



**REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON APARTHEID**

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/9022)

UNITED NATIONS



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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/11006.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

2 October 1973

Sir,

..... I have the honour to send you herewith the report adopted unanimously by the Special Committee on Apartheid on 2 October 1973.

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 2923 (XXVII) of 15 November 1972.

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, in 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 to 18. After the adoption of that resolution, the Assembly also 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 report from time to time, as appropriate, to the General Assembly or the Security Council, or both."

2. In view of the fact that no representatives from the group of Western European and other States agreed to serve on the Special Committee, the Committee has been composed of 16 members only. During the past year, Guatemala was replaced by Peru (A/8988 and A/8994) and the Special Committee is now composed of the following 16 members: 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 12 October 1972, the Special Committee unanimously elected Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria) as Chairman to succeed Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah. On 13 March 1973, it unanimously re-elected Mr. Ogbu as Chairman, Mr. Mikhail D. Polyanichko (Ukrainian SSR) and Mr. Raoul Siclait (Haiti) as Vice-Chairmen, and Mr. Barakat Ahmad (India) as Rapporteur for a further term. Following the departure of Mr. Polyanichko, the Special Committee, on 3 August 1973, elected Mr. Vladimir Martynenko (Ukrainian SSR) as Vice-Chairman.

4. At its 236th meeting, on 9 March 1973, the Special Committee decided to replace the two existing sub-committees by two new sub-committees, namely, the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information and the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa. The former is composed of Algeria, Haiti, India, Peru, the Philippines, and the Ukrainian SSR, and the latter of Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Somalia, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Trinidad and Tobago. The two sub-committees elected as their Chairmen Mr. Ahmed Oucif (Algeria) and Mr. Hady Touré (Guinea), respectively. Following the departure of Mr. Touré, the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa elected Mr. Eustace E. Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) as its Chairman.

5. At its 262nd meeting, on 2 October 1973, 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 report;
- (d) List of documents of the Special Committee.

6. In accordance with the requests contained in General Assembly resolution 2923 (XXVII), the Special Committee is also submitting three special reports:

(a) A report on the implementation by States of United Nations resolutions on apartheid (A/9168);

(b) A report on the results of the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid (A/9169);

(c) A report on the military build-up in South Africa and the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa (A/9180). 1/

7. The Special Committee wishes to record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his interest in the work of the Special Committee. It also wished to express its great appreciation to the successive Under-Secretaries-General of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Leonid N. Kutakov and Mr. Arkady N. Shevchenko for their co-operation, and to the secretariat of the Special Committee for its co-operation and assistance.

8. Finally, it wishes to express its gratitude to the numerous organizations and individuals which have assisted the Special Committee in the fulfilment of its mandate.

1/ Also submitted to the Security Council under the symbol S/11005.

I. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

9. It may be recalled that last year the Special Committee submitted its annual report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on 23 August 1972 2/ making a number of recommendations for action by the principal organs. In an addendum to the report, submitted on 16 October 1972, the Committee reviewed developments concerning participation by South Africa in the Davis Cup tennis competition and the preparation of an educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 3/ In a second addendum submitted on 21 November 1972, the Committee reported on the progress of consultations on the proposed International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid. 4/

10. In accordance with paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2764 (XXVI) of 9 November 1971, the Special Committee also submitted a special report on maltreatment and torture of prisoners in South Africa. 5/

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

11. After considering the reports of the Special Committee, as well as reports of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly, at its twenty-seventh session, adopted six resolutions [resolutions 2923 A to F (XXVII)] in which it 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 2923 A (XXVII), the General Assembly called upon the Government of South Africa to put an end to all forms of torture and other acts of terror against opponents of apartheid under detention or imprisonment and to punish the perpetrators of such acts. It requested the Special Committee to take appropriate steps to promote an international campaign for an end to repression, maltreatment and torture of opponents of apartheid under detention or imprisonment in South Africa.

2/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 22 (A/8722); also S/10777.

3/ Ibid., Supplement No. 22 A (A/8722/Add.1); also S/10777/Add.1.

4/ Ibid., Supplement No. 22 B (A/8722/Add.2); also S/10777/Add.2.

5/ A/8770 and Add.1. For the printed text, see United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.73.II.K.1.

13. In resolution 2923 B (XXVII), the General Assembly appealed to all States, organizations and individuals for generous contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and for direct contributions to the voluntary agencies concerned, in order to enable them to provide relief and assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

14. In resolution 2923 C (XXVII), the General Assembly endorsed the programme of work of the Special Committee and, inter alia, authorized it: (a) to hold consultations with experts and representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa and African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations concerned with the campaign against apartheid; (b) to send representatives to national and international conferences dealing with the problem of apartheid and to the headquarters of specialized agencies and OAU; and (c) to take steps, in co-operation with OAU, to ensure greater moral and material assistance to the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa.

15. In resolution 2923 D (XXVII), the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to intensify the dissemination of information on apartheid and to arrange for an increase in the circulation of publications and films; requested the specialized agencies concerned to co-operate with the United Nations in disseminating information on apartheid; and UNESCO, in particular, to expedite the publication of an educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa. It also requested Governments and organizations to encourage the widest dissemination of information on the evils of apartheid and to promote the establishment of non-governmental organizations actively concerned with the campaign against apartheid.

16. In resolution 2923 E (XXVII), the General Assembly renewed its condemnation of the Government of South Africa for its policies, and for its progressive exportation of apartheid into neighbouring African territories, especially Namibia; condemned the continued and increasing co-operation of certain States and foreign economic interests with South Africa in the military, economic, political and other fields; called on all Governments to implement fully the arms embargo against South Africa, without any exceptions or reservations; requested the Security Council to consider urgently the situation in South Africa with a view to adopting effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter; and requested all States to withhold support from sporting events organized with the participation of racially selected teams from South Africa. It invited all organizations, institutions and information media to organize campaigns aimed at the following:

(a) Discontinuance of all military, economic and political collaboration with South Africa;

(b) Cessation of all activities by foreign economic interests which encourage the South African régime in its imposition of apartheid;

(c) Condemnation of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees in South Africa;

(d) Discouragement of emigration to South Africa, especially of skilled workers;

(e) Boycott of South Africa in sports and in cultural and other activities; and

(f) World-wide collection of contributions for assistance to the victims of apartheid and support to the movement of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom.

The General Assembly also requested the Special Committee to take steps to publicize all available information on collaboration by States and foreign economic and financial interests with the South African régime and South African companies.

17. Finally, in resolution 2923 F (XXVII), the Assembly welcomed the decision taken by the Workers' Group at the International Labour Conference to convene at Geneva, in 1973, an international conference of trade unions to work out a common programme of action against apartheid and authorized the Special Committee to participate effectively in the proposed conference.

18. A number of other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session included references to apartheid and the situation in the Republic of South Africa. In resolution 2922 (XXVII) of 15 November 1972 in particular, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to transmit to the Special Committee on Apartheid the revised draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (A/C.3/L.1942/Rev.1) and the amendments thereto (A/C.3/L.1948/Rev.1) for its comments and views.

B. Organization of work of the Special Committee

19. At the beginning of 1973, the Special Committee gave detailed consideration to the organization of its work and the programme of work for 1973, with a view to enabling the Committee to discharge its responsibilities more effectively. The matter was discussed at the 233rd to 237th and 246th meetings, between 20 February and 25 April 1973. Following statements by a number of members, a working group - composed of the representatives of Guinea, Hungary, the Philippines, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Ukrainian SSR - was established to consolidate the various suggestions. After discussing the report of this working group, the Special Committee agreed on the following general considerations:

(a) The programme of work of the Special Committee should be action-oriented;

(b) Primary attention should be given to political, economic and other measures for the elimination of apartheid while considering at the same time humanitarian and other aspects, as appropriate;

(c) The Special Committee should continue to play a stimulating role in mobilizing international public opinion and in encouraging and co-ordinating the efforts of anti-apartheid movements;

(d) The main items arising from relevant General Assembly resolutions should be considered according to a list of priorities.

20. On the suggestion of the working group, it also decided to reorganize its subsidiary bodies, so as to replace the two former sub-committees by two new sub-committees, namely, the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information and the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa.

21. It decided that the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information would have the following terms of reference:

(a) To screen all communications from non-governmental organizations and individuals;

(b) To screen requests for hearings;

(c) To keep in close consultation with the Unit on Apartheid and the Office of Public Information with regard to publicity on apartheid;

(d) To maintain liaison with anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations opposed to apartheid and follow their activities.

(e) To make recommendations to the Special Committee on the above matters and on documents and data to be given widest publicity.

22. The terms of reference of the Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa were laid down as follows:

(a) To study developments concerning the implementation of the provisions of United Nations resolutions concerning apartheid;

(b) To study developments concerning the economic, military, political and other collaboration by Governments and economic interests with the South African Government and companies;

(c) To seek and obtain information on these matters from organizations and other appropriate sources;

(d) To submit reports and studies to the Special Committee and, in particular, a draft report on the implementation of United Nations resolutions as called for under General Assembly resolution 2923 C (XXVII);

(e) To draw the attention of the Special Committee to important current developments concerning collaboration with the South African Government and companies, and to make recommendations for action by the Special Committee.

23. At its 246th meeting on 25 April 1973, the Special Committee approved the composition of the two sub-committees as follows:

Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information: Algeria, Haiti, India, Philippines and Ukrainian SSR. 6/

Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa: Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic and Trinidad and Tobago.

The work of the two sub-committees is described in sections N and O of the present chapter.

24. Finally, the Special Committee approved in principle a number of specific proposals by the working group for the programme of work for 1973.

25. In order to enable the Committee to keep up to date on the developments in South Africa and take timely action, the Rapporteur was requested to continue to draw the attention of the Special Committee, as appropriate, to all important developments. It decided that the reports by the Rapporteur on current developments would be published as documents of the Committee for its consideration.

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

26. As in previous years, the Special Committee again promoted the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which commemorates the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960 in which scores of peaceful demonstrators against the racist laws were killed or injured by the South African police. On 20 February 1973, it adopted an appeal for the widest and most effective observance of the International Day and addressed it to all States, as well as specialized agencies, international organizations and non-governmental organizations concerned.

27. The Special Committee again held a special meeting at United Nations Headquarters to commemorate the International Day. It requested and authorized its Chairman to make a statement on the day before the Security Council which was then meeting in Panama.

28. At the invitation of the Special Committee, the meeting at the United Nations Headquarters was attended by representatives of permanent missions to the United Nations, specialized agencies and OAU. Statements were made by a representative of the Secretary-General, a representative of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and the Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

6/ Peru was subsequently appointed to the Sub-Committee.

Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as by the Chairman of the African Group and the Group of Eastern European States at the United Nations. The representative of New Zealand was invited to make a statement upon his request. Statements were also made by the representatives of Guinea, Haiti, Nepal, the Philippines and Somalia as members of the Special Committee.

29. The Acting Chairman, speaking also as representative of the Ukrainian SSR, said that the tragic event of Sharpeville had become a symbol of mankind's inflexible will to carry on an uncompromising struggle against racism and ensure its complete elimination. The peoples of the world had established the United Nations, one of whose fundamental tasks was to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The white South African leaders, however, had shortly afterwards proclaimed apartheid, the worst manifestation of racism, as an official policy and ideology. They had thus shown that they were the ideological and political successors to Hitler. Apartheid was not only an ideology and a State policy, but also a system of racial segregation, oppression and exploitation which had been consolidated through numerous laws. The socio-political nature of apartheid showed that it was a form of modern slavery which stood at the basis of the entire economic and political structure of South Africa. The South African régime's criminal policy of apartheid was founded on political, military, economic and financial support from imperialistic forces and international monopolies which regarded South Africa first and foremost as an object for economic activities and the racist régime as an important remaining bulwark of colonialism in Africa. He expressed the Special Committee's conviction that the cause of peace required decisive action to eradicate the evils of apartheid and racism. //

30. At the same time, during its session in Panama, the Security Council also observed the International Day on 21 March. Statements were made by the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council (also speaking as representative of Panama) and the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Kenya.

31. The Chairman of the Special Committee stated that following the Sharpeville massacre, the Security Council had recognized that the situation in South Africa could endanger international peace and had called upon South Africa to abandon its racial policies. Numerous resolutions had been adopted since then by the Council, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies, seeking an end to apartheid, but South Africa had remained intransigent. Moreover, South Africa had continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, had sent forces to Zimbabwe to support the illegal Ian Smith régime, and had supported the Portuguese colonial authorities in Mozambique and Angola, who were carrying on a war against the peoples of those Territories. South Africa had repeatedly threatened the security and territorial integrity of the independent African States in southern Africa and was essentially at war against the great majority of the people of South Africa, as well as against

// The text of the statement of the Acting Chairman was reproduced in Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 7/73, April 1973.

the principles of the United Nations. On behalf of the Special Committee, he appealed to the Security Council to take the measures necessary to deal with this situation and to bring apartheid to an end. He urged the main trading partners of South Africa, in particular the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and France, to reconsider their position on this matter and to facilitate effective action by the Security Council. 8/

D. Tenth anniversary of the Special Committee

32. At a meeting, on 2 April 1973, the Special Committee observed the tenth anniversary of its first meeting and began its special session.

33. Statements in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Special Committee were made by the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Secretary-General, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, the representative of OAU, and the representative of the World Peace Council.

34. The Chairman of the Special Committee recalled that, at the time of its establishment, the Committee had been boycotted by certain powerful countries, including those which continued to collaborate with the racist régime in South Africa. It had nevertheless surmounted obstacles, discharging its mandate with increasing vigour. Within weeks of beginning work in 1963, it had gained the support of the Summit Conference of Independent African States, which had been instrumental in bringing the problem of apartheid before the Security Council and hence in promoting the adoption of the arms embargo against South Africa in August 1963. The Special Committee's efforts had led that same year to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) of 11 October 1963 and, later, to the establishment of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. In 1966, the Special Committee's initiative had led to the convening of an international seminar on apartheid at Brasilia which, in turn, led to the decision to launch an international campaign against apartheid. The Special Committee had annually promoted the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which had been proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1966. On the Special Committee's proposal, the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa was organized in 1967 at Kitwe, Zambia. That seminar had promoted more co-ordinated efforts by the United Nations on the problems of southern Africa. The Committee's sessions in Stockholm, London and Geneva, during the International Year for Human Rights in 1968, had greatly stimulated the international campaign against apartheid. The Special Committee had also made an important contribution in furthering the establishment of anti-apartheid movements throughout the world, especially in Western countries.

35. The Secretary-General stated that the General Assembly had established the Special Committee in order to enable the situation in southern Africa to be followed continuously by the United Nations, and not only during annual sessions

8/ Text of the statement of the Chairman, ibid.

of the Assembly. It had rightly been felt that attention to developments in South Africa must be constant. The Special Committee had played an important role in that vital activity, and its work had made a major contribution to the ever-increasing public awareness of conditions which, unhappily, still existed more than 10 years after the Sharpeville incident. The most important aspect of the work of the Special Committee over the previous 10 years had been its determination to make positive proposals for the elimination of apartheid. It had actively and successfully urged the implementation of United Nations resolutions by a great number of Member States and organizations; it had promoted the movement towards the arms embargo against South Africa; it had repeatedly drawn public attention to repressive policies and the ill-treatment of prisoners; it had initiated discussion and action in the human rights field; it had been the driving force behind the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and was concerned with the work of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; it had stimulated action in the specialized agencies; it had proposed the establishment of the Unit on Apartheid, whose work has been of such significance; and it had conducted conferences and seminars which had further attracted international attention to the subject.

36. The Secretary-General made particular reference to the contribution made by non-governmental organizations and individuals who had personal experience of, and were deeply concerned about, the policies of apartheid. The endeavours of representatives of Governments, liberation movements, the Organization of African Unity, the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations had not only given the Special Committee much vital information but had also established its important role in the struggle against apartheid.

37. He extended his best wishes to the Committee in the discharge of its vitally important task.

38. The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples congratulated the Special Committee and drew special attention to the aggressive role played by the South African régime in neighbouring Territories.

39. Mr. Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, expressed his unequivocal appreciation of the work done by the Special Committee in the past decade. Its record, he said, was outstanding, thanks to the militant combat spirit with which it had tackled its tasks and the support it had drawn from the overwhelming majority of Member States and mankind as a whole.

40. Despite the achievements of the anti-apartheid movement, he noted, the obnoxious system persisted. South Africa was economically stronger than it had been 10 years previously. That strength had meant the greater impoverishment of the people, greater suffering and intensified destitution. South Africa had accumulated that strength as a result of increasing financial, trade and technological links with certain countries which had chosen to defy not only the

United Nations but also the mass of their peoples. South Africa's defence force, police, intelligence agencies and armaments industry were now stronger than they had been 10 years previously. The last 10 years had also seen an extension of anti-democratic repressive legislation and an intensification of its application. South Africa had become increasingly defiant of the international community by intensifying the system of apartheid, by refusing to recognize the termination of its mandate over Namibia and by underpinning its entente with the Government of Portugal and the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia directed against the interests of international peace and security.

41. Mr. Tambo also stated that failure to dislodge the apartheid régime could not be blamed on the Special Committee, but rather on certain Member States which had deliberately promoted the policies of the apartheid régime. There was also the failure of the international community to recognize that external pressures were of limited effectiveness if they did not go hand in hand with substantial and all-round material assistance to the liberation movement which was the sole force capable of bringing liberation to the oppressed peoples.

42. He had no doubt, however, that the main lesson to be gleaned from the experience of the past 10 years was the inevitability of the defeat of the forces of apartheid, racism and colonialism in southern Africa and the rest of the African continent.

43. The representative of OAU warmly congratulated the Special Committee on Apartheid and expressed the deep gratitude of the African continent for the 10 years of laudable efforts during which the Committee had courageously endeavoured to inform world public opinion of the evils of apartheid. The representative of the World Peace Council conveyed the greetings of his organization to the Special Committee.

44. The representatives of Guinea, Haiti, India, Nigeria, the Philippines and Trinidad and Tobago reviewed the contribution of the Special Committee in the past decade and called for more effective action for the speedy elimination of apartheid.

E. Special session, 2 to 4 April 1973

45. As in past years, the Special Committee held a special session during the year with the participation of the South African liberation movement, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations concerned with the campaign against apartheid, as well as individual experts. Arrangements for this special session were decided on the recommendation of an Ad Hoc Working Group which was composed of Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, Trinidad and Tobago and the Ukrainian SSR, with the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. E. E. Seignoret, as Chairman. 9/

46. The special session was held from 2 to 4 April - beginning on the tenth anniversary of the first meeting of the Committee. 10/ Its agenda consisted of the following items:

- (1) General review of international action against apartheid;
- (2) Recent trends in resistance against apartheid in South Africa, with special reference to desirable international action;
- (3) Ways and means of mobilizing the support of information media in the international campaign against apartheid.

47. The presiding officers of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of Twenty-four), the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa participated in the special session at the invitation of the Special Committee. Other participants included the following representatives of organizations and individual experts:

African National Congress (ANC)	Mr. Oliver Tambo
American Committee on Africa, New York	Mr. George Houser Mrs. J. Davis Mr. R. Leonard Mr. R. Gould
Halt All Racist Tours (HART) Christchurch, New Zealand	Mr. Des Wilson

9/ The Chairmen of the Sub-Committee on Information and the Sub-Committee on Petitions, the representatives of Ghana and Algeria, respectively, were also invited to participate in the meetings of the Working Group.

10/ Because of the holding of the session of the Security Council in Panama on 21 March, the Special Committee decided to hold its special session on 2 April, the tenth anniversary of the first meeting of the Special Committee, rather than on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, as in previous years.

International Campaign Against Racism in Sports (ICARIS)	Mr. Dennis Brutus
International Defence and Aid Fund (North American Branch)	Mr. Kenneth Carstens
World Peace Council, Helsinki	Mr. Joe Jele
Miss Margaret Marshall	
Professor Leslie Rubin	
Mr. Malvin R. Goode	
Miss Barbara Rogers	London

48. The documentation submitted to the special session included two papers prepared by the Rapporteur on the banning of student leaders and on the strikes of black workers in South Africa as well as a paper, 'Apartheid and the International Community' by Professor Leslie Rubin and another, 'Student Resistance to Apartheid: Recent Trends' by Miss Margaret Marshall.

49. The main emphasis in the special session was, as in the past, on consultations aimed at the formulation of proposals and recommendations for action by the United Nations and other organizations, and for greater co-operation in the international campaign against apartheid, especially between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations.

50. At the close of the session, the Chairman expressed satisfaction that the special session had benefited from the knowledge and experience of all the participants and had led to the formulation of concrete proposals and recommendations which, he hoped, would be translated into effective action by Governments, non-governmental organizations and the general public. The suggestions, he noted, related in the main to the discontinuance of collaboration with South Africa, the international boycott of South Africa in sports and other fields, assistance to the liberation movements and the victims of apartheid, information and publicity against apartheid and co-operation among organizations engaged in anti-apartheid activities.

51. The Special Committee subsequently took these suggestions into account both in its consideration of various aspects of apartheid and in the formulation of the conclusions and recommendations in this report.

F. Co-operation with United Nations organs

52. In accordance with the provision in General Assembly resolution 2923 C (XXVII) of 15 November 1972, requesting the Special Committee to continue its co-operation with other United Nations bodies concerned with apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, the Special Committee continued to maintain close

co-operation with a number of other United Nations bodies, particularly the Special Committee of Twenty-four, 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.

53. The Special Committee invited the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-four and the Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa to address its solemn meeting on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 21 March 1973, and to participate in the special session held from 2 to 4 April 1973 marking the tenth anniversary of the Special Committee.

54. The Special Committee, in turn, participated in the special meeting of the Special Committee of Twenty-four on 23 May 1973 in observance of the Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights, and the special meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia on 24 August 1973 in observance of Namibia Day.

55. A significant aspect of co-operation during the year was in connexion with missions by the Special Committee.

56. At the request of the Special Committee of Twenty-four, the delegations of the Special Committee on Apartheid represented the former in the following missions:

(a) Mr. Hussain Nur Elmi (Somalia) in discussions with the secretariat of the World Peace Council at Helsinki from 6 to 8 February 1973;

(b) Mr. N. Jazzar (Syrian Arab Republic) at the meeting on colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism in Africa, held at Tananarive from 29 June to 2 July 1973 under the sponsorship of the World Peace Council.

57. Representatives of the Special Committee of Twenty-four represented the Special Committee on Apartheid in the following missions:

(a) Mr. Ehsassi (Iran) at the twelfth session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization at Aden, 24 to 27 February 1973;

(b) Mr. Frank Abdullah (Trinidad and Tobago) at the meeting of the Non-Governmental Organizations' Sub-Committee on Decolonization, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid held at Geneva on 19 May 1973.

58. Representatives of the Special Committee represented the views of the United Nations Council for Namibia at the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid at Geneva, 15 to 16 June 1973 and in the mission to the Federal Republic of Germany, 25 to 28 August 1973.

59. The Special Committee also drew the attention of other bodies to various matters of concern to them. For instance it drew the attention of the Special Committee of Twenty-four to the press reports on an application by South African Airways for a new air route between Johannesburg and New York via Cape Verde Islands.

60. The United Nations Council for Namibia sent the Special Committee the declaration issued by it at Lusaka in June 1973 (A/AC.131/31).

G. Consideration of developments relating to apartheid

1. Strikes by black workers in South Africa

61. At the 232nd meeting, on 15 February 1973, the Rapporteur drew the attention of the Special Committee to the recent strikes of African workers in South Africa which had already affected over 100 plants and about 50,000 workers. Stressing the deep significance of these strikes, he pointed out that at the beginning of 1973 the South African Government had faced its most serious crisis since the Sharpeville massacre. 11/

62. The Special Committee took note of three communications received by it from the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Peace Council expressing concern over the situation and urging that steps be taken to put an end to the repressive measures taken by the South African authorities against the strikers. 12/

63. The Rapporteur drew the attention of the Special Committee, at its 249th meeting, on 29 May 1973, to further developments relating to the matter. He pointed out that the strikes of the black workers had continued and spread in South Africa. Analysing the new legislation introduced by the South African Government, he stressed that it continued to be adamantly opposed to granting trade union rights to Africans. The terms of the proposed legislation showed that the Government's real intention was not to grant African workers any rights but to control them more effectively. The Chairman of the Special Committee referred to the situation in his address to the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid.

64. At its 258th meeting, on 13 September 1973, the Special Committee considered press reports concerning the killing on 11 September 1973 of African miners at Carletonville, South Africa. Several representatives made statements condemning the Government of South Africa and the cruel and criminal nature of its policy. The Committee adopted a statement prepared by the Rapporteur and decided to send it, together with the summary records of the meeting, to the President of the Security Council, to the Secretary-General, and to the three confederations of trade unions (A/9160-S/11000).

2. Repressive measures against opponents of apartheid

65. The Special Committee continued to follow closely developments concerning repressive measures taken by the Government of South Africa against opponents of apartheid. It also devoted attention to specific events and individual cases which were brought to its attention. It took steps to publicize a number of communications from the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other organizations on the question of political prisoners and repressive measures.

11/ The full text of the statement was reproduced in document A/AC.115/L.352.

12/ The texts of these communications were reproduced in document A/AC.115/L.353.

66. At its 228th meeting, on 11 December 1972, the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to press reports that three armed men had entered the home of Mrs. Winnie Mandela, who had been served with banning and house arrest orders for her opposition to apartheid. Under the terms of these orders, Mrs. Mandela, wife of Mr. Nelson Mandela who is serving life imprisonment for his leadership of the struggle against apartheid, is confined to her home in the African section of Johannesburg at nights and week-ends and prohibited from receiving visitors. The Committee expressed grave concern over her safety and on its behalf the Chairman sent a letter expressing concern to Mrs. Mandela.

67. At the 234th meeting on 23 February 1973, the representative of Algeria drew the attention of the Committee to a South African press report that Miss Zinzie Mandela, the 12-year-old daughter of Mrs. Mandela, had addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee expressing fears for the safety of her mother. The letter, however, was not received by the Chairman.

68. At the 235th meeting on 5 March 1973, after considering a report by the Rapporteur, the Committee requested the Chairman:

(a) To send a letter to the daughter of Mrs. Mandela;

(b) To request the Secretary-General to take steps to obtain assurances from the South African Government concerning the safety of Mrs. Mandela;

(c) To address a letter to the International Committee of the Red Cross, requesting appropriate action.

69. Accordingly, the Chairman addressed a letter on 9 March 1973 to Miss Zinzie Mandela assuring her that the Committee would do everything possible to ensure her mother's safety. He added that the Committee would continue to do everything possible to secure the release of her father from prison and the ending of the cruel restrictions on her mother.

70. In the letter to the Secretary-General, dated 9 March 1973, the Chairman appealed to him to approach the South African authorities, and added:

"... You may recall that the General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly called on the South African Government to liberate all those subjected to imprisonment and restrictions for their opposition to apartheid. Not only has the South African Government failed to heed these requests, but it has shown callous disregard for the safety of Mrs. Mandela and others.

"In view of the recent incidents concerning Mrs. Mandela and the reported appeal of Miss Mandela, referred to above, I would be most grateful if you would be kind enough to take appropriate action in response to the request of the Special Committee."

71. The Secretary-General addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of South Africa on 5 April, requesting that the matter be brought to the notice of

the South African Government and that he be informed of any comments on the subject. No reply had been received from the South African Government as at 2 October 1973.

72. The Chairman also addressed a letter dated 9 March 1973 to the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross conveying the request of the Special Committee to use his good offices to secure assurances from the South African authorities that steps would be taken to ensure Mrs. Mandela's safety against a recurrence of such criminal attacks.

73. In a reply dated 5 April 1973, the President of the International Committee stated:

"During the next of their visits to political detainees in South Africa, the delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross, in their talks with the authorities in Pretoria, will raise the subject of this lady who you inform me is confined to her home by night, at week-ends and during holidays.

"You may be assured that our representatives will do their utmost to wrest from the authorities full assurance that the necessary steps will be taken to ensure Mrs. Mandela's safety from the danger which you fear is threatening her."

74. At the 236th meeting, on 9 March 1973, the Rapporteur drew the attention of the Special Committee to the serving of banning orders on several leaders of the National Union of South African Students and the South African Students Organization. The National Union, with a membership of 24,000, had opposed the policy of apartheid. The South African Students Organization, a black national organization, had actively tried to promote black solidarity against apartheid, and the banning orders served on its leaders had followed the theft of confidential files from offices. The two organizations had nevertheless elected new officers to act for those placed under banning orders, and announced that they would continue their struggle.

75. On 19 April 1973, the Special Committee was informed of the trial of Mr. John William Hosey who had been imprisoned in South Africa since 25 October 1972. In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee from Coventry, England, the father of the defendant, Mr. John Hosey, Sr., described the circumstances of the arrest and subsequent indictment of his son. In particular, he stated that the charges brought against the defendant had been: (a) that he had distributed leaflets of an anti-racialist character some time in 1971; and (b) that he had forged passes which were found in his possession. The South African Government had endeavoured to link Mr. Hosey with five other people arrested in July 1972, as being part of a "terrorist" plot. Mr. Hosey, Sr. expressed his extreme concern for his son's welfare and for the fact that his son was being charged under the Terrorism Act.

76. In a second communication dated 21 April 1973, Mr. John Hosey, Sr. provided additional details concerning the arrest and trial of his son. He stated that the

trial had opened in Pretoria on 19 March and that the six accused had been subjected to gruelling interrogation and kept in solitary confinement.

77. The Special Committee gave close attention to this case of the "Pretoria Six" involving Mr. Hosey; Mr. Alexandre Moumbaris, an Australian national; and four Africans from South Africa. The Chairman met with Mr. John Hosey, Sr. in the United Kingdom in March 1973 and with Mrs. Marie José Moumbaris, wife of Mr. A. Moumbaris, in Paris in June 1973 and assured them of the concern of the Special Committee.

78. On 20 June, Mr. Moumbaris was sentenced to 12 years in prison, Mr. Hosey to 5 years and the four Africans to 15 years each. The Chairman immediately issued a statement to the press, in which he condemned the harsh sentences handed down against the six accused. On behalf of the Special Committee, he called on all organizations and peoples to do all in their power to secure the release of those and other prisoners in South Africa, and to hasten the eradication of the crime of apartheid.

79. On the suggestion of the Chairman, the Special Committee decided at the 252nd meeting on 3 July to invite both Mr. John Hosey, Sr., and Mrs. Moumbaris to come to New York to appear before the Special Committee. Consultations were held with them at the 254th meeting on 24 July.

80. Mrs. Moumbaris, a French citizen, described her experience as she and her husband had set out, in June 1972, on a visit to South Africa and neighbouring countries. On returning to South Africa from Botswana in July 1972, they had been arrested at the frontier by eight armed men dressed in civilian clothing. She was searched, insulted and interrogated and was then taken to the Pretoria Central Prison. She described her detention for four months in solitary confinement, and the severe ill-treatment to which she had been subjected, though she had been pregnant at that time. Meanwhile, the Moumbaris' flat in London had been broken into and ransacked by agents of the South African police. Personal papers and photographs had been stolen, and they were later used against her husband during the trial.

81. Mrs. Moumbaris also testified that while under detention she had witnessed atrocious scenes in which other female prisoners were being ill-treated and tortured.

82. At the end of September 1972, her parents had approached the French Government, the French Consulate in Johannesburg, their parliamentary representative, the church and the Red Cross for information about her whereabouts. The South African Government had informed the French Consulate that it knew nothing about her. Subsequently, she had been expelled without having been visited by a French consular official.

83. Since the conviction of her husband, she had received no news about him. She did not know where he was imprisoned or what his mental and physical state was. She stressed that it was unacceptable that men should be judged under a law such as the Terrorism Act, which could only be compared with the laws adopted

during the Nazi régime. She appealed to the Committee to intensify publicity so as to inform the whole world of the horrors committed in South Africa, and the inadmissible assistance which certain countries were giving to South Africa.

84. Mr. Hosey, Sr. said that, although his son had been arrested on 27 October 1972 upon his arrival in South Africa, it had taken him almost five weeks to discover, with the help of the Irish Embassy in London, that his son was being detained in a Pretoria prison. His son and the other accused had been held in solitary confinement for several months, and had suffered brutality and indignity at the hands of the South African police.

85. With the assistance of persons in the British Labour Party and trade union movement, he had been able to travel to South Africa in April 1973 and attend the trial. On 20 June 1973 his son had been found not guilty of distributing leaflets, but guilty of the possession of passes. The finding on the latter charge was on a presumption: he could not prove that he was unaware that the person to whom he was to deliver the passes was a "terrorist" and not, as he had claimed, a trade unionist who had been deprived of his passes and was in danger of being sent back to the African reserve. Mr. Hosey added that he had not been able to obtain information as to where his son would be held.

86. The Special Committee decided to transmit the records of the meeting to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the United Nations Council for Namibia, and the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, as well as to the representatives of Australia, France and Ireland.

87. Recalling its concern with the problem of repression since its inception in 1963, the Committee also decided to draw up a declaration on the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa. At its 256th meeting on 17 August 1973, the Special Committee adopted the text of this statement, which concluded with an appeal to Governments and organizations as follows:

"The Special Committee calls on world public opinion to keep alive the cause of the prisoners of the racist régime in South Africa, which is, indeed, the cause of all humanity.

"We have a duty to demonstrate our solidarity with those who are persecuted for their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We must redouble our efforts and do all in our power to free those men and women who represent the best traditions of freedom movements, and to rid the world of the scourge of racism.

"The men and women persecuted by the South African régime for their opposition to apartheid and racism truly represent the people of South Africa. The National Party régime which conceived the odious policy of apartheid and continues to maintain it by force against a recalcitrant majority in no way represents the people of South Africa and should not be accorded that privilege.

"The Special Committee calls on all Governments and organizations to observe 11 October 1973 as the day of solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa and to pledge their support for more vigorous international action in support of their legitimate cause."

88. The statement was transmitted by the Chairman to the Permanent Representatives of States Members of the United Nations, or members of the specialized agencies, and to a number of non-governmental organizations.

89. At its 258th meeting, on 13 September 1973, the Special Committee decided that the Chairman should propose to the Chairman of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly that one or two meetings on 11 October 1973 be devoted to the Day of Solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa, and that the South African liberation movements be invited, in consultation with OAU, to participate in the meetings of the Special Political Committee relating to apartheid.

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

90. The Special Committee considered the question of the military build-up in, and the arms embargo against, South Africa at its 247th to 249th and 252nd meetings. It had before it a working paper on recent developments concerning the military build-up. It decided, at the 248th meeting, on 15 May 1973, to prepare a special report on the subject to be submitted to the Security Council and the General Assembly. It also decided to transmit the working paper to the International Trade Union Conference against apartheid to be held at Geneva in June.

91. The Special Committee requested its delegation to visit Paris and convey its concern to the French Government about continued military co-operation between France and South Africa, especially in the light of press reports concerning the supply of Mirage aircraft to South Africa and assistance in the manufacture of such aircraft in South Africa.

92. In a report to the Committee, at its 252nd meeting, on 3 July, the Chairman stated that he and the representative of the Philippines had visited the Foreign Ministry in Paris on 18 June and had conveyed the Committee's concern about the matter. The Chairman stated that the representative of the French Foreign Ministry, Mr. Rebyrol, the Director for Africa and Malagasy, had informed the delegation that the press reports were not fully accurate. He had reiterated the position of the French Government that it would not supply arms and equipment to be used against guerrillas; the Mirage jets, in the view of the French Government were defensive aircraft which could not be used against guerrillas.

93. The Chairman said that the delegation had stressed that the Security Council resolution did not make any distinction or exceptions with regard to the arms embargo. As the representative of the Foreign Ministry had indicated that the matter fell within the jurisdiction of another division of the Ministry, the Chairman had requested that the views on the Special Committee be conveyed to the appropriate quarters.

94. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided that a communication should be sent to the Permanent Representative of France concerning this matter. In accordance with that decision, the Chairman addressed the following letter, dated 20 July 1973, to the Permanent Representative of France:

"The Special Committee on Apartheid has requested me to convey to you its concern over the recent press reports regarding the continued military collaboration between France and South Africa and to seek confirmation or denial of these reports.

"As will be seen from the enclosed press reports, the South African Air Force should take delivery of the first 50 French-built Mirage Interceptor strike jet fighters before the end of this year; Mirage aircraft would also soon be manufactured in South Africa under licence.

"The Special Committee on Apartheid has always emphasized the importance of the strict implementation of the arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa, in accordance with resolutions of the Security Council. The observance of the arms embargo is an essential step in efforts to secure eradication of apartheid. The Security Council, it may be noted, has not allowed for any exceptions, reservations or qualifications to the arms embargo, as contained in paragraph 4 (a) of resolution 282 (1970) adopted on 23 July 1970. The Committee has a special responsibility to draw the attention of the Security Council and the General Assembly to developments regarding the situation in South Africa, particularly the implementation of the arms embargo.

"I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize again, as I did at my meeting at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently, that the Special Committee attaches great importance to the attitude of your country. While appreciating your Government's declared opposition to apartheid, it regards the full implementation of the arms embargo as of utmost importance.

"I would be grateful if you could provide the Committee with the relevant information, at the earliest possible time."

At its 258th meeting, on 13 September 1973, the Special Committee decided to send a reminder to the Permanent Representative of France concerning the letter of 20 July 1973 relating to the alleged supply of Mirage jets to South Africa. It also decided that the Chairman should address a letter to the Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations requesting confirmation of denial of published reports to the effect that South Africa would manufacture a three-seat monoplane developed in Italy which could carry machine-guns, rockets or bombs and could be used for low-level tactical support of ground forces.

95. At its 260th meeting, on 24 September 1973, The Chairman informed the Special Committee that he and the Rapporteur met with the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations on 19 September 1973 at his request. At that meeting the Permanent Representative of France stated that France had sold Mirage aircraft to South Africa. He said that the French position had always been that there was a distinction between weapons for anti-guerrilla operations and weapons for external defence.

4. Airline communications with South Africa

96. At its 235th meeting, on 5 March 1973, the Special Committee took note of press reports that the South African Airways intended to open an air route between Johannesburg and New York, via Sal Island (Cape Verde). At its request, the Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter, through the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, to the United States authorities in Washington, expressing the concern of the Special Committee. He also sent a letter to the Chairman of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four, requesting that the attention of that Committee be drawn to the matter.

97. In the letter to the Permanent Representative of the United States of America, the Chairman recalled the provision in paragraph 4 of resolution 1761 (XVII), adopted by the General Assembly on 6 November 1962, requesting Member States "to refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and companies registered under the laws of South Africa". He expressed the hope that the United States Government would refrain from providing any additional facilities to the South African Airways and would act in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly

98. In a reply dated 28 June 1973, the United States Permanent Representative stated:

"South African Airways has filed an application with the United States Civil Aeronautics Board for an amendment of its foreign air carrier permit to carry persons, property and mail between Johannesburg and New York via Sal Island and/or Las Palmas. The application has been filed pursuant to the United States-South Africa Air Transport Agreement signed on 23 May 1947 which grants each party two air routes between the two countries. Currently, United States and South African carriers are respectively utilizing only one of their agreed routes. Pursuant to the rules of the Civil Aeronautics Board, a number of individuals and groups have intervened in the proceeding to oppose South African Airways' application. The Board's administrative law judge has recently issued a decision recommending that the route be granted and the interveners now have an opportunity to make further presentations before a decision on the application by the Civil Aeronautics Board. In accordance with applicable procedures, the Board's final decision will be subject to review by the President of the United States. I hope the foregoing will be of use to the Committee in its work."

99. The Committee took note of this reply at its 253rd meeting, on 12 July 1973. The Chairman pointed out that the United States-South African Air Transport Agreement of 1947 antedated the apartheid régime. He said that Member States should take account of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations since that date which condemned apartheid as a crime and called for measures against the racist régime of South Africa. He reiterated the hope that the United States Government would refrain from providing further encouragement to that régime.

100. At its 257th meeting, on 7 September 1973, the Special Committee took note of a press report that the South African Airways had announced that it would inaugurate the new route in November 1973. It decided to convey its regrets to the United States Government and to inform the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

5. International boycott of racially selected sports teams from South Africa

101. The Special Committee continued during this period to devote considerable attention to the question of the international boycott of racially selected South African teams in the light of General Assembly resolution 2775 D (XXVI) of 20 November 1971 reaffirmed in resolution 2923 U (XXVII) of 15 November 1972.

(a) Squash rackets tournament

102. At its 227th meeting, on 21 November 1972, the Special Committee considered information that a South African squash rackets team would be touring the United Kingdom at the invitation of the English Squash Rackets Association. In pursuance of a decision by the Special Committee, the Chairman addressed communications on 24 November 1972 to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations and to the President of the British Squash Rackets Association, in which he pointed out that such invitations were contrary to the provisions of General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 2775 D (XXVI). He suggested that they should take steps to ensure the cancellation of the tour.

103. At its 233rd meeting, on 20 February 1973, the Special Committee took note of a letter from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom and a letter from the Secretary of the Squash Rackets Association in the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom representative stated that his country had not supported General Assembly resolution 2775 D (XXVI) on apartheid in sports. The reason for its attitude at that time still applied, namely, that while his country did not approve of the practice of apartheid in sport, it felt that the decision on sporting contacts should be left to the sporting bodies themselves. The communication from the Secretary of the Squash Rackets Association said that the letter from the Special Committee had been received after the South African team had started its tour in the United Kingdom.

104. At its 253rd meeting, on 12 July 1973, the Special Committee decided, on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information, to send letters to the Permanent Missions of Australia, Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom and New Zealand concerning information that teams from these countries would participate in the 1973 World Squash Rackets Tournament to be held in South Africa. Expressing the concern of the Committee, the Chairman appealed to the Governments of these countries to take the appropriate measures to disallow the participation of their nationals in the event.

105. In their replies the Permanent Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States stated that, although their Governments do not approve of the practice of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, they could not take any action on this matter since decisions on sports contacts rested with the individual sportsmen and the sporting bodies.

106. The Permanent Representatives of Australia and New Zealand stated that their Governments had endeavoured to persuade their national associations not to send teams to South Africa. They could not, however, place restrictions on the freedom of movement of their nationals.

107. The Permanent Representative of Japan stated in his reply that in accordance with its policy against apartheid and following representations by the Government of Japan, the Japan Squash Rackets Association had decided to cancel its scheduled participation in the tournament. On behalf of the Committee, the Chairman sent a letter of appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Japan.

108. At its 254th meeting, on 24 July 1973, the Rapporteur drew the attention of the Special Committee (A/AC.115/L.368) to reports concerning the World Squash Rackets Championship to be held in South Africa in August. He stated that several traditionally leading squash rackets countries - Pakistan, the Arab Republic of Egypt and India - had refused to participate in the tournament because of their opposition to the policies of apartheid. He had also been informed that Canada had also decided to decline the invitation to participate in the tournament.

(b) Davis Cup

109. At its 245th meeting, on 19 April, the Rapporteur recalled the decision of the Davis Cup Committee to lift the ban on South Africa's participation in the 1973 competition and stated that South Africa had competed in the South American zone. The Committee decided to send letters to the Permanent Representatives of Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador, expressing the Committee's disappointment at their not expelling South Africa from their zones. The letters stated:

"... the Committee had previously impressed on your Government the urgency of taking appropriate measures to oppose the participation of South African players in all sporting events taking place in South America, since such participation would be tantamount to acquiescence in and tacit approval of the shameful practices of apartheid. In this connexion, your attention is drawn to relevant General Assembly resolutions on the subject, particularly resolution 2775 D (XXVI), adopted with the support of South American States. Operative paragraphs 5 and 10 of the said resolution read as follows:

'5. Urges all States to promote adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and to encourage their sports organizations to withhold support from sporting events organized in violation of this principle;

'10. Requests all States to urge their national sports organizations to act in accordance with the present resolution.'

"The readmission of the South African Lawn Tennis Association to the South American zone would constitute a clear violation of the above resolutions. I would be grateful indeed if you could bring this matter to the attention of your Government, in the hope that their active support to the efforts of the international community in isolating apartheid will be maintained."

110. At its 249th meeting, on 29 May 1973, the Chairman informed the Committee that a reply had been received from the Permanent Representative of Brazil stating that the Brazilian team did not play in any games involving a team from South Africa, and an acknowledgement from the Permanent Representative of Argentina.

111. The Committee also received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago on this matter. The letter stated inter alia.

"Trinidad and Tobago fully shares the concerns of the Special Committee on Apartheid of which it is a member, and regards as unacceptable the decision of the Davis Cup Committee which provided for competition by South Africa in the South American zone."

112. At its 253rd meeting, on 12 July, the Special Committee considered information to the effect that South Africa would again participate in the South American zone of the Davis Cup Competition in 1974. Pursuant to a decision by the Committee, the Chairman sent letters to the members of the South American zone of the Davis Cup Competition - Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay - in which he appealed for the active support of their Governments in the efforts of the international community to isolate South Africa from international sports.

113. At its 260th meeting, on 24 September 1973, the Chairman informed the Committee of a letter from the Permanent Representative of Uruguay stating that, since tennis did not come under the auspices of the National Olympic Committee in Uruguay, the Government of Uruguay had found it very difficult to prevent the matches from taking place. The Uruguayan authorities were considering how the difficulty could be overcome and how a further contribution could be made to the cause of the struggle against apartheid.

114. At its 261st meeting, on 25 September 1973, the Chairman informed the Committee of a letter from the Permanent Representative of Argentina stating that the Argentine Government would take all necessary measures to ensure full compliance with paragraphs 5 and 10 of General Assembly resolution 2775 D (XXVI). It further stated that the Government was aware of the agonizing plight of the victims of apartheid and reaffirmed its support for the work of the Special Committee.

(c) Rugby tour of New Zealand

115. At the 234th meeting, on 23 February 1973, the Rapporteur drew attention to a letter from the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Norman Kirk, to the New Zealand Rugby Union regarding the proposed Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand. In that letter the Prime Minister had warned the Rugby Football Union of the consequences of a decision to proceed with the tour and had stated:

"It is not the Government's policy to interfere with the freedom of organizations freely to conduct their own affairs, but where the exercise of this right affects the interests of others, and the larger interest of others, and the larger interest of New Zealand, it is the duty of the Government to use persuasion in order to ensure that this right is exercised in a responsible way."

116. At its 245th meeting, on 19 April 1973, the Chairman stated that the Permanent Representative of New Zealand had sent him a letter informing him that the New Zealand Government had decided to prohibit the South African rugby team from visiting the country. The Permanent Representative quoted the Prime Minister as saying:

"The Government has decided to call on the Rugby Union to postpone the Springbok tour only after the most careful deliberation and the most exhaustive discussions with all parties ... the Government is ready to accept and welcome a team when one condition has been fulfilled and that condition is that the South African team should be, and should be seen to be, a genuine merit-based team."

The Committee later addressed a congratulatory message to the New Zealand Government for its decision.

(d) South African Games

117. At its 237th meeting, on 13 March 1973, the Special Committee considered information regarding the participation of some countries in the South African Games. It decided to address letters to the Permanent Representatives of Belgium, France, Japan, Malawi, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States and the Permanent Observer of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations. Replies were received from the Permanent Representatives of France, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States and from the Permanent Observer of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, in which they stated that their Governments had no control over the sports organizations and individual sportsmen.

118. In a letter dated 22 March 1973, the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations informed the Special Committee that the Philippines would not participate in the South African Games in Pretoria. He stressed the solidarity of the Philippines with the world-wide struggle against all forms of racism and racial discrimination, within and outside of the United Nations.

(e) Tour of All-England Netball Team

119. At its 245th meeting, on 19 April 1973, the Special Committee took note of information furnished by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, concerning a proposed tour of All-England netball team to South Africa. The representative of Trinidad and Tobago informed the Committee of a communiqué published at Georgetown on 14 April 1973 in which the heads of Governments of the countries of

the Caribbean region had reaffirmed their condemnation of visits of that kind which served only to perpetuate the policy of apartheid.

(f) Maccabia Games

120. At the 254th meeting on 24 July 1973, the Rapporteur drew the attention of the Special Committee to the fact that South Africa's largest representative team, consisting of 120 sportsmen, had gone to Israel to participate in the Maccabia Games held as part of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the State of Israel.

121. Among the South African teams competing was the South African soccer team, which was granted permission by the Federation of International Football Association which had waived South Africa's suspension for the Games. The South African press had said that the organizers had kept the soccer players in the background and away from photographers during preparations for the trip, afraid that publicity would lead to protests from South Africa's opponents.

H. Consideration of draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid

122. In accordance with paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 2922 (XXVII), the Secretary-General transmitted to the Special Committee on 7 December 1972 the revised draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (A/C.3/L.1942/Rev.1) and the amendments thereto (A/C.3/L.1948/Rev.1) for its comments and views. The Secretary-General drew attention to the fact that in paragraph 2 of the resolution, the Economic and Social Council had been invited to request the Commission on Human Rights to consider the draft Convention as an item of priority at its twenty-ninth session, to be held at Geneva from 26 February to 6 April 1973, and to submit the results of its consideration thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

123. The Special Committee considered the item at its 248th and 249th meetings, during which several representatives made statements in support of the draft Convention, as amended by the Commission on Human Rights.

124. At the conclusion of the debate, the Special Committee approved the draft Convention, as amended, for submission to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session bearing in mind the views communicated by members. The decision of the Special Committee was communicated by the Chairman in a letter to the Secretary-General dated 18 July 1973, and is reported in the note of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly (A/9095).

I. Participation in the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa

125. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa

held at Oslo, from 9 to 14 April 1973 and delivered an address at the meeting. In the address, he suggested that the Conference should prepare guidelines for action and a blueprint for a world strategy to cope with the seeds of racial warfare and the resulting threat to international peace and security. He stressed that such a strategy should develop as a complement to the liberation struggle, which the world community recognized as legitimate and worthy of moral and material assistance. He further stated that the Conference should acknowledge the primary role of the liberation movements; spotlight the negative role played by multinational corporations and South Africa's trading partners; and apply political, diplomatic and economic pressure, including recourse to non-military enforcement measures under Article 41 of the Charter. 13/

126. The Chairman reported on the Conference at the 246th meeting of the Special Committee, on 25 April 1973, and commended the comprehensive programme of action formulated by the Conference. The Special Committee has taken note of that programme in the formulation of the conclusions and recommendations in the present report.

J. Participation in the International Trade Union
Conference against Apartheid

127. The Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. E. O. Ogbu (Nigeria), accompanied by the representative of Hungary, Mr. Janos Varga, and the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Eustace Seignoret, represented the Special Committee at the meetings of the preparatory committee of the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held at Geneva on 26 and 27 February 1973. The delegation reported on the results of this preparatory meeting at the 239th meeting of the Special Committee on 29 March (A/AC.115/L.238). The Special Committee designated the Chairman and the representatives of Guinea, Hungary, the Philippines and Trinidad and Tobago to serve on the delegation of the Special Committee to the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held at Geneva on 15 and 16 June 1973. The representatives of Guinea and Trinidad and Tobago were, however, unable to join the mission, and the delegation was composed of the Chairman, Mr. E. O. Ogbu (Nigeria), and the representatives of Hungary and the Philippines, Mr. Janos Varga and Mr. Nicasio Valderrama respectively.

128. The Chairman of the Special Committee delivered an address at the opening meeting, of the Conference.

129. The Chairman reported on the Conference at the 252nd meeting of the Special Committee on 3 July 1973. 14/

130. At its 261st meeting, on 25 September 1973, the Special Committee on Apartheid adopted a special report on the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid.

13/ The text of his address was reproduced in Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 12/73.

14/ See also the special report of the Special Committee on the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid (A/9169).

K. Representation at national and international conferences

131. In its report to the General Assembly ^{15/} at its twenty-seventh session, Special Committee included in its programme of work for 1973 the question of representation at conferences dealing with apartheid and racial discrimination. In resolution 2923 C (XXVII), the General Assembly requested and authorized the Special Committee to send representatives or delegations, as appropriate, to national and international conferences dealing with the problems of apartheid.

132. In addition to the conferences which had been previously scheduled, invitations to a number of other meetings were received by the Special Committee during the period under review. The visits by representatives and delegations, and their reports, are briefly indicated below. These visits proved valuable for gathering relevant information and in promoting greater co-operation between the Special Committee and non-governmental organizations in the international campaign against apartheid. They also provided opportunities for acquainting organizations and public opinion in various countries with the work of the Special Committee and the need for greater efforts to eradicate apartheid in South Africa.

1. Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa

133. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended the twenty-first session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held in Accra from 8 to 12 January 1973, and made a statement about the activities of the Special Committee. His report of this attendance at the session was made on 15 February at the 232nd meeting of the Special Committee.

2. World Peace Council

134. The Special Committee maintained particularly close contact with the World Peace Council (WPC) during the period under review, having been invited by WPC for consultations with its secretariat and to attend several conferences. The representative of Somalia, Mr. Hussein Nur Elmi, visited Helsinki from 6 to 8 February 1973 for consultations with the WPC secretariat on behalf of the Special Committee. He subsequently reported on his mission at the 232nd meeting of the Special Committee, on 15 February 1973 (A/AC.115/L.351).

135. In addition to holding an exchange of views with the secretariat of WPC on its plans for a more energetic campaign against apartheid in co-operation with the Special Committee, Mr. Nur Elmi was able to meet with the Inter-Parliamentary Union Group in the Finnish Parliament and with leaders of the Finnish-Africa Committee and the Finnish United Nations Association.

136. The representative of Ghana, Mr. Benjamin Godwyl, represented the Special Committee at the first international consultative meeting for the World Congress of

^{15/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 22B (A/8722/Add.2).

Peace Forces which took place in Moscow from 16 to 18 March 1973. He reported on his mission at the 239th meeting of the Special Committee on 28 March 1973.

137. The representative of Algeria, Mr. Ahmed Oucif, represented the Special Committee at the meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in Warsaw from 5 to 8 May. He reported on his visit at the 248th meeting of the Special Committee on 15 May 1973.

138. The representative of Peru, Mr. Arturo Montoya, represented the Special Committee at the second international consultative meeting for the World Congress of Peace Forces, held in Moscow from 7 to 9 July, which was attended by delegates from 78 countries and representatives from 57 international organizations. He reported at the 254th meeting of the Special Committee on 24 July 1973.

139. The Special Committee decided that its delegation to the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow should hold consultations with participants in the Conference, the Government of the USSR, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, the Africa Institute and other bodies and make a written report to the Committee.

3. Second Trade Union Conference on Southern Africa

140. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended and delivered an address to the Second Trade Union Conference on Southern Africa held in Richmond, United Kingdom, in March 1973. 16/

4. Conference on Colonialism, Apartheid and Neo-colonialism in Africa

141. The representative of Syria, Mr. Najdi Jazzar, represented the Special Committee at the Conference on Colonialism, Apartheid and Neo-colonialism in Africa, held at Tananarive from 29 June to 2 July under the sponsorship of the World Peace Council. The Conference was attended by more than 30 non-governmental organizations and intergovernmental organizations. Mr. Jazzar submitted a report on the Conference at the 254th meeting of the Special Committee on 24 July 1973.

5. Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students

142. The representative of Sudan, Mr. Isaac O. La, represented the Special Committee at the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students held in Berlin, from 28 July to 5 August 1973. He reported on his mission at the 256th meeting of the Special Committee on 17 August 1973.

143. The Chairman of the Special Committee sent a special message to the Conference on Racism and Apartheid, held during the Festival on 31 July.

16/ For the text of the address, see Unit on Apartheid, "Notes and Documents", No. 8/73.

6. Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations

144. The Chairman of the Special Committee addressed the Assembly of WFUNA in Geneva on 15 August 1973 and emphasized the role of non-governmental organizations in the international campaign against apartheid. He reported on his participation at the 256th meeting of the Special Committee, on 17 August 1973.

7. Other conferences

145. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended a preparatory meeting of the International Conference on Apartheid and Human Rights held in Rome on 13 June 1973. That meeting, which was also attended by representatives of OAU and liberation movements recognized by OAU, decided on the convening of an international conference in Rome in March 1974.

146. In addition, the Special Committee was represented by a representative of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four at the following other conferences:

(a) Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, held in Aden from 24 to 27 February 1973; 17/

(b) Meeting of the Non-Governmental Organizations' Sub-Committee on Decolonization, Racial Discrimination and Apartheid, held in Geneva on 19 May 1973.

L. Consultations by the Special Committee

1. Consultations with anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations

147. The Special Committee has held frequent consultations with liberation movements, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations during the period under review.

148. As indicated earlier, the special session of the Special Committee, held from 2 to 4 April, provided an opportunity for consultations with several organizations. Leaders of a number of organizations were also consulted by the representatives of the Special Committee who attended the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa and the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, as well as other international conferences concerned with apartheid.

149. Moreover, the delegation of the Special Committee to the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held at Geneva in June 1973, was requested by the Special Committee to visit Paris and Geneva to hold consultations with a number of

17/ Mr. M. Ehsassi, who represented the two Committees at this meeting, reported to the Special Committee at its 246th meeting on 25 April 1973.

anti-apartheid movements and other organizations. During this mission, the delegation met leaders of the anti-apartheid movements of Switzerland, France, the United Kingdom and Ireland and of a large number of other non-governmental organizations in Geneva, Paris and London, as well as many of the leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - the two South African liberation movements recognized by OAU. In addition, the delegation consulted several eminent experts on various aspects of the problem of apartheid.

150. The organizations contacted in Geneva, in addition to the trade unions, included: the World Federation of United Nations Associations; the International Student Movement for the United Nations; the World Peace Council; the International Commission of Jurists; the International University Exchange Fund; and the World Council of Churches.

151. In Paris, the delegation met representatives of the following organizations: Movement against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace; the French Peace Movement; the Christian Movement for Peace; Amnesty International; the Protestant Federation of France; Objective Socialist; the Communist Party of France; and Apostolic Action.

152. In London, the representatives of the following organizations were contacted; the National Union of Students; the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné; Counter Information Services; the United Nations Association of Great Britain; the United Nations Student and Youth Association; and the International Defence and Aid Fund.

153. The experts met by the delegation included: Mr. Gilbert Rist, author of a study on Swiss collaboration with South Africa, Suisse-Afrique du Sud: relations économiques et politiques; Miss Ruth First, Mr. Jonathan Steele and Miss Christobel Gurney, co-authors of The South African Connection, a study of collaboration by various States with South Africa; Mr. Peter Hellyer, author of a study on relations between South Africa and Israel, published by the International Documentation Centre in Rome; and Mr. Basil Davidson, the well known writer on southern Africa.

154. During these consultations, the delegation received a number of suggestions which were subsequently considered by the Special Committee and its subcommittees. Special reference may be made to the following:

(a) The Special Committee should counteract the propaganda which favours increased foreign investment in South Africa and higher wages for African workers;

(b) The United Nations should publish a bulletin reviewing all anti-apartheid activities, and should produce more films on apartheid in various languages.

(c) The Special Committee should hold sessions in several European capitals in 1974, after careful preparation to promote more intensified action against apartheid during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

2. Consultations with the Organization of African Unity

155. The Special Committee has continued during the period under review to maintain close contact with OAU. OAU was represented at meetings of the Special Committee as an observer. The Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations made a statement at the special meeting held on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, on 21 March, and the Executive Secretary of OAU made a statement at the special session on 2 April. The Rapporteur of the Special Committee made a statement at a meeting organized by the African Group on the African Liberation Day on 25 May.

156. The Chairman of the Special Committee attended the meetings of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held in Accra in January 1973. The International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa and the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid provided further opportunities for consultations with the officials of the OAU secretariat.

157. The Special Committee sent a delegation consisting of the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Raoul Siclait (Haiti), and the representative of Nigeria, Mr. J. Ekong, to participate in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, and to attend the meetings of the OAU Council of Ministers and Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Addis Ababa in May 1973.

158. At the invitation of the Chairman, the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, addressed the Special Committee on Apartheid at its 259th meeting, on 19 September 1973.

3. Consultations with specialized agencies

159. The participation of representatives of four specialized agencies as observers at meetings of the Special Committee enabled continued consultations by the Special Committee with these agencies.

160. The International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo in April 1973, also provided an opportunity for consultations with representatives of several specialized agencies.

161. In addition, the Special Committee maintained close contact during the year with the International Labour Organisation in connexion with the preparations for and the holding of the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid.

162. It also maintained close contact with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in connexion with the preparation and publication of an educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa. The Rapporteur of the Special Committee visited Paris and London in June 1973, for consultations with UNESCO (Paris) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement,

(London) on this matter. He reported on this mission at the 255th meeting of the Special Committee on 3 August 1973. The representative of UNESCO made a statement at the 257th meeting of the Special Committee, on 7 September 1973, on the progress in the preparation of the educational kit.

163. The Special Committee decided at its 258th meeting, on 13 September 1973, to send a representative to Geneva during the next meeting of the Governing Body of the ILO to consult with the Workers' Group and the trade union confederations on co-operation in ensuring the implementation of the resolution adopted by the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held at Geneva in June 1973.

M. Visit of a delegation of the Special Committee
to the Federal Republic of Germany

164. At the 253rd meeting, on 12 July 1973, the Special Committee decided to send a delegation, headed by the Chairman, to hold consultations with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany at the highest level regarding that country's relations with South Africa in the light of relevant United Nations resolutions.

165. In response to a communication by the Chairman, the Acting Permanent Observer of the Federal Republic of Germany stated, in a letter dated 31 July, that the Government of the Federal Republic would welcome the opportunity of discussing with him matters of interest to the Special Committee, and suggested 27 August as the date for the visit.

166. At the 256th meeting, on 17 August, the Special Committee decided that the delegation to the Federal Republic would be composed of the Chairman, Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria), and the Rapporteur, Mr. Barakat Ahmad (India). It was requested to seek information and hold discussions in the light of the views expressed at that meeting of the Special Committee.

167. In a letter dated 23 August, the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia requested that the delegation represent the views of the Council in the discussions with the officials of the Federal Republic of Germany.

168. The Chairman and the Rapporteur, accompanied by the Chief of the Section for African Questions, visited Bonn from 25 to 28 August. The delegation held consultations with the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs. The results of the discussions with the Minister for Foreign Affairs were set out in a joint statement issued to the press on 27 August.

169. The Rapporteur made an interim report on the mission at the 257th meeting of the Special Committee, on 7 September 1973.

170. The Chairman made a report to the Special Committee on the visit at its 259th meeting, on 19 September 1973 (document A/AC.115/L.370).

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

1. Communications and hearings

171. During the period under review, the Sub-Committee on Petitions, later replaced by the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information (see paragraphs 20 and 21 above), held several meetings to consider communications and requests for hearings received from organizations and individuals in connexion with the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. It submitted seven reports to the Special Committee on Apartheid, recommending appropriate action on those requests and communications (A/AC.115/L.345, A/AC.115/L.348, A/AC.115/L.350, A/AC.115/L.356, A/AC.115/L.360, A/AC.115/L.367 and A/AC.115/L.372).

172. On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee, the Special Committee granted hearings to the following petitioners:

(a) Mr. Peter Boyd, Deputy Secretary of the Southern African Defence and Aid Fund in Australia, at its 231st meeting held on 1 February 1973;

(b) Mr. Winston P. Nagan, Joint Secretary of the International Campaign Against Racism in Sports (ICARIS), at its 239th meeting on 28 March 1973;

(c) Mr. Dennis Brutus, President of the International Campaign Against Racism in Sports, at its 258th meeting held on 7 September 1973;

(d) Rev. W. Sterling Cary and Mr. Tim Smith, National Council of Churches of Christ, at its 258th meeting on 13 September 1973.

2. Dissemination of information

173. The Sub-Committee maintained close contact with the Unit on Apartheid and the Office of Public Information and made recommendations to the Special Committee on publicity to be given to various documents. It also considered the programme of work of the Unit on Apartheid and various suggestions for intensifying the dissemination of information and made recommendations to the Special Committee. Its recommendations were taken into account in the formulation of the conclusions and recommendations of this report.

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

174. The Sub-Committee held eight meetings between 10 May and 11 September 1973 to consider the question of the implementation by States of United Nations resolutions and of collaboration with South Africa in the political, military, economic and other fields.

175. At its 3rd meeting, on 29 June, the Sub-Committee heard a report by the representative of Hungary, Mr. Janos Varga, on documentation on collaboration with South Africa collected by him from anti-apartheid groups and individual experts in Geneva, Paris and London, during the visit to Europe as a member of the delegation of the Special Committee.

176. At its 5th meeting, on 18 July 1973, the Sub-Committee decided to give priority in its work to a special report on implementation by States of United Nations resolutions, requested by the General Assembly in resolution 2923 C (XXVII).

177. At its 8th meeting, on 11 September 1973, the Sub-Committee adopted its draft report with detailed information and recommended that:

(1) The present report be updated regularly in respect of the various areas of action against apartheid covered by United Nations resolutions;

(2) Further research be done and publicized, if found necessary, on the following instances of non-implementation of United Nations resolutions identified in the report:

Diplomatic and other official relations

(a) The nature of existing official relations between South Africa and all States Members of the United Nations;

Arms embargo

(b) Arms supplies to South Africa, manufacture of arms under licence in South Africa, developments in uranium production, and other recent instances of military collaboration between South Africa and other countries, including supplies of arms by South Africa to other countries;

Trade

(c) The trading patterns of each major trading partner, with an indication of the significance of such trade for the economy of the country concerned;

(d) Trade relations of South Africa with certain other countries whose trade with South Africa is rapidly increasing, such as Argentina, Brazil, Israel;

(e) Relations between the European Economic Community and South Africa;

(f) The diamond trade between Israel and South Africa;

(g) The role of oil in the South African economy and the major oil suppliers;

(h) The services rendered to South Africa by certain countries which act as intermediaries for the export of South African products to countries which otherwise respect the boycott;

(i) South Africa's efforts to expand economic and other relations in new areas, such as with certain countries in Latin America and Asia;

Investment

(j) The role of foreign investment in sectors that are most crucial to South Africa's economy at this time;

(k) Foreign investment in the "border areas" and "Bantustans";

(l) The expansion of South Africa's capital and industry into other areas of the world;

Banking

(m) A list of export credits to, or the financing of, corporations which invest in South Africa;

(n) The question of gold and the role played by international banks in purchases of South African gold;

(3) The Chairman of the Special Committee should be authorized to take the necessary steps to ascertain the accuracy of reports concerning the establishment of official relations with the South African Government and other instances of collaboration by States with South Africa;

(4) Questionnaires may be sent to Member States requesting them to inform the Special Committee on the extent to which they have implemented United Nations resolutions on the question of cultural, educational, sporting and other collaboration with South Africa and other questions involving positive action on the part of Member States, such as the question of political prisoners and dissemination of information on apartheid;

(5) The kinds of updated or additional information requested above be obtained through:

Papers to be prepared by the Secretariat, including a regular review of recent developments concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions and collaboration with South Africa;

Papers to be commissioned from recognized experts in the field;

Information to be sought from anti-apartheid groups and non-governmental organizations concerned.

The above recommendations were adopted by the Special Committee at its 261st meeting, on 25 September 1973.

II. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

178. During the past year, in which it observed its tenth anniversary, the Special Committee attempted to assess its work over the decade of its existence and to formulate a programme for more effective action. It is perhaps appropriate that, in the present report, the Special Committee should look back over the past decade, and frame its recommendations in the context of the next decade which the General Assembly has decided to proclaim as the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

179. The Special Committee recalls that it had been established in pursuance of resolution 1761 (XVII) adopted by the General Assembly on 6 November 1962. ^{18/} That resolution reflected the conviction of the international community that patient and repeated appeals to the South African Government to abandon the policy of apartheid had proved fruitless, and that the situation in South Africa had become a grave danger to peace as demonstrated by the Sharpeville massacre and other events. The General Assembly, therefore, called for specific measures by States to oblige the South African Government to revise its policies in conformity with its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

180. The Special Committee was established in order to give the situation in South Africa the continuous attention which it deserved, and to facilitate action by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has attempted since its inception to discharge its responsibilities as efficiently as possible.

181. The Special Committee has been greatly encouraged by the co-operation and appreciation it received from many Governments, from the Organization of African Unity, and from numerous non-governmental organizations, as well as from the South African liberation movement. It notes the comments made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on the tenth anniversary of the Special Committee, when he said:

The General Assembly established this Committee to enable the situation in southern Africa to be followed continuously by the United Nations, and not only during the annual sessions of the Assembly. It was rightly felt that attention on developments in South Africa must be constant. This Committee has played an important role in this vital activity, and its work has made a major contribution to the ever-increasing public awareness of conditions which, unhappily, still exist more than 10 years after Sharpeville.

The most important aspect of the work of this Committee over the past 10 years has been its determination to make positive proposals for the elimination of apartheid. It has actively and successfully urged the implementation of United Nations resolutions by a great number of Member States and organizations; it promoted the movement towards the arms embargo against South Africa; it has repeatedly drawn public attention to repressive policies and the ill-treatment of prisoners; it has initiated discussion and

^{18/} The Committee, however, was not constituted until late February 1963; it held its first meeting on 2 April 1963.

action in the human rights fields; it was the driving force behind the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and it is concerned with the work of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; it has stimulated action in the specialized agencies; it proposed the establishment of the Unit on Apartheid whose work has been of such significance; and it has conducted conferences and seminars which have further attracted international attention to this subject.

This is not, of course, a comprehensive list of the activities of this Committee over the past 10 years, but it indicates the vigour and imagination with which the Committee has undertaken its important task ...

So long as apartheid remains, this Committee will continue to play a crucial role in the endeavours of the United Nations to eliminate this evil ...

182. The Special Committee derives particular encouragement from such evaluations of its work, particularly because of the special difficulty under which it has had to function.

183. The Special Committee recalls that it was one of the first committees in the United Nations which a large group of Western and other States had declined to join. Because of their historical associations with the white minority in South Africa and their substantial trade with that country, these States were most capable of influencing the South African régime to mend its ways. The Special Committee has repeatedly appealed to these States to co-operate in concerted efforts, under the auspices of the United Nations, to solve this grave problem. The General Assembly has provided for their participation in the Committee but, so far, without result.

184. The Special Committee again launches an earnest appeal to the Member-States from Western Europe, North America and Australasia to reconsider their attitudes and participate in the work of the Committee.

A. A decade of crisis

185. This past decade has been a decade of grave crisis in South Africa during which the South African régime resorted to the most brutal repression against opponents of racism at home and to aggressive intervention in neighbouring territories. Justifying the massive military build-up and the ever more ruthless repressive legislation, South African Government leaders have often admitted that the country has been in a virtual state of war or a continuous state of emergency since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

186. It may be recalled that, soon after the Sharpeville massacre, the South African Government banned the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. By 1961, the leaders of the African people became convinced that because of the ruthlessness of the régime, they could no more adhere strictly to non-violence in their struggle for freedom. Numerous incidents of sabotage and violence took place in the country and the Government countered with the enactment of the "Sabotage Act" in 1962 and further repression.

187. Mr. Nelson Mandela, an outstanding leader of the African National Congress, was given a long prison sentence on 7 November 1962, a day after the General Assembly adopted resolution 1761 (XVII). He told the court on that occasion:

Government violence can do only one thing and that is to breed counter-violence. We have warned repeatedly that the Government by resorting continually to violence will breed, in this country, counter-violence amongst the people, till ultimately if there is no dawning of sanity on the part of the Government, ultimately the dispute between the Government and my people will finish up by being settled in violence and by force.

188. On 22 November 1962, serious disturbances broke out at Paarl when thousands of Africans, led by the adherents of the Pan Africanist Congress, demonstrated against oppression of the African workers and the detention of several Africans. The police opened fire and five Africans were killed; two whites were killed by the Africans and three others seriously wounded.

189. When the Special Committee began its work, its immediate concern was the massive repression in South Africa and the enormous military and police build-up by the régime, as well as the means to secure more effective international action to avert a catastrophe.

190. The Special Committee made recommendations to the General Assembly and the Security Council towards this end and can perhaps claim with some satisfaction that most of the resolutions of these principal organs were adopted on its recommendation. It proposed, in 1966, an international campaign against apartheid under the auspices of the United Nations in order to stress the commitment of the United Nations to eradicate apartheid and to secure action on a wide range of measures. It tried to promote the campaign with the co-operation of specialized agencies, regional organizations, as well as anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations. It has laid special stress on means to isolate the South African régime, to assist the oppressed people of South Africa, and to secure the support of world public opinion for their legitimate cause.

191. These combined efforts have resulted in a greater awareness of the evils and dangers of apartheid. They have frustrated the efforts of the South African régime to confuse and divide the States and peoples opposed to racism.

192. The situation in South Africa has, however, continued to be grave: it has, indeed, become aggravated constantly as the régime resorted to more and more brutal repressive measures to curb the resistance to its policies. That resistance can never be destroyed but only takes on new forms.

193. Repression has continued with the "Sabotage Act" of 1962 followed by more obnoxious laws such as the "90-day law" of 1963, the "180-day law" of 1965 and the Terrorism Act of 1967 which destroyed any semblance of the rule of law and shielded the Security Police in its brutal torture of political detainees. The military budget soared from year to year, with the country accumulating military supplies

worth well over R 2,000 million. South African forces moved into Southern Rhodesia in open challenge of the United Nations and the administering Power of the territory.

194. From the massacre of Sharpeville in 1960 to that of Carletonville in 1973, South Africa has passed through more than a decade of continuous crisis.

195. Yet, the international campaign against apartheid, in which the Special Committee played its role in the discharge of the mandate from the General Assembly, has retarded the drift to disaster in South Africa and has helped create the international awareness necessary for a decisive new effort.

196. Such a new effort, during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, requires a clear understanding of the objectives of the United Nations, of the calculations of the South African régime and of the forces hindering the elimination of apartheid.

B. Objectives of the United Nations

197. The Special Committee has always acknowledged that the primary role in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid belongs to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements. The role of the United Nations and the international community is to support the efforts of the oppressed people and their liberation movements in their legitimate strivings for freedom so as to facilitate a speedy transition to a non-racial society and thereby eliminate the grave threat to international peace and security.

198. The United Nations organs have made numerous appeals to the South African régime to seek a peaceful solution to the situation and have offered to consider appropriate assistance to promote a peaceful settlement. When these appeals have failed, they have called for measures: (a) to isolate and weaken the oppressive régime by political, economic and other measures, including arms embargo; (b) to assist the oppressed people of South Africa and their national movement; and (c) to inform world public opinion of the situation in South Africa so that it will exert its influence towards a solution in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

199. It is essential to affirm that the objective of the United Nations is the total eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination. The United Nations cannot countenance the perpetuation of any racial discrimination on any pretext. Its efforts are not directed at a mere relaxation of apartheid or reforms within the system of racial discrimination to mitigate suffering.

200. The experience of the past years has proved that it is utterly unrealistic to pin hopes for an end to racial discrimination on the white electorate and its political parties. The opposition United Party's call for "white leadership" and the Progressive Party's espousal of "less discrimination" do involve a perpetuation of discrimination in other forms or to a lesser degree. Since the prohibition of

multiracial political parties, there is no party in South Africa, with white membership, which advocates racial equality.

201. A solution of the situation in South Africa cannot be attained without the full participation of the genuine representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa, on the basis of equality. The United Nations must continue to press for a solution on that basis. The apparent strength of the racist régime - which has utilized its control of State power and of the economy, and its relations with certain other States to acquire sophisticated military equipment - should not lead the international community to contemplate any compromises on principles. The international community can secure a just solution if it redoubles its efforts for the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions.

C. Manoeuvres of the South African régime

202. Defying the United Nations, the South African régime has been attempting to consolidate the racist oppression and create a fait accompli, by speeding up the process of forcible segregation. It has hoped to gain time for the fulfilment of its plans by repression of opponents of apartheid, massive build-up of military and police forces, intervention against liberation in neighbouring colonial territories and deceitful manoeuvres and propaganda to divide the international community and the oppressed people of South Africa.

203. Almost a million people have been forcibly moved from their homes in order to enforce racial segregation. Thousands of people have been detained, jailed, banished, banned and tortured for their opposition to apartheid. The military budget has been increased more than tenfold since the Sharpeville massacre.

204. Meanwhile, the South African régime has proceeded to establish "Bantustans" since 1963, and to proclaim to the world that it was granting rights and opportunities to the African people. It has sought to divide the African and other oppressed people by offering some inducements to those who collaborate in apartheid institutions.

205. The Special Committee has repeatedly denounced the fraudulent nature of these "Bantustans" and the General Assembly has condemned their establishment and the forcible removal of the African people to those areas.

206. The South African régime has also implemented a number of measures to streamline racial discrimination or to make reforms within the over-all context of racial discrimination, instead of eliminating discrimination. While some of the measures taken by the Government may tend to reduce human suffering caused by apartheid laws, they do not represent a significant advance towards non-racialism. The measures are, however, utilized by the South African régime to encourage foreign-vested interests opposed to action against apartheid to welcome them as significant evidences of evolution and as justifications for contact and collaboration rather than to isolate the régime.

207. The manoeuvres of the South African régime in this respect have failed because of the resistance of the oppressed people. Contradictions have come into the open even between that régime and the "Bantustan" leaders who, under the pressure of public opinion, have demanded more land for the Africans and have espoused unity of the African people.

208. The South African régime has also sought to divert attention from apartheid and States opposed to apartheid by its so-called "outward policy" and calls for dialogue. These manoeuvres, however, failed.

209. The South African régime has, therefore, come to rely increasingly on military and police power and to resort to threats against neighbouring States. It has developed its co-operation with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonial authorities in order to resist majority rule in the neighbouring territories. It has intensified efforts to strengthen its ties with Western countries, with some success, in the hope that these countries will be obliged to support it in any crisis because of their economic and military involvement in the country.

D. Opposition to effective international action

210. The Special Committee considers it essential to reaffirm that the responsibility for the ineffectiveness of past international action and hence for the continuation and aggravation of the crisis in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, rests not only on the South African régime but also on a few States and foreign economic and other interests which collaborate with that régime.

211. A grave responsibility is borne by the main trading partners of South Africa, especially the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy and France, which have substantially increased the value of their trade with South Africa in the past decade, as shown in the following table:

Main trading partners of South Africa

Country of origin or destination	South Africa's imports			South Africa's exports				
	1962		1972		1972			
	Value in millions of rand	Percentage of total imports	Value in millions of rand	Percentage of total imports	Value in millions of rand	Percentage of total exports		
United Kingdom	303	30	590	21	242	28	531	26
United States of America	167	17	467	17	78	9	147	7
Germany, Federal Republic of	102	10	413	15	43	5	133	7
Japan	41	4	267	9	72	8	259	13
Italy	29	3	94	3	44	5	77	4
France	21	2	99	4	31	4	57	3

Source: South Africa: Department of Commerce and Excise.

212. These are the States which maintain the closest political, military and other relations with the South African régime. Among them are the main suppliers of military equipment to South Africa.

213. It may be recalled that the breaking off of political, economic, military and other relations with South Africa has been the key element of the international strategy for the eradication of apartheid for over a decade. The liberation movement of the South African people has appealed for such international action in support of its legitimate but hard struggle for freedom. The Organization of African Unity, and numerous other organizations and conferences, have endorsed the call for economic and other sanctions. A large number of States have implemented sanctions, some of them at great sacrifice. Boycotts of South African goods have been organized by the public in many countries.

214. However, some States, especially the main trading partners of South Africa listed above, have paid little heed to the appeals of the overwhelming majority of the international community. They have continued and increased economic and other collaboration with South Africa, thereby encouraging the white minority régime to pursue its disastrous course.

215. A number of multinational corporations and other powerful economic interests have also increased their involvement in mining, industry and other fields in South Africa. The complex network of relations between these foreign economic interests and South African companies has acted as a major force in hindering international action against apartheid.

216. These companies have: (a) participated in the exploitation of Namibian resources under South Africa's illegal administration; (b) helped violate sanctions against Southern Rhodesia; (c) provided military supplies and other assistance to the Portuguese colonial authorities in Mozambique and Angola; (d) established and contributed to the South Africa Foundation which is engaged in propaganda and other activities against international action against apartheid; (e) used South Africa as a base for exports to other countries; (f) helped the South African Government to promote self-sufficiency in order to resist economic sanctions; and (g) provided supplies and equipment to the South African Defence Force.

217. Many of these foreign companies have recently entered into partnership with South African companies or have sold shares to South Africans, thereby linking themselves even more with South Africa and rendering action against them in their home countries more difficult. At the same time, there has been a rapid growth of South African investment abroad.

218. The main reason for the rapid growth of investment in South Africa has been the exploitative system of apartheid. The foreign investors have developed an interest in "stability" in South Africa and have tended to acquiesce in the suppression of African demands for human rights and freedom. These investments have generated lobbies of vested interests in Western countries to oppose international action against apartheid.

E. Elements of a programme of action

219. An effective programme of international action for the speedy eradication of apartheid must envisage concerted measures by the United Nations and Member States, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. It should provide for a greater effort to inform public opinion in all countries of the situation in South Africa, the efforts of the United Nations and other organizations towards the eradication of apartheid and the contribution which can be made by Governments and the public towards this end.

220. The United Nations should become more "action oriented" on this matter and be prepared to take timely and prompt measures to prevent or discourage collaboration with the South African régime and to promote assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa.

221. The United Nations must constantly remind the States collaborating with the South African régime of their responsibilities. There must be constant and full disclosure of the interests which benefit from apartheid and hinder international action. The propaganda of the South African régime and of the foreign investors in South Africa must be combated actively, and world public opinion must be encouraged to take appropriate action to dissuade all collaboration with the South African régime by States and vested interests.

222. The elements essential for a programme of action at the present time have been highlighted in the past year in the programme of action formulated by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, held at Oslo in April 1973, the resolution of the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held at Geneva in June 1973, and the conclusions of the consultations of the Special Committee and of the missions it sent to various conferences.

223. The Special Committee submits the following recommendations in the light of the above. They deal with: (a) international measures essential for the eradication of apartheid; (b) means for greater co-operation with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations; and (c) the programme of work of the Special Committee and the Secretariat services required for the accomplishment of the responsibilities of the Committee.

F. Apartheid - a crime and a threat to peace

224. The Special Committee considers it essential that the General Assembly and the Security Council should reiterate that apartheid, imposed by the Pretoria régime in South Africa and Namibia, is an international crime and a threat to international peace and security. The Committee believes that the General Assembly and the Security Council must take immediate steps to punish the perpetrators of this criminal policy and eliminate such a threat to international peace and security.

225. The proposals for action in regard to South Africa, highlighted in a programme of action adopted at the Oslo Conference include the following statement:

"(59) The policy of apartheid, which is a crime against humanity, a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations and a massive and ruthless denial of human rights, constitutes a threat to peace. It amounts to a serious and grave threat to the peace and security of Africa and the world and requires urgent action by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations because of the following:

"(a) South Africa's central role in helping to maintain and perpetuate colonial and racist rule in southern Africa;

"(b) Its continued illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia;

"(c) Its deliberate and systematic violation of international mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia;

"(d) The illegal intervention of its armed units in defence of the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia;

"(e) Its military intervention in Angola and Mozambique;

"(f) Its acts of aggression against independent African States;

"(g) Its military build-up and threatening posture towards the rest of the continent."

226. The Special Committee recalls that the General Assembly and the Security Council have patiently tried for over two decades to persuade the South African régime to abandon the inhuman policy of apartheid and to seek a solution in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The South African Government has consistently defied the resolutions of the General Assembly and continued to inflict immense suffering on the oppressed people of South Africa in its efforts to consolidate a system of racist oppression and exploitation.

227. The General Assembly has already declared that apartheid is a crime against humanity. It has refrained from accepting the credentials of the South African delegation in order to give a strong warning to the South African régime. Since that régime has continued to ignore the warnings, the General Assembly cannot but take additional steps to oblige it to desist from its crimes.

228. As the Special Committee declared in its statement of 17 August on political prisoners:

The men and women persecuted by the South African régime for their opposition to apartheid and racism truly represent the people of South Africa. The National Party régime which conceived the odious policy of apartheid and continues to maintain it by force against a recalcitrant majority in no way represents the people of South Africa and should not be accorded that privilege.

229. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that the General Assembly continue to decline to accept the credentials of the representatives of the South African régime. That régime has no claim to represent the people of South Africa: it has, in fact, prevented the participation of the genuine representatives of the South African people in the Government and in international organizations. The Assembly should call on all specialized agencies and intergovernmental agencies to deny membership or privileges of membership to the South African régime, and to report to the next session of the General Assembly on the action taken by them.

230. On the other hand, the General Assembly should authorize the Special Committee to invite, in consultation with OAU, the representatives of the liberation movement of the South African people to participate in its meetings. It should also request the specialized agencies of the United Nations to take similar action.

231. The Special Committee further recommends, as it stated in its letter of 18 July 1973 to the Secretary-General, that the General Assembly consider urgently and approve the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid which can be an important legal instrument for more effective international action against apartheid. Efforts should be made to secure the speedy ratification and enforcement of the Convention after its adoption.

G. Arms embargo

232. The Special Committee has constantly emphasized the significance of the arms embargo against South Africa as the minimum step to prevent an aggravation of the situation in the country and called for its implementation without any reservations whatsoever. During the past year, it has again had to devote considerable attention to this matter because of the rapid military build-up in South Africa and the continued violations of the embargo by other States.

233. The Special Committee considers it essential, in particular, that the General Assembly call upon France, the United Kingdom and the United States - the three permanent members of the Security Council which have abstained in the vote on Security Council resolution 282 (1970) and have maintained reservations as to the full implementation of the arms embargo - to review their positions and to co-operate in instituting effective measures for the implementation of the arms embargo. If they continue to provide military equipment or technical or other assistance to the South African armed forces, and to prevent the implementation of an effective arms embargo, they bear grave responsibility for the aggravation of the situation in southern Africa and for the heinous crimes of the South African régime against the oppressed people of the country and against peace in the region.

234. The Special Committee considers that any and all reservations or exceptions to the arms embargo must be rejected. Any military co-operation with the white minority régime pursuing a criminal policy of apartheid can only encourage it to attempt to defend and consolidate the system of racist oppression of the great majority of the people of South Africa.

235. The Special Committee draws attention to its special report on this matter and the recommendations contained therein.

H. Economic sanctions and related measures

236. The General Assembly has repeatedly, and by overwhelming majorities, called on States to break relations with the South African régime; expressed its conviction that economic and other sanctions, instituted under Chapter VII of the Charter and universally applied, constitute an essential means of achieving a peaceful solution of the grave situation in South Africa; and requested the Security Council to consider the situation with a view to adopting such effective measures.

237. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly again reiterate its conviction on the decisive role of economic and other sanctions against South Africa in the efforts to eradicate apartheid, and urgently calls upon the States and economic interests concerned to pay heed to world opinion and desist from continued encouragement to the South African régime.

238. It commends the following conclusions in regard to South Africa, contained in the programme of action adopted by the Oslo Conference for the consideration and endorsement of the General Assembly:

"(61) The collaborative role of international investment in, and trade and other relations with, South Africa should be exposed and the false claim that such supportive links can act as agents for change should be condemned and rejected. Investigations and studies of these links should take place in full consultation with the liberation movement.

"(62) Action should be taken by the United Nations and the organizations of the United Nations system, by States as well as by national and international bodies, governmental and non-governmental, in full support of campaigns conducted by anti-apartheid movements and other solidarity organizations to promote international disengagement from and an end to all collaborative links with South Africa.

"(63) Investments should be withdrawn; all new investment programmes should be stopped; no loans or any other assistance should be provided either to the white racist régime or to corporations operating in South Africa.

"(64) All economic and scientific support of, collaboration with, and assistance to South Africa should be stopped, in particular by:

"(a) Terminating the purchase of gold;

"(b) Terminating the purchase of platinum and other minerals;

"(c) Discontinuing all scientific collaboration, in particular, nuclear co-operation;

"(d) Refusing to grant patents and licences to the Government of South Africa and its institutions, as well as to corporations and other bodies which operate in South Africa.

"(65) The flow of immigrants should be stopped; States should prohibit special recruiting organizations from operating in their countries and prevent, or at least dissuade, their citizens from migrating to South Africa; trade unions should take special measures to prevent their members from migrating to South Africa.

"(66) The European Economic Community should end all special terms and concessions already granted to South Africa, undertake to have no further dealings with the régime and its mission in Brussels and pledge that it will not enter into any special agreements or arrangements with South Africa in the future."

239. Moreover, the Special Committee recommends that, as a first step, all countries which continue to maintain trade and economic relations with South Africa should be called upon to abolish all preferences, credits and other forms of encouragement for such relations with South Africa. All countries which have trade commissioners or trade promotion officers in South Africa should be urged to withdraw them.

240. The role of foreign economic interests in South Africa should be urgently studied and publicized, especially with respect to their assistance to the South African régime in resisting international action against apartheid and in facilitating the violation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

I. Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa

241. The General Assembly has almost unanimously recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements for freedom, and has appealed to Governments, organizations and individuals to provide moral, political and material support to the oppressed people of South Africa.

242. The Special Committee considers that increased assistance should be provided to the oppressed people of South Africa. As the Oslo Conference has stated in part two of the programme for action on assistance in southern Africa:

"(98) At this stage, greater moral and material assistance to the liberation movements is among the most effective ways to secure peace in the region by hastening the completion of the process of decolonization and elimination of apartheid."

243. The Special Committee endorses fully the principles enunciated in the programme of action formulated by the Oslo Conference on the question of assistance in southern Africa.

244. The Special Committee draws attention, in this connexion, to the need for and significance of humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid; educational and training programmes for the people subjected to discrimination; and assistance to the liberation movement and other organizations in the conduct of their struggle against apartheid and for freedom.

245. It suggests that renewed appeals be made for greater contributions: (a) to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; (b) to the International Defence and Aid

Fund, the International University Exchange Fund and other funds providing humanitarian and educational assistance to the people subjected to discrimination and repression; (c) to the anti-apartheid movements and other organizations supporting the cause of liberation; and (d) above all, to the liberation movements recognized by OAU.

246. Further, in view of the persistent efforts of the South African régime to outlaw and prevent all peaceful means of resistance against oppression, the Special Committee considers it appropriate and essential that the international community find means to channel assistance to those who are engaged in resistance in South Africa despite the risks and in defiance of the obnoxious repressive laws. It commends, in particular, assistance to the leaders of African workers in South Africa who have had to organize the workers and engage in other legitimate trade union actions in defiance of racist laws denying basic trade union rights to African workers.

247. The Special Committee feels that it would be useful to compile, with the assistance of OAU, available information on assistance provided at present to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements by governmental and non-governmental organizations, and to make proposals for increased assistance, for consideration by the General Assembly. The Committee suggests that the General Assembly authorize it to study this matter fully and submit a special report to the Assembly at its twenty-ninth session.

248. The Special Committee also suggests that the General Assembly consider widening the scope of the Week of Solidarity, proclaimed in its resolution 2911 (XXVII) of 2 November 1972, to cover solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and for freedom, independence and equal rights, so that contributions can also be collected during that week for assistance to the South African liberation movements.

249. International organizations, including the United Nations and the specialized agencies, providing fellowships and arranging training programmes for candidates nominated by their respective Governments should be called upon to recognize that the South African régime represents only the white minority and denies equal opportunities to the great majority of the people of the country. In the case of South Africa they should, therefore, be urged to accept the sponsorship of OAU, the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the liberation movements, rather than the South African régime and the racist institutions in South Africa. Governments should be requested to follow a similar policy in their bilateral educational and training programmes.

J. Sports boycott

250. The Special Committee has pressed for a strict boycott of exchanges with the racially selected South African sports teams as such exchanges encourage the South African régime in continuing the violation of the Olympic principles of non-discrimination.

251. The campaigns for the boycott of these teams have helped inform millions of people outside South Africa of the inequity of apartheid. They have also helped make the South African whites aware of the universal abhorrence of apartheid.

252. As a result of these boycotts, which were greatly spurred by General Assembly resolution 2775 D (XXVI) of 29 November 1971, the South African Government and the white sporting organizations of South Africa have made some concessions or adjustments in their policies, far short of the acceptance of the Olympic principle, and have resorted to deceitful manoeuvres to re-enter international sporting competitions. It is essential that these manoeuvres should be constantly combated and that the boycott should continue so long as the Olympic principle is not fully implemented by the South African Government and sporting organizations.

253. The Special Committee notes that some Governments, while reiterating their opposition to apartheid and their support of the Olympic principle of non-discrimination, have taken little or no action in pursuance of resolution 2775 D (XXVI). The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly call on these Governments:

(a) To declare their opposition to exchanges with South African sports teams selected in violation of the Olympic principle;

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

(c) To deny any assistance or recognition to sporting exchanges with South Africa, except with non-racial sporting associations.

254. The Special Committee recommends that Governments and organizations be requested to take more active steps to stop all exchanges with the racist cultural institutions in South Africa and all visits by musicians, actors and others to South Africa to perform before segregated audiences.

255. The Special Committee also recommends that steps be taken to invite prominent writers, artists and others all over the world to declare their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa, and their support for United Nations action against apartheid.

K. Dissemination of information

256. The Special Committee has consistently emphasized the importance of the widest dissemination of information as a supplement to the efforts to isolate the South African régime and assist the oppressed people and their liberation movement. It has emphasized that the support of public opinion is essential to secure wider implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid by Governments and organizations and to persuade the recalcitrant Governments and foreign economic interests concerned to revise their attitudes.

257. The Special Committee commends the work of the Unit on Apartheid since its establishment in 1967 and the co-operation of the United Nations Office of Public Information. It considers, however, that the information effort by the United Nations must be greatly stepped up with the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

258. The Special Committee considers priority must continue to be given in the information activity of the Unit on Apartheid to the dissemination of information, in co-operation with the liberation movements and anti-apartheid movements, in countries which are the main trading partners of South Africa. At the same time, it has become essential to widen the activity to cover larger numbers of organizations and individuals in all regions in order to promote assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. It may also be noted that the South African régime and companies have been attempting to establish closer relations in areas, such as some Latin American and Asian countries, where the United Nations information activity on apartheid has been negligible.

259. The Special Committee recommends that arrangements should be made to expand greatly the distribution of the publications of the Unit on Apartheid. Towards this end, it recommends that a special budgetary provision be made for the printing of selected publications. The Unit should also be authorized and requested to produce publications in official languages other than English and French. The provision for the production of translations in other languages, through United Nations information centres or appropriate non-governmental organizations, should be continued.

260. The General Assembly should also invite Governments and organizations to help disseminate the publications of the Unit on Apartheid and to translate and print them for wider circulation. In this connexion, the Special Committee appreciates the co-operation already extended by some non-governmental organizations and recommends that the Unit on Apartheid be authorized to make, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate arrangements for greater co-operation with non-governmental organizations.

261. Arrangements should also be made by the United Nations with non-governmental organizations such as the anti-apartheid movements, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism and the World Peace Council Commission on Racism and the International Student Movement for the United Nations, for reciprocal distribution of publications.

262. The Special Committee recommends that the Unit on Apartheid should, in addition to its present publications, initiate special publications for trade unions, student organizations and other groups on aspects of special concern to them. The Unit should be requested to consult, as appropriate, with the liberation movements and non-governmental organizations in connexion with these special publications.

263. The Unit on Apartheid should also greatly increase its efforts to inform the non-governmental organizations of the current activities of the Special Committee and other United Nations organs, and should act as a clearing-house for information on the activities by specialized agencies, Member States and non-governmental organizations on the question of apartheid. The Special Committee notes that the Unit has initiated a new bulletin entitled "Action against Apartheid", at the request of the Special Committee, but only for a very limited circulation. It recommends that consideration be given for the publication and distribution by the United Nations of a weekly or monthly review of activities of United Nations organs on southern Africa as a whole, together with lists of documents and publications.

264. The Special Committee considers that the educational kit on racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa, being prepared by UNESCO in co-operation with the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, can be an important means for the dissemination of information on apartheid.

265. It recalls that on its recommendation, the General Assembly had requested UNESCO, in resolution 2775 B (XXVI) of 29 November 1971, to prepare the educational kit for possible adaptation by national commissions of that organization and for distribution to institutions of learning. Further, in resolution 2923 D (XXVII) of 15 November 1972, the General Assembly requested UNESCO to expedite the preparation and publication of the kit.

266. The Special Committee has been in contact with UNESCO in order to press for the speedy publication and distribution of this kit. It hopes that this kit would be distributed during the first year of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

267. The Special Committee considers it essential that there should be far greater co-operation between the United Nations and the specialized agencies, particularly the ILO and UNESCO, in the dissemination of information on apartheid. The ILO should be invited to assist the United Nations Office of Public Information and the Unit on Apartheid by disseminating publications and other information material to the organizations of workers and employers all over the world. The UNESCO should be invited to assist with similar dissemination to the non-governmental organizations associated with it, and through national commissions. The United Nations offices, in turn, should help publicize and disseminate the information material produced by the ILO and UNESCO on apartheid.

268. The Special Committee wishes to draw attention to the great need for films and audio-visual material on apartheid in various languages. It recommends that special budgetary provision be made for this purpose and that UNESCO should be requested to lend its co-operation.

269. The Special Committee recommends that the United Nations information centres and other United Nations offices concerned should be required to give high priority to the dissemination of information on apartheid. It recommends further that the Secretary-General be requested urgently to establish information centres in the non-racial independent States neighbouring South Africa and that the host countries be exempted, if necessary, from the financial obligations in this connexion.

270. Finally, the Special Committee recommends that the Secretary-General be requested to invite voluntary contributions by States and organizations to supplement the appropriations from the regular budget for the dissemination of information on apartheid. Such contributions should be used, in consultation with the Special Committee, for:

(a) An expansion of the activities of the Unit on Apartheid;

(b) Production of publications in languages other than the official languages;

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

L. Role of specialized agencies

271. The Special Committee considers that there should be close co-operation between the United Nations and the other organizations within the United Nations system in the efforts for the eradication of apartheid. It has paid great attention to the development of such co-operation, especially with the ILO and UNESCO, and has noted above the specific measures which may be taken by these two agencies for the dissemination of information on apartheid.

272. The Special Committee feels that all the organizations within the United Nations system should terminate any existing relations with South Africa and examine their contribution to the efforts against apartheid. They should be invited to formulate their own programmes for action against apartheid, in consultation with the Special Committee.

273. It recommends that UNESCO be requested to consider convening, in co-operation with the Special Committee and soon after the publication of the education kit on southern Africa, a conference of prominent educators, writers and other intellectuals to consider their role in the struggle against apartheid.

274. It recommends that the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and other agencies be invited to publicize the evil effects of apartheid in their respective fields. The FAO, for instance, might be invited to study and publicize the crucial problem of discrimination and oppression as regards land-ownership in South Africa, where the minority has appropriated 87 per cent of the land. The WHO should prepare a study on the effects of apartheid in the field of health and medicine, and call upon members of the medical profession to take action against apartheid.

275. The Special Committee further recommends that the United Nations Institute for Training and Research be requested to consider and report on the possible contribution by it and by the academic community to the efforts for the eradication of apartheid.

M. Role of non-governmental organizations

276. The Special Committee has always recognized the great role played by anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations in the international campaign against apartheid, and the even greater contribution they can make with the active encouragement and co-operation of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and OAU. The Committee recommends to the General Assembly again to commend the important role played by these organizations, as that would be an additional stimulus to their noble activity.

277. These groups have contributed greatly to informing the public opinion in various countries of the inhumanity of apartheid and of the legitimate struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa. They have expressed solidarity with and support for the liberation movement by political action and by material assistance. They have played a particularly significant role in countries which continue to maintain political, economic, military and other relations with the South African régime in spite of the United Nations resolutions which represent the views of the overwhelming majority of Member States and of humanity. They have counteracted the deceitful propaganda of the South African régime and of vested interests which profit from the oppression of the black people of South Africa. In countries where the Governments have supported the relevant United Nations resolutions, they have encouraged greater public support or led the way to securing even greater commitment to the cause of freedom in South Africa.

278. The Special Committee has continuously intensified contacts and consultations with the anti-apartheid movements in many countries, with numerous international non-governmental organizations such as the World Council of Churches, the World Peace Council, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the International Student Movement for the United Nations, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the International Union of Students and the International University Exchange Fund, and with relevant national organizations in many countries. The Special Committee has found the consultations and co-operation with these non-governmental organizations most valuable.

279. The Special Committee welcomes the plans of the non-governmental organizations concerned to hold a conference in 1974 to formulate a programme of action on colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa and considers that such a conference can help promote more concerted and effective action in support of the efforts of the United Nations. It recommends that the United Nations should provide appropriate assistance to the non-governmental organizations in the preparations for this conference and that the United Nations organs concerned, including the Special Committee, should participate effectively in the preparations and the proceedings of the conference.

280. The Special Committee also considers it important that appropriate steps should be taken to ensure that the non-governmental organizations most active in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa, especially the anti-apartheid movements, are granted consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, so that they can co-operate most effectively with the United Nations in the international campaign against apartheid and in the observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It suggests that as a first step, the Secretary-General should be requested, in consultation with the Special Committee, to place these organizations on the roster.

281. The Special Committee has paid special attention in recent years to the means to encourage greater action by trade unions against apartheid. The International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid can be an important landmark in that respect, and the Committee has made proposals in its special report on the

Conference (A/9169) for greater co-operation between the United Nations and the trade unions.

282. The Special Committee has also given attention to the role of churches and other religious bodies in the struggle against apartheid. It would suggest that a seminar of leaders and scholars from various religions should be convened under the Programme of Advisory Services for Human Rights, in consultation with the Special Committee, in order to consider means to promote concerted action against apartheid.

283. It also recommends that the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies be requested to provide the necessary assistance to the Special Committee to develop closer contact with organizations of students, youth, women, lawyers and other groups in order to promote concerted actions of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

N. Co-ordination and co-operation among United Nations organs concerned

284. The Special Committee reiterates the need for greater co-ordination in the activities of United Nations organs concerned with apartheid so that duplication of effort and waste of resources may be avoided. It recommends that the attention of all organs concerned should again be drawn to the mandate of the Special Committee, under General Assembly resolution 2671 A (XXV) of 8 December 1970, under which the Committee would constantly review all aspects of the policies of apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions. The organs should be invited to consult with the Special Committee before undertaking any research or investigation on apartheid in South Africa.

285. The Special Committee recommends that the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system be requested to co-operate with it towards concerted action on the problem of apartheid, especially with respect to the preparation of studies, dissemination of information and assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa.

286. The Special Committee has constantly stressed the nefarious role played by the South African régime in southern Africa as a whole and the interrelationship of the problems of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa. It has repeatedly proposed close co-operation among the United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa and has taken active steps to promote such co-operation.

287. As indicated earlier, there has been increased co-operation by the Special Committee during the past year with other organs concerned with southern Africa, particularly the Special Committee of Twenty-Four and the United Nations Council for Namibia. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly take note of and encourage such co-operation and authorize the organs concerned to hold joint meetings or to establish joint working groups, as they may decide. The consensus adopted by the joint meeting of the three bodies in 1971 (Special Committee of Twenty-Four, United Nations Council for Namibia, Special Committee on Apartheid) provides a basis for such co-operation and must be taken into consideration for the future work of these three bodies.

288. Particular attention may be given to co-operation as regards:

- (a) Representation at national and international conferences;
- (b) Missions away from Headquarters;
- (c) Consultations with specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations;
- (d) Studies concerning the economic and other interests impeding decolonization and the eradication of apartheid in southern Africa;
- (e) Dissemination of information.

O. Programme of work

289. The Special Committee intends to redouble its efforts in the coming year in the light of the recommendations in this report, and the action taken on them by the General Assembly and the Security Council, so as to contribute more effectively to the international efforts for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa and to the observance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

It will pay special attention to:

- (1) Constantly following all developments concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions on apartheid and collaboration with South Africa, with a view to taking appropriate steps as promptly as possible;
- (2) Developing even closer relations with specialized agencies, the Organization of African Unity and non-governmental organizations in order to promote concerted actions against apartheid;
- (3) Providing appropriate assistance, as requested, to the trade union organizations in their activities against apartheid at the national and international level;
- (4) Promoting greater dissemination of information on apartheid and on the United Nations efforts towards its speedy eradication;
- (5) Encouraging greater moral, political and material assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movement.

290. In the consultations held by the Special Committee and its delegations with a number of anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations, it has been suggested that a special session of the Special Committee in Europe in 1974, the first year of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, would be more useful in promoting action against apartheid. Such a session, held in a few European capitals, would enable the Committee to meet and consult with a large number of international and national non-governmental organizations which find it difficult to send representatives to Headquarters. It would also enable the Committee to consult with several Governments at the highest level and with directors-general of specialized agencies concerned.

291. The Special Committee recommends that it be authorized to hold a session in Europe for a period of about two weeks. It would propose, in order to facilitate adequate preparation, that the session be held around May-June 1974. The special session, which has been held annually at Headquarters, would then be held in Europe to facilitate wider participation of non-governmental organizations.

292. The Special Committee considers that it should be authorized to send missions to certain Governments, especially of countries which continue to maintain diplomatic, economic and other relations with South Africa, to meet and consult with officials at the highest level on action against apartheid, and to acquaint the public opinion with the United Nations efforts for the eradication of apartheid. It proposes that it be authorized to send in 1974 one mission to Japan and one to Latin American countries. Each of these missions would be composed of not less than two representatives of the Committee and one Secretariat official.

293. The Special Committee also attaches great importance to close co-operation with OAU, especially in the light of the affirmation by the General Assembly of the firm intention of the United Nations, in co-operation with OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the present grave situation in southern Africa. It recommends that it be authorized to send representatives to attend the meetings of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, and the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, and to hold consultations with the OAU General Secretariat, whenever necessary.

294. Finally, the Special Committee recommends that adequate provision be made for the representation of the Special Committee at international and national conferences concerned with apartheid, including the International Conference on Apartheid and Human Rights, to be held in Rome at the end of March 1974; and the Non-Governmental Organizations' Conference on Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, to be held at Geneva in August 1974.

295. Reference may also be made to the recommendation, in the report of the Special Committee on the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, that the General Assembly authorize the Special Committee:

(a) To send representatives to Geneva once a year, at a time convenient to the members of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, to consult on action against apartheid;

(b) To hold special meetings for consultations with trade unions on action against apartheid, and to invite the members of the Preparatory Committee to such meetings.

296. Finally, the Special Committee recommends that it be authorized to appoint special rapporteurs for studies which can best be undertaken by experts nominated by the Committee. It proposes to consider the appointment of special rapporteurs for the studies suggested in paragraphs 63 and 70 above.

P. Secretariat services

297. The Special Committee recognizes that the recommendations contained in the present report require a substantial strengthening of the Secretariat resources devoted to the question of apartheid in South Africa in order to provide services to the Special Committee, to publicize the evils of apartheid and to undertake related tasks.

298. It may be recalled that, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2144 A (XXI), a Unit on Apartheid was established at the beginning of 1967, to deal exclusively with the problem of apartheid in consultation with the Special Committee. The establishment of the Unit was an important step in connexion with the launching of the international campaign against apartheid. The Special Committee has repeatedly commended the Unit for the discharge of its functions with devotion and efficiency, but with the modest staff resources provided to it, it can only make a very limited contribution. The Special Committee considers it essential that adequate staff should be provided for the work of the Unit, taking into account the development of United Nations efforts since 1967, the series of decisions by the General Assembly and the Special Committee, and the great increase in propaganda by the South African régime and its friends.

299. The United Nations, as the General Assembly has affirmed, has a vital interest in securing the speedy eradication of apartheid and should provide adequate resources to meet the needs. The Special Committee notes with satisfaction that the voluntary contributions by Member States for assistance to the victims of apartheid have substantially increased in recent years, reflecting an increasing commitment to the struggle against apartheid. It considers that the budgetary resources allocated to the struggle against apartheid should also be increased to cope with the growing needs. It also suggests that savings be obtained by eliminating all duplication of work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

301. The Special Committee requests that the Secretary-General be invited to give urgent consideration to this matter and make proposals to the current session of the General Assembly. The assignment of adequate staff, consultants and resources for action on apartheid would be an indication of the determination to give appropriate priority to the struggle against apartheid during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

ANNEX I

Review of developments in South Africa since 23 August 1972

INTRODUCTION

1. The past year during which the Nationalist Party of South Africa, which has espoused the policy of apartheid, celebrated 25 years of its rule, has been a very significant year in South Africa.
2. The Nationalist Party is firmly in power with the support of the white electorate. Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster boasted in May 1973 that there was no sign of the Party suffering a defeat in the foreseeable future from a white electorate. 1/ The policy of this party, as defined recently by Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, is "undivided control by whites of whites in their own area in South Africa". 2/ It claims that 87 per cent of the area of the country belongs to the whites who constitute less than a fifth of the population. It is committed to defending this claim by force.
3. The South African régime has derived comfort from the developments in the monetary and economic fields. The balance of payments have greatly improved with the great increase in the price of gold, and a profitable market has been found for platinum, especially as a catalyst in exhaust purifiers for automobiles. 3/
4. Nevertheless, there has been a resurgence of resistance to apartheid. Indicative were the massive strikes of African and other black workers during the past year and the defiance by the black students as well as a section of the white students.
5. It appears that the resistance has recovered from the brutal repression of the early 1960s, which drove many of the leaders of the oppressed people into prison or exile. It now takes a number of forms such as the struggle of the workers for wages and trade union rights; the struggle by the black students against white domination and for academic freedom; the efforts of the legal political party of the Coloured people, the Coloured Labour Party, to use the apartheid institutions as a platform to expose and denounce racism; the development of black political movements uniting African, Indian and Coloured people in resistance to apartheid. Even some of the leaders of the "Bantustans" have exposed the hypocrisy of the apartheid régime. The liberation movement, in the underground and in exile, continues to play a crucial role.

1/ The Times, London, 24 May 1973.

2/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 15 September 1973.

3/ In December 1972, Impala Platinum of South Africa signed a contract with the General Motors Corporation to supply 400 million rand worth of platinum in the next 10 years. South African Digest, Pretoria, 22 December 1972.

6. Indicative of the present situation is the conclusion of a study by several of South Africa's leading academics, issued by the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid, that unless there are "structural changes" in the political system, South Africa faces a danger "that the entire sub-continent may be engulfed in a race war whose possibilities of escalation are incalculable". 4/

7. The police killing of African mineworkers, including five nationals of Lesotho and two nationals of Botswana, at Carletonville, is illustrative of the explosive situation in the country. Characteristically, the South African Government defended the police and charged 16 mineworkers in court on allegations of public violence, thus further aggravating the situation.

8. In the context of this growing crisis in South Africa, there has been further development of international opposition to apartheid. The International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid, held at Oslo in April 1973, and the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid, held at Geneva in June 1973, contributed significantly to the international campaign against apartheid by formulating concrete programmes of action. More Governments and international organizations have taken action against apartheid. The boycott against sports teams selected on the basis of race has achieved new successes. Economic and other interests involved in South Africa have been increasingly confronted in their home countries by church, student, trade union and other groups concerned with the effects of these investments in bolstering racist oppression in South Africa.

9. As a result of this opposition, both internal and external, the South African régime was obliged to make some readjustments within its policies. As the Johannesburg Star said in an editorial on 13 September 1973:

"There probably never was a year in South Africa's history when public opinion moved so flexibly and so much on the subject of African pay, education and communication."

10. These adjustments were, however, entirely within the framework of apartheid. Though they tended to mitigate the suffering caused by apartheid, they did not involve any weakening of the system itself. Some of them were intended to streamline apartheid, though publicized as concessions or reforms. Some of them represented adjustments required by the breakdown of apartheid laws and regulations under new conditions.

11. Instead of abandoning apartheid as called for by the United Nations, the South African Government has resorted to severe measures of repression. It has greatly increased its military budget, hoping thereby to gain time to consolidate

4/ South Africa's Political Alternatives: report of the Political Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Johannesburg), 1973, p. 56.

apartheid. It has stepped up its propaganda effort to deceive world public opinion and frustrate effective international action.

12. Some of the main developments during the past year are briefly reviewed in the following pages. 5/

5/ For further details, reference is made to the documents of the Special Committee on Apartheid, particularly:

A/AC.115/L.352 Recent strikes of black workers in South Africa;

A/AC.115/L.357 Working paper on recent developments concerning apartheid and sport;

A/AC.115/L.368 Recent developments concerning sports contacts with South Africa;

A/AC.115/L.371 Review of developments concerning the military build-up in South Africa;

A/AC.115/L.372 Third report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information.

Attention is also drawn to the publications of the Unit on Apartheid.

Developments concerning the sports boycott, military build-up and repressive measures are, in particular, noted only very briefly in this review.

I. WHITE DOMINATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF APARTHEID

A. Consolidation of racism in the "white areas"

13. While Government leaders have hinted that the application of the harsh and negative aspect of apartheid is ending and the positive aspect is beginning to be implemented, the developments in the past year indicate continued determination to enforce racial discrimination and exploitation at the cost of immense suffering for the black people. What is contemplated is merely a consolidation of discrimination and a streamlining of administrative arrangements for that purpose.

14. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Marais Viljoen, reaffirmed in October 1972 that the use of African labour would only be permitted in the white areas - that is, in all the country outside the overcrowded reserves - on three conditions: (a) "no whites shall be dismissed or replaced"; (b) whites and non-whites should not be permitted to work shoulder to shoulder; (c) no white should ever receive instructions from a non-white. 6/ It may be recalled that 87 per cent of the country, including all the cities and ports, is claimed to constitute the "white areas".

15. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, declared on 21 May 1973:

"... the Bantu persons coming to work in the white areas, in our factories, our homes, shops or wherever, are not allowed here in terms of our policy to achieve economically, in the sphere of labour, the same or equal status as that of the whites. They cannot in the garages, factories or banks in Cape Town, develop equally with the whites. They cannot become managers, artisans, general managers, directors or joint general managers.

"We say very clearly to the Bantu ... that the Bantu who are allowed into white South Africa are allowed in here on a basis of non-integration ... That is to say, they do not enjoy equality with the whites. They do not even have the potential of equality with the whites. They may only occupy those posts which are exempted for them, from which the whites have withdrawn themselves, or which the whites have never occupied." 7/

16. This policy has continued to involve the removal of thousands of Africans from their homes to the poverty-ridden reserves or the barren resettlement camps. The Financial Mail of Johannesburg reported on 15 June 1973 that a total of 1.6 million Africans had been removed from urban areas and the farms since 1960 and sent to the reserves which have become the dumping grounds for the aged, the infirm and the other Africans who are not required to minister to the needs of the whites. Chief Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of Kwazulu, described this resettlement as "one of the great human tragedies for which South Africa is becoming well-known".

6/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 21 October 1972.

7/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 21 May 1973, cols. 7043-7044.

17. But the forcible removal of Africans continues. It was reported in November 1972 that the 28,000 Africans of Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, would gradually be moved to a resettlement township about 74 kilometres away except for those who would be provided "single quarters" because of awkward working hours. Africans in other towns in Eastern Cape which are declared as border industrial areas would similarly be moved. East London and King William's Town had already been declared border industrial areas. Other towns such as Port Alfred, Fort Beaufort, Seymour, Dordrecht, Elliot and Maclear were likely to be affected. 8/

18. Hundreds of thousands of Africans are to be moved in the next decade under the Government's recent proposals for the consolidation of "Bantustans". A foretaste of the Government's plans was provided by the transfer of about 300 tribesmen in Transvaal early in September in order to consolidate the Bantustan of Lebowa. When Chief Makopole Mampuru and his tribesmen resisted the transfer, police used teargas and arrested the Chief and his councillors; the rest of the tribesmen were then forcibly moved. 9/

19. At the same time, the Government has implemented some administrative reforms to meet the new problems emerging from the implementation of apartheid, or made some concessions within the system of apartheid, and has tried to advertise these as significant evidence of benevolence.

20. It has, for instance, established 22 Bantu Administration Boards to take over the work formally performed by the Bantu Administration Department of 350 local authorities. It has thereby taken charge of the implementation of regulations governing the movement and employment of millions of urban Africans. The new arrangement allows somewhat greater mobility for the workers, but as Die Transvaler commented on 9 May 1973:

"Any watering down of the Government's policy is out of the question, nor is it necessary. The policy will be applied more logically and will be carried through more logically ...".

21. Faced with the tremendous overcrowding of prisons by Africans because of the pass laws and other racist legislation, the Government has set up so-called "aid centres" to deal with Africans found without passes or other documents, so that sentences of imprisonment may be avoided in some cases. Moreover, the Department of Prisons has been releasing short-term prisoners well before the expiry of the terms of imprisonment. As a result, the daily average of prisoners has been substantially reduced. But the laws remain and the police harassment of Africans continues unabated.

22. Mr. C. C. Ferguson, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who had recently visited South Africa, said before the Commission on Human Rights on 2 April 1973:

8/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 24 November 1972.

9/ The Times, London, 8 September 1973.

"I have seen with my own eyes the human cost of imposed degradation on my black brothers and sisters.

"On my visit I examined very closely the operations of the so-called 'aid' centres, particularly in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

"It turns out that these aid centres, held out as a hope of easing the intolerable burdens of the pass laws, were in fact simply a means of further controlling influx of African labour into urban areas.

"Far from easing the rigours of an unjust and discriminatory legal régime, I found that these centres served merely to reinforce the already iron hand of governmental labour control."

23. Mr. T. N. H. Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, early in August 1973, invited suggestions by the public to make the pass laws "more humane". (It may be recalled that these laws, which restrict the freedom of movement of the African people, are regarded by them as obnoxious and that the Sharpeville massacre resulted from a protest against these laws.) He said later that the Government was considering a central computerized register of all black workers outside the reserves of South Africa as one method of applying the pass laws more humanely: the plan is aimed at reducing "unnecessary arrests" of Africans who are found without their "reference books". 10/

24. The Government does not intend to eliminate pass laws which are described as apartheid's linchpin, but only to reduce arrests. 11/ As Mr. Mike Hubbard of the South African Institute of Race Relations commented: "The only measures which can humanize the pass laws are measures which serve to dismantle them." 12/

25. To placate the Coloured people, the Government has announced introduction of compulsory education for Coloured children from 1974. Compulsory education will be introduced for 7-year-old children in 1974, and extended for one year annually, until it covers the age levels 7 to 13. 13/

26. It has also announced that the Coloured Persons Representative Council would be transformed into a fully elected body in 1979. 14/ But the Coloured people continue to be denied full citizenship rights.

10/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 11 August 1973.

11/ In the year ending 30 June 1972, 617,337 Africans were arrested under these laws. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police for the year ended 30 June 1973.

12/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 25 August 1973.

Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert, acting head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town, commented: "It is a welcome sign that Government spokesmen recognize that the pass laws are inhuman." "To humanize the pass laws," he said, "is to a large extent, a self-defeating process." Ibid.

13/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 8 September 1973.

14/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 29 June 1973.

27. The Government also tried to placate the Indian community by announcing that it would allow greater freedom for interprovincial travel. But the new regulations announced in June 1973 are only a little less onerous and obnoxious. Asians can only visit for a maximum of 30 days across provincial boundaries without special permits. They are still prohibited from moving freely in search of work and they remain totally excluded from the Free State and several other areas. 15/

B. Speed-up of "Bantustan" policy

28. The Government has greatly speeded up its "Bantustan" plans during the past year, hoping thereby to counteract world opposition to apartheid and divide the African people.

29. It has now granted "self-government" to most of the 10 projected "Bantustans" and arranged elections for their legislative assemblies. The voters include not only the inhabitants of the "Bantustans", but members of the respective ethnic or tribal groups who are resident outside the reserves. The Government hopes thereby to justify its treatment of the Africans as aliens in most of the country. Only a minority of seats in the assemblies are elective; the remaining seats are reserved for chiefs and headmen who are dependent on the Government.

30. The "Bantustans", it may be recalled, consist of numerous unconnected pieces of land. In order to make the scheme look less fraudulent, the Government has prepared consolidation proposals for several territories.

31. These proposals will require a massive movement of people. The proposals announced for Eastern Transvaal in April 1973 require the moving of 231,000 Africans. 16/ The proposals for Kwa-Zulu are estimated to require the moving of 364,000 Africans. 17/ It appears that in the next 10 years another million would be added to the million and a half Africans who were "resettled" in the past decade.

32. Even after the consolidation, the "Bantustans" will consist of a considerable number of scattered pieces of land. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told Parliament on 12 June 1973 that the consolidation proposals would reduce the number of separate pieces of land in seven of the "homelands" as follows:

15/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 22 June 1973.

16/ Ibid., 28 April 1973.

17/ New York Times, 15 May 1973.

	<u>Number of areas at present</u>	<u>Number after consolidation</u>
Bophuthatswana	19	6
Lebowa	15	5
Vendaland	3	2
Gazankulu	5	4
Swazi Territory	3	1
South Ndebele	3	1
Kwa-Zulu	188	10 <u>18/</u>

33. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of Kwa-Zulu, said:

"... any so-called 'independence' of bits and pieces of unconsolidated homelands as envisaged by the present régime looks like naked Baaskap, designed for everlasting domination". 19/

34. The Government's intention is to offer independence to these scattered and unviable territories and declare, in effect, that it was "decolonizing" the African areas. It may be noted, however, that less than half the African people live in these poverty-ridden "Bantustans". The other half who form the majority of the population in the rest of the country are expected, according to the Government's plans, to continue to perform labour for the whites as alien migrants with no political rights.

35. Even the "Bantustan" leaders have strongly opposed the consolidation proposals which have been prepared by the white Government in consultation with white farmers of the various regions. Many of them have demanded more land for their territories because of historical claims and because their people would be destined to remain in abysmal poverty within the present confines of the reserves.

36. The Government has reiterated, however, that it would grant no more land than was provided for the African reserves in the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936. The "Bantustan" leaders have refused to accept this Act as laying down a final division of land. Several of these leaders - notably those of Transkei and Kwazulu - have indicated that they would refuse to seek or accept independence unless their territories received more land, including ports.

37. The "Bantustan" leaders have also tried to co-operate among themselves in order to counter the Government's plans to divide the Africans into ethnic groups and to strengthen their position in their representations to the Government.

18/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 June 1973, Cols. 995-996.

19/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 13 August 1973.

38. In August 1972, the Chief Minister of the Transkei suggested that the "Bantustans" might eventually form a federation and seek a confederation with neighbouring African States. The Chief Minister of Kwazulu welcomed the suggestion and indicated that he had had private discussions with several other "Bantustan" leaders.

39. On the proposal of the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, a meeting of the "Bantustan" leaders - the "creatures of this policy of separate development" as he called them 20/ - has been convened to discuss matters of common concern such as the questions of land, wages of black workers, basic rights of the Africans in the "white areas" and the economic development of the "Bantustans". meeting is scheduled to be held at Umtata on 8 November 1973. 21/

40. While certain differences of opinion have developed even between the "creatures of separate development" and the Government, mainly because of the strength of African opposition to apartheid and the contradictions inherent in "separate development", it may again be recalled that these "Bantustan" governments have little effective power except perhaps to the extent that the South African Government needs their co-operation for the implementation of its plans to dispossess the Africans.

41. For instance, in 1973, the Transkei Government appointed Dr. Charles Bikitsha, an African doctor in the United Kingdom, as medical officer at Butterworth Hospital. The Government of the Republic, however, vetoed the appointment on the grounds that no African could be allowed to supervise white doctors. Dr. Bikitsha was then appointed head of the African section of the hospital, with a white doctor as his superior. The slogan of "separate development", and the assurance that the "sky is the limit" for the development of the African in the reserves ("homelands"), was again proved fraudulent. "The sky-limit is no higher than the lowest ranked white official in the 'Bantustan'," as Mr. Knowledge Guzana, the leader of Opposition in the Transkei, observed. 22/

42. Yet, the Government appears to hope that the "Bantustan" governments will help disrupt international opposition to apartheid. It has, therefore, allowed the leaders of these Bantustans to travel to Western countries. 23/ On 3 January 1973, Prime Minister Vorster announced that the "Bantustans" would be allowed to accept foreign aid - apparently hoping that this would develop foreign vested interests in the "Bantustan" scheme. A few foreign governments and private groups, concerned over the poverty in the reserves, are reported to have shown interest in investment in these "Bantustans".

20/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 28 July 1973.

21/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 31 August 1973.

22/ The Star, weekly airmail edition, 21 July 1973.

23/ It would seem that such travel would be allowed only so long as they oppose effective international action against apartheid. The passport of Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Coloured Labour Party, was withdrawn after he called for disengagement by foreign investors during a visit to the United States and the United Kingdom in 1972.

43. In short, while a façade of African governments is being rapidly built by the Government, it provides no solution to the situation in South Africa. While the Africans constitute well over two-thirds of the population of the country, the "Bantustans" cover only 13 per cent of the land area. They were estimated in 1966-1967 to produce only 2 per cent of the gross domestic product of South Africa. 24/ As Chief Gatsha Buthelezi commented in July 1973, the policy of "separate development" was "the greatest effigy show of the 20th century". 25/

24/ The Economist, London, 7 July 1973.

25/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 7 July 1973.

II. RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

44. As noted earlier, there has been an eruption of resistance to apartheid by the oppressed people of South Africa. A few whites, especially students, have continued to press courageously for an end to apartheid. Some of the main developments are briefly reviewed in this chapter.

A. Strikes by black workers

45. South Africa was shaken by a series of strike waves by black workers during the past year. Though the immediate causes of the strikes were the starvation wages and the deplorable working conditions, the strikes had far greater significance. They reflected the resurgence of the struggle of the people against oppression and exploitation. The resistance had been curbed by the ruthless repression and the detentions of numerous leaders in 1963 and 1964, but had never been entirely suppressed. It now reappeared in powerful movements, of which the struggle of the black workers was perhaps the most significant.

46. The recent strike wave began in October 1972 with the strike of 1,200 African stevedores in Durban, followed by a strike of 1,500 stevedores in Cape Town. These strikes were put down by harsh measures, including deportation of workers to the reserves.

47. Then followed a series of large scale strikes in Natal in January to March 1973, involving more than 60,000 workers, according to Government reports.

48. Though strikes by African workers are illegal, the police were forced to exercise restraint because of the mass support for the strikes. They made a show of force at the factories, but refrained from violence except in a few instances when they resorted to tear gas and baton charges. The strikes were generally of short duration and most were settled with the granting of substantial wage increases - amounting to 20 to 25 per cent.

49. These increases, however, have been eroded by increases in price levels. A large percentage of the African workers continues to earn below the poverty datum line or starvation level. Moreover, the gap between the African and white workers has not narrowed.

50. After the strike wave had subsided as a result of wage increases and other concessions, the employers are reported to have resorted to lay-offs, thus increasing the already large unemployment among Africans. Employers also adopted harsh measures in the case of subsequent isolated strikes. In August 1973, when textile workers at the Wentex mill in Jacobs, owned by the Frame group, struck work for higher wages, police were called in and more than 500 striking workers were sacked: only 450 were later re-employed. 26/ Two alleged leaders were arrested by the police.

26/ The Star, weekly airmail edition, 11 August 1973; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 15 August 1973.

51. Meanwhile, the black workers of South Africa attracted world attention by their heroic strikes in defiance of repressive legislation.

52. Prime Minister Vorster was obliged to declare that these strikes had a lesson for the Government and the employers. However, the Government's response was, in fact, insensitive to the demands of the workers and fitted into its apartheid mold. On the one hand, the Government declared that the strikes had been instigated by others such as the National Union of South African Students. The Government resorted to repression against those who exposed the exploitation of the black workers. On the other hand, it arranged to increase the minimum wages somewhat, but the wages were still far below the starvation levels. The Government has adamantly refused to grant equality or trade union rights to the African workers. It fears that African trade unions would become a powerful political force.

53. The Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act of 1973, 27/ which was described as a reform measure, provided for the establishment in factories, of works committees, which have only advisory power -- no real power. Earlier legislation had provided for these works committees but very few committees had been established since neither the employers nor the African workers showed any enthusiasm for them.

54. Another provision of this new Act permits strikes by African workers, on such conditions as would make legal strikes virtually impossible. As The Economist observed on 7 July 1973:

"... such an elaborate cooling-off procedure must be followed that it is almost impossible to visualize the circumstances in which a strike could lawfully take place The legislation of black strikes is a classic example of an apparent relaxation of the law which adds up to absolutely nothing in practical terms."

55. The strikes also had great impact on the registered trade unions in South Africa.

56. The majority of the white unions affiliated to the South African Confederation of Labour continued to oppose trade union rights to the African workers. However the Trade Union Council of South Africa, whose membership of 200,000 includes a majority of Coloured and Asian workers, had already veered towards support for the recognition of African trade unions. At its congress in August 1973, it adopted a resolution calling on individual affiliates to "take steps to examine practical ways to establish parallel union organizations for African workers".

57. More and more white trade unionists are favouring the organization of African workers, either because they see the danger to their own interests in the existence of a large unorganized reserve of labour or because they would like to control the militancy of African workers. In this connexion, it may be noted that the Executive Committee of the Black Allied Workers' Union, in a statement on

27/ Act No. 70 of 1973.

1 February 1973, objected strongly to the intervention by white trade unions wanting to negotiate on behalf of the black workers on strike in Natal. It said that the present "miserable" wages were the creation of white trade unions and white employers. 28/

58. Meanwhile, it is reported that more African workers had joined African unions even though African unions may not be registered. The total membership of these unions is, however, only about 20,000. 29/ Therefore, the strikes of African workers are largely outside the framework of African trade union organizations.

B. Protests by students

59. It may be recalled that in May-June 1972 there were mass protests by black students against repression and discrimination, and that these were followed by demonstrations of solidarity by white students led by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

60. The police suppressed these demonstrations by resorting to undue violence and brutality. About 600 white students were arrested and charged under various repressive laws. Though most of them were released by the courts, and the police actions were criticized by the judges, the Government only proceeded to adopt harsher means to suppress student protests. Mr. M. Viljoen, the Minister of Labour, declared at a political meeting on 25 October 1972 that the student demonstrators were "internal terrorists" who wished to "hi-jack" the Government, and warned: "If necessary, we will use batons again." 30/

61. The Schlebusch Commission on Internal Security, set up in July 1972, published an interim report on the NUSAS which was rushed through Parliament early in 1973. Utilizing this report, the Government served stringent banning orders on several leaders of the NUSAS in February 1973. A few days later, without even the formality of an investigation, the Government served banning and house arrest orders on eight leaders of the South African Student Organization (SASO), a national organization of black students. The Minister of Justice said they had made inflammatory statements, but added that they were not charged in court as that would give them a "platform". 31/ Subsequently, the Government also banned the new President elected by the SASO.

62. These harsh measures and threats by the Government failed to curb student protests. They spread widely, especially among the segregated black institutions.

28/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 2 February 1973.

29/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 10 August 1973.

30/ The Star, Johannesburg, 26 October 1972.

31/ Statement by the Minister of Justice in Parliament. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 8 March 1973, col. 2270.

63. At the University of the North at Turfloop, 82 of 97 graduating students boycotted the graduation ceremony at the end of March 1973 in protest against the denial of academic freedom. 32/

64. Disaffection at the Bethesda Training Institute in Pietersburg erupted on 21 May 1973, when the principal, Mr. G. J. J. Theron, ordered the students to stop singing the anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelele Africa'. In the ensuing events, students caused some damage to the school. One hundred and sixteen students were charged in the Pietersburg Magistrate's court with disturbing the peace and malicious damage to property. They were given extremely harsh sentences. In August, 94 students were sentenced to one year in jail with six months suspended, and 22 who were under the age of majority were sentenced to eight lashes with a light cane. 33/

65. The University of Western Cape, a segregated institution for Coloured students, was closed on 12 June 1973 after a sit-in demonstration by students complaining against restrictive rules and white domination of the university. All the students were expelled and were asked to reapply for admission. The students refused to re-apply and demanded that the administration reinstate the whole student body. The Government was obliged, because of the solidarity of the students, to accede to this student demand in July and appoint a commission of inquiry. 34/

66. African students at the University of Fort Hare in Alice protested repeatedly at discrimination and the denial of academic freedom. In August 1973, when the authorities countered the protests by suspending 159 students, practically the whole student body of the University, numbering over 1,000, left the University. By the middle of August 1973, only 10 students were attending classes and another 40 students were on the campus as they had no money to return home. 35/

67. Subsequently, many of the students returned, but boycotted classes until the end of August when the police were called in to suppress the strike.

68. Students at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice boycotted classes for many days in solidarity with the students at the universities of Fort Hare and Western Cape. 36/

32/ The Star, Johannesburg, 2 April 1973.

33/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 11 August 1973.

34/ Over 70 students were again expelled from the University. The Cape Chamber of Industries was reported to have sent a private circular to its members advising them not to employ these students. Financial Times, London, 25 September 1973.

35/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 11 August 1973.

36/ Ibid. The students said they would boycott lectures until the church authorities "have demonstrated their emphatic involvement in the liberation of Black education". Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 August 1973.

69. The Rand Daily Mail of Johannesburg wrote in an editorial on 8 August 1973 that a whole new generation was being alienated by the Government. It added:

"... Since a student called Tiro was expelled from the University of the North for opening his mouth in May 1972, there is hardly a Black centre of higher learning that has not had its share of conflict. Unrest on Black campuses has become endemic.

"Suspension and expulsion has become almost an instinctive response to the situation. The University of the Western Cape locked out all 1,600 students and called the Security Police. The Government ordered 800 suspensions at two Indian colleges in Natal. At the University of Durban-Westville, a boycott by 650 students was followed by suspensions and bannings. At the University of Zululand, 500 went on strike, nine were expelled and 17 left in sympathy. Fort Hare expelled 13 and lost 39 sympathisers last year. Turfloop expelled 23, lost 250.

"But nothing is done about the fundamental student complaint, which is that the Government is ramming down Black throats what it considers to be good for them. Nationalist imperialism and paternalism combine to frustrate their aspirations. Nearly every rector is a Nationalist Afrikaner disciplinarian; Blacks have no say. A SASO spokesman crystallized the resentment: 'As long as the authorities think that the students are small boys and girls who must be kicked around at will, the present situation will always prevail.'..."

70. It may be noted that the black students engaged in the resistance risked scholarships and jeopardized their careers. When expelled from any university, these students would not be allowed into any other university in South Africa. 37/

71. A significant feature of the student demonstrations is the unity manifested by African, Coloured and Indian students in defiance of the Government's efforts to separate the three communities. 38/ Equally significant was the active support by parent groups to the demands and protests of students: this support forced the retreat of the authorities, especially at the University of the Western Cape.

72. The Government appears to have shown particular hostility against student protests because of the efforts by students to work within the various communities. SASO, for instance, has played an important role in the formation of the Black Peoples' Convention and in encouraging it to adopt a militant anti-apartheid line. The NUSAS and its affiliates have made a notable contribution in publicizing the

37/ In 1972, 45 students were expelled from the African universities and nearly 300 others left the universities in sympathy with those expelled. Reply to questions by the Minister of Bantu Education. House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 13 March 1973, col. 425.

38/ SASO elected Mr. Henry Isaacs, a Coloured student, as its President in July 1973 though most of the membership of the Organization is African.

exploitation of black workers by foreign-owned companies. A Cabinet Minister, Mr. O. P. Horwood, said that a report prepared by students at the University of Natal and published in The Guardian, London, had suddenly made South Africa the "whipping boy of the world for paying starvation wages. He charged: "NUSAS is behind that and I say that this is high treason; this is a war being waged against us." 39/

73. But the Government has not succeeded in intimidating the students. Despite the banning orders, for instance, Sharpeville commemorative meetings were organized by the Black People's Convention in Durban and by the students at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

C. Other opposition

74. Opposition to racially segregated sport has developed further in South Africa. A notable development in this connexion was the decision of nine non-racial sports bodies in March 1973 to form the South African Council of Sports. The Council condemned the so-called "multi-national" sports policy evolved by the Government to deceive world opinion. The nine sports bodies decided to seek direct membership in the relevant international organizations in place of white sports bodies. The Government has resorted to the denial of passports and other forms of repression against the leaders of these non-racial bodies. The repressive measures, however, have only encouraged international sports federations to exclude racist affiliates from South Africa.

75. The growing crisis in the country has caused alarm among some white intellectuals, including Afrikaners.

76. A verligte ("Enlightened") Action Movement, a new white group, was established in June 1973 to mobilize support for "urgently necessary change" in South Africa. After several consultations, it decided on 24 July to open membership to black South Africans.

77. It was also reported on 26 July 1973 that Mr. Theo Gerdener, the former Minister of the Interior was forming a new political party, called the Democratic Party, to espouse reforms.

78. These groups, however, have a very small following. They seem to be largely concerned with reforms intended to reduce bitterness and are not ready to contemplate total abolition of racial discrimination.

39/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 3 April 1973, cols. 3996-97.

III. INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID

79. International opposition to apartheid greatly increased during the past year and embraced new groups in many countries. A few of the main developments are noted here.

A. Governments and main political parties

80. Following the general elections at the end of 1972, there has been a significant change in the attitudes of Australia and New Zealand, two countries with traditionally close relations with South Africa.

81. Acting on the question of sports and apartheid which became a national issue, the new Labour Party Government in Australia announced in December 1972 that it would not grant visas or even transit rights to racially selected sports teams from South Africa.

82. It was recently reported that the Australian Government was considering withdrawing its trade commissioner from South Africa. 40/

83. On 13 July 1973, the annual conference of the Australian Labour Party endorsed a recommendation that Australia should carry out the economic sanctions prescribed by the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation against South Africa. The proposal was reportedly pressed by Mr. Bob Hawke, the president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the new president of the Australian Labour Party.

84. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Gough Whitlam, was reported to have said in a television interview of 13 August that if the United States and the United Kingdom supported a total ban on trade with South Africa, Australia would join in. 41/ He added at a press conference on 8 September:

"We will support any international sanctions to compel the South African Government to reverse its objectionable policies, to vacate the territory it has occupied or even to bring the Government down. We will apply these sanctions against South Africa if South Africa's major trading partners also do so." 42/

85. The new Government in New Zealand has also taken a similar anti-apartheid position, particularly with regard to sports. It cancelled the Springbok rugby tour scheduled for 1973 and discouraged exchanges with racially selected South African teams.

40/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 28 July 1973.

41/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 August 1973.

42/ The Times, London, 9 September 1973.

86. The new Dutch Prime Minister announced in May 1973 that his Government would provide humanitarian support for the liberation movements in southern Africa. He pledged stricter control and observance of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa and said that his Government would terminate subsidies for the emigration of Dutch nationals to South Africa. 43/

87. In a foreign policy statement issued in May 1973, the international committee of the British Labour Party recommended a number of further steps which a future Labour Government should take in support of international action against apartheid.

88. The Government of the Libyan Arab Republic was reported to have decided in February 1973 to prohibit planes flying to or from South Africa from passing through Libyan airspace. 44/

89. The Government of Lesotho has repeatedly condemned racial discrimination and serious tensions have developed between Lesotho and South Africa especially after the killing of African mineworkers at Carletonville, South Africa, on 11 September. Nearly all the members of Lesotho's interim National Assembly staged a walk-out on 21 September when a motion for establishing diplomatic relations with South Africa came up for discussion. 45/

90. Relations between South Africa and Botswana are also reported to have become strained because of Botswana's opposition to racial discrimination.

B. Intergovernmental organizations

91. The International Telecommunications Union (ITU), at its plenipotentiary conference on 26 September 1973, decided to exclude South Africa from that conference, as well as from other conferences and meetings of ITU. The decision was adopted by a vote of 71 to 39, with 10 abstentions.

C. Other organizations and groups

92. The executive committee of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) decided in October 1972 to suspend the relations of the IULA with its South African members as they "had not given sufficient proof of their opposition to policies of apartheid and racial discrimination". 46/

43/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 29 May 1973.

44/ Ibid., 24 February 1973.

45/ The Times, London, 22 September 1973. Only five of the 92 members were reported to have stayed in the House.

46/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 17 October 1972.

93. In August 1973, the South African universities were obliged to withdraw from the Conference of Commonwealth Universities, held in Scotland. The withdrawal followed protests by the British National Union of Students and threats of a boycott by African countries and India.

94. There was further progress in the boycott against racially selected South African sports teams. The South African Games in March 1973 and the World Squash Tournament held in South Africa in August 1973 were boycotted by many international teams and individual sportsmen.

95. On 31 August 1973, the International Swimming Federation expelled the South African Amateur Swimming Union until "an integrated single governing body is constituted".

96. Perhaps the greatest development of the campaign against apartheid was in relation to investment in South Africa. Church and student groups and trade unions in several countries participated in campaigns against investment in South Africa.

97. The decisions of the World Council of Churches in August 1972 and August 1973 to call for disinvestment in South Africa and to sell its holdings in corporations directly involved in investment in or trade with South Africa, played a notable role in this campaign.

98. A number of churches in Western countries, however, did not withdraw the investments in companies involved in South Africa but preferred to try to influence the companies concerned. The Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa, a co-operative body of six Protestant Churches, and similar groups in other countries, utilized the holdings to press at stockholders' meetings for improvement of corporate practices in South Africa and for disclosure of involvement in that country. While these resolutions failed to obtain majorities of votes, they generated public discussion and led to disclosures and improvements by some corporations.

99. The British Trade Union Congress, the British Labour Party and several universities were among those during the past year which withdrew holdings in companies investing in South Africa.

100. As a result of the historic strikes by the black workers in South Africa, the disclosures of starvation wages paid by foreign-owned corporations in South Africa, and the interest generated by the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, there has been a significant development of activity by trade union organizations against apartheid.

101. Illustrative of the interest on the part of trade unions was the boycott of a British cargo ship, the Clan Robertson, belonging to the Union Castle Line, which operates shipping services to South Africa, by the Swedish Seamen's Union. When the Clan Robertson docked in Bothenberg, Sweden, in March 1973, the Swedish Union boycotted it in solidarity with the Zulu crew members aboard who went on strike for higher wages.

102. The International Transport Workers Union intervened and alerted its member unions at all ports in northern Europe. The wages of the seamen were later doubled to the minimum wage level for British seamen. 47/

103. In Japan, labour leaders have called on the Government to stop trade, cultural and sports exchanges with South Africa. It was reported that this was pressed by a delegation composed of Mr. Oki Shogo, general secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, leaders of three other labour organizations and Mr. Yamaguchi Tsuruo, a leader of the Japanese Socialist Party, at a meeting with the Chief Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Nikaido Susumi. 48/

104. Following disclosures of starvation wages paid by British-owned companies in South Africa, the matter attracted wide public attention and was discussed in the British Parliament. A subcommittee of the Parliament held hearings on the practices of British companies. Questions were raised by several members of Parliament in the Federal Republic of Germany with regard to wages paid by German-owned companies.

105. Anti-apartheid movements and related organizations were active in these campaigns. They also organized boycotts - such as the boycott of Outspan oranges in the Netherlands - and exposures of practices of many companies.

106. It was perhaps of special significance that the Executive Committee of International Organization of Employers (IOE), at its meeting in Geneva on 9 June 1973, adopted a special declaration on apartheid. The IOE also wished success to the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid.

107. The programmes formulated by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa (Oslo, April 1973) and the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid (Geneva, June 1973) provide the framework for a more concerted action against apartheid, with the participation of ever wider segments of the population in all countries.

D. South Africa's efforts to counter isolation

108. Meanwhile, faced with this growing international opposition against apartheid, the South African Government has been making frantic efforts to strengthen the alliance with the illegal racist régime in Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonial authorities, and to establish or develop links in areas where anti-apartheid activity has not been strong.

109. A few cases of increased contacts with some other countries in the past year may be noted:

47/ The Star, Johannesburg, 20-22 March 1973.

48/ The Guardian, London, 16 June 1973.

- (a) Costa Rica established a consulate-general in South Africa; 49/
- (b) Guatemala established an honorary consulate-general in South Africa; 50/
- (c) South Africa established a consulate in West Berlin 51/ and Comodoro Rivadavia, Argentina. 52/
- (d) An honorary consulate of Panama was elevated to a consulate-general. 53/
- (e) A South African ambassador presented letters of credence in El Salvador 54/ and Panama. 55/
- (f) South African Airways began a service to Buenos Aires from 2 April 1973. 56/
- (g) South African Airways obtained approval by the United States Government to initiate a service between Johannesburg and New York via Cape Verde Islands from November 1973. 57/
- (h) On 7 September 1973, it was announced that the South African Government had awarded "the Order of Good Hope" to the ambassador of Greece; 58/
- (i) The South African Minister of Finance, Dr. N. Diederiches, was awarded the Order of the Knight of the Great Cross in the order of Al Merito Della Repubblica Italiana by the Government of Italy. 59/

49/ Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette, 18 May and 17 August 1973.

50/ Ibid., 27 April and 29 June 1973.

51/ Ibid., 6 July 1973.

52/ Ibid., 27 April 1973.

53/ Ibid., 29 June 1973.

54/ Ibid., 29 June 1973.

55/ Ibid., 20 July 1973.

56/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 23 February 1973.

57/ Ibid., 24 August 1973.

58/ Republic of South Africa. Government Gazette. 7 September 1973.

59/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 24 August 1973.

IV. SOUTH AFRICAN PROPAGANDA

110. To counteract international opposition, the South African régime has greatly stepped up its propaganda campaign.

111. It attempts to present itself as a reliable and useful ally of the Western Powers. It tries to persuade these Powers that the liberation movements are "terrorist organizations". It also attempts to picture anti-apartheid movements as influenced by extraneous motives.

112. The Government's propaganda efforts are supported by economic and other interests which are involved in the country. A special role is played in this respect by the South Africa Foundation set up after the Sharpeville massacre by the local and foreign business companies in South Africa. While not advocating apartheid, the Foundation has engaged in propaganda and arranged tours of political and military personalities from other countries, with a view to developing opposition to international action against apartheid. The Foundation's efforts are supported by business interests in many countries. During the past year, an anonymous "Club of Ten" has been placing expensive advertisements in British newspapers in order to defame the opponents of apartheid.

113. A significant development in the past year was the utilization of black South Africans for specific purposes in the propaganda effort. The South Africa Foundation announced in June 1973 that 11 Africans, Coloured people and Indians had been appointed trustees of the Foundation which, until then, had been composed entirely of whites.

114. The Foundation and its allies have also tried with some success to persuade some liberals to give up their espousal of sanctions against South Africa and to use their energies to influence the situation by other means, thereby dissociating their efforts from those of the liberation movement and the anti-apartheid movements.

115. The main thrust of the recent propaganda appears to be to persuade world opinion that there are hopeful signs of change in South Africa and that change could be promoted only by greater contact and investment, rather than by sanctions and other pressures advocated by the United Nations.

116. For instance, the erosion of "job reservation" is pointed to as a sign of change. Because of the acute shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers, the Government was obliged to grant exemptions from "job reservation" regulations which reserve various skilled jobs to whites. Many Africans have advanced to these skilled and semi-skilled jobs. This has happened not only in private industry but also in Government-controlled establishments such as the Post Office and the Railways.

117. But it must be noted that the Africans are as a rule paid less than the whites for performing these tasks. Their advancement follows even greater advancement of the status and wages of the white workers so that no white would take instructions

from a non-white. In fact, Africans are not employed in skilled positions except with the concurrence of the racist white trade unions.

118. Every raise in salaries and every charitable donation by the business companies for the benefit of Africans is highly advertised as a hopeful sign. It may be noted, however, that the employers in South Africa had sought to profit to the maximum from the system of apartheid and had failed to do what was possible, even within the discriminatory and repressive legislation of South Africa, to mitigate the hardships of their African employees.

119. The recent increases in wages and other improvements have come mainly as a result of the pressures of the opponents of apartheid abroad, the public disclosures of the practices of the foreign-owned companies and, above all, the strikes and the threat of strikes by black workers in South Africa.

120. It may also be noted that these increases in wages are largely offset by inflation. Moreover, the white workers have obtained even greater increases so that the gap between the white and non-white wages has not been reduced. 60/

121. The South African Government has spent more and more effort and resources on propaganda abroad. According to the Johannesburg Financial Mail, of 3 August 1973, the number of foreign representatives of the South African Department of Information has been raised by a third. 61/

122. The paper quoted Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, secretary of the Department, as stating that during 1972 television productions of the Department had been seen 2,571 times in 24 countries. There had been 52,313 showings of these films by commercial cinema and over 47,000 private viewings. Despite such efforts, Dr. Rhoodie said:

"South Africa's enemies are better organized now, and their propaganda efforts infinitely more sophisticated than five years ago." 61/

He added that, while South Africa was making headway in certain areas, the over-all outlook was "not favourable". The decline in international goodwill, he admitted, had lost South Africa investments, immigrants, tourists, prestige and business opportunities. 61/

60/ The rise in wages between 1972 and 1973 was 6.8 per cent for whites and 6.7 per cent for Africans. Standard Bank Review, September 1973.

61/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 3 August 1973. The Department of Information has about 480 employees, and has offices in Salisbury, London, The Hague, Brussels, Lisbon, Rome, Paris, Geneva, Berne, Cologne, Vienna, New York, Washington, San Francisco, Buenos Aires, Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

123. While the South African Government and the South Africa Foundation spent great effort on influencing public opinion in general, they concentrated on certain specific groups, particularly multinational corporations and certain other influential groups with access to high levels of government. The Rand Daily Mail reported on 13 November 1972, after an interview with Mr. John Chettle, Director of the South Africa Foundation in Washington, D.C.:

"Mr. Chettle is not concerned about new pressure from churches and civil rights groups for America's economic disengagement from South Africa next year.

"The big multinational corporations with South African holdings, he went on, had good connexions with the White House and with the leaders of both parties in Congress - they would easily be able to shake off all the renewed get-out-of-South Africa demands."

ANNEX II

List of documents of the Special Committee
(August 1972-August 1973)

- A/AC.115/L.345 Fifty-second report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions
- A/AC.115/L.346 Letter dated 24 November 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Guatemala to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.347 Communication dated 12 December 1972 from Mr. M. N. Pather, Honorary Secretary, Ad Hoc Committee of the National Non-Racial Sports Organizations, Durban, South Africa, to the Secretary-General
- A/AC.115/L.348 Fifty-third report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions
- A/AC.115/L.349 Letter dated 7 December 1972 from the Secretary-General to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.350 Fifty-fourth report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions
- A/AC.115/L.351 Report by Mr. Hussein Nur Elmi (Somalia) on his visit as the representative of the Special Committee to the Secretariat of the World Peace Council (Helsinki)
- A/AC.115/L.352 Recent strikes of black workers in South Africa: note by the Rapporteur
- A/AC.115/L.353 Communications received by the Special Committee in connexion with the recent strikes of black workers in South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.354 Communication dated 30 January 1973 from the World Council of Churches to the Chairman of the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.355 Communication dated 1 February 1973 from Mr. Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General, African National Congress (South Africa) to the Secretary-General
- A/AC.115/L.356 Fifty-fifth report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions
- A/AC.115/L.357 Working paper on recent developments concerning apartheid and sports
- A/AC.115/L.358 Report of the delegation to the Preparatory Committee of the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid

- A/AC.115/L.359 Communication dated 19 March 1973 from Mr. John Hosey to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.360 Second report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information
- A/AC.115/L.361 Communication dated 22 May 1973 from Mr. C. M. Burrough to the Secretary-General
- A/AC.115/L.362 Communication dated 20 June 1973 from the World Peace Council to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.363 Communication dated 21 June 1973 from Mr. David Sibeko, Pan Africanist Congress, addressed to the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.364 Communication dated 21 April 1973 from Mr. John Hosey to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.365 Communication dated 8 March 1973 from Mr. Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General, African National Congress (South Africa), addressed to the Secretary-General
- A/AC.115/L.366 Communication dated 28 March 1973 from Mr. M. Msimang, Secretary for Administration, African National Congress (South Africa), addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.367 First Report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information
- A/AC.115/L.368 Recent development concerning sport contacts with South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.369 Statement on political prisoners in South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.370 Report of the delegation of the Special Committee on Apartheid on its visit to the Federal Republic of Germany
- A/AC.115/L.371 Review of developments concerning the military build-up in South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.372 Third report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information
- A/AC.115/L.373 Communication dated 17 August 1973 from Mr. Niall MacDermot, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, addressed to the Secretary-General
- A/AC.115/L.374 Communication dated 30 July 1973 from Bishop Ambrose Reeves, Hon. President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, addressed to the Secretary-General.
- A/AC.115/L.375 Review of Developments in South Africa since October 1972 - Repressive Measures against Opponents of Apartheid

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

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