

REPORT
OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
AGAINST *APARTHEID*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 22 (A/39/22)



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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.

[31 October 1984]

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL		vii
I. INTRODUCTION	1 - 9	1
II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	10 - 136	3
A. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the item " <u>Policies of apartheid</u> of the Government of South Africa"	10	3
B. Action against South Africa's aggression against independent African States	11 - 16	3
C. Action taken against military, nuclear and economic collaboration with South Africa	17 - 27	4
1. Hearing on the arms embargo against South Africa ...	18 - 20	4
2. Other action	21 - 27	5
D. <u>Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid</u>	28 - 34	6
E. <u>North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid</u>	35 - 45	8
F. Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa	46 - 51	9
G. Action taken against the so-called constitutional "reforms" in South Africa	52 - 58	10
H. Action against <u>apartheid</u> in sports	59 - 65	11
1. Hearing on the sports boycott against South Africa .	59 - 60	11
2. Hearing of African sports leaders	61 - 62	12
3. Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, 1 July-31 December 1983	63 - 65	12
I. Action against <u>apartheid</u> in the cultural field	66 - 71	12
1. Hearings on the cultural boycott against South Africa	66 - 68	12

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
2. Register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in <u>apartheid</u> South Africa	69 - 70	13
3. Other action	71	13
J. Action in support of women and children under <u>apartheid</u>	72 - 86	14
1. Observance of the Year of the Women of South Africa	73 - 74	14
2. Special meeting of the Special Committee in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Federation of South African Women ..	75 - 78	14
3. Mission of women leaders to Asia	79 - 86	15
K. Campaign against repression and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa	87 - 92	16
L. Missions of the Chairman to Governments	93 - 104	17
M. Action concerning assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement	105 - 106	18
N. Encouragement of public action against <u>apartheid</u>	107 - 125	18
1. Consultation with the delegation of the World Peace Council	109 - 110	19
2. Inter-faith Colloquium on <u>Apartheid</u>	111 - 114	19
3. Consultations with anti- <u>apartheid</u> movements	115 - 121	20
4. International Non-Governmental Organization Conference for the Independence of Namibia and the Eradication of <u>Apartheid</u>	122 - 123	21
5. Other activities	124 - 125	21
O. Seminar on the Legal Status of the <u>Apartheid</u> Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against <u>Apartheid</u>	126 - 130	21
P. Observance of international days	131	22
Q. Representation at conferences, meetings and other events	132	22
R. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and with other organizations	133 - 136	25

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE SEPTEMBER 1983	137 - 283	26
A. Repression against opponents of <u>apartheid</u>	138 - 160	26
1. Arrests, detentions, torture and bannings	139 - 152	26
2. Political trials and prisoners	153 - 160	28
B. Bantustans, influx control and forced population removals	161 - 170	29
C. Labour	171 - 175	31
D. So-called "reforms" within <u>apartheid</u>	176 - 181	31
E. Growing resistance to <u>apartheid</u>	182 - 213	32
1. Underground and armed struggle	183 - 187	32
2. Workers' resistance	188 - 193	37
3. Students' resistance	194 - 199	37
4. Church opposition	200 - 206	38
5. Resistance by community organizations	207 - 213	39
F. Military build-up	214 - 224	40
1. Military expenditures and the armaments industry ..	214 - 220	40
2. Acquisition of military equipment and other military collaboration	221 - 224	42
G. Economic collaboration	225 - 267	43
1. General	225 - 238	43
2. Trade	239 - 242	45
3. Gold and other minerals	243 - 245	47
4. Agriculture	246 - 248	47
5. South Africa's foreign liabilities and assets	249 - 267	47
H. Tourism	268 - 270	50
I. Sports collaboration	271 - 280	50
J. Cultural collaboration	281 - 283	51

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	284 - 418	53
A. Introduction	284 - 296	53
B. Grave threats to the independence of African States	297 - 306	54
C. Crimes against the black people of South Africa	307 - 311	55
D. Advance of resistance against <u>apartheid</u>	312 - 318	56
E. Crisis of the <u>apartheid</u> régime	319 - 328	57
F. Role of the United States of America and other Powers ..	329 - 339	58
G. "Strategic interests" as an excuse for collaboration with South Africa	340 - 351	59
H. Progress in international action against <u>apartheid</u>	352 - 366	60
I. Work of the Special Committee	367 - 372	62
J. Campaign against the <u>apartheid</u> régime and its collaborators	373 - 377	63
K. No "normal" relations with the Pretoria régime	378 - 384	64
L. Tribute to the people of South Africa	385 - 390	65
M. Support to the front-line States and liberation movements	391 - 398	66
N. Recognition of the legitimacy of armed struggle	399 - 403	67
O. Sanctions and other measures against the Pretoria régime	404 - 407	67
P. Other recommendations	408 - 411	68
Q. Programme of work of the Special Committee	412 - 418	68

Annexes

I. List of statements issued by the Special Committee	75
II. List of documents of the Special Committee	77

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

17 October 1984

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which was adopted unanimously by the Special Committee on 17 October 1984.

This report is submitted to the General Assembly and the Security Council in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2671 (XXV) of 8 December 1970 and 38/39 A to K of 5 December 1983.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Joseph N. GARBA
Chairman of the
Special Committee against Apartheid

His Excellency
Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary-General of the United Nations
New York, New York 10017

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee against Apartheid, established by the General Assembly by resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, is now composed of the following 18 Member States:

Algeria	India	Somalia
German Democratic Republic	Indonesia	Sudan
Ghana	Malaysia	Syrian Arab Republic
Guinea	Nepal	Trinidad and Tobago
Haiti	Nigeria	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Hungary	Peru	
	Philippines	

2. At its 540th meeting, on 26 March 1984, the Special Committee unanimously elected H.E. Mr. Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria) as its Chairman and re-elected Mr. Udhav Deo Bhatt (Nepal) and Mr. Vladimir Kravets (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) as its Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Gervais Charles (Haiti) as Rapporteur.

3. The Special Committee also re-elected Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana) as Chairman of its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa and elected Mr. Abdalla Baali (Algeria) as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information.

4. The Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa is composed of Ghana (Chairman), Hungary, India, Peru and the Sudan, and the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information is composed of Algeria (Chairman), the German Democratic Republic, Nepal, Somalia and Trinidad and Tobago.

5. In order to assist in promoting action on specific aspects of the campaigns against apartheid, the Special Committee established three task forces: (a) the Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid, composed of India, the Philippines, the Sudan and Trinidad and Tobago, with Mr. Abdelmohammed A. Mohamed (Sudan) as Chairman; (b) the Task Force on Political Prisoners, composed of the German Democratic Republic, India, Peru and Somalia, with Mr. Bhaskar K. Mitra (India) as Chairman; and (c) the Task Force on Legal Aspects of Apartheid, composed of Hungary, Peru and the Syrian Arab Republic, with Mr. Kennedy Apoe (Nigeria) as Chairman.

6. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 38/39 F of 5 December 1983, the Special Committee submitted on 17 October 1984, for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, a special report on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa (A/39/22/Add.1).

7. At its 555th meeting, held on 17 October 1984, the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit the present report to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The report consists of:

- (a) Review of the work of the Special Committee;
- (b) Review of developments in South Africa since September 1983;

- (c) Conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee;
- (d) A list of statements issued by the Chairman of the Special Committee;
- (e) A list of documents of the Special Committee.

8. The Special Committee wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his abiding interest in its work. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the States members of the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned States, the socialist States, the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the two South African liberation movements, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and numerous non-governmental organizations for their continued support of the work of the Committee.

9. The Special Committee also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Assistant Secretary-General for the Centre against Apartheid, Mr. E. S. Reddy, to the secretariat of the Special Committee and to all other members of the Centre against Apartheid for their efficient and devoted service.

II. REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

A. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the item "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa"

10. During its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly considered the item in eight plenary meetings between 15 November and 5 December 1983. It adopted, on 15 November 1983, resolution 38/11 on the "Proposed new racial constitution of South Africa". Later, on 5 December 1983, it adopted the following 11 resolutions relating to various aspects of apartheid based mainly on the recommendations of the Special Committee, namely: "Situation in South Africa" (38/39 A); "Programme of Action against Apartheid" (38/39 B); "Effects of apartheid on the countries of southern Africa" (38/39 C); "Sanctions against South Africa" (38/39 D); "Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid" (38/39 E); "Relations between Israel and South Africa" (38/39 F); "Military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa" (38/39 G); "United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa" (38/39 H); "Investments in South Africa" (38/39 I); "Oil embargo against South Africa" (38/39 J); and "Apartheid in sports" (38/39 K).

B. Action against South Africa's aggression against independent African States

11. The Special Committee repeatedly drew the attention of the international community to the serious situation in southern Africa resulting from the aggressive policy of the South African régime. The world was confronted in southern Africa by not only a threat to international peace but also repeated breaches of the peace and acts of aggression against independent African States.

12. The Special Committee repeatedly and strongly condemned the criminal and massive aggressive acts by the apartheid régime against neighbouring States. It urged the Security Council to take effective measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to force South Africa to end its criminal acts of aggression and terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia. It noted that the apartheid régime had been encouraged to undertake those criminal acts by the protection afforded by major Western Powers, first of all by the United States.

13. On 17 October 1983, the Chairman of the Special Committee issued a statement expressing shock and indignation at the dastardly act of the racist régime of South Africa in planting bombs in an apartment building in central Maputo. The explosions in an apartment occupied by refugees of the African National Congress of South Africa were reported to have caused serious injuries to South African refugees and Mozambican nationals. He emphasized that this criminal act of terrorism in an independent African State demonstrated once again that the Pretoria régime was an international outlaw and that it had felt emboldened to commit this heinous crime because of the protection it had received from certain Western Powers despite its numerous acts of aggression and terrorism against independent African States.

14. In another statement issued on 3 January 1984, the Acting Chairman condemned, on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the escalation of acts of aggression by the racist régime of South Africa against Angola since early

December 1983. He pointed out that, unless urgent and effective action was taken by the international community, there was a grave danger of escalation of aggression by the Pretoria régime all over the region. He urged all Governments and organizations to demonstrate their solidarity with the Government and people of Angola and press for comprehensive sanctions against the South African régime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

15. On 16 March 1984, the Special Committee adopted a statement on recent developments in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole. 1/ In the statement it reaffirmed that there could be no stable peace and security in the region unless apartheid is completely eliminated and the people of South Africa as a whole were enabled to establish a non-racial democratic State.

16. The Special Committee participated in the International Hearings on South African Aggression against Neighbouring States which were held in Oslo, Norway, from 22 to 24 March 1984. The hearings were conducted by a panel of more than 20 prominent personalities and were presided over by the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark. Statements were made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, representatives of the front-line States and Lesotho and a number of prominent experts. The panel adopted a declaration calling, among other things, for greater efforts to increase the effectiveness of the arms embargo against South Africa, strengthen the efforts to obtain binding international sanctions against South Africa, increase assistance to the front-line States and the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, exercise more rigorous control to isolate South Africa, and strengthen the diplomatic, political and economic pressure on South Africa with a view to preventing it from carrying out acts of aggression against the neighbouring States.

C. Action taken against military, nuclear and economic collaboration with South Africa

17. The Special Committee continued to follow developments concerning military, nuclear, economic and other collaboration with South Africa. It repeatedly condemned the continued collaboration of the United States, certain other Western States and Israel, as well as of certain transnational corporations, with South Africa as the cause for the escalation of South Africa's aggression against independent African States, and the continuation of its policies of oppression against the people of South Africa and its national liberation movement as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia. The attitude of those States that have continued and increased their collaboration with South Africa was deplored in meetings of the Special Committee, during missions of the Special Committee, and at international conferences and seminars in which representatives of the Special Committee participated. The Chairman also made a statement at the meeting of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, held on 3 April 1984, calling for the strengthening of the arms embargo against South Africa.

1. Hearing on the arms embargo against South Africa

18. On 3 April 1984, the Special Committee held hearings on the arms embargo. 2/ At the invitation of the Chairman, statements on the arms embargo against South

Africa were made by Mr. Stephen Cary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Friends Services Committee; Dr. Jean Sindab, Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa; Mr. Richard Knight of the American Committee on Africa; and Mr. Abdul S. Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

19. The participants condemned the military and nuclear collaboration of certain States and multinational corporations with South Africa. They observed that materials provided by the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel had enabled South Africa to develop its nuclear capability to the extent that it had now become capable of exploding a nuclear device. The Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement had already led to a significant relaxation of the arms embargo, they noted. They pointed out that the South African régime's policy of destabilizing front-line States, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its repressive actions inside South Africa demonstrated that apartheid continued to be a threat to peace, while the United States policy of constructive engagement had contributed to the arming of apartheid. They called for the strengthening of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

20. The Chairman of the Special Committee stressed that the Special Committee must press urgently for the reinforcement and effective monitoring of the arms embargo against South Africa.

2. Other action

21. The Special Committee expressed concern and condemned the recent visit of racist Prime Minister P. W. Botha to Portugal, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France, Austria, Italy and the Vatican. In his statement which was issued prior to the visit, the Chairman regretted that, on the pretext of a change in the attitude of the racist South African régime, the countries concerned have so quickly chosen to violate the resolutions of the General Assembly. Their action will only be interpreted by South Africa as, at least, condoning its racist policies, he said. He expressed appreciation to the Government of France for refusing to receive officially the racist Prime Minister. He added that the visits of the racist Prime Minister show utter insensitivity to the feelings of the international community and the great majority of the people of South Africa and represented an encouragement to the racist oppressors in their attempts to gain international acceptance and respectability. 3/

22. In condemning the visit of P. W. Botha to Western Europe, the Chairman stated, inter alia, at the 545th meeting, held on 12 June 1984:

"I must again express regret that some West European Governments have found it fit to invite or receive Mr. Botha at this time. The racist Prime Minister undertook this visit in the hope of breaking out of isolation and undoing the international efforts of the past quarter century in support of freedom in South Africa. He sought respectability, investment and arms. His visit was accompanied by massive propaganda that the Botha régime had become peaceful because it signed some agreements with neighbouring States, and that it is making changes because it adopted a new constitution. This propaganda tried to cover up the fact that the Botha régime is guilty of criminal aggression and destabilization against African States. Its agreements with neighbouring States are a result of blackmail and have little moral or even legal

validity. The new constitution of South Africa has been denounced by the General Assembly. It is not a sign of progress but a plot to entrench apartheid and exclude the African majority from all rights."

23. The attention of the Special Committee was also drawn to press reports that South Africa was taking part in an international air show being held in Santiago, Chile. The Acting Chairman addressed a letter to the Permanent Representative of Chile stating that any military collaboration with South Africa was in direct contradiction with the General Assembly resolutions on an arms embargo against South Africa.

24. In his reply, the Permanent Representative of Chile stated, inter alia, that in the opinion of his Government no resolution of the United Nations had been violated because it amounted to nothing more than following a very widespread international practice.

25. In another letter, dated 8 June 1984 and addressed to the Permanent Representative of Chile, the Chairman stated, inter alia:

"The Special Committee considers that the facilities provided to South Africa are contrary to the provisions of a number of General Assembly resolutions on apartheid and against the spirit of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Any co-operation with the apartheid régime of South Africa in the field of armaments can hardly be described as a very widespread international practice."

26. The Chairman has also addressed communications to the Permanent Representatives of Belgium and the United States of America to the United Nations expressing concern that representatives of South Africa have been invited to the twentieth International Symposium on Applied Military Psychology which was held in Belgium from 25 to 29 June. The Special Committee was informed by the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa that the Symposium was organized by the United States Office of Naval Research. Twenty NATO and other Western countries were expected to participate in the Symposium. The Chairman said that the invitation represents yet another alarming instance of collaboration with the military establishment of South Africa by two countries which profess to abide by the arms embargo against South Africa. The Special Committee was subsequently informed that the invitation to South Africa was withdrawn.

27. At its 545th meeting, the Special Committee held consultations with Mr. Jim Slater, Secretary-General of the National Union of Seamen and head of "Maritime Union against Apartheid", and with Mr. Abdul Samad Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa. 4/

D. Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid

28. The Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid was organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid, in co-operation with the Government of Venezuela, and was held at Caracas, Venezuela, from 16 to 18 September 1983. 5/ The Conference was intended to publicize the solidarity of the Governments and peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean with the struggle for liberation in South Africa, and to promote further action in this crucial period.

29. The agenda of the Conference included a review of action taken by Governments and organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean in solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa; a review of continuing relations of South Africa with some of the countries of the region and the consideration of further action by Governments, organizations and the United Nations.

30. The Special Committee extended invitations to the Latin American Governments, the Governments of front-line and other States neighbouring South Africa, States members of the Special Committee, the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and a number of international, regional and national non-governmental organizations. It also invited the relevant United Nations organs, specialized agencies of the United Nations system, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity. Invitations were also extended to several eminent personalities and experts.

31. The Conference elected H.E. Dr. Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, as its Chairman; the representatives of Cuba, Haiti and Mexico as Vice-Chairmen; and H.E. Dr. D. H. N. Alleyne (Trinidad and Tobago) as Rapporteur.

32. The Conference adopted the draft Declaration by acclamation as the "Caracas Declaration for Action against Apartheid". 6/

33. The concluding session of the Conference was held on 18 September under the chairmanship of H.E. Mr. Manuel Pérez Guerrero (Venezuela). H.E. Mr. Luis Echeverría, former President of Mexico, delivered an address. The Chairman of the Conference made a closing statement.

34. The Caracas Declaration for Action against Apartheid reaffirmed, inter alia, that the continued defiance of world opinion by the apartheid régime, its atrocities against the great majority of the South African people, its threats to, and violations of, the security, territorial integrity and independence of neighbouring States, as well as its repeated acts of aggression, constitute a growing threat to international peace and security and a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations. The Conference declared that apartheid is a crime against humanity. It expressed its full solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and with the independent African States in southern Africa. It recognized that there can be neither stability nor peace in southern Africa without the elimination of apartheid. The Conference affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial society guaranteeing the enjoyment of equal rights by all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed. It recognized the right of the oppressed people of South Africa to choose their means of struggle. It held the racist régime totally responsible for the violence resulting from its brutal repression of the movement for freedom and justice in South Africa. It called on the South African régime to end repression, release political prisoners, revoke the Unlawful Organizations Act and seek a peaceful and just solution by negotiations with the genuine leaders of the oppressed people in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. It urged all States to exert their maximum influence towards that end. The Conference declared that, in view of the intransigence and defiance of the racist régime, the international community must exert effective pressure on it through sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and provide all appropriate humanitarian, educational, political and other assistance

to the victims of apartheid and to their national liberation movements in their legitimate struggle.

E. North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid

35. The North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid was held at United Nations Headquarters from 18 to 21 June 1984.
36. The Conference was intended to promote greater action in Canada and the United States in support of United Nations resolutions for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.
37. Participants in the Conference included Governments, the chairmen of relevant United Nations bodies, the specialized agencies, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity, the representatives of the southern African liberation movements - the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) - and a number of public leaders and representatives of religious, trade union, student, anti-apartheid and other organizations from Canada and the United States.
38. The agenda of the Conference included a review of the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole; a review of policies and actions of the Governments of North America (Canada and United States) with respect to the struggle for liberation in South Africa and the relevant United Nations resolutions; the review of action by provincial, state and local authorities, non-governmental organizations, institutions and individuals; and a review of action with respect to specific campaigns and proposals for further action.
39. The Conference elected the Reverend Willian Howard Jr., former President of the National Council of Churches of Christ of the United States of America as President of the Conference. It also elected Ms. Shirley Marsh, Mr. Charles Yancey, Mr. Norman Otis Richmond, Ms. Laurette Sloan, the Reverend Benjamin Chavis and Mr. Ron Wilkins as Vice-Presidents. Dr. Jean Sindab was elected as Rapporteur.
40. The Conference conducted its business in plenary meetings and in workshops. The opening session of the Conference was addressed by H.E. Major-General J. N. Garba, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid; the Secretary-General of the United Nations, H.E. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar; the Honourable Edward M. Kennedy, Senator, United States of America; H.E. Mr. Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General; the Honourable Daniel M. Lisulo, S.C., M.C.C., Chairman of the Political and Legal Committee of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia and Representative of the President of Zambia; H.E. Group Captain Emeka Omerua, Minister for Information, Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture of Nigeria and Representative of the Head of State of Nigeria; the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson; and Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization.
41. Addresses were delivered at the subsequent meetings by representatives of United Nations bodies; the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; the Organization of African Unity; the Organization of African Trade Union Unity; Mr. Thomas Nkobi of

the African National Congress of South Africa; Mr. Joseph Mkwazi of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; Mr. Zehdi Labib Terzi of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Mr. Andrew Young, Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia; Professor Angela Davis, Co-Chairman of the National Alliance against Racial and Political Repression; and Mr. Charles Yancey, City Councillor of Boston.

42. All speakers drew attention to the critical situation in southern Africa and the importance of action by Governments and peoples of Canada and the United States of America for the eradication of apartheid and the liberation of Namibia in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and the Programme of Action against Apartheid (see General Assembly resolution 38/39 B).

43. The discussions in Workshop I dealt with trade with, and investments in, South Africa and other economic aspects. Workshop II dealt with military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa and an oil embargo against South Africa. Workshop III had on its agenda the sports, cultural, consumer and other boycotts. Workshop IV discussed assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements as well as support to front-line States, and Workshop V discussed action by trade unions, religious bodies, students and other support groups.

44. After the items under consideration were extensively discussed in the Workshops, the reports of the Workshops were introduced at the 4th plenary meeting of the Conference, respectively, by Judge William Booth, Chairman of Workshop I; Mr. Richard Leonard, Rapporteur of Workshop II; Mr. Franklin Williams, Chairman of Workshop III; Mayor Gus Newport, Chairman of Workshop IV and Ms. Sylvia Hill, Chairman of Workshop V.

45. At the concluding session, the Conference unanimously adopted the Declaration, 7/ in which the participants noted, in particular, that "the South African régime is intensifying repression internally and conducting an aggressive campaign to create the illusion of change in South Africa externally. In Namibia, South Africa continues its illegal and repressive occupation, shielded by long years of Western economic, political, military and diplomatic collaboration". The Conference stressed that "the Reagan Administration's policy of 'constructive engagement' and the continuing support given to the South African régime by Canada and certain Western countries bear major responsibility for helping to maintain apartheid rule inside South Africa and for escalation of South African destruction against neighbouring States". The participants pledged to undertake further action to isolate the apartheid régime and to counter attempts by certain Western States towards the legitimization of the illegality of that racist régime.

F. Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa

46. The Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa was organized in co-operation with the League of Arab States and held at Tunis, Tunisia, from 7 to 9 August 1984. Over 130 participants, including the representatives of Arab States, States members of the Special Committee, front-line States, United Nations bodies, the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, participated in the Conference.

47. The agenda of the Conference was as follows: the contribution of Arab Governments and non-governmental organizations to the advancement of world-wide support for the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate apartheid; the threat that the alliance between Israel and South Africa constitutes to African and Arab countries; the historical role of Islam in the elimination of racism and racial discrimination; ways and means of increasing political and material assistance to the liberation movements in their struggle against apartheid; and mobilization against apartheid by means of publicity and campaign-related activities.

48. The Special Committee was represented by its Chairman, Major-General J. N. Garba, Mr. Omer Y. Birido (Sudan), Mr. Bhaskar Mitra (India) and Mr. Alfred Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic).

49. The Conference observed the centenary of the alien occupation of Namibia and adopted a draft resolution on the occasion by acclamation.

50. The Conference also adopted the following resolutions:

(a) Assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements and the front-line States;

(b) South African "constitutional reforms";

(c) Special responsibility of the international community towards the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine;

(d) Solidarity with the struggle of women in South Africa and Namibia.

51. In the Declaration adopted by acclamation, the Conference, inter alia, pledged continued and increased support at this critical time in the struggle for liberation in southern Africa, and total solidarity with Africa in the historic effort for the emancipation of that continent from colonialist and racist oppression. It considered that the continued opposition by the Western permanent members of the Security Council to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa has permitted the continuation of the crimes of the apartheid régime. The Conference strongly condemned the close alliance which has developed between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in their common hostility to genuine freedom of African and Arab peoples. 8/

G. Action taken against the so-called constitutional "reforms" in South Africa

52. The Special Committee repeatedly condemned the so-called constitutional "reforms" in South Africa designed to perpetuate the apartheid régime and to destroy the unity of the people.

53. In various statements, the Chairman of the Special Committee rejected the so-called new constitution promulgated by racist South Africa as another step to dispossess the African majority, to divide the oppressed people and to consolidate racist domination. He called on the international community to take all necessary action to facilitate the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule.

54. In August 1984, the Special Committee participated in the meetings of the Security Council which considered, at the request of the African Group, the so-called constitutional "reforms" in South Africa, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/11.

55. On 16 August 1984, the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee made a statement at the Security Council meeting. He said that the Special Committee categorically rejected South Africa's attempt to impose a constitutional fraud on the oppressed people of South Africa.

56. He continued to state that the new so-called constitution was a racist document prepared by the few to be imposed on the overwhelming majority of the country's population. He added: "It is an abominable device that divided the black people on racial lines and deprives the overwhelming majority of the population of their fundamental human rights and freedoms instead of striving for equality, justice and freedom for all. It is a fraud that will inevitably invite violent conflict and civil strife".

57. The Acting Chairman pointed out that in South Africa the overwhelming majority of the so-called coloured people and people of Asian origin had decided to boycott the fraudulent elections. The history of the struggle against apartheid was a history of the deep solidarity that existed among the African majority and the so-called coloured people and people of Asian origin. The latest conspiracy by the régime would not succeed in subverting that unity, which had been forged in the heat of the struggle. The apartheid régime remained a threat to the peace and stability of the southern Africa region as well as to international peace and security, he said. As long as apartheid existed, there would be no peace or stability in the world.

58. During his visit to India, the Chairman commended in a statement issued on 28 August 1984 the coloured and Indian communities in South Africa for their boycott of the elections to racially segregated chambers under the new racist constitution. He said, inter alia: "By boycotting the sham elections to racist chambers of a so-called Parliament, in spite of all the intimidation and enticements by the racists, the so-called coloured people and the people of Indian origin have shown their detestation of apartheid and firm attachment to non-racialism. They have instead joined with the indigenous African people in totally rejecting the racist constitution. They have taught a lesson to the cynical friends of the apartheid régime in the West who claimed that the racist elections are a step in the right direction".

H. Action against apartheid in sports

1. Hearing on the sports boycott against South Africa

59. At its 541st meeting, on 3 April 1984, the Special Committee held a hearing on the sports boycott against South Africa. 9/ Statements were made by Mr. Paul Stephenson, Chairman of the British Black Standing Conference against Apartheid Sport; Mr. Sam Ramsamy, Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee; and Mr. Abdul S. Minty on behalf of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

60. The participants urged Governments and sports organizations to discourage sports contacts with South Africa. They referred in particular to the intention of

the English Rugby Football Union to send a team to tour South Africa in May and June 1984. They pointed out that the tour would be a violation of United Nations resolutions, the Gleneagles Agreement of Commonwealth States and the Code of Conduct adopted by the Commonwealth Games Federation in 1982, as well as an affront to all those struggling for the elimination of apartheid.

2. Hearing of African sports leaders

61. At its 545th meeting, on 12 June 1984, the Special Committee held a hearing of African sports leaders. Statements were made by Mr. Sam Ramsamy, Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee; Chief Abraham Ordia, Honorary President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa; Mr. Fekrou Kidane, Editor of Continental Sports; Mr. Ydnekatchew Tessema, President of the Union of African Sports and African Football Confederation; Mr. Anani Matthia, President of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa; and Mr. Amadou Lamine Ba, Secretary-General of the three African sports confederations. 10/

62. The consultations with these prominent sports personalities laid the basis for a more vigorous campaign against collaboration with apartheid sports.

3. Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, 1 July-31 December 1983

63. Pursuant to a decision in 1980, the Special Committee against Apartheid has been publishing semi-annual registers of sports contacts with South Africa. During the period under review, it published the Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, covering the period from 1 July to 31 December 1983.

64. As the previous ones, the register contained a list of sports exchanges with South Africa arranged by the code of sport and a list of sportsmen and sportswomen who participated in sports events in South Africa, arranged by country.

65. The register indicated that there was further advance towards the total international isolation of South African sport. However, progress has been slow in the field of professional sports and several sportsmen and women were still being lured into South Africa in return for large financial rewards. While South Africa was barred from participating in international sports (both amateur and professional) in over 80 per cent of the world, collaboration with apartheid sports continued in a few countries.

I. Action against apartheid in the cultural field

1. Hearings on the cultural boycott against South Africa

66. At its 534th meeting, on 13 February 1984, the Special Committee held a hearing on the cultural boycott against South Africa.

67. At the invitation of the Chairman, the following special invitees made statements: Mr. Howard Manning, of the Manning and Hart-Nibbrig law firm, United States of America; Mr. Adeyemi Bandele, National Black United Front, United States of America; Mr. Paul Irish, American Committee on Africa;

Mr. Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition, United States of America; Mr. Gordon Molyneux, American South African People's Friendship Association; Mr. Norman Otis Richmond, Contrast Newspaper, Canada; Mr. Dick Griffey, Solar Records, Canada; Mr. Kwame Toure, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, United States of America; Ms. Ingeborg Wick, Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West); Ms. Kate Clark, British Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr. Jean-Pierre Richard, French Anti-Apartheid Movement (CAO); Mr. Francesco Mascini, Holland Committee on Southern Africa; Ms. Charlayne Haynes, Foundation for Community of Artists; Ms. Thandeka Gcabashe, American Friends Service Committee; Mr. Bob Law, Black Radio Advisory Council, United States of America; Ms. Yola Grant, Canadians Concerned about Southern Africa; and Mr. Randall Robinson, Executive Director, Transafrica, United States of America. 11/

68. As part of the campaign for a cultural boycott against South Africa, called for in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly, the hearing assembled prominent cultural personalities and leaders of groups active in the struggle against apartheid for consultations on the campaigns that they have led and suggestions for further development of the campaigns. The participants pointed out that many entertainers and others rejected the lucrative offers by the racist régime to perform in South Africa. They have done so in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa who continue to suffer from the inhuman policies of apartheid, they said. The South African régime, on the other hand, is involved in a world-wide propaganda campaign to deceive public opinion about the so-called "reforms" of the system, they added. They exposed the so-called "reforms" as nothing but a hoax and called for the strengthening of the cultural boycott against South Africa. Many artists who had performed in South Africa declared that they would not collaborate with the apartheid régime, and became active in the boycott of South Africa.

2. Register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa

69. The Special Committee published, on 26 October 1983, a register of entertainers, actors and others who have performed in South Africa in order to facilitate appropriate action by Governments, organizations and individuals committed to freedom in South Africa. This first register of those entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa since the beginning of 1981 was published as part of the campaign for a cultural boycott against South Africa called for in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly.

70. The Special Committee intends to keep the register up to date and to publish supplements periodically. Names of persons who undertake not to engage in further cultural contacts with South Africa would be deleted from future lists.

3. Other action

71. The attention of the Special Committee was drawn to the symposium organized by the American Museum of Natural History in New York from 6 to 10 April on "Ancestors: Four Million Years of Humanity" with the participation of South Africa. The Special Committee conveyed its concern to the American Museum of Natural History, and to the countries participating in the symposium.

J. Action in support of women and children under apartheid

72. The Special Committee and its Task Force on Women and Children under Apartheid continued to devote special attention to the plight of women and children in South Africa.

1. Observance of the Year of the Women of South Africa

73. At its meeting on 6 January 1984, the Special Committee issued a statement endorsing the observance of 1984 as the Year of the Women of South Africa, called for by the African National Congress of South Africa.

74. In its statement, the Special Committee pointed out that it had drawn attention to the determined and heroic resistance of the black women against apartheid and that it had promoted publicity for their plight. It expressed the hope that the observance of the Year of the Women of South Africa would lead to wider support and solidarity with the oppressed women of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements. It also urged all Governments, organizations and media to undertake concrete programmes for that purpose.

2. Special meeting of the Special Committee in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Federation of South African Women

75. In observance of the Year of the Women of South Africa, the Special Committee held a solemn meeting on 17 April on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Federation of South African Women.

76. At the invitation of the Chairman, statements were made by Mrs. Gertrude Shope, head of the women's section of the African National Congress, and by Mrs. Joyce Sifuba, Chief Co-ordinator of the Women's Wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, as well as by Mrs. Vinnie Burrows, Women's International Democratic Federation; Mrs. Elizabeth Fehrer, Women's International League of Peace and Freedom; Ms. Rhonda Littlefair, Women's Committee of St. John's Episcopal Church, Yonkers, New York; Ms. Joan P. Horton, Westchester Black Women's Political Caucus; and Mrs. Fatima Meer, a women's leader in South Africa. The observers of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the South West Africa People's Organization also made statements.

77. The participants drew attention to the particularly cruel oppression inflicted on the black women under the inhuman system of apartheid. They emphasized that black women had been the worst sufferers under the "pass laws", the bantustan policy, the forced uprooting of millions of African people, and numerous regulations and laws designed to entrench racial discrimination. They explained that black women constituted most of the domestic workers who were denied any trade union rights and were subjected to gross exploitation and humiliation. Women and children, they added, had also been victims of the criminal raids by the South African armed forces against refugees in neighbouring countries. They paid tribute in this connection to the heroic struggle waged by the women of South Africa against the abhorrent apartheid system of institutionalized racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation.

78. In his statement, the Chairman pointed out that women in South Africa could play a crucial role in the elimination of apartheid - as wives, mothers, workers and staunch opponents of apartheid. By providing them with sustained and effective support, the international community would hasten the advent of a free and non-racial society in South Africa.

3. Mission of women leaders to Asia

79. A delegation of women leaders was organized and sent by the Special Committee to Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand and India to promote wider awareness of the plight of women and children under apartheid and of the need for increased assistance to them.

80. The delegation visited the six countries from 24 August to 19 September 1984. It was the first mission of women leaders sent by the Special Committee to Asia and the Pacific. Two similar delegations visited several European countries and Tunisia in 1983. The Special Committee decided to send delegations of women leaders to various regions in pursuance of a recommendation made by the International Conference on Women and Apartheid, held at Brussels in May 1982, and General Assembly resolutions 35/206 N of 16 December 1980 and 36/172 K of 17 December 1981.

81. The delegation was led by Dr. Naome Nhwatiwa, Deputy Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications of Zimbabwe. Other members of the delegation were Mr. Abdelmahmoud A. Mohamed (Sudan), Chairman of the Special Committee's Task Force on Women and Children; Mrs. Lily Monze, Provincial Political Secretary of Zambia, who joined the delegation in Singapore; Ms. Susan Nancy Gordon, of the Permanent Mission of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations; Mrs. Cecilia B. Rebong, of the Permanent Mission of the Philippines to the United Nations; and Mrs. Elizabeth Sibeko, of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. The delegation was accompanied by three staff members of the Centre against Apartheid.

82. In each country, the delegation met senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In some countries, it also met ministers or senior officials of Departments concerned with women's affairs or social welfare. In New Zealand, the delegation was received by H.E. Mr. David Lange, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom the delegation expressed its appreciation for the actions taken by the new Government of New Zealand against the apartheid régime. In Thailand, the delegation called on Deputy Prime Minister Bhichai Rattakul. In Japan, the delegation expressed concern over the recent initiative by some Members of Parliament to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa. Foreign Ministry officials assured the delegation that the Japanese Government had no such intention.

83. The delegation also had discussions with non-governmental organizations in each country, including women's organizations and anti-apartheid groups. It answered questions and exchanged views as to future action against apartheid. Recent constitutional changes in South Africa and the apartheid régime's efforts to destabilize the front-line States were among the main topics of discussion.

84. In all countries, the delegation held press conferences or had interviews with the press, including newspapers, radio or television networks.

85. On all occasions, the delegation explained the purpose of the mission, answered questions and appealed to Governments and people to join international efforts against apartheid. Where appropriate, it submitted the projects for assistance to women and children oppressed under apartheid, and received assurances that the projects would be studied with utmost attention.

86. In each country, the delegation was given coverage by the news media. There was an eagerness on the part of the public for more information concerning the plight of women and children under apartheid as well as the evils of apartheid in general.

K. Campaign against repression and for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa

87. The Special Committee devoted special attention during the period under review to the continuing repression of opponents of apartheid in South Africa and to the campaign for the release of political prisoners. It intensified its efforts to promote the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa, and for an end to all repression against the opponents of apartheid.

88. At a meeting held on 12 June 1984, the Chairman of the Special Committee stated:

"It is today 20 years since Nelson Mandela and other leaders were sentenced in South Africa to life imprisonment for their struggle against apartheid and for a non-racial society. Nelson Mandela said there is 'no easy walk to freedom'. There will always be reverses and difficulties. But Nelson Mandela was equally confident of the triumph of freedom. We share that faith with the oppressed people of South Africa as do many governments, and hundreds of millions of people all over the world."

89. On 24 February, the Special Committee learned with deep indignation of the sentencing of Albertina Sisulu, former executive member of the banned Federation of South African Women and one of the three presidents of the United Democratic Front, to four years in prison for singing freedom songs and supporting the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) at funerals of ANC members and trade union activists in April and June 1983. Albertina Sisulu is the wife of ANC leader Walter Sisulu, now serving life imprisonment in Poolsmoor Prison, Cape Town. She is 66 years old and the mother of five children. She was banned for over 18 years, and detained and imprisoned several times.

90. The Chairman of the Special Committee denounced, in a statement on 29 February 1984, the sentencing of Mrs. Sisulu for her opposition to apartheid. He said that the sentence was passed at a time when the international community was observing the Year of the Women of South Africa in tribute to the heroic struggle of South African women against apartheid. It also demonstrated the cruelty and determination of the apartheid régime to silence and crush any peaceful opposition to its institutionalized system of racial discrimination, he added.

91. The Special AKA, the well-known multi-racial British pop group, released on 9 March 1984 a record dedicated to Nelson Mandela. On behalf of the Special Committee, the Chairman addressed a letter to AKA expressing the sincere

appreciation of the Special Committee to them and to all other collaborators who produced the record in tribute to this great man of our time.

92. The Special Committee noted that six members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania were the longest-serving life political prisoners on Robben Island. They are Samuel Chibana, Dimake Malepe, Jeff Masekela, Issac Mthimunya, John Nkosi and Philemon Tefu. The Chairman of the Special Committee, in several speeches, called for their release and the Committee undertook as part of its programme of work for 1984 to highlight the plight of the PAC SIX.

L. Missions of the Chairman to Governments

93. The Chairman had consultations with a number of Governments during the year to convey to them the concern of the Special Committee over recent developments in southern Africa and to emphasize the need for intensification of action against apartheid.

94. On 4 April 1984, he met with the Prime Minister of Sweden, H.E. Mr. Olof Palme, who assured him that Sweden would provide all appropriate assistance to those engaged in the legitimate struggle against apartheid and to the front-line States.

95. Also in April 1984, during a mission to the United Kingdom, he met with the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir Gregory Home, and conveyed to him the Special Committee's view that apartheid was the root cause of all the problems in southern Africa.

96. In May 1984, he travelled to Washington, D.C. and had useful discussions on the current situation in southern Africa with the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Chester Crocker.

97. During his visit to Paris from 21 to 23 May 1984, the Chairman met H.E. Mr. Claude Cheysson, Minister for External Relations of France, who assured him of his Government's co-operation in the struggle against apartheid.

98. The Chairman also undertook a mission to Rome, Italy, and to the Vatican on 6 and 7 July. In Rome, he had a useful discussion with Ambassador Bruno Bottai, Director-General for Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

99. On 7 July 1984, the Chairman was received in audience by His Holiness Pope John Paul II in the Vatican. His Holiness listened with great attention to the presentation of the Chairman and presented him with a special message of the concern of His Holiness over the injustices in South Africa.

100. From 28 to 30 August 1984, the Chairman visited India for consultations with the Government and with the Prime Minister, H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Chairperson of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, on the current situation in southern Africa.

101. On 30 August the Chairman called on H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, for consultations on the situation in southern Africa and the work of the Special Committee.

102. The Chairman had held discussions earlier with G. Parthasarathy, Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs of India and with senior officials of that Ministry led by J. S. Teja, Additional Secretary. He also addressed a meeting of heads of African diplomatic missions and was guest of honour at a reception given by them.

103. Speaking at the India International Centre on 29 August, the Chairman said that the situation in southern Africa was extremely critical. He said that it was critical because of the crimes of the apartheid régime in South Africa and because major Western Powers had allowed it to run amuck. He continued:

"Instead of the progress of freedom, we face a racist offensive not only to preserve apartheid but to undermine the hard-won freedom of independent African States. We need to increase assistance of all kinds and from all regions of the world to the liberation struggle in southern Africa, and we must mobilize the influence of committed Governments and organizations to confront the short-sighted and dangerous manoeuvres of some Western Powers to support apartheid."

104. On 30 August 1984, the Chairman also addressed a press conference.

M. Action concerning assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements

105. The Special Committee repeatedly appealed for more assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity. In view of the intensified repression in South Africa, as well as the great advance in resistance by the people, it emphasized the need for all possible political, moral, humanitarian, educational, material and other assistance. It expressed its appreciation to the many Governments, organizations and individuals who had contributed to such assistance, either directly to the liberation movements themselves or through the United Nations and other funds. The Special Committee also maintained contact with other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned with assistance to victims of apartheid.

106. On 6 April 1984, the Special Committee held a meeting in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). ^{12/} The Chairman of the Special Committee called upon the international community to extend all possible assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa. He paid tribute to all the South African freedom fighters who have sacrificed their lives for the very noble objective - freedom of their country. He wished the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements every success in their just struggle against the evils of apartheid.

N. Encouragement of public action against apartheid

107. The Special Committee continued to encourage the widest possible international action against apartheid in pursuance of the resolutions of the General Assembly. It paid particular attention to promoting public action by trade unions, youth and students, and all other organizations engaged in the struggle against apartheid.

108. The Special Committee also participated in a number of conferences, seminars and meetings organized by various international and national non-governmental organizations. The Chairman sent several messages to conferences and other events. The Special Committee also gave financial and other assistance to several conferences which were organized in co-operation with the Special Committee.

1. Consultation with the delegation of the World Peace Council

109. At its 532nd meeting, on 9 November 1983, the Special Committee held consultations with the delegation of the World Peace Council. At the invitation of the Chairman, the following members of the delegation made statements: Mr. Romesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council; Mrs. Jeanne Martin-Cissé, Minister for Social Affairs of Guinea and former Chairman of the Special Committee; Mr. James Lamond, Member of British Parliament; and Mrs. Karen Talbot, member of the delegation of the World Peace Council.

110. The representatives of the World Peace Council pointed out that the apartheid régime continued to exist because of the collaboration afforded by the United States and Israel, and, accordingly, efforts should be intensified to mobilize world opinion against that collaboration. The World Peace Council, therefore, supported the report of the Special Committee and the relevant draft resolutions that it had submitted to the General Assembly. It called for increased aid to the liberation movements in southern Africa in order to assist them in their struggle. The apartheid régime was illegal, as was its "new constitution". The World Peace Council condemned the continued occupation of Namibia by that régime and its aggression and destabilization efforts against Angola and other African countries. The world-wide call for sanctions went unheeded because of the votes cast by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Security Council. Thus, the régime continued to be a threat to international peace and security. The World Peace Council supported the work programme of the Special Committee for 1984 and offered its full co-operation.

2. Inter-faith Colloquium on Apartheid

111. The Inter-faith Colloquium on Apartheid - the first-ever gathering of representatives from the major world religions convened to draw up a common stand against apartheid - was organized by the Most Reverend Trevor Huddleston, in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid. It was held in London, United Kingdom, from 5 to 8 March 1984.

112. The participants included theologians and leading representatives from the Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and traditional faiths. Representatives from South Africa and Namibia provided testimony on the current situation in South Africa.

113. The opening session of the Colloquium was addressed by representatives from South Africa and Namibia: Archbishop Huddleston; Ambassador Serge Elie Charles, representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid; Mr. Enuga S. Reddy, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations; and Imam Jamal Suleman of the Islamic Cultural Centre at Regent's Park Mosque, London.

114. The participants then held discussions on the meaning of apartheid, the religious understanding of human rights and racism, and the religious response to apartheid, and unanimously adopted a Declaration. 13/

3. Consultations with anti-apartheid movements

115. Following the mission of the Special Committee to London on 9 and 10 January 1984 to participate in the ceremony for the proclamation of the anti-apartheid Declaration of the Greater London Council designating Greater London as an anti-apartheid zone, the delegation held a number of consultations. It met with members of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and was received by the Mayor and Councillors of the borough of Camden, which changed the name of the street where the Movement's office was located to "Mandela Street". The delegation also held meetings with leaders of British organizations active against apartheid and with Commonwealth officials and the High Commissioners of front-line States.

116. On 2 March 1984, H.E. M. Mohamed Sahnoun (Algeria) addressed a press conference organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement in London and held consultations with Mr. J. Slater, General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen and head of the "Maritime Unions against Apartheid".

117. In April 1984, the Chairman addressed large groups of students in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Stanford University, California, and had a series of meetings with a number of anti-apartheid groups in the New York area.

118. During his visit to Paris from 21 to 23 May 1984, he also had useful consultations with the three main French anti-apartheid organizations.

119. While attending the twenty-fifth anniversary conference of the British Anti-Apartheid movement in June, the Chairman held consultations with Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Mr. Bob Hughes, M.P., President and Chairman respectively, of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. He also held consultations with anti-apartheid movements from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Switzerland and the United States.

120. On 25 June 1984, the Chairman was received by the leader of the Greater London Council, Mr. Ken Livingstone, and other members of the Council. On 26 June he visited Cardiff to consult with the Welsh Anti-Apartheid movement, which has supported many campaigns against apartheid. He also met with officials of the Welsh United Nations Association. On 27 June 1984, he visited Sheffield and Leeds for consultations with the respective city councils and spoke to many leaders and to the media.

121. On his mission to Rome from 6 to 8 July 1984, the Chairman held useful consultations with the leaders of anti-apartheid groups. During these consultations, Mr. G. Soncini, Co-ordinator of the National Committee of Solidarity with the People of Southern Africa and member of the local government of the city of Reggio Emilia, gave him a detailed account of their work and invited him to visit Reggio Emilia.

4. International Non-Governmental Organization Conference for the Independence of Namibia and the Eradication of Apartheid

122. An International Conference for the Independence of Namibia and the Eradication of Apartheid was organized in Geneva from 2 to 5 July 1984 by the Non-Governmental Organization Sub-Committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonization in co-operation with the Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations Council for Namibia. The participants included anti-apartheid and solidarity organizations from many countries, liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, as well as representatives of States Members of the United Nations based in Geneva.

123. The Conference adopted two Declarations, one on apartheid in South Africa and the other on Namibia. The Declaration on South Africa condemned those Western countries which collaborate with South Africa, specially those Governments and leaders who invited Prime Minister P.W. Botha during his trip to Western Europe. The Declaration on Namibia called on all progressive and peace-loving Governments, organizations and individuals to redouble their efforts in support of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in their just struggle for national liberation.

5. Other activities

124. The Special Committee has followed with great interest and satisfaction the actions taken by cities in many countries to demonstrate their abhorrence of apartheid and their support for the just struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia for freedom. Many cities in African, non-aligned, socialist and other nations have taken firm action for the total isolation of South Africa. They were also joined by some cities in the West when the movement for the boycott of South Africa was initiated in 1959. Actions by cities against apartheid were strongly encouraged and commended by the Special Committee.

125. In this connection, the Special Committee adopted on 21 March 1984, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, an Appeal to the Cities of the World, calling for further action against apartheid by all cities of the world, in the light of the present critical situation in southern Africa and in observance of the Second Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. 14/

O. Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against Apartheid

126. The international Seminar was organized by the Special Committee against apartheid, in co-operation with the Government of Nigeria, to examine the international and national legal implications of the situation in South Africa as a result of the apartheid policies and actions of the Pretoria régime, particularly the legal status of the apartheid régime in South Africa under international law, and the need to develop strategies for concerted legal and political action against it. It was held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984.

127. The agenda of the Seminar included the following: legal status of the apartheid régime of South Africa; self-determination of the people of South Africa; apartheid as a crime against humanity; international instruments relating to the question of apartheid; aggression against neighbouring States; and action against the apartheid régime.

128. At the invitation of the Special Committee and the Government of Nigeria, the Seminar was attended by a number of prominent international jurists; international, regional and national legal bodies; anti-apartheid movements and other relevant organizations as well as United Nations bodies; and other intergovernmental organizations and liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. Over 90 people participated in the Seminar.

129. The Special Committee was represented by its Chairman, H.E. Major-General J. N. Garba, H.E. Mr. James Victor Gbeho (Ghana), H.E. Mr. Reynaldo Arcilla (Philippines), Mr. Jorge Bayone (Peru), Mr. Ibrahima Khalil Toure (Guinea), Mr. Istvan Zschar (Hungary) and Mr. Kennedy Apoe (Nigeria).

130. The Seminar unanimously adopted a Declaration which recognized that the recent developments in southern Africa made it imperative for the international community to understand the urgent necessity for action through the application of international law to a situation which constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. 15/

P. Observance of international days

131. As in previous years, the Special Committee held solemn meetings in observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners (11 October 1983), the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March 1984), the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (16 June 1984) and the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia (9 August 1984). 16/

Q. Representation at conferences, meetings and other events

132. The Special Committee was represented at the following conferences, meetings and events:

- (a) Ceremony launching the Anti-Apartheid Declaration of the Greater London Council and declaring Greater London as an anti-apartheid zone, London, 9 January 1984
H.E. Mr. Ahmed Adan (Somalia);
- (b) Seminar of the Special Committee of 24 with Non-Governmental Organizations and the session of the Commission on Status of Women, Vienna, 21-23 February 1984
H.E. Mr. Vladimir Kravets (Ukrainian SSR);
- (c) AAPSO Regional Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa, Accra, Ghana, 15-17 February 1984
Mr. Nageib Abdelwahad (Sudan);

- (d) New York State Conference on Apartheid, New Paltz, 25 and 26 February 1984
Mr. Kennedy Apoe (Nigeria);
- (e) Seminar on South Africa's Destabilization of and Aggression against Neighbouring States, London, 29 February 1984
H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun (Algeria);
- (f) Fortieth session of the Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, 15 February 1984
Mr. F. W. Y. Ekar (Ghana);
- (g) Inter-faith Colloquium on Apartheid, London, 5-8 March 1984
H.E. Mr. Serge Elie Charles (Haiti);
- (h) Meeting in Observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Geneva, 21 March 1984
H.E. Mr. Alpha I. Diallo (Guinea);
- (i) International Hearings on South African Aggression against Neighbouring States, Oslo, 22-24 March 1984
H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun (Algeria)
H.E. Mr. Alpha I. Diallo (Guinea);
- (j) Meeting organized by the Greater London Council in observance of Anti-Racist Year and Lobby against Apartheid organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 21 March 1984
H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun (Algeria);
- (k) Conference organized by the Movement Against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples (MRAP) in connection with the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Paris, 17-19 March 1984
H.E. Mr. Mohamed Sahnoun (Algeria);
- (l) Symposium organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia on South Africa's Illegal Occupation of Namibia - the Threat to International Peace and Security, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 2-6 April 1984
Mr. W. Schlegel (German Democratic Republic)
Mr. A. Mohamed (Sudan);
- (m) Memorial service in commemoration of the fifth anniversary of Solomon Mahlangu's execution organized by the Yale Coalition against Apartheid,
Mr. Kennedy Apoe (Nigeria);
- (n) Fourteenth Congress of the International Union of Students, Sofia, Bulgaria, 11-16 April 1984
Mr. B. K. Mitra (India);
- (o) United Nations Council for Namibia Seminar on the Activities of Foreign Economic Interests in the Exploitation of Namibia's Natural and Human Resources, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 16-20 April 1984
Mr. B. K. Mitra (India);

- (p) Conference on Apartheid and Southern Africa, Toronto, Canada,
11 April 1984
Ms. C. Rebong (Philippines);
- (q) ILO Tripartite Conference on Apartheid Lusaka, Zambia, 4-8 May 1984
Mr. A. A. Adan (Somalia);
- (r) Conference in Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa,
Namibia, and the Front-line States Harare, Zimbabwe, 18-20 May 1984
Mr. A. Jassnowski, German Democratic Republic;
- (s) Extraordinary plenary meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia,
Bangkok, 21-25 May 1984
H.E. Mr. R. Arcilla (Philippines)
Mr. Abdul Hamid (Indonesia);
- (t) Sixth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) Conference,
Algiers, 27-30 May 1984
H.E. Mr. V. Kravets (Ukrainian SSR)
Mr. B. Camara (Guinea);
- (u) Mission to various cities in the United States to promote the aims of the
North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid:
 - Mission to Boston and Chicago, 29 May-1 June 1984
Mr. F. W. Y. Ekar (Ghana)
 - Mission to Atlanta, 22-25 May 1984
Mr. K. Apoe (Nigeria)
 - Mission to San Francisco and Los Angeles, 21-25 May 1984
Mr. A. Baali (Algeria);
- (v) National Convention on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the British
Anti-Apartheid Movement, London 23-24 June 1984
H.E. Major-General J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
Mr. M. Abdul Aziz (Malaysia);
- (w) Consultation of Anti-Apartheid Movements, London, 25-26 June 1984
H.E. Mr. J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
Mr. M. Abdul Aziz (Malaysia);
- (x) International NGO Conference for the Independence of Namibia and the
Eradication of Apartheid, Geneva, 2-5 July 1984
H.E. Mr. J. V. Gbeho (Ghana)
Mr. J. Matus (Hungary);
- (y) International Conference on African Refugees, Geneva, 9-11 July 1984
H.E. Mr. J. V. Gbeho (Ghana);
- (z) Economic and Social Council, Geneva, July 1984
Mr. Kennedy Apoe (Nigeria);
- (aa) Meetings of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa,
Commission on Human Rights, London, 1-8 August 1984
Mr. B. K. Mitra (India);

- (bb) Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, Tunis, 7-9 August 1984
H.E. Major-General J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
H.E. Mr. Omer Biriðo (Sudan)
Mr. B. K. Mitra (India)
Mr. A. Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic);
- (cc) International Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Régime in South Africa and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against Apartheid, Lagos, 13-16 August 1984
H.E. Major-General J. N. Garba (Nigeria)
H.E. Mr. James V. Gbeho (Ghana)
Mr. Ibrahima Khalil Toure (Guinea)
Mr. Istvan Zsohar (Hungary)
Mr. Jorge Bayona (Peru)
H.E. Mr. Reynaldo Arcilla (Philippines);
- (dd) African Regional Seminar on the Question of Palestine, Tunis, 13-18 August 1984
Mr. A Jassnowski (German Democratic Republic).

R. Co-operation with other United Nations bodies and with other organizations

133. The Special Committee maintained close co-operation with other United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa, especially the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. It invited them to several special meetings and conferences of the Special Committee and sent representatives to attend and address their special meetings.

134. The Special Committee continued to co-operate with the Commission on Human Rights and its Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa.

135. The Organization of African Unity was invited to meetings of the Special Committee as an observer. It addressed several special meetings and conferences of the Special Committee.

136. The Special Committee continued to maintain close co-operation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries (see also Section J).

III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE SEPTEMBER 1983

137. During the year under review, the apartheid régime further entrenched apartheid through constitutional and other devices. The situation in the country was again characterized by relentless repression of opponents of apartheid, despite the racist régime's propaganda about its so-called "constitutional reforms". Certain countries, mainly Western, continued to support and collaborate with the Pretoria régime in military, economic, cultural, sports and other fields. In mid-1984, the régime's Prime Minister was even received officially in certain Western European countries.

A. Repression against opponents of apartheid

138. The régime consolidated apartheid by implementing its sham constitutional devices to convey the impression that its policies are being "reformed", and to attempt to break the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa. As opposition mounted to its policies, particularly the sham constitution, the régime intensified repression. It arrested, detained, tortured, tried or banned opponents of its criminal system. It accelerated the policy of bantustanization, enforced harshly the notorious "pass laws", and implemented even more harshly its inhuman policy of forced population removals. It also tightened its control over black workers and unions, both legislatively and otherwise. The régime imposed more restrictions on legal organizations and those active in them. Significantly, the bantustans played a prominent role in the repression of opponents.

1. Arrests, detentions, torture and bannings

139. In the past year, political arrests and detentions in South Africa increased with regard to 1982, and included freedom fighters, trade union leaders, church and community activists, students and journalists. Police banned meetings, raided offices of black organizations, confiscated documents and attacked students during protest meetings and demonstrations.

140. Among those arrested were leading members of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress because of their active opposition to the new "constitution". Also arrested were almost the entire executive of the Alexandra Youth Congress and the Alexandra Commuters' Committee, about 11 persons, as well as Mr. S. Sikhakhane, General Secretary of the Food and Beverage Workers' Union. In the Ciskei, police detained the Reverend Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, Secretary General of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference. His detention was widely condemned, inside and outside South Africa. Because of a mass bus boycott, the people of Ciskei were subjected to brutal repression and torture, including the detention of 70 students, in addition to the detention of trade unionists, community leaders and others.

141. In February, 20 African schoolchildren were arrested in the Atteridgeville township after clashes between police and students, which resulted in the death of Emma Sathekge (age 15). Eight other students were treated in hospital for injuries.

142. In August, one of the targets of the racist régime's repression was the Sisulu family, Mr. Mlungisi Sisulu, son of Mr. Walter Sisulu, and two of his cousins,

namely, Mondisa and Jongumsi Sisulu, were detained under the Internal Security Act which permits indefinite detention without trial.

143. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Detainees Parents' Support Committee and the Defendants Conference of the South African Council of Churches, in 1983 there was a dramatic 70 per cent increase in the number of detentions without trial in South Africa compared to 1982. The increase, from 264 in 1982 to 453 in 1983, was attributed mainly to greater repression in the "homelands". 17/ A total of 149 persons were detained in 1983 under section 29(1) of the Internal Security Act of 1982. Nineteen of them were still in detention in February 1984. 18/ Sixteen others were detained under section 31(1) of that Act. 19/ In the Transkei alone, some 200 persons were detained in terms of the Transkei State of Emergency between December 1983 and January 1984. 20/ By the end of August 1984, according to the Detainees Parents' Support Committee, some 572 persons had been detained, more than those detained during the whole of 1983. 21/

144. During the year under review, several detainees died while in police custody. Mr. Samuel Tshikhudo (50) died in detention in the "independent state" of Venda. Amnesty International expressed its fear on 24 January 1984 that Mr. Tshikhudo died on 20 January as a result of torture while being held incommunicado in police custody. He was one of seven men arrested in Venda on 3 November 1983 under the Terrorism Act, without access to their lawyers and families. The United Democratic Front, the Black Sash and other organizations condemned his murder by the police.

145. In the "Transkei", another "independent state", Mr. Mxolisi Sipele died in June 1984 after having been in detention in the Engcobo district since January under the Transkei State of Emergency. In July, Mr. Johannes Bonakele Ngalo was "found dead" in his cell after having been detained during disturbances in the Tumahole township in Parys. A State post-mortem and an independent one, requested by the family, were held. The State post-mortem apparently revealed that Mr. Ngalo died of serious internal injuries. His family is instituting a civil action suit against the Minister of Law and Order. In August, Mr. Ephraim Mthetwa was "found hanged" in his cell. He was facing charges under section 51(1) of Act 74 (1982) of furthering the aims of ANC, alternatively attempting to recruit people to join ANC, and to travel abroad for military training. He was, along with six other persons, awaiting trial since February. A spokesperson for the Detainees Parents' Support Committee reported that Mr. Mthetwa apparently needed urgent medical attention but the police refused him permission to receive such treatment. When his lawyers met him shortly before his death, he could not speak coherently and appeared disoriented. 22/

146. Another detainee, Mr. Colin Sebe, was reported to have been tortured at a police station near Pedie in Ciskei in early 1984.

147. As disclosed in Parliament on 24 February, there were 18 complaints of assault from detainees held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. 23/ The figures disclosed by the régime do not include those detained in the so-called "independent states". 24/

148. Many meetings were banned under the Internal Security Act (1982) to suppress the expression of opposition to apartheid, particularly the meetings called by the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization to oppose the new "constitution", as well as those called by the Release Mandela Committee.

149. On 1 February 1984, a total of 12 persons were under banning orders under the Internal Security Act of 1982. 25/ For external propaganda reasons, the régime's policy has shifted from banning people to banning meetings. In July, there were 134 listed persons under the Internal Security Act, who may not be quoted. 26/

150. Another form of repression of the opponents of apartheid was manifest in the régime's rejection of passport applications. Among those who were refused passports were Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Mr. Saths Cooper, Vice-President of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), and Mr. Hassan Howa of the South African Council on Sport. The passport of Mr. Lybon Mabasa, President of AZAPO, was confiscated upon his return from Canada where he had attended the Conference of the World Council of Churches.

151. In 1983, a total of 262,904 Africans were arrested for offences related to the "pass laws". This figure amounts to 720 arrests a day or 30 an hour. It represents a 27.6 per cent increase over the 1982 figure of 206,022. 27/

152. The apartheid régime's arm of repression and horror reaches beyond South Africa. In June, a parcel bomb killed an ANC member, Mrs. Jenny Schoon, and her six-year-old daughter Katryn, in Angola. She was under a banning order in 1977 when she and her husband, Mr. Marius Schoon, fled South Africa. She was the second anti-apartheid activist killed by a parcel bomb in less than two years.

2. Political trials and prisoners

153. In the past few years a higher number of treason trials have taken place as political detainees have been increasingly charged with treason for actions that were earlier considered terrorism or sabotage. In the past year, several persons were convicted of high treason and severely sentenced, in some cases the court having equated membership in the African National Congress with treason. Others received heavy sentences for possessing banned literature. Those who refused to testify for the State also received jail sentences. Among those who refused to testify was Father Timothy Stanton, an Anglican monk, who was jailed for six months for refusing to testify in the "treason" trial of Mr. Carl Niehaus. Mr. Niehaus, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Mr. Zacharia A. Molotsi (28) and Mr. Jacob Molefe (23) were also convicted of high treason and sentenced to 18 and 15 years imprisonment, respectively. Mr. Thembinhosi P. Ngcobo (23), ANC member, was sentenced to 20 years on charges of terrorism for having allegedly carried a bomb.

154. Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, one of the three regional presidents of the United Democratic Front, was sentenced to four years in prison for having allegedly furthered the aims of ANC. Her co-defendant in the case, Mr. Thami Mali (34), a schoolteacher, was sentenced to five years. Mrs. Sisulu, who was banned for over 18 years, was also an executive member of the banned Federation of South African Women.

155. Among those convicted of treason were also Mr. Sithabiso Mahlobo (25) and Mr. Benedict Martins (27), who were sentenced to 20 and 10 years, respectively, and Mr. Phillemon M. Morake (28) and Mr. Frans M. Ronoto (28) who were each sentenced to 12 years in prison.

156. Many others were tried or appeared before the court for alleged public violence, intimidation and holding illegal meetings, or for having quoted banned persons or having persuaded others to undergo military training. Many trials involved people who participated in demonstrations to support the widespread school boycott or to oppose the new "constitution", population removals, influx control, restrictions on trade union organizing, and other evils of apartheid.

157. In a case exemplary of apartheid justice, Constable J. A. Nienaber was acquitted in April of the murder of Mr. Saul Mkhize, a community leader in Driefontein. Mr. Mkhize was shot in cold blood in April 1983 during a meeting of Driefontein residents to protest against their forced removal. The ancestors of Driefontein residents bought their land in 1912, one year before the South African régime prevented Africans from ever again purchasing land outside the bantustans.

158. Information about prison conditions in South Africa is extremely limited owing to severe restrictions imposed by the Prisons Act. As of 15 February, 336 Africans, 5 "Coloureds" and 2 Asians were serving sentences for "crimes" against the security of the State. 28/ In March, for similar "crimes", 36 Namibians were serving sentences in South African prisons.

159. Prison officials installed closed-circuit cameras in cells to maintain full-time surveillance of those held under the security laws. Moreover, the report of the Hoexter Commission of Inquiry into the structure and functioning of the courts, published in April, revealed brutal practices of prison warders. 29/

160. The plight of South African political prisoners continued to receive world attention. In its Annual Report for 1983, Amnesty International reported that political prisoners had died in police custody in South Africa as a result of torture and harsh treatment. Following the death sentence imposed on Mr. Benjamin M. Moloise, a freedom fighter, the Security Council adopted unanimously resolution 547 (1984) calling on the régime to commute his sentence. Organizations and individuals throughout the world demonstrated, in different ways, their solidarity with political prisoners. In London, a vigil was held outside the South African Embassy to mark the fifth anniversary of the death of Mr. Solomon Mahlangu, a freedom fighter and martyr, and to campaign for clemency for Mr. Moloise. Also, Southern Africa - The Imprisoned Society and Amnesty International appealed for clemency for him.

B. Bantustans, influx control and forced population removals

161. The régime accelerated implementation of the policy of bantustanization, which is primarily designed to denationalize Africans in order to consolidate apartheid. To achieve that purpose, it applied even more stringently the "pass laws" and intensified the forced population removals.

162. Kwa Ndebele, one of the "homelands", is scheduled to be declared so-called "independent" in December 1984. If so declared, it will be the fifth sham "independent state" from among 10 "homelands". No State has recognized any of these illegitimate entities. In the apartheid régime's terminology, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda are "independent states" while Kwa Ndebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Ka Ngwane, Qwa Qwa and Kwa Zulu are "national states".

163. The "pass laws" or the influx control measures, which are directly related to the policy of bantustanization, were implemented harshly. As a result, many thousands of Africans were tried, fined or "deported" to the "homelands" for "pass laws" violations.

164. In 1983, over 142,000 Africans were convicted on "pass laws". The number of those tried was higher than in 1982. The trials evidenced apartheid justice. On one occasion, which is typical, a Commissioner's court heard 118 cases in four and a half hours, that is, on the average, a case every two or three minutes. The authorities admitted that in 1983 less than 1 per cent of the 283,824 Africans who appeared before Commissioners' courts on "pass laws" charges had legal representation.

165. In line with its apartheid policies, particularly with the policy of bantustanization, the régime has continued to forcibly remove people from their homes and lands. The overwhelming majority of those affected were Africans who were forced into bantustans. There was a marked acceleration in forced removals after the all-white referendum on the new "constitution" in November 1983.

166. People who were moved or slated for removal in the year under review were the residents of the Crossroads camp, Mogopa, Motlatla, Duncan village, Kwanga, Driefontein, Huhudi, Daggakraal, Rooigrond, Modebe, Kwa Ngeme, Ngwali, Langa, Hopewell Farm, Hatting Farm, Donhouser Emergency Camp, and Ladysmith. From 1960 to 1982, over 3.5 million people were removed forcibly. About 1.7 million others remain to be removed. 30/

167. In October 1983, in Kathlehong, the residents were beaten up by police and East Rand Administration Board officials. Their shelters were demolished and they were made homeless. Among those who were beaten up were eight journalists and a religious man who were witness to the brutality. Subsequently, some journalists were arrested.

168. In Mogopa, a "black spot" in the Western Transvaal, residents were forcibly moved out of their homes and land in February. About 200 policemen surrounded the village, baton-charged the residents, and arrested and handcuffed a village chief. The press was prohibited from entering Mogopa while its residents were being forcibly moved.

169. About 83,259 "Coloured" and 39,892 Indian families were forcibly moved from their homes under the Group Areas Act since its commencement up to 31 December 1983. As of that date, 4,587 "Coloured" and 2,541 Indian families remained to be moved. 31/

170. Malnutrition, poverty and unemployment were the subjects of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa in April 1984. Some 300 delegates from 20 universities attended the Inquiry. In papers presented, it was revealed that one third of African children below the age of 14 are underweight and stunted, that the death rate for African children from malnutrition was 31 times higher than that for white children, and that the magnitude of poverty and hunger in bantustans and African townships in white farming areas was appalling.

C. Labour

171. The situation of black workers, who are paid much lower than white workers, deteriorated. Legislative and other measures further repressed black workers and their trade unions.

172. Retrenchments, dismissals, higher rail fares for second and third class passengers, higher bread prices and the increase in the general sales tax have adversely affected mostly African workers. Their living standards declined by 4.1 per cent in one year, from 1982 to 1983, according to Mr. Charles Simkins, a labour economist at the University of Cape Town.

173. The new Labour Relations Amendment Act was passed in June 1984 to impose further controls over industrial relations and labour agreements negotiated between trade unions and management. The Act requires that all collective bargaining agreements be submitted to the Department of Manpower, otherwise they cannot be enforceable in any court, including the Industrial Court.

174. The Aliens and Immigration Law Amendment Bill, which was introduced in March 1984, was designed to tighten up the influx control measures against African workers and would impose heavier penalties on companies which employ aliens who have entered South Africa "illegally". The 9 million Africans who lost their citizenship under South African law when their "homelands" were declared "independent" are also regarded as aliens.

175. Black workers on strike or in active opposition to apartheid were harassed, intimidated, detained or tried. Some were tried under the Intimidation Act and others for holding "illegal" meetings; yet others were detained briefly for the purpose of persecuting them and suppressing their activities against apartheid. A total of 525 African workers were arrested in 1983 for striking "illegally". 32/

D. So-called "reforms" within apartheid

176. The apartheid régime's new "constitution" was adopted by the Parliament in September 1983 and published in Government Gazette No. 8914 of that month as the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act (No. 110 of 1983). On 2 November, it was approved by a whites-only referendum. Elections to the racially segregated chambers of Parliament for so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian origin took place in August 1984 and the new "constitution" was brought into force on 3 September 1984, despite strong opposition at home and abroad.

177. It will be recalled that the new "constitution" excludes the majority African population from Parliament and creates three segregated chambers for whites, so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian origin. The chambers will have 178, 85 and 45 members, respectively. Whites will dominate owing to their numbers in the Parliament. Also, even if one or two of the Houses withdraw, the Parliament will still be able to carry on. The President shall decide which legislation pertains to "own" and which to "general" matters in allocating pieces of legislation for consideration by each House. There is no appeal against the President's decision in this respect.

178. The new "constitution" entrenches white domination, gives illusory power to so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin and creates a potentially

dictatorial (white) executive by entrenching one party domination and conferring extraordinary powers to the President. It is an attempt to divide black people on racial premises and to enlist so-called Coloureds and people of Asian origin into the military against the growing resistance to apartheid. It is also an attempt to influence world public opinion by pretending that constitutional reforms are taking place in the country where the Africans are being denationalized through the "homelands" policy.

179. Africans living outside the "homelands" are supposed to exercise their citizenship rights not through the Parliament but in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act (No. 102 of 1982), the Black Communities Act (No. 4 of 1984) and the provisions envisaged in the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. The Bill has been referred to the Select Committee on the Constitution owing to strong opposition to it. It is designed to regulate the settlement and accommodation of Africans in rural areas and provide a new and more stringent method of controlling the movement of Africans in urban areas by making their movement subject to the availability of employment and approved housing.

180. The black people's massive and vigorous opposition to the constitutional fraud and their peaceful demonstrations in August and September met with the apartheid régime's violence in which scores of people were shot dead and hundreds injured, including children. Hundreds of others were detained, including leaders of opposition groups. Six leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban on 13 September just before they were about to be detained. Five of them had been detained and freed earlier by Supreme Court decision.

181. In addition to strong and mass opposition to the new "constitution" in the country, as will be seen in connection with the growing resistance to apartheid, there was also strong opposition to it at the international level. The Summit Conference of the Commonwealth, with the exception of the United Kingdom, dismissed as fraudulent the referendum on the new "constitution". At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution rejecting the so-called "constitutional proposals" of South Africa and declaring them to be contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations (resolution 38/11). The Summit Conferences of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity also rejected and condemned the "constitution".

E. Growing resistance to apartheid

182. In the past year, a new situation arose in southern Africa owing to the apartheid régime's acts of aggression and destabilization, as well as its agreements with some neighbouring States, all aimed at isolating and weakening the national liberation movements in the region, curtailing the growing resistance to apartheid and buying a new lease of life for apartheid. All these efforts notwithstanding, resistance to apartheid became more unified in purpose.

1. Underground and armed struggle

183. The armed and underground struggle against the apartheid régime sustained its high level of operations. Freedom fighters took armed actions against military, economic and other institutions and installations.

184. Among the targets attacked with bombs and limpet mines were petrol tanks, railway tankers and lines, a police warehouse, the offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development, the premises of the Foreign Ministry, electricity plants, the offices of the so-called "consulate" of Ciskei, the Information Office of the Transkei, the South African Indian Council in Durban, the premises of the Durban Trust Bank, the offices of the Department of Internal Affairs, the premises of the Western Holdings Mine (a gold mine), and the Magistrate's Court in Bethal. Moreover, there were the "spectacular" bombing of the five petrol storage tanks at Ermelo and the rocket attack on an oil refinery in Durban. ANC claimed responsibility for most of the attacks.

185. In the rocket attack against the oil refinery, freedom fighters and police were engaged in a four-hour gun battle which resulted in the death of seven persons, including four freedom fighters. In March, there were two armed clashes between freedom fighters and police at locations between the southern town of Vereeniging and Vanderbiljpark.

186. Police found unexploded mines attached to the doors of the Civil Defence Headquarters in Pretoria. In Pietermaritzburg, police found mines, time-switches, and detonators in the vicinity of the Town Hall where Prime Minister Botha was addressing a meeting on the constitutional referendum on 27 October 1983. They also discovered a bomb in the Benoni post office, as well as arms caches in Natal and Transvaal, including limpet mines, grenades and other explosives.

187. In 1983, there were 395 incidents of bombings, armed attacks and other such actions in South Africa. 33/ Some incidents relating to the armed struggle in South Africa during the period under review are as follows:

- 10 September 1983: A substation of the Electricity Supply Commission in Bryanston North and a Randburg municipal substation in Fairlands were damaged after an explosion of limpet mines. No one was injured, but electricity lines in the area were cut for a few hours.
- 14 September 1983: A bomb exploded at the offices of the "Ciskei" in Pretoria. No one was injured.
- 11 October 1983: An explosion occurred at Warmbaths, north of Pretoria, hours before the celebration of the so-called Kruger Day. Three limpet mines destroyed 10 petrol tanks and rail and road petrol tankers at the railway station. No one was injured. ANC claimed responsibility for the explosion. Two unexploded mines were found attached to the doors of the local Civil Defence headquarters. They were timed to go off an hour after the first explosions.
- 27 October 1983: Police arrested an alleged member of ANC as he carried a demolition mine outside the Pietermaritzburg Town Hall where Prime Minister Botha was speaking. Later it was reported that three arms caches, including mines, time switches and detonators, were found in the vicinity of the Hall.

- 1 November 1983: A bomb exploded on the Johannesburg-Natal railway line near Germiston Station in apparent protest against the referendum for whites only on the "constitution". Another bomb was discovered and defused on the Johannesburg-Springs line. No injuries were reported.
- 2 November 1983: A bomb exploded on the railway line between Bosmont and Newclare in western Johannesburg. Train services were disrupted. Another bomb exploded at a police warehouse destroying it completely.
- 10 November 1983: Four guerrillas and a soldier were killed during a gun battle south-east of the northern Transvaal town of Alldays.
- 29 November 1983: A booby-trap bomb exploded in one of Johannesburg's northern suburbs.
- 1 December 1983: Petrol bombs were thrown in Johannesburg into the houses of three African candidates for elections to the régime-created community councils under the Black Local Authorities Act.
- 7 December 1983: An explosion caused by a limpet mine left in a waste-paper basket caused extensive damage to three offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development in central Johannesburg. No one was injured. A fire broke out after the explosion, causing further damage.
- 8 December 1983: A powerful explosion at a railway station located one mile south of Bloemfontein destroyed two freight wagons and a coal tender. There were no casualties.
- 12 December 1983: A powerful explosion - caused by a limpet mine - destroyed the fourth floor offices of the Department of Community Development in Johannesburg. ANC claimed responsibility. Another explosive device was discovered in the Benoni Post Office. No one was injured.
- 13 December 1983: Police officials announced that they had found arms caches in Natal and the Transvaal, including limpet mines, grenades and explosives in Soweto.
- 15 December 1983: A bomb exploded in an office building across the street from Johannesburg City Hall. No casualties were reported.
- A bomb exploded in a Foreign Ministry building injuring seven persons. ANC claimed responsibility. Three bombs also exploded in Durban. No casualties were reported. The bombing coincided with the twenty-second anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of ANC.
- 3 February 1984: A bomb exploded in the offices of the "consulate" of the "Ciskei" in Durban. Two persons were injured. Later it was announced that the "consulate" would not reopen.

23 February 1984: Three bomb devices exploded at an electricity plant near Pietermaritzburg in Natal. They caused damage but no injuries.

29 February 1984: A series of bombs exploded at an electricity substation in Mandini, 50 miles from Durban.

11 March 1984: Five petrol storage tanks were damaged in a series of explosions in the town of Ermelo in the eastern Transvaal. ANC claimed responsibility for the attack.

In armed battles between guerrillas and police at points between Johannesburg and the southern industrial towns of Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, two persons were killed and two injured.

3 April 1984: A powerful car bomb exploded in Durban outside the South African Indian Council killing five persons and injuring 22.

6 April 1984: A bomb exploded at the information office of the "Transkei" near Bloemfontein destroying the building. No one was injured.

14 April 1984: Two car bombs were uncovered near Springs on the East Rand and four alleged members of ANC were arrested.

11 May 1984: A bomb destroyed the offices of the Department of Internal Affairs in Durban and damaged the headquarters of the railways police which are located in the same building.

14 May 1984: Guerrillas launched a rocket attack against a Mobil company oil refinery in Durban causing extensive damage. A gun battle between the police and four guerrillas hiding on a construction company site ensued. Seven persons died and four were injured. ANC claimed responsibility for the attack.

18 May 1984: Two explosions only minutes apart damaged railway lines south of Johannesburg. Rail services were disrupted. No one was injured. ANC later claimed responsibility.

21 May 1984: An explosion extensively damaged several offices of the Western Holdings gold mine near Welkom. The mine is part of the Anglo American Group. No injuries were reported. ANC claimed responsibility.

7 June 1984: Several limpet mines hidden on four railway tankers exploded south of Durban. No one was injured.

15 June 1984: An explosion at a used car lot in the centre of Johannesburg damaged several cars and injured one person.

16 June 1984: A bomb exploded at the Agricultural Technical Services offices in the magistrate's court at Bethal in the eastern Transvaal causing extensive damage and killing one person.

- 21 June 1984: An explosion destroyed an electricity transformer near a wealthy white suburb in Durban. No injuries were reported. Electricity supplies to the suburb were cut off for more than 12 hours.
- 12 July 1984: A powerful car bomb exploded in an industrial suburb of Durban causing widespread damage to nearby buildings and burning several cars in the area. Four persons died and 21 were injured.
- 20 July 1984: Two limpet mines exploded at railway signal boxes near Durban causing damage but no injuries.
- Two limpet mines were found in the Durban suburb of Stanford Hill.
- Petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of four candidates in elections for the so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian origin for the racially segregated chambers of the Parliament. No one was injured.
- 3 August 1984: A hand grenade exploded near a police station in the Ellisras area. One person was killed and two were injured. Police officials said that they had seized some guns as well as other equipment.
- 8 August 1984: A hand grenade exploded in the office complex of the Inanda Police Station in Durban. The explosion was one of several that rocked the Inanda police complex.
- 17 August 1984: A bomb destroyed a police building in the Johannesburg suburb of Roodepoort injuring five policemen. Police said that they destroyed three explosive devices found on railway trucks at the Langlaagte station, near Johannesburg.
- 23 August 1984: A bomb destroyed the offices of the Department of Education and Training in Johannesburg. The Department administers the schools for Africans. There were no injuries.
- 24 August 1984: A bomb exploded in central Johannesburg causing extensive damage to the offices of the railway police. Five persons were injured.
- A bomb exploded at the offices of the Department of Community Development in Johannesburg which monitors the implementation of all apartheid laws. Five persons were wounded.
- 3 September 1984: A bomb destroyed the offices of the Department of Internal Affairs in Johannesburg. Four persons were injured.
- 5 September 1984: A series of explosions took place in Rustenburg. An electricity substation was damaged. A bomb was also found in the Supreme Court building in Johannesburg.

6 September 1984: A petrol bomb was thrown at the home of an official of the régime-created Black Community Council in Johannesburg.

2. Workers' resistance

188. Black trade unions and workers resisted racist labour laws and practices. Many thousands of workers around the country went on strike or took other actions demanding wage increases, better working conditions, recognition of their trade unions, reinstatement of dismissed colleagues or abolition of retrenchments.

189. Major strikes took place at the Winterveld chrome mine, the Ford Sierra plant in Port Elizabeth, the BMW plant in Rosslyn, the Bata shoe factory, the Union Flour Mills company in Durban, the Smith and Nephew Textile company in Pinetown, the Landrost and Rand International Hotels, and the Uniply company plant in Cato Ridge, near Durban.

190. Many striking workers were dismissed or suspended, and some were deported to "homelands" because they were contract workers. In some cases, the police were called in to intimidate and break the strikes.

191. The Department of Manpower released figures showing that in 1983 there were 336 strikes in which 64,469 workers participated. There were 104 strikes in one month alone - December 1983.

192. The black trade unions grew in strength and demonstrated their determination to achieve greater unity. The Federation of South African Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of South Africa, the two largest trade union federations, agreed together with some other unions to form a single trade union federation.

193. In their struggle, black workers received support from organizations both inside and outside the country. The South African Council of the Geneva-based International Metalworkers' Federation condemned the banning imposed by Ciskei officials on the South African Allied Workers' Union. A group of Churches, including the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches, committed themselves to a detailed programme of action in support of workers' rights and trade unions in South Africa. The International Transport Workers' Federation condemned the apartheid régime's policies and pledged its support for trade union rights for the employees of the South African Transport Services. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions adopted in January 1984 an updated programme of action to support the independent black trade union movement in South Africa. In another act of solidarity, workers at the Swedish steel firm Svenska Kullager Fabriken demanded that the company withdraw its investment from South Africa.

3. Students' resistance

194. In protest against the unequal education policy and various other racist practices, black students in considerable numbers boycotted their classes across the country. Their actions, while ostensibly against a racially segregated system of education, demonstrated their militant opposition to the régime and their determination to fight for the liberation of South Africa.

195. Thousands of students in the township of Atteridgeville and the Minerva high school in Alexandra boycotted classes for prolonged periods in protest against excessive corporal punishment and for better student representation. Most of the protesting students were from secondary schools. In Atteridgeville, the boycott affected about 6,000 students and involved violent incidents. Classes were suspended indefinitely and some students were expelled. In the Tembisa township, north-east of Johannesburg, about 3,500 students were boycotting schools in late July 1984. In August, police used rubber bullets and tear-gas to disperse about 700 protesting schoolchildren of Daveyton, an African township.

196. During the period under review, at the University of Natal, 106 graduates from the Medical School boycotted the graduation ceremony in protest against the admission policies of the University. At the University of Transkei, more than 1,000 students boycotted lectures, protesting against the detention of several students, including three members of the Students' Representative Council. Police invaded the campus, classes were suspended, and four faculty members were deported. At the University of the Witwatersrand about 1,500 students boycotted classes to protest against the racially-segregated education system, unqualified teachers, corporal punishment and detentions. Classes were also boycotted by more than 4,000 students at the University of the Western Cape.

197. On 16 June, a series of commemorative services were held to observe the anniversary of the students' uprising in Soweto and other townships. Black activist groups, Church groups and others organized or participated in those services. At some locations, police fired tear-gas at chanting youths; in clashes that followed, 27 persons were arrested and 4 policemen were injured.

198. The Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Students' Organization initiated a joint campaign for the drafting of an education charter as an alternative system to the apartheid system of education.

199. According to official figures, 24 school boycotts and disturbances occurred from January to early April 1984, most of them in the Eastern Cape, affecting 13,107 students. 34/

4. Church opposition

200. Despite the apartheid régime's legislative and other measures to stifle all opposition to apartheid, Church opposition to that criminal system grew.

201. In the campaign against the new "constitution" there were also church services held with a view to mobilizing and educating the population on the subject. Church groups were also among those who organized or participated in commemorative services on 16 June to observe the anniversary of the students' uprising in 1976.

202. Churches expressed support for trade union and workers' rights as well as for black rights concerning the new constitutional dispensation. In December 1983, after the very low percentage of participation in the elections for urban African councils, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, expressed satisfaction that the people had shown their contempt of the régime-created institutions under the new dispensation. In March, a group of 20 prominent theologians from Pretoria sent a memorandum to the Minister of Constitutional Development urging that the régime's policy on urban Africans be completely reassessed. 35/

203. Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr. Allan Boesak (president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches), the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and the Roman Catholic Church were among churches and religious leaders who expressed strong opposition to the new "constitution".

204. Church leaders, inside and outside South Africa, strongly opposed the continued and inhuman forced removals. Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr. Allan Boesak were among those who did so. Early in 1984, a delegation of Church leaders visited the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, the United Nations and the Vatican to raise the international community's awareness of the forced removal of millions of blacks in South Africa and to present a study prepared on that subject by the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

205. In July, in a message to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, His Holiness Pope John Paul II referred to the initiative taken by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the South African Council of Churches with regard to the forced removal of blacks, which is "a consequence of the system of apartheid". He said:

"The Holy See, for its part, expresses its concern at procedures contrary to the dignity of individuals and whole communities. It earnestly hopes that a different policy will be established, in order that a population already so sorely tried and whose right to be treated without discrimination is systematically flouted may be spared further painful and tragic experiences. It likewise desires the revision of such a policy so that other catastrophic consequences can be avoided in the future, for the true good of all who live in the region and for the sake of world peace." 36/

206. Churches also spoke about the futility of the recent agreements between South Africa and some of the neighbouring independent African States. Archbishop Dennis Hurley, chairman of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, expressed the opinion that those agreements would not bring peace to South Africa as long as apartheid existed. 37/

5. Resistance by community organizations

207. Black civic and community organizations mustered greater unity and better organization in their struggle against apartheid. Throughout the country there was a mass campaign of resistance, particularly to the new "constitution".

208. The newly-created United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum Committee were in the forefront of the massive campaign of resistance. The UDF, with a vast number of affiliate organizations drawn from every part of the country and every sector of the population, launched a major campaign in October to mobilize against the régime's so-called "constitutional reforms" and the elections to the new African local councils. The campaign culminated in a "people's weekend" of vigils and meetings to counter the régime's referendum on the "constitution" on 2 November 1983.

209. In Durban the campaign reached its peak in November 1983. Five thousand supporters of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) held a meeting on the issue of the "constitution". They rejected the new "constitution" and the South African Indian Council, a régime-created institution. Demonstrators, including leaders of NIC, were arrested and charged under the Internal Security Act.

210. In December, the overwhelming majority of registered African voters stayed away from the elections under the Black Local Authorities Act for African local councils. The massive stay-away by African voters meant an outright rejection of the Black Local Authorities Act, which is part and parcel of the new constitutional dispensation. The Azanian People's Organization and the UDF had spearheaded the anti-elections campaign in Soweto, where the voter participation was only 10 per cent.

211. The United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee, the two large grass-root organizations, and other groups undertook a campaign to persuade the "Coloureds" and the Indians to boycott the elections to the "Coloured" and the Indian Chambers of Parliament under the new "constitution".

212. In the "Ciskei", people held firm to their boycott of the bus services, despite army and police intervention, brutal attacks by vigilantes and the appalling conditions of the detention camp in the Siza Dukashe football stadium.

213. In the squatter camps of the Western Cape, confrontation with the régime's officials over policies of influx control, demolition of shelters and forced removals was fierce.

F. Military build-up

1. Military expenditures and the armaments industry

214. Despite its public pronouncements about its desire for peace, security, stability and prosperity in the southern African region, in March this year the apartheid régime announced its largest ever increase in military spending. Defence spending went up by 21.4 per cent reaching a record level of £2,086 million, police spending went up by 44 per cent totalling £437 million, and secret service expenditure rose by 25 per cent to a total of £46 million. 38/ Justifying these military expenditures, the Minister for Finance, Mr. Owen Horwood, told Parliament that an immediate drop in military expenditures after recent "peace" moves towards Angola and Mozambique might raise premature hopes, adding that "such a view, of course, hardly accords with the obvious need in a modern world for means of effective national defence". 39/

215. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, spending in the 1975-1976 Angolan Civil War, when South Africa intervened in the war, was \$1,332 billion in support of a standing army of 50,500. The Institute's most recent figures put the army at 82,400. 40/ Western specialists attribute this massive increase to the growing militarization of the apartheid régime, which has compelled some of South Africa's neighbours to reach settlements that once would have been considered unlikely and that undermine the operations of South African liberation movements based in neighbouring countries. 41/ The South Africans themselves are first to acknowledge that their military might has been a determining factor in forcing some of their neighbours into reaching some form of

peace accords. For instance, the Minister for Defence, General Magnus Malan, recently boasted that, by taking "firm action" and developing a strong military potential, the South African Defence Force (SADF) has created a "successful strategy of deterrence". 42/

216. General Malan is a well-known proponent of South Africa's militarization. He not only believes that South Africa's military might is a deterring factor, but also that it is the only and most certain way that South Africa would perpetuate its criminal policy of apartheid. He recently told the Parliament that defence expenditure and the development of still better weapon systems might have to be increased in coming years in order to keep pace with "communist" countries. 43/

217. Among its areas of expansion, the SADF cites a "main fighter base" for the air force currently under construction at Trichardt near the Zimbabwe border, the recently-completed "forward airfield" programmes in the Transvaal and Natal provinces as well as plans to establish a local ship building industry for naval vessels. The SADF is already building strike craft armed with missiles. 44/ General Malan recently disclosed that the Arms Corporation of South Africa was considering the possibility of manufacturing submarines and helicopters. 45/

218. The Army's official organ "Uniform" recently disclosed that South Africa had made a major breakthrough in night combat equipment technology. It said that after four years of intensive research, South Africa finally developed unique mini night vision sight goggles and Eland night driverscopes for operational use. 46/ South Africa's recently developed arsenals include the Kukri air-to-air missile system with its "look-and-shoot" helmet, the V3 missile which with the aid of the helmet enables the pilot to aim at a target merely by looking at it, the HF Frequency Hopping Radio and the UHF/ssB Frequency Hopping Manpack Set, the gogga mini night sight regarded as one of the most compact and effective night sights in the world, a 20 mm. cannon which can fire 700 rounds a minute and is mounted on a Ratel military vehicle as well as a wide range of ammunition, pyrotechnic products, and 80 mm. and 60 mm. mortars. 47/

219. One of the most disturbing and most dangerous aspects of South Africa's military build-up is the growing trend towards a total militarization of apartheid. There is growing concern, even inside South Africa, that the country is heading for a total militarization of its society. This militarization is characterized by increased military emphasis in white schools. Cadet training is compulsory for white boys at all of the régime's schools, and there are plans to introduce similar training for girls. 48/ Recently, General Malan boasted that as at 31 December 1983 there were 169,978 white cadets attached to 653 units throughout South Africa. 49/ Another glaring example towards militarization is the recently passed South African Citizenship Amendment Act which grants automatic citizenship to and imposes compulsory military call-up on all white male aliens between the ages of 15 and 25 who have been permanent residents of South Africa for more than five years. Officially the Act is said to be aimed at quelling dissatisfaction among young South Africans who felt that aliens were able to avoid the two-year military call-up and consequently advance in their careers at the expense of South Africans. 50/ However, there is no doubt that the objectives of this Act, like those of the new constitutional dispensation, are to increase the number of young men that would be eligible for military call-up.

220. The régime's militarization process was best described by Dr. Philip Frankel, an academic from the University of the Witwatersrand, who during a recent interview

on his book titled Pretoria Praetorians, to be published this year, pointed out that the Defence Force was being drawn into a greater decision-making role in the executive, while the military sector as a whole was becoming increasingly enmeshed in the economy and political education of the nation's youth. 51/ He predicted that if the régime's new constitutional dispensation founders, the security forces will accelerate their politicization and the régime itself might resort to an executive military establishment. 52/

2. Acquisition of military equipment and other military collaboration

221. Although the apartheid régime claims success in the development of its armament industry and attributes it to motivation provided by the mandatory arms embargo, a recent study presented to the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa indicates that South Africa's claim of self-sufficiency in the production of arms and ammunitions is a myth. According to the study, as the régime increased its reliance on a wide range of more and more sophisticated equipment, it has simultaneously expanded its dependence on imports of foreign military component equipment and technology. 53/

222. The aforesaid study supports the findings of a report by the National Action Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC), a programme of the American Friends Service Committee, which was published in January this year. 54/ The report reveals that in the period 1981-1983, the United States State Department's Office of Munitions Control authorized 29 separate exports to South Africa of commodities on the Munitions List worth more than \$28.3 million. 55/ The report states that considerable evidence indicates that corporations in other nations have maintained their contacts with South Africa's arms industry and that they continue to provide South Africa with valuable military technology. 56/ For instance, in March this year British customs officials arrested four South Africans for illegal arms procurement for South Africa. The four were later released on bail of R 45,000 each and were expected to stand trial later in the course of the year. 57/ Furthermore, reports circulating in London disclosed that a top British firm escaped prosecution in 1981 for selling military equipment worth R 3 million to South Africa. Quoting internal customs documents, the Observer said that to avoid "bad publicity that would accompany a court case", it was agreed instead that the firm pay a penalty of R 347,000 in an out-of-court settlement.

Mr. Robert Hughes, a Labour Member of Parliament for Aberdeen North and Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, has demanded fresh investigation of the case. 58/

223. There are numerous clandestine arms deals between South Africa and some Western corporations that go unnoticed. Recently, a Danish court in Aalborg sentenced Mr. Sigvard Kristensen, a shipper, to 30 days gaol and a fine of R 2,000 for smuggling arms to South Africa between 1978 and 1979. 59/ Meanwhile, before Mr. Botha's visit to the United Kingdom in June this year, there were widespread reports that, among other things, Mr. Botha was going to appeal to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, to authorize British Aerospace to sell eight BA 748 aircraft worth about £56 million to South Africa to replace the obsolete Schackletons. The BA 748 is equipped with air and sea surveillance equipment, and with its coastguarder monitoring system it is ideally suited to operate in full anti-submarine roles. 60/

224. In recent years, the international community has witnessed a growing determination by the racist régime to secure a position in the international armament market. In March this year, ARMSCOR participated in the international Air Show Fida '84 held in Santiago, Chile, from 2 to 17 March 1984, at which it displayed its Kukri missile and a host of sophisticated electronic equipment. During the show South Africa declared its preparedness to extend technological aid to Chile. Commenting on their performance at the show, a spokesman for ARMSCOR was reported as saying that the exhibition in Santiago had exceeded their expectations and that it had received a "very favourable" response from other countries. 61/ The racist régime is apparently now boasting that the United Nations arms embargo has helped it to grow from virtually no armaments to producing 143 types of ammunitions. 62/ Reportedly, the South Africans are playing a major role in advising the Guatemalan army to resettle Indian inhabitants of the north-western highlands in so-called "model villages". 63/

G. Economic collaboration

1. General

225. South Africa was expecting an export-initiated economic recovery in 1983 for the following reasons: The economic recovery of South Africa's main trading partners, North America and Western Europe, started in mid-1982; the international gold price increased from \$300 per ounce in June 1982 to \$500 in February 1983, an increase of approximately 67 per cent; towards the end of 1982, South Africa's deficit in the current account of the balance of payments turned into a surplus; at the same time, a net inflow of foreign capital started and its net foreign reserves increased.

226. However, as of the second half of February 1983, international gold prices declined to \$400 per ounce, and the drought in South Africa not only substantially altered economic expectations but also adversely affected the balance of payments. Drought, coupled with weaker-than-expected economic recovery by its main trading partners, ended South Africa's expectation of export-led economic recovery in 1983. However, the current account of the balance of payments still recorded a R 275 million surplus for the whole year.

227. In 1983, real gross domestic product (GDP), which had decreased by 1 and a half per cent in the previous year, decreased by 3 per cent, non-agricultural employment by 1 and a half per cent and real gross national product (GNP) by 1 per cent, which had decreased by 3 and a half per cent in the previous year, as a result of improvements in South Africa's terms of trade. Finally, inflation for the whole year was approximately 11 per cent. During the period under review economic collaboration by some Western and other countries continued and increased.

228. From January through March 1984, South Africa's economy slowed down. Real gross domestic product (GDP) seasonally adjusted to 4 per cent per annum from 11 per cent per annum during the last quarter of 1983. During the first quarter, the current account deficit increased to R 2.9 billion at a seasonally adjusted annual rate from the R 1.9 billion deficit of the last quarter of 1983. The deficit resulted from higher imports, higher net service payments to foreigners and a decrease in exports. 64/

229. In February 1984, a delegation of the Port of Antwerp, Belgium, visited South Africa. The delegation was composed of representatives of the Port Authority, the Port of Antwerp Promotion Association, the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Antwerp Freight Forwarders' Association and of the private sector, hoping to stimulate further the commercial and transport relations between South Africa and the European Economic Community (EEC). 65/

230. Mr. Achim Stracke, Chief Executive of the South Africa-German (Federal Republic of Germany) Chamber of Trade and Industries, published an article in The Star, Johannesburg, on 20 February 1982. In it, Mr. Stracke said that German businessmen were "eager and willing to set up links with South Africa" and that they were interested in "longer-term investments".

231. In 1983, a total of 253 foreign businessmen visited South Africa as part of 60 different missions. 66/

232. As in the past, South Africa closely co-operated with Israel on trade as well as in other areas. This subject is covered in detail in the special report of the Special Committee (A/39/22/Add.1).

233. Economic relations between Portugal and South Africa are increasing and the exchange of visits at different levels is one aspect of such collaboration. In February 1984, Dr. Antonia Neto da Silva, Vice-President of the Institute of Foreign Trade of Portugal, visited South Africa and met leading South African officials and businessmen. 67/

234. Thirteen British trade missions were reportedly planning to visit South Africa in 1984, among which the London Chamber of Commerce, first in several years. A trade mission from Leicester and county Chamber of Commerce, representing 18 local companies, visited South Africa in January-February 1984. This visit was to be followed by a mission of the British Engineering Industries Association (BEIA), representing 20 companies. Their purposes were to promote their products and further increase their trade with South Africa. 68/

235. In March 1984, Earl Jellicoe, Chairman of the British Overseas Trade Board, visited South Africa to promote British exports to South Africa. Lord Jellicoe met with leading officials of the South African régime and South African businessmen. 69/

236. According to the British media, South African companies, with the aid of business circles in the United Kingdom, established a network of companies in the United Kingdom which would be used to "prop up the South African régime" in the event of world-wide sanctions. Some freight forwarding, procurement and travel companies have been linked together in order to buy, transport and deliver goods to South Africa. These companies have also established others in the Bahamas, the Netherlands and Panama.

237. The network was developed over the past five years. It is controlled by industrial groups in South Africa and the régime's para-statal companies and by those who held "key positions" with Freight Services of South Africa, a company responsible for shipping most of the oil for 12 years to the white minority régime in the then-Rhodesia. The network, in case of sanctions, would ship to South Africa high technology goods, engines, communications and computers from the Western European and North American countries. 70/

238. The Danish Parliament passed a motion in May 1984 calling on the Government to require from all import companies annual statements on coal imports from South Africa and to inform the "oil companies and shipowners that it [was] against Danish policy to transport oil to South Africa". 71/

2. Trade

239. In 1983, South African exports, including gold sales, totalled R 20,262 million and imports, including oil and military equipment, totalled R 15,968 million, giving a surplus of R 4,294 million. In 1982, the surplus amounted to only R 765 million and the deficit on the current account to R 2,210 million. However, in 1983, the surplus on the balance-of-payments current account totalled only R 275 million, particularly as a result of the 1983 drought. For the whole year the value of its merchandise exports increased by less than 2 per cent and volume declined by approximately 9 per cent. Merchandise imports declined by 11.5 per cent in value and 18 per cent in volume. 72/

240. South Africa's economic relations with its main trading partners continued to develop and strengthen in 1983. South Africa has been vigorously pursuing trade opportunities with many other countries on all continents, especially with Hong Kong, Japan, the Republic of Korea and the local authorities in Taiwan. However, in 1983 its imports from Western Europe totalled R 6,700 million, 42 per cent of its aggregate imports, and R 2,395 million from the United States, approximately 15 per cent. Its exports to Western Europe totalled R 5,673 million, approximately 42 per cent, and to the United States R 1,621 million, approximately 8 per cent. 73/

241. During the first five months of 1984, South Africa's exports totalled R 9,383 million as compared to R 8,704 million during the same period in 1983. Imports totalled R 8,530 million as compared to R 5,960 million in 1983. Exports to Western Europe totalled R 2,520 million and to the United States of America R 911 million, 27 and 10 per cent respectively of the total imports. 74/

242. South Africa exported 24 million tons of steam coal in 1983, approximately 28 per cent of the international steam coal trade which totalled 86 million tons in the same year. In 1984, South Africa expects to export 30 million tons, approximately 30 per cent of the international coal trade which was expected to total 100 million tons. 75/

South Africa's main trading partners, 1982-1983*

(In millions of dollars)

Country	Imports by South Africa		Exports by South Africa		Total trade						
	1982 total	1983 total	1982 total	1983 total	1982 total	1983 total					
United States of America	2 380	2 133	2 22	2 135	2 158	2 25	4 515	21	4 291	18	
Japan	1 664	1 745	18	1 886	19	1 629	19	3 550	17	3 374	18
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	2 107	1 696	17	1 411	14	1 299	15	3 158	17	2 995	16
Germany, Federal Republic of	2 549	1 960	20	1 154	12	949	11	3 703	18	2 909	16
Italy	549	485	5	1 610	16	1 315	15	2 159	10	1 800	10
France	631	509	5	739	8	587	7	1 370	7	1 096	6
Belgium-Luxembourg	231	224	2	389	4	315	4	620	3	539	3
Netherlands	233	236	2	158	2	113	1	391	2	349	2
Switzerland	265	235	2	76	1	93	1	341	2	328	2
Canada	194	143	1	167	2	150	2	361	2	293	2
Sweden	162	141	1	58	1	53	1	220	1	194	1
Others	293	232	2	202	1	72	1	495	2	304	2
Total	11 318	9 739	9 985	8 733	21 347	18 472					

* Source: United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics, Series D. The figures do not include gold, arms and oil, and they cover the Southern African Customs Union.

3. Gold and other minerals

243. In 1983, South Africa's gold production totalled 679,527 kg., increase of 15,309 kg. from 1982, and 62 per cent of the world production.

244. In 1983, South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves totalled R 4,165 million, gold valued at R 417.9 an ounce. Gold stock totalled 7.79 million ounces. In 1982, total reserves were R 3,827 million, gold was then valued at R 437.32 an ounce, and gold stock totalled 7.6 million ounces. 76/

245. Although South Africa markets its gold through financial institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States, approximately 40 to 50 per cent of its gold continues to be marketed through Zurich, Switzerland, and 20 per cent through London, United Kingdom. In other words, 60 to 70 per cent of South Africa's gold is marketed through London and Zurich. 77/

4. Agriculture

246. South Africa went through a severe drought in 1983 which resulted in a loss of R 2,000 million in the agriculture sector. The agricultural output showed the highest decline for the past 15 years.

247. As a result of the drought in 1983, maize production was down from targeted 10 million tons to 6 million tons, a loss of R 1,020 million. Had it not been for the drought, maize exports in 1983 were expected to have earned R 600 million in foreign exchange. For example, South Africa could only export to the local authorities in Taiwan 110,000 tons of maize instead of the agreed 600,000 tons. South Africa was expected to import 4 million tons of maize in 1984 as a result of the 1983 drought, costing approximately R 800 million in foreign exchange. 78/

248. Sugar cane production was also down by 6.5 million tons, creating a loss of R 140 million. About 400,000 head of cattle, worth R 160 million, were lost and farmers spent an additional R 250 million on feed for slaughter cattle. Finally, other agricultural losses totalled approximately R 300 million. 79/

5. South Africa's foreign liabilities and assets

(a) General

249. As of the end of 1983, the direct foreign liabilities of South African banks totalled R 2.3 billion. However, according to some calculations, South African banks borrowed approximately R 10 billion in direct borrowings from the Euromarkets. Furthermore, with R 9.4 billion of contingent liabilities, total foreign liabilities of South African banks stood at R 19.4 billion as of the end of 1983. According to the calculations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as of January 1984, the total liabilities of South African banks equalled \$11 billion, approximately R 14 billion, showing a 40 per cent increase over 1981. IMF also calculated that during the same period South Africa's assets in foreign banks overseas totalled \$2.1 billion or R 2.7 billion. 80/

(b) Loans

250. The following factors have made Western financial markets attractive places to raise short-, medium- and long-term loans for South African companies and para-statal: the reluctance of most Western Governments to discourage South Africa's access to their markets; high interest rates in South Africa; and traditional willingness of North American and Western-European-based banks to continue doing "business-as-usual" with South Africa. In particular, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States of America-based banks have been most willing and active in aiding South African business interests in South Africa and outside.

251. As of mid-1983, South Africa's aggregate borrowing from the international financial markets for medium- and long-term financial needs totalled \$14.9 billion, 26 per cent borrowed from the United States-based sources. In 1982 alone, South Africa borrowed \$1.4 billion. During the first four months of 1984 South Africa raised approximately \$490 million in international financial markets. 81/

252. In January 1984, the South African régime signed a Sfr 70 million loan with the Union Bank of Switzerland. The following Swiss banks also participated in the loan as co-managers: Volksbank of Switzerland, Deutsche Bank (Swiss) SA, Handelsbank NW and Banca Della Svizzera Italiana. In the same month, South Africa floated a 40 million European Currency Unit (ECU) issue in the Eurobond market. 82/

253. This was followed by a \$75 million bond issue in March 1984, again raised in the Eurobond market. The issue was managed by the following European banks: Dresdner Bank of the Federal Republic of Germany, Soditic of Switzerland and Parisbas of France. 83/

254. Furthermore, in March 1984 Soditic of Switzerland also helped the so-called "Independent bantustan" of Transkei raise a loan in Switzerland. The loan amount was R 5.3 million and did not carry the guarantee of the régime. However, Soditic's action was but another example of the "business-as-usual" attitude of Western financial circles. 84/

255. It was disclosed by the banking sources in the Federal Republic of Germany that the Para-statal Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) of South Africa was also planning to float a DM 150 million issue in the Eurobond market. 85/

256. The Department of Posts and Telecommunications of South Africa was in the process of raising a DM 150 million bond issue in May-June 1984 in the Federal Republic of Germany capital markets. The issue was managed by the Berliner Handels und Frankfurter Bank of the Federal Republic of Germany. This bank regularly organizes borrowings for South African firms through its office in Johannesburg. 86/ In the same period the Department was also raising a syndicated credit totalling \$50 million in the Euromarkets. The lead manager for this syndication was reportedly the United Kingdom-based merchant bank Guinness Mahon. 87/

257. The United Kingdom-based Standard Bank of South Africa was also raising a £50 million issue in the Euromarkets. Recently, Standard Bank raised an undisclosed amount in the international financial markets for the régime and its para-statals as well as for the South African private sector. The lead managers were United Kingdom-based parent Standard Chartered Merchant Bank and similarly-

based J. Henry Schroder Wagg. The other managers were the following: Banque Paribas, United States-based Citicorp International Bank, United States-based Continental Illinois, United Kingdom-based Hambros Bank, France-based Sarasin International Securities, France-based Société General, the Union Bank of Switzerland, Federal Republic of Germany-based Westdeutsche Landesbank and Spain-based Banco de Bilbao. 88/

258. In June, the South African régime raised a £40 million issue in the Eurosterling market. It was managed by the following: Hambros Bank, W. M. Rothschild and Sons, the United Kingdom-based Hill Samuel Bank, the France-based Indosuez, Banque Paribas, Crédit Commercial de France, Crédit Suisse, the United States-based First Boston, Swiss Bank Corporation and the United Kingdom-based Trust Bank. 89/

259. In the same month the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) of South Africa raised DM 50 million in the Federal Republic of Germany capital markets. It was managed by Dresdner Bank, Commerce Bank and Bayerische Landesbank. 90/

(c) Foreign investments

260. During the period under review, Western European and North American-based transnational companies and South African companies licensed to assemble and sell overseas products have increased their activities to capture a larger share of the South African market.

261. Patents, blueprints, new technology, management skills and personnel training have continued to be provided to South African firms by their parent companies overseas. Return on investment (ROI) in South Africa was approximately 15 per cent, putting South Africa among the preferred countries for investment. ROI in the United States and the United Kingdom was 10 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively.

262. It may be noted as an example that in January, Toyota South Africa announced plans to capture 25 per cent of the South African vehicle sales in the current year. In 1983, it held approximately 20 per cent of the vehicle sales in South Africa. 91/

263. Furthermore, according to the South African media, an unnamed West European group signed an agreement with Ciskei, a so-called "independent" bantustan in South Africa, to establish a multimillion rand worsted spring mill. 92/

264. In February 1984, the Federal Republic of Germany-based Bayerische Motorwerke (BMW) of South Africa announced plans to develop products in South Africa which would be exported from South Africa and used, for example, in the production of BMW vehicles in the Federal Republic of Germany and elsewhere. 93/

265. While the anti-apartheid movements in the United States have been successfully promoting various disinvestment actions in universities, states and municipalities, in February 1984 the board of directors of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. voted in favour of maintaining commercial ties with South Africa.

266. The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa (AMCHAM) mailed a booklet to United States congressmen and state governments urging them to resist legislative proposals for tighter curbs on United States business interests in South Africa. 94/

267. Approximately 350 to 450 companies from the United States of America have over the years invested \$2.5 billion in South Africa. 95/

H. Tourism

268. Safmarine's new luxury liner MV Astor started its maiden voyage from Southampton, United Kingdom, to South Africa on 4 April 1984. It was refilled in Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany, at a cost of R 55 million. MV Astor was scheduled for seven return trips from Cape Town to Southampton, United Kingdom, four cruises from Durban to Seychelles and one from Cape Town to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 96/

269. Safmarine has used link-ups with British Airways (BA) and South African Tourism Services (SATS) and advertised tours to South Africa from various European and North American countries to promote South African tourism, hoping to draw 30 per cent of MV Astor's passengers from these countries.

270. In January 1984, the Association of Spanish Travel Writers and the South African Tourism Board organized a symposium in Madrid. Travel writers and agents as well as the apartheid régime's official participated. The symposium was devoted to the encouragement of tourism and publicity between the two countries. 97/

I. Sports collaboration

271. During the period under review, the South African régime and its main overseas supporters continued with their heavy lobbying efforts to persuade the international community that racial discrimination in sport no longer existed in South Africa. However, to date, no international sports body which excluded or suspended South Africa from membership has reversed its decision despite the racist régime's heavily-financed propaganda efforts.

272. Recently, the International Golfers' Association informed the South African Professional Golfers Association that it would not allow South African participation in the 1984 World Cup Tournament to be held in Italy late this year. Apparently, the Italian Golf Federation informed the International Golfers' Association that Italian national policy prohibited South African national teams from participating in sports events in Italy. South Africa was also banned from participating in the World Cup Tournaments in the United States and in Mexico in 1983 and 1982, respectively.

273. Overseas-based transnational corporations in South Africa and South African companies, along with the racist régime, have been contributing significant amounts of money to sponsor international sporting events in South Africa. For example, the Southern Suns Hotel Group and the South African Breweries (SAB) have contributed millions of dollars as prize money to tennis and golf tournaments and to motor racing. They have also contributed large amounts to bolster the régime-supported South African Cricket Union.

274. Certain international sports bodies such as the World Boxing Association (WBA) have continued their active support of apartheid boxing. In November 1983, for example, Mr. Jose Sulaiman, President of the World Boxing Council (WBC), protested

against Stan Christodoulou's selection as a referee for the fight between Marvin Hagler and Roberto Duran in Las Vegas, Nevada, United States. Mr. Christodoulou, a South African member, was selected in spite of WBC's objections. The WBC does not recognize South Africa and does not collaborate with South Africa's sports organizations and persons. 98/

275. The régime-backed South African Cricket Union in 1983 lured a private group of West Indian cricketers to tour South Africa for three months despite strong opposition from the Governments concerned. The tour started in November 1983.

276. Most Governments, with the notable exception of the United Kingdom and the United States, continued denying visas to South African sports personalities and banned their sportsmen and sportswomen from participating in any international sports if they represented South Africa. The Scandinavian countries apply almost a total ban against amateur and professional South African sportsmen and sportswomen.

277. In November-December 1983, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) held its Congress at Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. It, inter alia, reiterated its total support for the Commonwealth Games Federation's Code of Conduct, discouraging all contacts with South Africa, and stated that SCSA members would continue lobbying in international forums for the exclusion of countries violating the Code from international sporting events.

278. In January 1984, the Australian Government refused visas to Dr. Danie Craven, President of the South African Rugby Board (SARB) and to two of his colleagues. The Australian Government said that the granting of visas to official South African sports administrators would have been contrary to its policy on sporting contacts with South Africa.

279. In the past few months, there have been two significant developments in the United Kingdom in support of apartheid sports. In March, the United Kingdom authorities said that an application for British citizenship from Miss Zola Budd, a record-breaking South African runner, would be considered "with sympathy", inferring that citizenship would be granted. Miss Budd was granted citizenship in May 1984 and consequently became a member of the British Olympic team for the 1984 Olympic Games. In the same month, the English Rugby Football Union (RFU) decided to send a team to South Africa in May 1984. The Union took this decision on 30 March despite protests from the anti-apartheid movements, political parties, churchmen and women and trade unions. 99/ In its explanatory statement, the RFU said that the decision was taken by an overwhelming majority of the members after "conscientious and careful consideration of all the facts and that the decision was consistent with the Union's policy that [the RFU was] willing to play rugby football against anyone regardless of race, colour and creed". 100/

280. The British Government announced that, although it was opposed to the tour, it would take no action to prevent the RFU team from going to South Africa. The RFU team started its tour in May.

J. Cultural collaboration

281. Since the publication in October 1983 of the first register of the Special Committee on entertainers, actors and others who have performed in apartheid South Africa, there has been a decline in the number of prominent entertainers who have

performed in South Africa. Of the few that have toured South Africa in recent months, the majority are from the United Kingdom and the United States. Most of those who visited South Africa are of little importance or not even known in their home countries. The growing overseas campaign against performers who toured South Africa has been very effective in deterring would-be performers from touring South Africa.

282. Disappointed with the impact of the international cultural boycott against it, the racist régime recently opened a cultural centre at South Africa House in London. The purpose of the centre is reportedly to promote South African culture, to raise interest in it and in so doing increase British public understanding of South Africa.

283. In April this year, despite protest from the United Nations, non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid movements and individuals, the American Museum of Natural History in New York refused to stop the exhibition of South African items at the forum on "Searching for Our Ancestors". According to The Citizen of 2 June 1984, the Museum's decision to go ahead with the display of South African fossils incensed New York City Councillors, who have since threatened to cut the city's R 8.75 million grant to the museum if the latter continued to allow South Africa to participate in the exhibition.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Introduction

284. The past year has been an extremely critical period in the long history of the struggle for freedom in southern Africa.

285. The Pretoria régime - continuing its criminal policy of bantustans and forced removals of millions of Africans from their homes, with a view to depriving them of all rights in their ancestral homeland - imposed a new racist constitution, excluding the indigenous African majority, consisting of over 70 per cent of the population, from any political rights. Under this constitution, it provided for the creation of racially segregated chambers for the so-called coloured people and people of Indian origin, in the hope of dividing the black people and enticing the two communities to co-operate in perpetuating the system of white domination.

286. Most regrettably, this nefarious plan was welcomed by spokesmen of the United States of America as a "step in the right direction". The United States and the United Kingdom were conspicuous by their abstention on resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council denouncing the racist constitution.

287. Meanwhile, after a series of acts of aggression, massive destabilization, terrorism and economic blackmail against neighbouring independent African States, the Pretoria régime has proceeded, with the support and encouragement of certain Western States, to pressure those States to enter into security agreements with it. It has sought open recognition of the status of a regional power with a view to acquiring hegemony over southern Africa as a whole in return for serving the interests of major Western Powers.

288. This offensive of the racist régime, arrogant with its military might and encouraged by the so-called policy of "constructive engagement" of the United States of America, was accompanied by extensive propaganda that its blackmail against neighbouring States in order to pressure them to sign agreements reflected a desire to seek peaceful solutions.

289. Moreover, several West European Governments found it opportune to receive the Prime Minister of the racist-terrorist régime, P. W. Botha, in May-June 1984, formally or privately, thereby assisting the efforts of that régime to break out of its isolation.

290. At the same time, however, the resistance inside South Africa reached new heights, encompassing all segments of the oppressed people. The moves of the racist régime to impose the racist constitution and other measures designed to divide the black people led instead to greater unity of the oppressed people.

291. The accords signed by the Pretoria régime with Mozambique and Swaziland failed to retard the armed struggle by the African National Congress, as expected by the Pretoria régime; in fact, it continued and advanced further.

292. The Special Committee felt it essential to give utmost attention to efforts to inform Governments and world public opinion of the very serious implications of the offensive of the Pretoria régime against the people of South Africa and Namibia, and the front-line States, in collusion with the powerful external interests.

293. It issued a statement on 16 March 1984, the day when the Nkomati Accord was signed by the Pretoria régime and the Government of Mozambique, calling for utmost vigilance and reaffirming that there can be no stable peace and security in the region unless apartheid is totally eliminated and the people of South Africa as a whole are enabled to establish a non-racial democratic State. It warned against any relaxation of international action against apartheid and called for redoubled efforts in support of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

294. The Committee also dealt with subsequent developments in several conferences organized or co-sponsored by the Special Committee, in missions of the Chairman and members of the Special Committee, and in its other activities.

295. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that the propaganda about the peaceful intentions of the Pretoria régime or its willingness to make positive changes inside the country is entirely contrary to reality. That régime has become more arrogant and aggressive, and is intent on greater crimes against the black majority and all opponents of apartheid in defiance of the United Nations and the international community.

296. The situation calls for more decisive action against the Pretoria régime, for concerted efforts to dissuade its allies and friends from any collaboration with that régime, and for maximum assistance to the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia and to front-line States. International action must not only match the greater danger posed by the action of the apartheid régime, as well as the courage and heroism of the oppressed people, but must be directed at the total eradication of apartheid with no further delay.

B. Grave threats to the independence of African States

297. The Special Committee considers it essential to emphasize that the Pretoria régime, with its further military expansion and its confidence in the protection of some Western Powers, constitutes a greater menace than ever to international peace and security. Its intention in signing an accord with Mozambique, after an unpublicized agreement with Swaziland, and reaching an understanding on disengagement with Angola, is essentially to make the world ignore its crimes against peace and humanity, to undermine the independence of African States and to deprive the national liberation movements, which have been carrying on a legitimate struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia, of fraternal support. That is equally its intention in exerting pressures against Lesotho and other neighbouring States to sign security agreements.

298. Far from seeking peace in the region it is attempting to establish its hegemony in southern Africa by threats and blackmail, destruction of the infrastructure of newly independent nations, and use of subversive and terrorist elements on a large scale.

299. It must be recalled that the Pretoria régime invaded the nascent People's Republic of Angola in 1975. Though forced to withdraw its troops from Angola in March 1976 because of the resistance of the Angolan people, assisted by the Republic of Cuba as well as a number of African and socialist States, it continued violations of Angolan territory and support of subversion against Angola.

300. Encouraged by the attitudes of some Western Powers, especially the United States under the Reagan Administration, it again launched invasions of Angola in 1981 and 1983, and has continued to occupy Angolan territory. The material losses incurred by Angola have been conservatively estimated at over \$10 billion.

301. Especially since the beginning of 1981, it launched acts of aggression and destabilization against Mozambique. Its crimes have included the armed raid and massacre of ANC refugees and Mozambique nationals in Matola at the end of January 1981, the raid on Maputo on 23 May 1983, the planting of bombs in an apartment in central Maputo in October 1983, and support to subversive elements engaged in sabotage, kidnapping and murder.

302. It has committed similar crimes against Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Botswana, including the gruesome massacre of ANC refugees and Lesotho nationals in Maseru on 9 December 1982.

303. The Security Council, the highest organ of the United Nations, has condemned these crimes of the Pretoria régime and demanded that it pay reparations to Angola and Lesotho. In defiance of the Security Council, the Pretoria régime proceeded to exert inordinate pressure on the victims of aggression at a time when they were confronted with national calamities and serious economic difficulties.

304. Its agreements are directed against the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movements, recognized by the United Nations and the international community, by equating them with subversive movements instigated and supported by the racist régime to undermine the hard-won freedom of independent African States. They are intended to provide legitimacy to the illegitimate régime in Pretoria and facilitate its design to establish a southern African "constellation of States" under its hegemony.

305. Despite the agreements, the Pretoria régime continues to occupy Angolan territory and to persist in its subversion against neighbouring States. It increased its military budget by 21.4 per cent for 1984-1985, and is expanding its military bases near the borders with neighbouring States. It staged its biggest military manoeuvres in September 1984.

306. Its blatant threats and hostile acts against Lesotho forcing it to sign an accord, as well as its continuing acts of aggression and blackmail against the neighbouring States, show clearly that the Pretoria régime has become more aggressive than ever because of its confidence in protection by Western Powers against international action.

C. Crimes against the black people of South Africa

307. The Special Committee also wishes to emphasize that the policies and actions of the Pretoria régime inside South Africa are intended to dispossess, uproot and denationalize the indigenous African majority, and constitute a crime with few parallels in human history.

308. During the past year, the Pretoria régime has continued forced removals of indigenous African people from their land and homes, meeting all resistance with force and violence. It has proceeded with its bantustan policy and intends to

proclaim the so-called "independence" of another bantustan, Kwandebele, in the near future.

309. Above all, it has enacted a new racist constitution to deprive the indigenous African majority of all rights.

310. At the same time, it has continued to announce some sham "reforms" or "changes" in apartheid with a view to diverting world attention and dividing the black people. They are part of a diabolic plot by the racists against the great majority of the people of the country.

311. The Pretoria régime is based on racism and fascist ideology. Its constant preoccupation is to entrench and perpetuate white domination. As the Special Committee has affirmed, apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be totally eliminated.

D. Advance of resistance against apartheid

312. The past year has also witnessed a significant advance in the mobilization of the South African people in the struggle against all aspects of apartheid and for national liberation.

313. Special mention must be made of the courageous resistance by the black people against the new constitution, and the overwhelming boycott by the so-called coloured people and the people of Indian origin of "elections" to racist chambers of Parliament.

314. They have thereby reaffirmed and reinforced the historic unity of all black people, together with truly democratic whites, in the struggle for a non-racial democratic society. By rejecting privileges and enticements offered by the racist régime and defying all intimidation by the régime, the so-called coloured people and people of Indian origin have, in close co-operation with the indigenous African people, written a glorious page in the history of the struggle for human freedom. By demonstrating again their loyalty to the common struggle of the oppressed people for liberation and standing firm on the principles cherished by them in their long struggle against racism and oppression, they have rebuffed the cynical elements abroad who welcomed the new constitution.

315. The oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement deserve tribute for this great demonstration of unity and courage in defence of non-racialism and in total opposition to apartheid.

316. The resistance against apartheid included major strikes by black workers, particularly in the mining, metal and automobile industries; school boycott by hundreds of thousands of black students; and mass actions by community organizations against racist community councils and increases in rent and electricity charges.

317. The racist régime, driven to desperation, resorted to violent repression. Many public leaders belonging to the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization were also subjected to detention, intimidation and repression. Scores of defenceless demonstrators at Sharpeville and in other townships, as well as striking mine workers, were killed and hundreds wounded.

318. The Pretoria régime also used the bantustan authorities as instruments for inhuman repression. In the Ciskei, a so-called "independent" State, more than 90 persons were killed, hundreds wounded and thousands detained during a bus boycott. Venda, another so-called "independent" State, has become equally notorious for bestial torture of patriots.

E. Crisis of the apartheid régime

319. The military expansion, aggressiveness and arrogance of the Pretoria régime, and its recent successes in blackmailing neighbouring States have been accompanied by propaganda that it is so powerful that the independent African States and the oppressed people should accommodate themselves to apartheid.

320. The Special Committee totally rejects this cynical view of those forces which have constantly buttressed apartheid, overtly or covertly, bailed out the Pretoria régime through its many crises, and built it into a vicious monster.

321. It is inconceivable that the black people of South Africa, with their long and glorious tradition of struggle for freedom, will ever reconcile themselves to perpetual racist oppression and humiliation.

322. It is equally inconceivable that the resurgent continent of Africa will ever compromise with the plot of the racist régime in Pretoria and its friends to turn South Africa into a non-African territory to serve as a bastion for racism and blackmail.

323. Indeed, it is inconceivable that the international community can accept any compromise with apartheid. It cannot but stand firm on its declared objective of a non-racial society in South Africa - a society in which all the people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will equally enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms.

324. The Special Committee points out, moreover, that the propaganda is designed to conceal the profound crisis facing the Pretoria régime and divert attention from the collusion of certain Western Powers with it.

325. The Pretoria régime has failed to subdue the resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa, or that of the Namibian people, despite its phenomenal military expansion and indiscriminate killings.

326. It is, moreover, confronted with growing political problems in the country, including fissures within the white community, because of the irresistible advance of popular resistance against apartheid.

327. It is faced with a severe economic crisis caused by the resistance of the oppressed people, the régime's militarization and aggression, and the wasteful expenditures of its own apartheid policies.

328. It is able to defy the United Nations, act as an outlaw and give the appearance of strength only because of the collusion and support of the United States of America, certain other Western Powers and Israel, as well as a number of transnational corporations and financial institutions.

F. Role of the United States of America and other Powers

329. The Special Committee, therefore, cannot but express its utmost regret at the policies and actions of the Governments which have found common interests with the Pretoria régime and provided it comfort and encouragement in the pursuit of its crimes against Africa and against humanity. It must make special mention of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of certain other Western Powers, notably the United Kingdom, as well as the régime of Israel.

330. The United States Government, in particular, has opposed and frustrated all international action to deal effectively with the acts of aggression by the Pretoria régime. It has welcomed and encouraged the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to entrench racism as positive changes.

331. It has not only found a community of interests with the Pretoria régime, but has begun to use that despicable régime as an instrument to secure its own supposed interests, as exemplified by the stubborn espousal of the so-called linkage which has frustrated the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

332. It has, moreover, shown hostility in many ways towards the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

333. While professing abhorrence of apartheid, it resists any action against the apartheid régime. While professing attachment to democracy, it attacks the main instruments of democratic transformation, the national liberation movements of the great majority of the people. It extols elements of the oppressive régime as forces for peaceful change and condones blackmail by the Pretoria régime against independent States as a peace process.

334. The policies and actions of the United States Government have encouraged the Pretoria régime to resort with impunity to greater aggression and oppression - especially since January 1981 when it felt emboldened to frustrate the pre-implementation talks on Namibia and launch a murderous raid on Matola.

335. The Special Committee must also express serious regret at the attitude of the Government of the United Kingdom which, while dissociating itself from some aspects of United States policy, continued to collaborate with the Pretoria régime.

336. It also deplores that attitudes of several other Western Powers - especially those which have received the racist Prime Minister P. W. Botha in May-June 1984 - for their insensitivity to the ardent appeals of the oppressed people of South Africa.

337. The Special Committee again condemns the blatant collaboration by the Government of Israel with South Africa, as indicated in its special report. 101/

338. It draws urgent attention to the growing collaboration between the Pretoria régime and the local authorities in Taiwan, as well as the growing links between that régime and the Government of Chile.

339. The Special Committee hopes that Governments and peoples of the world, committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, will exert all their influence to persuade the

Government of the United States of America, and others concerned, to desist from their present policies and co-operate in international action for the elimination of apartheid.

G. "Strategic interests" as an excuse for collaboration with South Africa

340. The Special Committee has always emphasized that apartheid is a matter of universal concern and that all Governments and organizations and individuals, irrespective of ideological and other differences, should co-operate in concerted international action for its total elimination.

341. It promoted and welcomed unanimous declarations by the United Nations, especially by the General Assembly and the Security Council, condemning apartheid as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people for freedom and human dignity, laying down the objective of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa, and recognizing the vital interest of the United Nations in the elimination of apartheid.

342. It paid particular attention to Western States which continued and increased their collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa in various fields. While pointing out constantly that such collaboration reinforced apartheid and racism, and undermined the authority of the United Nations, it has promoted, in co-operation with anti-apartheid movements and numerous other organizations, efforts to persuade public opinion and the Governments concerned to end such collaboration.

343. It has been distressed at the persistence of certain major Western Powers in increasing collaboration with the Pretoria régime and their stubborn resistance against the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations as the only effective peaceful means available to the international community for the elimination of apartheid.

344. The Special Committee was obliged to express particular distress at the attitude of the present United States Administration, which views South Africa as an ally and espouses "constructive engagement" with that régime as desirable in the pursuit of its own strategic interests in the context of its global policy. During the past year, it has intensified efforts to secure arrangements to conform with its supposed interests, as well as the desires of the Pretoria régime, thereby further undermining the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as well as the United Nations resolutions for the elimination of apartheid.

345. The Special Committee must make it clear that no such supposed interests would justify an alliance with the despicable régime in South Africa engaged in crimes against the people of South Africa and Namibia and, indeed, in the whole of southern Africa. Apartheid has been denounced by the United Nations as a crime against humanity.

346. It also wishes to point out that Africa, in the process of its emancipation, has chosen non-alignment and denuclearization as the continental policy. The destiny of South Africa and Namibia is to be non-aligned and to contribute to peace

and international co-operation. Efforts to prop up and perpetuate the racist régime as an ally and as an aggressive and nuclear power are inimical to Africa and to international peace.

347. The United Nations has recognized for decades that apartheid inevitably leads to conflict and, indeed, constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The racist régime in Pretoria has proved to be an incorrigible aggressor.

348. The national liberation movement of South Africa has, on the other hand, inspired the world by its struggle for freedom and its contribution to peace. If it was obliged to give up its strict adherence to non-violence and resort to armed action that was because of the savagery of the racist régime, and the inability of the international community to take effective peaceful measures, namely, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, because of opposition and vetoes by a few Western Powers. In the face of massacres by the régime of innocent people, including unarmed women and children, prohibition of peaceful resistance against apartheid, and the resultant indignation of the oppressed people, the national liberation movement felt that it had to exercise its right to resistance by all means, including armed struggle.

349. The United Nations, which has closely followed the developments in South Africa since its inception, could not but show full understanding and support of the position of the national liberation movement of South Africa. Indeed, the destruction of the racist régime has become essential for the maintenance of peace in southern Africa.

350. The Special Committee, therefore, emphasizes that the propaganda about the so-called peaceful intentions of the Pretoria régime must be condemned, and any claims by any Power that its so-called strategic interests require an alliance or understanding with the Pretoria régime must be rejected.

351. The international community must assist the South African people to attain majority rule in a non-racial society so that South Africa can cease to be a source of conflict and contribute to peace in the region.

H. Progress in international action against apartheid

352. While expressing grave concern and dismay at the actions of those Powers which continue collaboration with the Pretoria régime, the Special Committee wishes to draw attention to further progress in international action against apartheid and in public campaigns against apartheid.

353. The Special Committee commends the African, non-aligned and Socialist States for their continued firm position in the struggle against apartheid and for the actions undertaken in support of the liberation movements in southern Africa. It further commends the important role played by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other intergovernmental organizations in the struggle against apartheid. It also expresses appreciation to other States which have taken significant actions in this respect and co-operated with the Special Committee.

354. It wishes to make special mention of the decision of the new Government of New Zealand, which came to power in July, to close the South African Consulate-General in the country and to take firm position in favour of boycott of apartheid sport. 102/
355. It commends the Government of the newly-independent State of Brunei Darussalam for deciding to impose an embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa.
356. The Special Committee notes with great satisfaction that, especially in countries where the national governments have continued to collaborate with the racist régime of South Africa, public opposition to apartheid has been reflected in action by state and local authorities.
357. In the United States of America, legislation for divestment from South Africa has been enacted or introduced in about 25 States. A number of cities - including New York, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia - have taken such action.
358. In the United Kingdom, over a hundred local authorities have taken action against apartheid. The Special Committee was represented at the ceremony on 9 January 1984 at which the Greater London Council launched its declaration against apartheid and declared itself an anti-apartheid zone. The Chairman of the Special Committee visited Sheffield and Leeds to commend the local authorities for actions they have taken. The Committee is encouraging further co-ordinated action by the local authorities in the the United Kingdom, as well as similar action in other countries.
359. The Special Committee highly commends the state and local legislators, Governors and Mayors for the actions they have taken, and anti-apartheid movements for their efforts in promoting such actions.
360. The Special Committee has always welcomed and encouraged the mobilization of world public opinion against apartheid, and relevant actions by trade unions, religious bodies, and organizations of students, youth, women and other segments of the population. It notes with great satisfaction the progress in such mobilization during the past year.
361. It highly commends the massive demonstrations against the visit of the Prime Minister of the Pretoria régime, P. W. Botha, to Europe in May-June 1984.
362. It also commends the international trade union movement for taking new steps in genuine solidarity with the black workers of South Africa and the independent trade unions in that country.
363. The Special Committee has encouraged action against apartheid by organizations and leaders of all the religions of the world, and was gratified by the response. It takes note of the disappointment expressed by black clergymen inside South Africa, including Roman Catholics, at the granting of an audience by His Holiness Pope John Paul II to the racist Prime Minister of South Africa. However, it welcomes the special message given by His Holiness to the Chairman of the Special Committee. It trusts that this will be followed by more active participation of the Catholic Church in the international campaign against apartheid.

364. It was greatly encouraged by the increasing participation of the artists of the world in the campaign against apartheid. Many of the greatest contemporary artists contributed original works to the Art contre/against Apartheid exhibit, supported by the Special Committee. The exhibit has attracted wide public attention at its inauguration in Paris and during its tour to other countries.

365. The "Artists and Athletes against Apartheid", a United States organization assisted by the Special Committee, has received the support of many of the greatest entertainers and athletes in the United States of America.

366. The Special Committee is encouraging similar activities by artists and intellectuals in other countries.

I. Work of the Special Committee

367. In the discharge of its mandate from the General Assembly, and in the light of the grave developments in southern Africa, the Special Committee has further intensified its activities in the past year. It has attempted to make world public opinion aware of the situation in southern Africa and counter the propaganda of the apartheid régime. It has promoted greater action both by Governments and the public in support of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

368. Towards this end, the Special Committee organized or co-sponsored several conferences:

(a) Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, Caracas, 16-18 September 1983;

(b) Inter-faith Colloquium on Apartheid, London, 5-8 March 1984;

(c) North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, United Nations Headquarters, 18-21 June 1984;

(d) Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, Tunis, 7-9 August 1984;

(e) Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Apartheid Régime, Lagos, 13-16 August 1984.

369. These conferences brought together representatives of Governments and non-governmental organizations for the consideration of further action against apartheid. The declarations adopted by them, by consensus, provide a basis for the advance of the international campaign against apartheid in the light of the current situation.

370. The Chairman and members of the Special Committee undertook several missions to Governments and organizations, and attended a number of conferences, to promote support for United Nations action against apartheid. The Chairman, in particular, visited the capitals of France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America for consultations with the Governments and also undertook a mission to New Delhi for consultations with the Chairperson of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

371. The Special Committee devoted particular attention constantly to the dissemination of information on the situation in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, and to the encouragement of public action all over the world on various aspects of the campaign against apartheid and by various segments of the population.

372. It considers that these efforts should be further intensified.

J. Campaign against the apartheid régime and its collaborators

373. The Special Committee attaches the highest importance to promoting an outrage of public opinion against the crimes of the Pretoria régime - its blackmail of independent African States, its attempts at denationalization of the indigenous African majority, its forced removals of the African people from their land and homes and its repression, torture and killing of patriots - as well as against the collusion of major Western Powers and vested interests with that régime.

374. The massive demonstrations in European countries against the visit of the racist Prime Minister P. W. Botha show that when the people are informed of the facts and are encouraged to act, they will not fail to respond effectively in support of the oppressed people and the United Nations.

375. World public opinion must be encouraged at this crucial time to demand of Government, corporations, institutions and all others concerned that there be no collaboration with the despicable Pretoria régime, that generous assistance of all kinds be given to the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people against that régime, and that effective action be taken in implementation of all relevant United Nations resolutions. Governments and public organizations should be encouraged to take all appropriate action to persuade the collaborators with apartheid to desist from their immoral course, since collaboration with apartheid is nothing less than the abetment of an international crime.

376. Apartheid must be totally eliminated and replaced by a non-racial democratic society: there can be no compromise or accommodation with it. The elimination of apartheid is not only the legitimate concern of the oppressed people of South Africa, but a vital interest of all humanity.

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

(a) Appeal to the international community to act against the apartheid régime and its collaborators in conformity with the United Nations Programme of Action against Apartheid commended by the General Assembly in resolution 38/39 B;

(b) Commend the anti-apartheid movements and all other organizations concerned, as well as individuals, for their actions against apartheid;

(c) Appeal to all Governments and organizations to support the anti-apartheid movements;

(d) Ensure all necessary resources to enable the Special Committee to expand its activities to promote the campaign of conscience and for action against apartheid.

K. No "normal" relations with the Pretoria régime

378. The Special Committee recalls that since 1973 the General Assembly has repeatedly denounced the racist régime of South Africa as illegitimate and since 1974 rejected the credentials of its delegations.

379. Ignoring these serious warnings, the Pretoria régime has proceeded with its diabolic policy of depriving the indigenous African majority of its citizenship rights. Through the creation of so-called "independent" bantustans, beginning with the Transkei in 1976, it purports to have deprived, under its laws, more than 8 million Africans of citizenship of South Africa.

380. In 1983, it enacted a new racist constitution designed to divide the black people by providing representation in racially segregated chambers of Parliament to the so-called coloured people and people of Indian origin, but totally excluding the indigenous African majority. This obnoxious constitution, endorsed by a referendum restricted to whites, was denounced by the Security Council and the General Assembly in resolutions 554 (1984) and 38/11, respectively.

381. The Pretoria régime, however, proceeded to impose this "constitution" and brought it into force on 3 September 1984 after "elections" for the coloured and Indian chambers were boycotted by the great majority of eligible voters.

382. The Security Council, in resolution 554 (1984) of 17 August 1984, inter alia:

"1. Declares that the so-called 'new constitution' is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, that the results of the referendum of 2 November 1983 are of no validity whatsoever and that the enforcement of the 'new constitution' will further aggravate the already explosive situation prevailing inside apartheid South Africa;

"2. Strongly rejects and declares as null and void the so-called 'new constitution' and the 'elections' to be organized later in August 1984 for the 'coloured' people and people of Asian origin as well as all insidious manoeuvres by the racist minority régime of South Africa to further entrench white minority rule and apartheid;

"...

"5. Urges all Governments and organizations not to accord recognition to the results of the so-called 'elections' and to take appropriate action, in co-operation with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and in accordance with the present resolution, to assist the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for a non-racial, democratic society;"

383. The Special Committee emphasizes that any régime established under this obnoxious and invalid constitution is, therefore, totally without any legitimacy or legal basis. No Government can maintain normal relations with such a régime and no international organization can regard it as representing a member State. Consequently, the Special Committee considers it essential that the apartheid régime should be expelled forthwith from the United Nations and its family of agencies.

384. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly call on all States and organizations to act in accordance with Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and refrain from any action which would provide or imply legitimacy to the racist régime in South Africa.

L. Tribute to the people of South Africa

385. The Special Committee points out that the oppressed black people of South Africa, as well as the truly democratic whites, have made a great contribution to the purposes of the United Nations by their long and heroic struggle against racism and for freedom and human equality. Their united and courageous resistance to the new racist constitution is a further contribution of great significance.

386. The Special Committee, therefore, considers that the people of South Africa struggling against apartheid, their national liberation movement and their freedom fighters deserve tribute and encouragement by the United Nations and Member States.

387. Any support to the nefarious propaganda by the apartheid régime against the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - is a disservice to the United Nations.

388. The Special Committee wishes to point out in this connection that the United Nations has assumed special responsibility for the territory and people of Namibia. The General Assembly has also proclaimed the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement. The United Nations has also recognized, on many occasions, the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia, including armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people. Any attack on the national liberation movements is, therefore, an attack on the United Nations itself.

389. The Special Committee, moreover, recalls its conclusion, shared by the overwhelming majority of the international community, that the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia have made an important contribution to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Their struggle has taken on a historic significance as a struggle not only for freedom in their own countries, but for the completion of the process of emancipation of the continent of Africa from centuries of oppression and exploitation and for the ending of the shameful chapter of world history characterized by colonial and racist domination.

390. The Special Committee, therefore, recommends that activities be organized in 1985 to pay tribute to the national liberation movement of South Africa, and its leaders and martyrs, in conjunction with the observance of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The Special Committee will co-operate with the Organization of African Unity in promoting such activities. It suggests that these activities be co-ordinated with tributes to all martyrs in the struggle for the emancipation of Africa.

M. Support to the front-line States and liberation movements

391. A grave situation has arisen in southern Africa as a result of the fact that the Pretoria régime has been enabled to commit acts of aggression against, threaten, intimidate and even occupy territories of independent African States with impunity.

392. The international community must show deep understanding and concern for the plight of newly-independent and developing States which have been subjected to aggression and destabilization because of the protection afforded by some Western Powers to the apartheid régime and because of the inability of the international community to provide all necessary assistance in time. It must express appreciation for their continued loyalty to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

393. The Special Committee considers it essential that the United Nations must promote maximum assistance to all front-line States and Lesotho during this difficult period so that they can overcome their economic, security and other problems.

394. It must take urgent action to defend the States which are now under inordinate pressure by the Pretoria régime to sign "security agreements" with that illegitimate, inhuman and obnoxious entity.

395. The Special Committee urges that the General Assembly demand that the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in particular, take urgent and effective action to oblige the Pretoria régime to end its illegal pressure against neighbouring States - since it is their policies which have encouraged the Pretoria régime on this course.

396. The difficulties of the front-line States have, indeed, created certain problems for the national liberation movement of South Africa and all those struggling against apartheid in that country. The Special Committee is confident, however, that the national liberation movement - with its enormous experience backed by the indomitable will of the oppressed people and the world-wide support it has gained through its struggle - will overcome the problems.

397. The international community should recognize that the triumph of the liberation struggle in South Africa is essential for the security of neighbouring independent African States and for peace and stability in southern Africa. It should take all appropriate action to assist the national liberation movement to overcome the difficulties caused by the vulnerability of neighbouring States to pressure by the Pretoria régime.

398. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly urge all States and organizations to provide maximum moral, political and material assistance to the front-line States and Lesotho, to the liberation movements of South Africa and to all those struggling for freedom in that country in uncompromising opposition to apartheid.

N. Recognition of the legitimacy of armed struggle

399. The Special Committee recalls that the General Assembly has recognized the right of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement to resort to all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in their resistance to the illegitimate minority régime of South Africa.

400. The developments in the past year have further confirmed that the Pretoria régime has no intention to abandon apartheid nor to enable all the people of the country as a whole to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. It relies on force and violence to suppress legitimate resistance, while denying any legal means for the oppressed people to attain their rights.

401. Apartheid South Africa's imposition of a new racist constitution, totally rejected by the overwhelming majority of the oppressed people, is the most incontrovertible proof of the régime's unbending resolve to perpetuate apartheid and to continue to subjugate the blacks. Moreover, Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and General Assembly resolution 39/2 condemning that racist constitution as "null and void" underline the illegality of the Pretoria régime.

402. In this situation where all peaceful avenues are decisively closed, the Special Committee welcomes the growing support of the armed struggle by the African National Congress and militant action by other organizations and undertakes to publicize its progress.

403. In view of this, the Special Committee considers it appropriate for the General Assembly:

(a) To reaffirm the legitimacy of the armed struggle by the oppressed people and their national liberation movement;

(b) To hold the Pretoria régime totally responsible for any violence and conflict;

(c) To urge all Governments and organizations to support the oppressed people and their liberation movements - ANC and PAC - in their just struggle.

O. Sanctions and other measures against the Pretoria régime

404. The Special Committee reiterates its past recommendations, endorsed by the General Assembly, for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It refers, in particular, to the cessation of all military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa, to an oil embargo against South Africa, to the termination of trade with and investments in South Africa, and to a sports and cultural boycott of South Africa.

405. The Special Committee wishes to emphasize that this is no time to relax action against the apartheid régime as advocated by the collaborators with apartheid. The situation demands more energetic efforts for the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and for stronger condemnation of collaboration with the apartheid régime.

406. It recommends that the General Assembly request the Security Council urgently to consider the situation in southern Africa and institute comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, against the illegitimate régime in South Africa. It further recommends an appeal to all States that have not yet done so to consider national legislation on sanctions against South Africa pending action by the Security Council.

407. It further urges the General Assembly again to condemn all collaboration with the Pretoria régime by Governments, transnational corporations and institutions.

P. Other recommendations

408. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly commend the declarations of the conferences organized or co-sponsored by the Special Committee during the past year to the attention of all Governments, organizations and individuals.

409. It recommends that the General Assembly call upon all specialized agencies and other institutions associated with the United Nations to take note of Security Council resolution 554 (1984) of 17 August 1984 and refrain from any relations with the illegal régime of South Africa. It recommends that, in this connection, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Atomic Energy Agency, as well as other international organizations and institutions, be urged to take urgent action accordingly.

410. The Special Committee recognizes the heroic role played by the youth and students in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as well as the great contribution of young people all over the world, to the international campaign against apartheid. It recommends that, in connection with the observance of the International Youth Year in 1985, special attention should be given to the role of youth and students in the struggle against apartheid. It suggests, in particular, world-wide observances on 16 June 1985, the anniversary of the heroic Soweto uprising.

411. The Special Committee again recommends that the General Assembly continue the authorization of funds from the regular budget of the United Nations to enable the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity - the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania - to maintain their offices in New York.

Q. Programme of work of the Special Committee

412. In the light of the foregoing, the Special Committee recognizes the imperative need for greater action, under the auspices of the United Nations, towards the total isolation of the Pretoria régime and full support to the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for national liberation. The Special Committee intends to redouble its activities, with the assistance of the Centre against Apartheid in the Secretariat, in the discharge of its responsibilities.

413. It will need to expand its activities as regards: (a) consultations with Governments and international and non-governmental organizations; (b) dissemination

of information on the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole; (c) promotion of public campaigns for the boycott of South Africa, for support of the liberation struggle, for the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners, against collaboration with the Pretoria régime, and on other aspects of mobilization against apartheid; and (d) encouragement of artists, writers, sportspersons, religious leaders and others to contribute more effectively to the international campaign against apartheid.

414. Towards this end, the Special Committee intends to organize, co-sponsor or support several conferences or seminars. It intends to give greater attention to political and material support for the organization of public campaigns.

415. The Special Committee intends to devote special attention to the implementation of the plan of activities for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination relating to the efforts to ensure the rapid elimination of apartheid.

416. It will give greater attention to publicizing the struggle of the oppressed people against apartheid and for liberation, and the programmes and actions of liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity. In this connection, it intends to lend its co-operation to the African National Congress of South Africa in the observance of 26 June 1985 of the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter of South Africa.

417. It recommends that the General Assembly make an allocation of \$400,000 for special projects of the Committee in 1985. It appeals for increased voluntary contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid and for the special projects of the Special Committee to meet the urgent needs at the present time.

418. The Special Committee recognizes the need for the expansion of the work of the Centre against Apartheid to meet the increased requirements of the Special Committee and the international campaign against apartheid. It will consult with the Secretary-General on the most effective arrangements.

Notes

1/ A/39/137-S/1640.

2/ A/AC.115/SR.541.

3/ GA/AP/1530.

4/ A/AC.115/SR.545.

5/ A/AC.115/L.603.

6/ A/38/451-S/16009.

7/ A/39/370-S/16686; for the report of the Conference, see A/AC.115/L.614.

8/ A/39/450-S/16726.

9/ A/AC.115/SR.541.

Notes (continued)

10/ A/AC.115/SR.545.

11/ A/AC.115/SR.534 and SR.535.

12/ A/AC.115/SR.542.

13/ A/AC.115/L.605.

14/ A/AC.115/L.606.

15/ A/39/423-S/16703.

16/ A/AC.115/PV.528, PV.538, PV.539, PV.547, A/AC.115/L.600, L.607 and L.610.

17/ FOCUS, London, No. 52.

18/ Hansard, Cape Town, 13-17 February 1984.

19/ Ibid., 5-9 March 1984. Section 29 (1) provides for detention for interrogation and corresponds to section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967. Section 31 (1) provides for the detention of witnesses.

20/ FOCUS, London, No. 53.

21/ The Guardian, London, 13 September 1984.

22/ Working Group KAIROS, Utrecht, 29 August 1984.

23/ Rand Daily Mail, 25 February 1984.

24/ The "independent homelands" have outlawed or suppressed African trade unionism, among other repressive actions. In the Ciskei, in August 1983, reportedly at least 15 persons were killed and 45 others wounded when Ciskei soldiers opened fire on commuters in the Mdantsane township near East London. The commuters were boycotting Ciskei-owned buses because of fare increases and as a result of their deep-rooted frustrations owing to apartheid policies. A report, Ruling with the whip, prepared by a lawyer, Mr. Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, established that in the prolonged and violent bus boycott, 90 persons had been shot and killed by the Ciskeian police. He also gave details of systematic torture in the changing rooms of the stadium where hundreds of people had gone through some form of detention.

25/ Hansard, Cape Town, 27 January-3 February 1984.

26/ Working Group KAIROS, Violations of Human Rights in South Africa, 1983-1984, The Netherlands, p.44.

27/ The Guardian, London, 13 September 1984.

28/ Hansard, Cape Town, 13-17 February 1984.

Notes (continued)

- 29/ The Guardian, London, 6, 17 April 1984; Financial Mail, Johannesburg, April 1984.
- 30/ See Forced Removals in South Africa, Reports published by the Surplus People Project, 5 vols. (South Africa, 1983). It is the most comprehensive study made of forced population removals in South Africa.
- 31/ Hansard, Cape Town, 5-9 March 1984.
- 32/ Ibid., 13-17 February 1984.
- 33/ Rand Daily Mail, 15 February 1984.
- 34/ Hansard, Cape Town, 11 April 1984.
- 35/ Rand Daily Mail, 3 March 1984.
- 36/ A/39/346-S/16669 of 11 July 1984.
- 37/ Rand Daily Mail, 23 February 1984.
- 38/ The Guardian, London, 29 March 1984.
- 39/ The International Herald Tribune, 30 March 1984.
- 40/ Ibid.
- 41/ Ibid.
- 42/ South African Digest, Pretoria, 20 April 1984.
- 43/ The Star Weekly, Johannesburg, 21 May 1984.
- 44/ Ibid.
- 45/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 19 May 1984.
- 46/ Ibid., 3 May 1984.
- 47/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11 April 1984.
- 48/ The ANC Weekly Briefing, London, 4 June 1984.
- 49/ Ibid.
- 50/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7 March 1984.
- 51/ The Star Weekly, Johannesburg, 22 March 1984.
- 52/ Ibid.

Notes (continued)

53/ Statement to the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) concerning the question of South Africa, presented 9 April 1984 by Mr. Abdul Samad Minty, Director of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa and Honorary Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

54/ NARMIC, American Friends Service Committee, Military Exports to South Africa, a research report on the arms embargo, p. 1.

55/ Ibid.

56/ Ibid.

57/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 24 May 1984.

58/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 9 April 1984.

59/ Ibid., 7 May 1984.

60/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 23 May 1984.

61/ The Sunday Times, Johannesburg, March 1984.

62/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 7 March 1984.

63/ The Guardian, London, 29 June 1984.

64/ South African Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin, March 1984; Financial Times, London, 21 February 1984.

65/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 7 February 1984.

66/ South African News Review, New York, 30 March 1984.

67/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 25 February 1984.

68/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 12 January 1984.

69/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 3 March 1984.

70/ The Guardian, London, 27 March 1984.

71/ Daily News, Johannesburg, 29 May 1984.

72/ South African Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin, March and June 1984.

73/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 1 February 1984.

74/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 30 June 1984.

75/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 5 April 1984.

Notes (continued)

- 76/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7 January 1984.
- 77/ Star, weekly edition, Johannesburg, 16 January 1984.
- 78/ Star, weekly edition, Johannesburg, 9 January 1984; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7 March 1984.
- 79/ Ibid.
- 80/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 1 June 1984.
- 81/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 23 May 1984; Beata Klein, United States and Canadian Involvement in Loans to South Africa, 1979-5/1984, paper presented to the North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, New York, 18-20 June 1984.
- 82/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 23 January 1984.
- 83/ Citizen, Johannesburg, 16 March 1984.
- 84/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 16 March 1984.
- 85/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 23 January 1984.
- 86/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 25 May 1984.
- 87/ Ibid.
- 88/ Ibid.
- 89/ Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 1 June 1984.
- 90/ Ibid.
- 91/ Star, weekly edition, Johannesburg, 16 January 1984.
- 92/ The Citizen, Johannesburg, 17 February 1984.
- 93/ Ibid.
- 94/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 21 February 1984.
- 95/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27 July 1984.
- 96/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8 November 1983 and 28 February 1984.
- 97/ South African Digest, Johannesburg, 27 January 1984.
- 98/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 18 November 1983.
- 99/ Reuters, 30 March 1984.

Notes (continued)

100/ Ibid.

101/ The Special Committee draws attention to the following extract from the Declaration of the Conference on Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa:

"It (the Conference) drew attention in particular to the policy of the United States Government which by its strategic co-operation with Israel and its 'constructive engagement' with the Pretoria régime, has acted against the vital interests of Africa and the Arab world. ...

"The Conference strongly condemned the close alliance which has developed between the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in their common hostility to genuine freedom of African and Arab peoples. The growing collaboration between these régimes in the military, nuclear, economic and cultural fields represents a menace to both Africa and the Arab States and people.

"This collaboration, especially in the nuclear and military fields, furthermore constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security."
(A/39/450-S/16726)

102/ The South African régime closed the Consulate-General in August, anticipating action by the New Zealand Government. Anti-apartheid groups for several years protested against the activities of the Consulate-General.

ANNEX I

List of statements issued by the Special Committee

The Special Committee issued the following statements during the period under review:

- GA/AP/1484
(23 September 1983) Statement by the Chairman on the death of Dr. Yusuff Mohamed Dadoo of the African National Congress
- GA/AP/1485
(23 September 1983) Statement by the Chairman paying tribute to the memory of the Reverend Michael Scott
- GA/AP/1487
(27 September 1983) Statement by the Chairman urging action to exclude the South African Broadcasting Corporation from the European film festival
- GA/AP/1488
(27 September 1983) Statement by the Chairman expressing concern over South African threats to force Lesotho to expel refugees
- GA/AP/1489
(28 September 1983) Statement by the Chairman regretting United States approval of support services for South African nuclear plant
- GA/AP/1490
(3 October 1983) Statement by the Acting Chairman regarding the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners
- GA/AP/1493
(17 October 1983) Statement by the Acting Chairman denouncing the bombing of Maputo, capital of Mozambique
- GA/AP/1498
(5 December 1983) Statement by the Chairman announcing the establishment of the Cultural Foundation against Apartheid
- GA/AP/1499
(3 January 1984) Statement by the Acting Chairman condemning the escalation of aggression by South Africa against Angola
- GA/AP/1501
(6 January 1984) Statement by the Acting Chairman calling for the observance of 1984 as the Year of Women of South Africa
- GA/AP/1510
(29 February 1984) Statement by the Acting Chairman denouncing the sentence given to South African activist, Mrs. Albertina Sisulu
- GA/AP/1513
(13 March 1984) Statement by the Acting Chairman appealing for the widest observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- GA/AP/1515
(19 March 1984) Statement by the Special Committee on recent developments in southern Africa
- GA/AP/1520
(21 March 1984) Statement by the Special Committee appealing to cities world wide to take action against apartheid
- GA/AP/1522
(27 March 1984) Statement by the Chairman expressing concern at reports of planned tour of South Africa by the English rugby team

GA/AP/1523
(28 March 1984) Statement by the Chairman commending the Irish Government and the Aviation Council for action to bar Irish participation in parachute contests in South Africa

GA/AP/1530
(21 May 1984) Statement by the Chairman expressing concern at the European visit by South African Prime Minister

GA/AP/1544
(24 July 1984) Statement by the Chairman calling for the widest observance of the Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia

GA/AP/1546
(3 August 1984) Statement by the Chairman on the so-called new South African constitution

GA/AP/1549
(21 August 1984) Statement by the Acting Chairman on the detention of leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF)

GA/AP/1555
(4 September 1984) Message by the Chairman to the Conference of the Socialist International on Southern Africa, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 4 and 5 September 1984

GA/AP/1562
(19 September 1984) Statement by the Chairman expressing utmost anxiety over the violence in South Africa

ANNEX II

List of documents of the Special Committee

- A/AC.115/L.598 Messages received on the execution of three members of the African National Congress (ANC) on 9 June 1983
- A/AC.115/L.599 International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia. Messages received by the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.600 Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. Messages received by the Special Committee
- A/AC.115/L.601 Not issued
- A/AC.115/L.602 The development of South Africa's nuclear capability
- A/AC.115/L.603 Report of the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.604 Letter dated 21 October 1983 from the Director-General of IAEA concerning a resolution adopted by the General Conference of IAEA
- A/AC.115/L.605 Declaration of the Inter-faith Colloquium on Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.606 Appeal by the Special Committee to the Cities of the World
- A/AC.115/L.607 Messages received on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
- A/AC.115/L.608 OAU Council of Ministers resolution
- A/AC.115/L.609 Letters relating to the English Rugby Football Union's proposed tour to South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.610 Messages received on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day)
- A/AC.115/L.611 Final Communiqué of the Summit Meeting of Front-line States
- A/AC.115/L.612 Statement by the Prime Minister Elect of New Zealand, Mr. David Lange, on the question of sporting contacts with South Africa
- A/AC.115/L.613 Statement adopted by consultation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Solidarity Movements, London, 25-26 June 1984
- A/AC.115/L.614 Report of the North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid

- A/AC.115/L.615 Report of the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in southern Africa
- A/AC.115/L.616 Report of Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Régime in South Africa and other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against Apartheid
- A/AC.115/L.617 Messages received on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners
- A/AC.115/L.618 Communications concerning the six leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress who had sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban
- A/AC.115/L.619 Letters from Argentina dated 8 and 12 October 1984 informing the Special Committee about the opposition of the Government of Argentina to the visit of Argentinian rugby players to South Africa
