, the Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr. J. W. Rall, announced proposals to build several airfields around the Republic in co-operation with local authorities. He said that these airfields would have to be capable of accommodating most of the larger military and commercial aircraft, and that the military aircraft would be exempt from paying landing fees to local authorities. 88/

3. Manufacture of arms

The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, announced in the House of Assembly in February 1974 that the prototype of a more advanced type of trainer aircraft had come off the production line at the Atlas Manufacturing Company at Kempton Park, Transvaal and that test flights had been carried out and had been successful. 89/

In a radio talk in February, Mr. Botha claimed that South Africa had the know-how to produce heavy armaments. Armoured cars were in fact being made and supplied to overseas customers. He added that the Defence Force was being rapidly modernized as modern equipment became available. 90/

4. Implementation of the arms embargo

On 19 March, Mr. James Callaghan, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, announced in the House of Commons that the

86/ Ibid.

87/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg. 26 April 1974.

88/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 7 September 1973.

89/ Ibid., 22 February 1974.

90/ Ibid.

Government would observe the embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. Mr. Botha asked in a statement on 20 March whether this meant that the Royal Navy would no longer be using the facilities of the Simonstown naval base or of South Africa's maritime headquarters in Cape Town. He asked whether the United Kingdom Government accepted its responsibilities under the Simonstown Agreement. 91/ Meanwhile economic interests in the United Kingdom have stepped up efforts against the arms embargo.

For instance, in April 1974, Mr. E. R. Sisson, President of the Society of British Aerospace Companies, representing more than 300 companies, wrote in a letter to the Secretary of State for Industry, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and the Minister of Defence, Mr. Roy Mason, that export business worth an estimated £500 million over the next five years could be lost, and many thousands of jobs placed in jeopardy, unless the United Kingdom Government modified its policy and permitted the British aerospace industry to supply military products to South Africa. He said that the South African Government was very close to a decision where to place its orders for defence equipment and that the United Kingdom had at most two months in which to secure this business or lose it to its competitors. He said he was publishing the letter since the matter was so important to the workforce involved. 92/

In May 1974, Mr. T. McIver, Chairman of the Swann-Hunter group and President of the Shipbuilders and Repairers' National Association, wrote to the Secretary of State for Industry that the South African market could provide orders worth about £150 million over a five to ten-year period and that these orders would be lost to competitors. 93/ Other trade groups were reported to be considering similar letters. 94/

On 21 May, Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, announced in the House of Commons that the export licence for one Westland Wasp helicopter, which was still to be delivered to South Africa, would be revoked. Contractual obligations to supply spares would also come to an end. 95/

Mr. Botha, the South African Minister of Defence, warned on 21 May that South Africa would have to review its defence commitments to the United Kingdom in the light of the British announcement. He said:

91/ The Guardian, Manchester, 21 March 1974.

92/ Financial Times, London, 30 April 1974; The Guardian, Manchester, 30 April 1974.

93/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 25 May 1974.

94/ Ibid.

95/ The contract for seven helicopters had been signed by the previous Conservative Government in 1971. The Labour Party had indicated that it would not be bound by the contract, which had been made in contravention of United Nations resolutions.

"We will have to consider as soon as possible whether, under the circumstances, where Britain does not fulfill her obligations, she can continue to demand privileges unilaterally." 96/

5. Other developments

Six British warships and three auxiliary ships called at Simonstown and Cape Town for a week-long operational visit at the end of August 1974 and took part in joint exercises with ships of the South African Navy. 97/ This was announced in a statement released by the British Consulate-General.

The British warships are the guided missile destroyer, HMS Fire and the frigates HMS Scylla, HMS Argonaut. The fleet auxiliary ships are RFA Tidespring, RFA Torbarness and the tanker Tidereach.

While in South African waters the ships would as usual make use of local weapon training facilities and would be joined by South African ships and maritime aircraft, according to the statement. 98/

It was also reported that at the beginning of April, the French helicopter cruiser Jeanne d'Arc and destroyer Forbin joined a South African naval detachment - which included the French-built submarine Emily Hobhouse - for manoeuvres. This first combined naval exercise was thought to represent the beginning of much closer naval co-operation between the two countries.

On 5 May, shortly after the new government came to power in Portugal, Admiral Hugo A. Bierman, Chief of the General Staff of South Africa's Defence Force, arrived in the United States - ostensibly on a private visit at the invitation of the "United States Strategic Institute" a conservative group of former military officers in Washington.

During this visit, on a tourist visa, he met with the Acting Secretary of the Navy, Mr. J. William Middendorf II; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer; and several members of Congress. 99/ He was reported to have been entertained at a dinner by Congressman Robert E. Bauman, at which 17 United States admirals were present. 100/

The Washington Post reported on 12 May 1974, quoting "knowledgeable diplomats", that South Africa was "inviting the US Navy to use South African ports". The South African campaign, it said, was aimed at securing the cancellation of the United States embargo on arms sales to South Africa imposed in 1963, as well as the prohibition in 1964 to visits by American naval ships to its ports. It added:

96/ The Star, Johannesburg, 22 May 1974.

97/ Ibid., 24 August 1974.

98/ Ibid.

99/ The Christian Science Monitor, 10 May 1974.

100/ The Washington Post, 12 May 1974.

"But the South Africans apparently hope to get much more, namely US support for its defence against nationalist movements seeking to overthrow the white governments of southern Africa."

F. Developments relating to international boycott of racially-selected South African sporting teams

The international opposition to apartheid in sports has gained momentum in further isolating South Africa. In compliance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly many countries have taken steps to forbid and/or to discourage their nationals from exchanges with racially selected South African sports teams. 101/

Among the most significant developments during the past year was the widespread opposition to the British and Irish Lions Rugby team to South Africa as a result of the campaign led by the anti-apartheid movements, the Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART) and other groups. High officials in the United Kingdom and Ireland including the foreign ministers have issued statements calling for the cancellation of the tour. Although the Lions tour has taken place, there has been such a growth of public opposition to such tours that Mr. Jannie Le Roux, Vice-President of the South African Rugby Board, said: "A solution must be found to prevent the country's continued and increasing rugby isolation. I have no doubt that the way things are at present we are slowly coming to the end of international Rugby in this country." 102/

In tennis South Africa was readmitted once again, in November 1973, to the Latin American Zone of the Davis Cup and, in spite of the appeals made by the Special Committee to some Latin American countries not to play against South Africa, 103/ has in fact played in, and won the Davis Cup of, that zone. It has also been reported that South Africa may win the Davis Cup by default since some of the other interzone finalists have stated that they will not play against South Africa. Inside South Africa there has been a growing concern among sporting organizations and their supporters about their isolation from international sports events. The Committee for Fairness in Sport which is based in South Africa has been very busy in counteracting the activities of the international community. It has sent a number of its members to the United Kingdom and has invited Mr. Robert Fenton, Chairman of an organization called WARD (War against Recreational Disruption) formed in New Zealand in 1972 to act as a counter to organizations such as HART (Halt All Racist Tours) and CARE (Citizens Association for Racial Equality). It has also reported that the Committee for Fairness in Sports had asked blacks to sign a document which said that the country's exclusion from international sports was "defeating and frustrating the aspirations of South African Indian, Coloured and African sportsmen". 104/ In spite of the secret manner in which the document was circulated many black sports administrators refused to sign it.

101/ See section K.6.

102/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 November 1973.

103/ See section K.6.

104/ The Star, Johannesburg, 17 August 1974.

ANNEX II

List of documents of the Special Committee

(September 1973-September 1974)

- A/AC.115/L.376 Letter dated 14 September from the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee to the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations
- A/AC.115/L.377 Letter dated 27 September 1973 from the Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.378 Letter dated 18 October from the Permanent Representative of Swaziland to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.379 Communications received by the Special Committee in connexion with the recent strikes of African Textile Workers in South Africa, Durban
- A/AC.115/L.380 Communication dated 5 February 1974 from the Pan Africanist Congress (London) addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.381 First report of the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and on Collaboration with South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.382 Correspondence between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the Permanent Representative of Paraguay to the United Nations
- A/AC.115/L.383 Recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa - Report of the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and on Collaboration with South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.384 Joint statement on the question of territories under Portuguese domination by the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24, the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid and the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia
- A/AC.115/L.385 South Africa: Aspects of foreign investment and finance - Memorandum submitted by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London
- A/AC.115/L.386 Official relations of South African régime with States Members of the United Nations

- A/AC.115/L.387 Fourth Report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information
- A/AC.115/L.388 Memorandum dated 30 August 1974 from Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee (Youth Section) addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.389 Communication dated 9 September 1974 from Mr. Abdul Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.390 Communication dated 11 September 1974 from Mr. David M. Sibeko, Head of the Pan-Africanist Congress Mission in Europe and the Americas, addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid

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