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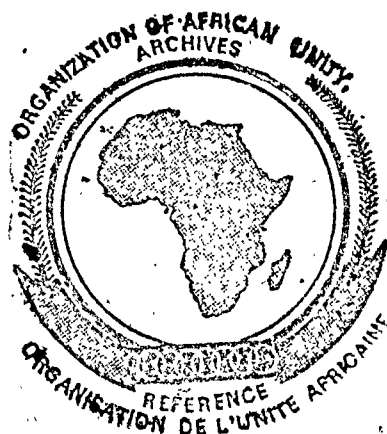
**ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE
AFRICAIN**
Somali
B.P. 30

اديس ابابا :. Addis Ababa

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.
28TH ORDINARY SESSION
TOGO, LOME
20 - 28TH February 1977

CM/802 (XXVIII)

CONSIDERATION OF APPLICATION FOR
SUBVENTION BY AFRICAN COMMITTEE OF TRADE UNION
COORDINATION AND ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID AND
COLONIALISM



African Committee of Trade-Union Coordination and Action
Against Apartheid and Colonialism

Kinshasa 8 November 1976

To: The OAU Secgen
Addis Ababa

Ref: 893/SCA/1976

Your Excellency,

Following our cable of 3 November last concerning the request for subvention, we have the honour to today confirm to you the request for 220,000 US Dollars in subvention to enable us to carry out our programme of activities for 1977: the latter will be a decisive one for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

Hitherto, the OAU has granted us only 20,000 US Dollars annually, and this is not sufficient to enable our Committee to finance its many activities effectively.

We are sending you, under cover, the financial report drawn up by the Committee's finance committee after an audit had been made of the accounts and other accounting documents to enable you to monitor the use made of the subventions you have been so kind as to grant us.

Furthermore, we are making available to you our report on our activities for the period from 1st December 1973 to 27 March 1976. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to also forward you our financial rules and regulations.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurance of our high consideration.

The Permanent Secretary-General
Gilbert PONGAULT

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN COMMITTEE OF
TRADE UNION COORDINATION AND ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID AND
COLONIALISM

1. The finance committee of the African Committee of Trade Union Coordination and Action against Apartheid and Colonialism set up in pursuance of Article 36 of the Committee's regulations consists, in accordance with the decision taken in Tripoli, of the representatives of the four original countries who contributed to the Committee's activities. These countries are: The People's Republic of Congo, the Libyan Arab Republic, the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Zaire.
2. In implementation of the Committee's Financial Rules and Regulations, the Finance Committee met in Kinshasa on 12, 13 and 14 May 1976 to examine the accounts for the 1974-1975 period and to ensure the regularity and legality of transactions effected. It furthermore proceeded to examine the new budget, and in this connexion formulated some comments on ways and means and specific guidelines for recovering revenue.
3. Of the four member countries, three took part in the Committee's meetings and one apologized for being unable to attend. The participants were the People's Republic of Congo, the Libyan Arab Republic and the Republic of Zaire.
4. With regard to the audit of the 1974-1975 accounts, the Committee noted that the accounts were kept strictly in accordance with the provisions of the financial rules and regulations, in particular as regards accounting procedures. Indeed, it pointed out, among other things, that all internal transactions or procedures had, without exception, been accounted for. The account books of revenue and expenditure given under headings and under each heading showing the unencumbered balance were well-kept, as was also the Cash Book giving the chronological postings of the Committee's various financial transactions.
5. The Committee noted the existence and maintenance of ledger recording all credit expenditure. This ledger gives the day-to-day bank balance following each transaction. Finally, the Committee noted the holding of an inventory in which are posted the material and equipment acquired by the

Committee to an amount of less than 12 US Dollars. Each of the Committee's assets had a reference number and the inventory showed the purchase date, the value, description and destination of the assets.

6. The financial report submitted by the Permanent Secretary-General reviewed the financial management of the period under consideration, giving all appropriate details on the organization's financial position. This report, as it concerns the budget, includes an analysis which brings out, under separate headings, the credits allotted, actual expenditure and anticipated revenue and revenue not yet recovered. This analysis is backed by numerous tables given in annex which confirm the evidence submitted.

7. Despite the clarity of the entries, the committee proceeded to a lengthy examination of revenue and expenditure. The result was that, out of 279 headings under expenditure, only one was unaccompanied by a corresponding supporting document. This concerned settlement of the rent of Mr. Habib Thiam, the Committee's Accounting Secretary. This outlay, moreover, was settled by Cheque No. K842259 of 15.7.75 and the Secretariat undertook to recover the discharge/receipt from the beneficiary.

8. The Committee, in conclusion, noted that several items of expenditure had been the subject of currency transactions, contrary to the provisions of the financial rules and regulations. The Permanent Secretary General's response to the Committee had been that in Zaire, most creditors refused to accept payment by cheque. This remark was confirmed by the Representative of Zaire.

9. The Committee thus noted with satisfaction that:

- the cash situation, as it appeared from the financial report, was in accordance with the accounts books and documents submitted;
- accounting transactions and revenue and expenditure were well provided with the corresponding supporting documents;
- the imputation of expenditure corresponds to the relative budget headings;
- the accounts balance, as it appears in the accounts documents, exactly corresponded with the balance shown by the bank statements and the bank's attestation;
- the financial report submitted by the Permanent Secretary General was likewise in accordance with the various accounts documents examined.

10. As a result, the Committee agreed to the adoption of the financial report submitted by the Permanent Secretary General with regard to the period covering the years 1974 and 1975.

11. In order to simplify the transactions and working efficiency, and in view of the financial practices current in Zaire, the Committee recommended that each fiscal year should correspond to the financial year and, as a result, suggested that the provisions of the financial rules and regulations be restructured to that end.

12. With regard to the new budget, the report of the Permanent Secretary General analysed the nature of revenue and expenditure. This report brings out the Secretariat's constant concern to make a judicious and practical selection of necessary expenditure of an urgent, priority and unavoidable nature.

13. Having noted that the new budget was smaller than that for the previous financial year, the committee requested the Permanent Secretary General to supply it with an explanation as to the reasons for this diminution at a time when inflation was rampant in the world and inevitably led to increased expenditure. In fact, the previous budget had amounted to US.\$182,130 while the new one amounted to only US.\$147,988, or a diminution of 18%.

14. The Permanent Secretary General explained that, in reality, this budget should total US.\$220,000 if the cost of the scheduled action seminars against the racist States of Southern Africa were taken into consideration.

15. The Committee, after having examined the budgetary estimates item by item, deemed it necessary to include expenditure connected with the organization of the said seminars. It proceeded to make certain alterations which led, by including the cost of the seminars, to a total of US.\$220,000 as initially determined by the Permanent Secretary General.

16. The members of the committee were of opinion that the current difficulties of the Committee's finances rendered inapplicable, for the time being, the provisions of Article 20 of the Financial Rules and Regulations dealing with the setting up of a reserve fund to be fed by the surpluses recorded at the close of each financial year. The committee accordingly judged it preferable to earmark the balance of US.\$2,937.20 for the financial year ending 31 December 1975 as an addition to the revenue of the new budget.

17. The Representative of Zaire pointed out that the U.N.T.Z.A. found the principle contrary to the Committee's rules and regulations of having bank cheques countersigned by a representative of the country hosting the Seat, declaring that his organization was formally opposed to this practice. He based his arguments on the interpretation of the provisions of the Committee's rules and regulations, particularly in connexion with Article 29, which stipulated that: "The Permanent Secretary-General shall submit to each meeting of the Committee and the General Assembly a progress report and a financial report. He shall be answerable to the Meeting of the Committee and General Assembly for funds made available to him by the Committee. He shall delegate to an officer of the Secretariat all or part of his financial powers who shall exercise them subject to his responsibility. This senior officer shall not be the same as the officer in charge of the accounts".

18. By virtue of the foregoing regulatory provisions, the committee deemed legally justified the remarks made by the Representative of Zaire and appointed to this end Citizen N'Goyi Kabemba, Head of the Departments of Administration and Finance, to sign, jointly with the Permanent Secretary-General, cheques or other disbursement documents. In any case, the signature of the Permanent Secretary General, in accordance with provisions of the rules and regulations, continued to be the only valid one.

19. The committee granted the account in charge of the cash accounts an allowance to compensate him for any possible prejudice inherent in keeping the cash accounts.

20. The members of the committee held lengthy discussions on the need to obtain trustworthy receipts guaranteeing both the Committee's efficacy and its independence of groupings external to the trade union movement. For this reason, the committee deplored the fact that OATUU had made no provision in its budget for financing the Committee's action programmes. Consequently, it proposed that a mandatory contribution of US.\$500.00 annually per organization be paid directly to the Committee.

21. To enable the OAU to exercise political pressure against States collaborating with South Africa, our Committee should dispose of the funds needed to accomplish its task of contestation and mobilization. The Committee therefore instructed the Permanent Secretary General to explore all possibilities

which might lead to financing the overall budget. To this end, the Permanent Secretary General was requested to submit a detailed study on a formula for the joint financing of the Committee's budget by trade union organizations and African governments.

22. If our Committee's activities were supported, they would effectively complement those of the OAU, particularly in the application of sanctions. For all these reasons, the committee felt that the committee's budget should be financed in major part by governments, either individually or collectively, through the agency of the OAU.

23. In conclusion, the Committee accepted all the detailed proposals contained in the explanatory note to the budget.

24. In implementation of Article 4 of the Financial Rules and Regulations, the Committee considered the budget submitted by the Permanent Secretary General as an interim budget until the next meeting of the Committee, and authorized the Permanent Secretary General to take all necessary measures with a view to obtaining the subventions and assistance needed for its financing.

25. The administration of the interim budget was perfectly in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 which stipulated, in its paragraphs 2 and 3, that: "should this be necessary, and at the request of the Permanent Secretary General, the Financial Committee may introduce adjustments necessitated by circumstances. The Financial Committee shall specifically examine, and be responsible for submitting to the Committee for final approval, the budget relating to any financial period for which no Committee session is scheduled".

26. In fact, for 1976, the next meeting of the Committee is scheduled only for November in Cairo, that is to say a month before the end of the year.

27. Aware as it is of this situation, and in order not to impede the Committee's activities, the Committee has deemed the administration of the budget and its adoption entirely justified.

Done at Kinshasa; 14 May 1974

For the People's Republic
of Congo
M. CISSE

For the Libyan Arab
Republic
MASAUD O. AL SHEBLI

For the Republic of
Zaire
KATALAY MULELI SANGOL

1974/75 FINANCIAL REPORT

1. The Committee's Budget of 182,130 US dollars was approved in Tripoli, Libyan Arab Republic. This budget was to be financed through contributions from National Trade Union Organizations, subventions from the OATUU and the OAU to the Committee and voluntary contributions from African States.
2. After tiring and sustained efforts, it is regrettable to note that up to the present date, not only was the expected income not attained but also that only three out of the forty-six States have paid their contributions and not a single trade union organization has paid any contribution whatsoever!
3. This disappointment does not tally with the beautiful promises and formal commitments made during the establishment of the Committee to ensure its operation. Instead of the estimated income of 182,130 US dollars, the Committee's Secretariat received only 20,661,16 US Dollars from the People's Republic of the Congo in 1974.
4. In 1975, the Secretariat also received 30,000 US Dollars from the Arab Republic of Libya, 7,000 US Dollars from the OAU and 2,235 US dollars from Senegal. The total of these contributions did not constitute one third of the estimated expenditure.
5. In fact, only two out of the 46 States formally committed themselves to grant us annual subventions regularly. These are the People's Republic of the Congo which pays us annually 5,000,000 CFA Frs (Five million CFA Frs) and Senegal, 500,000 CFA Frs (Five hundred thousand CFA Frs.). Neither the OATUU nor its national organizations made any financial contribution to the Committee. And yet the Committee was established by them.
6. Despite meagre income received, the Secretariat has managed to launch the activities of the Committee, by
 - recruiting a limited number of personnel
 - acquiring office equipment, especially furniture and typewriters,

- issuing several circulars, thus establishing contacts both in and outside Africa,
- holding two statutory and other extraordinary meetings
- participating in all OAU, ILO, OATUU and all other meetings dealing with problems of apartheid and decolonization,
- establishing a number of African national Anti-apartheid committees,
- undertaking studies, especially on the problems of sanctions and air-traffic between South Africa and Independent African States.

7. Although the record of our activities is rather scant it should however be mentioned that these have yielded the following results:

- credibility of the Committee and its activities with Governments and African and international public opinion,
- Signing of Headquarters agreement in Zaire granting diplomatic privileges and immunities to the activities of the Committee.
- prohibition by certain Governments of landing rights to aircrafts to and from South Africa,
- close co-operation with all existing Anti-apartheid movements all over the world,
- constant awakening of public opinion on problems of apartheid,
- action with Governments to apply economic sanctions against South Africa, etc.,

8. If our budget had been fully financed we would have perhaps achieved more brilliant results.
9. To avoid our action becoming a failure, we are requesting the financial Committee and the meeting of the Committee to carry out a serious study on the financing of the activities of the secretariat of the Anti-Apartheid Committee. It is unfair to establish institutions without a reliable budget based on sure financial resources.
10. We have written to all the Heads of State asking for voluntary contributions in the interest of the activities of the Committee. This request was addressed to national trade union organizations so that they can follow it up with their Heads of State. They have also been requested to report back the result of their actions. Needless to tell you that up to the present date we have not heard anything from them.
11. Besides, we have asked the national organizations to intervene with their Ministers of Foreign Affairs so that they may support our applications for subvention at the OAU Budget session. But this also has yielded no result.
12. The Organization of African Trade Union Unity which claims to have master minded the creation of our Committee, does not even have a section in its budget for the financing of the activities of the Committee.
13. If initially the Committee faced difficulties in pursuing its activities and if the financial situation of the Permanent General Secretariat is still critical and uncertain, this is due to the "voluntary" nature of the contributions and

subventions the committee expects from the OAU, the OATUU, the African States, taken individually, and National Trade Union Organizations.

14. In order to avoid this state of financial insecurity, it is important that subventions and contributions to the Committee be made compulsory and determined before hand. In this way, the success of the activities of the Committee shall be guaranteed by sure and well-defined resources. If the present system of voluntary and for that matter uncertain sources of contributions, continues, this will seriously compromise the activities of the Committee. We should endeavour to accomplish our programme.
15. It is often believed that it suffices to establish an organization to solve the problems which have necessitated its creation. Very good results are expected of it but it is not provided with the necessary tools to enable it achieve these results. This is a contradiction which we must resolve if we want to attain the objectives of the mission entrusted to us by Africa.
16. This is an opportunity for us to pay tribute to our comrades from Senegal, Libya and Congo for the decisive actions they have taken with their respective Governments, which at the moment, foster and sustain the activities of your Committee
17. We equally pay tribute to our comrades from National Union of Zairean workers (U.N.T.Z.) for the decision their organization has just taken, as an African Trade Union Organization, to contribute financially to the setting up of the Committee's Headquarters in Kinshasa and to assist in the development and strengthening of its activities.

18. Finally, we wish to thank all those comrades who encouraged us and offered us precious advice in the accomplishment of our task. Our thanks also go to the militants of SAAPO, the Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa, whose advice constituted a great encouragement to us..
19. The summary of the expenditure as at 31st December 1975, revealed the situation such as indicated on the attached 7 tables of break-downs.
20. Table I shows the estimates and actual expenditure as per section and article as well as the unrecovered income since the establishment of the Committee up to the 31st December 1975.
21. Table II shows evolutions of the estimated expenditure covering the three financial years since the establishment of the Committee in 1973.
22. To enable you to follow clearly the break-downs of the expenditure as per section and article we have prepared 4 tables the first three of which deal with the expenditure of three sections of the budget and their articles. The fourth is a break-down and a summary of the expenditure covering the entire budget, from 18th September 1974 up to the 31st December 1975 when we closed our entries now being submitted to you for consideration. Finally, the last table indicates the subventions received, the overall expenditure of the same period and the bank and cash balances.
23. The 7 following tables are therefore attached hereto:
 1. Table of Break-down of expenditure as per item
 2. Comparative table of contributions
 3. Table of actual expenditure covering section I: Staff expenses

4. Table of actual expenditure covering Section II:
running expenses
 5. Table of actual expenditure covering section III:
expenditure on equipment
 6. Table of break-down and summary of actual expenditure
covering Sections I, II, and III.,
 7. Statement of Account (balance Sheet)
-
24. By way of explanation may we inform you that our appropriations in terms of expenditure cover the three Sections included in our budget.
 25. Section I already mentioned, deals with Staff expenses estimated at 55,445 US dollars, but we succeeded in collecting only 34,539 US dollars in form of income which we used to cover emoluments, dependency allowances and social expenses of the Secretariat Staff. This explains why we did not recruit other cadres and officers of lower ranks indispensable for the proper functioning of our Secretariat.
 26. Section II indicates our running expenses estimated at 107,255 US dollars out of which we only succeeded in collecting 15,358,20 US dollars in terms of income. Income not recovered under this section stands at 91,896 US dollars, and this has seriously hampered our activities.
 27. Besides, we could not subscribe to the different newspapers which would have enabled us to follow attentively all the developments in the countries under colonial or racist domination. We are therefore unable to produce a periodical. But what is more serious is our inability to realise our programme of action as prepared in Nairobi and endorsed at Kinshasa and Tripoli meetings, especially on the holding of

an action seminar on the boycotting of the racist regimes of Southern Africa.

- . Finally, section III dealing with the expenditure on equipment was not implemented in practice. Under this section we purchased only articles which are strictly necessary. Hence it was impossible to purchase a vehicle. On the contrary, all the transport expenses of the headquarters amounting to 1,392.32 US dollars were met under this section.
- . As a result, the summary of actual expenditure shows clearly the constant concern of the Secretariat to make a judicious and functional selection of the expenses which are of strict necessity, urgent, unavoidable and of priority nature.
- . As a proof of the expenses, we have provided you with the books of account and payment receipts together with the supporting documents.
- . This being our first operational budget it will obviously not provide for everything. Hence, during our activities, we came across cognot needs which we have refused to acknowledge because they had not been taken care of in the budget.
- . In practice, we had the difficulty in determining the fiscal year as far as the administration of our funds are concerned as indicated in the financial rules and regulation. This is why we are requesting the financial committee to recommend to the next meeting of the Committee to approve the fiscal year commencing 1st January and ending 31st December of each year.
- . In the draft financial rules and regulations submitted to the Tripoli meeting for consideration and approval, members of the Committee had rejected the proposal made by the Secretariat to

have the Committee's account audited by a team of Chartered Accountants charged with certifying the expenditure. Indeed, it deemed that the financial committee alone thus appointed was competent to carry out this assignment. (Part VIII., art. 25 of the financial rules and regulations.

34. Despite this decision, we have on our own initiative, requested the "Conseil General Permanent de la Comptability" in Zaire, a State institution, to advise us on our expenditure, how to keep our account books and the presentation of the accounts.
35. The list of the capital goods acquired by the Committee is attached hereto.

BREAK-DOWN OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE
AS PER ITEM

31 - 12 - 1975

ITEM	<u>APPROPRIATIONS</u>		<u>ACTUAL EXPENDITURE</u>		<u>UNRECOVERED INCOME</u>	
	Zaire	US Dollar	Zaire	US Dollar	Zaire	US Dollar

Section I

Art. 1

Art. 2

Art. 3

Section II

Art. 1

Art. 2

Art. 3

Art. 4

Section III

Art. 1

Art. 2

Totals

BREAK DOWN OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE FROM
18 SEPTEMBER, 1974 TO 31 DECEMBER, 1975

SECTION I: STAFF EXPENSES

Table III

NATURE OF EXPENDITURE	ZAIRE	US DOLLAR
Art. 1 - Emoluments		
Art. 2 - Dependency Allowance		
Art. 3 - Social expenses		
Total for Section I as at 31 - 12 - 75		

Table IV

BREAK-DOWN OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE FROM
18 SEPTEMBER, 1974 TO 31 DECEMBER, 1975

SECTION II: RUNNING EXPENSES

NATURE OF EXPENDITURE	ZAIRE	US DOLLARS
Art. 1 - Missions, meetings, Conferences		
Art. 2 - Postage, and communications		
Art. 3 - Stationery, Duplication, Documents		
Art. 4 - Rents, and Utilities		
Total for Section II as at 31 - 12 - 75		

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Financial Year & Section	Financial Year Ending 1973/74	Current Financial Year 1974/75	Next Financial Year 1975/76
Financial Year	Nil	US\$. 182,130	US\$ 147,988
Section I	Nil		
Art. 1			
Art. 2			
Art. 3			
Art. 4			
Section II.	Nil		
Art. 1			
Art. 2			
Art. 3			
Art. 4			
Art. 5			
Art. 6			
Section III.	Nil		
Art. 1			
Art. 2			
Section IV.	Nil	Nil	
Art. 1			
Art. 2			

Kinshasa, 31 December, 1975.

BREAK-DOWN OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE FROM
18 SEPTEMBER, 1974 TO 31 DECEMBER, 1975

SECTION III: EXPENDITURE ON EQUIPMENT

Table V

NATURE OF EXPENDITURE	ZAIRE	US DOLLAR
Art. 1 - Office Furniture and Equipment		
Art. 2 - Transport		
Total for Section III as at 31 - 12 - 75		

Table VI

BREAK-DOWN AND SUMMARY OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE
18 SEPTEMBER, 1974 TO 31 DECEMBER, 1975
 COVERING ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE BUDGET

DESIGNATION OF THE SECTIONS	ZAIRE	US DOLLAR
1. Staff Expenses		
2. Running Expenses		
3. Expenditure on Equipment		
Total overall budget expenditure		

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT (Balance Sheet)
as at 31.12.1975

<u>SUBVENTIONS RECEIVED</u>		<u>EXPENDITURE AND</u>	
Donor Country	Amount in Zaire	BANK CHARGES	BALANCE
People's Republic of the Congo		Expenditure Bank Charges	Foreign Currency Account Current Account Cash in hand
Libyan Arab Republic			
OAU			
SENEGAL			
Anonymous Sources			
		Total	Total
TOTAL			

INVENTORY OF THE COMMITTEE'S OFFICE
FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT

Description	Date of Purchase	Value		Observations
		ZAIRE	DOLLAR	
1. "ADLER" Typewriter				
2. "IGNIS" Refrigerator				
3. "BALAY" Cooker				
4. Mattress				
5. Wardrobe				
6. Dinning Table				
7. Dinning room table				
8. " " Chairs				
9. " " "				
10. " " "				
11. " " "				
12. " " "				
13. Wooden bed				
14. Sofa				
15. Drawing-room table				
16. Arm-Chairs				
17. " "				
18. " "				
19. Wooden writing desk				
20. Stenographer-Secretary's Desk				
21. Office Chairs				
22. " "				
23. " "				
24. Stenographer's desk				
25. IBM Typewriter				
26. Metal Filing Cabinet				

PERMANENT GENERAL SECRETARIAT
African Committee for Trade Union
Co-ordination and Action Against
Apartheid and Colonialism
P.O.Box 380
Kinshasa I (Zaire)

FINANCIAL RULES AND REGULATIONS

CHAPTER I : PREPARATION AND ADOPTION OF THE BUDGET

Article 1

The Financial Year of the African Committee for Trade Union Co-ordination and Action against Apartheid and Colonialism shall commence on 1st June and end on 31 May of the year following the adoption of its budget.

Article 2

The Committee's budget shall be divided into sections and chapters.

Article 3

The budget estimates shall be prepared by the permanent General Secretariat which shall submit them to the Committee for consideration.

The budget estimates shall comprise a comparative table of appropriations for the preceding financial year, those of the current financial year and the estimates for the next financial year. All related documents required by the Committee, shall be attached to the budget estimates.

Article 4

The budget shall be adopted by the Committee upon the recommendation of the Financial Board.

Should the need arise, and at the request of the Permanent Secretary-General, the Financial Board may make adjustments according to the circumstances.

The Financial Board shall, inter alia consider and submit for subsequent approval by the Committee, the budget for any financial year during which no session of the Committee is scheduled to take place.

Article 5

In any case, the budget shall be adopted before the first day (1 June) of any given financial year.

If, in exceptional circumstances, it is adopted outside the prescribed time-limit, appropriations amounting to at least the equivalent of the preceding financial year shall be made automatically. Such appropriations shall, in no circumstances be used for non-recurrent expenditure.

CHAPTER II : ADMINISTRATION OF THE BUDGET

Article 6

The Permanent Secretary-General and his co-signatory shall be responsible for the administration of the budget and shall act as certifying officers.

They shall be authorized to:

- incur expenditure
- place orders, sign contracts
- liquidate obligations
- collect income
- prepare the annual financial report.

The Permanent Secretary-General may delegate all or part of his authority to a senior officer of the Secretariat who shall exercise such authority under his responsibility.

Article 7

All bank transactions shall be countersigned by a representative of the Trade Union Organization of the country where the headquarters is established. In his absence, the said representative may delegate authority to another member of his Organization.

Article 8

The Officer in charge of administration and finance shall assist the Permanent Secretary-General in the administration of the budget. He shall supervise the running of the accounting department and shall be responsible for the keeping account books and papers.

He shall prepare, for signature by the Permanent Secretary General and the co-signatory disbursement vouchers, cheques as well as all documents needed for bank transactions.

The Officer in charge of administration and finance shall sign all papers after checking, if necessary:

- the budgetary appropriation,
- the availability of funds under the budget sections concerned,
- the application and observance of the financial and budgetary regulations.

CHAPTER III: TRANSFER OF FUNDS

Article 9

Appropriations shall be made according to specific sections. Nevertheless, the Financial Committee may, if the circumstances so demand, authorize the Permanent Secretary-General to transfer funds from one section to another.

The Permanent Secretary-General may, if necessary, transfer funds from one chapter to another within the same section on condition he provides the necessary justification at the next meeting of the Committee.

CHAPTER IV ; INCOME

Article 10

The income of the Committee shall be derived from:

- a) mandatory annual contributions to be paid by each of the member organizations.
- b) permanent annual OAU subvention
- c) subventions in kind or in cash from all national or international institutions desirous of contributing to the struggle against apartheid and colonialism.
- d) interests accrued from its capital.

Article II

The voting of appropriations shall constitute an authorization for the Permanent Secretary General to demand payment of contributions and take all necessary steps to obtain subventions and assistance. Member organizations shall pay their contributions before 1 November.

Article 12

Receipts should be obtained for all disbursements which should be recorded in chronological order in the accounts book set aside for that purpose.

CHAPTER V : EXPENDITURE

Article 13

All expenditures should be provided for in the budget.

Payments shall be made after prior checking to ensure the availability of funds, and the accuracy of the amount which shall be settled on the basis of supporting documents.

Certification shall be made on the basis of a disbursement voucher indicating the financial year, the budget section, the amount to be paid, the name and address of the payee, the object of expenditure and the date.

The supporting documents shall be attached to the voucher which shall be signed by the Permanent Secretary General or his duly appointed representative.

The voucher together with the supporting documents shall be handed over to the officer in charge of finance and administration for settlement of the account and for filing in the account section.

Article 15

Payments shall be made not later than one month after a bill has been received. Payments shall be made through a bank transfer or by cheques drawn on the bank where the Committee has its account. The cheques as well as all bank transactions shall be approved by the officer in charge of administration and finance and signed by the Permanent Secretary-General and the co-signatory who may delegate his powers to a member of his national organization. These cheques shall be countersigned in accordance with the provisions of Article 7 of the present Regulations.

Article 16

Payments shall be made to the actual creditors or to their representatives who shall issue a receipt.

The Committee shall have liquidated its debts after its account has been debited, after its cheque has been cashed or after the creditor has collected the amount.

CHAPTER VI : ACCOUNTING PROCEDURESa) AccountingArticle 17

All transactions regarding income, expenditure, the circulation of funds as well as internal transactions, trial balances, without any exception, shall be included in the account books.

The Account Books shall include:

- a ledger or account sheets showing income and expenditure according to budget item and indicating the balance under each item.
- a Journal to record in chronological order, the various financial operations of the Committee (income, expenditures, internal transactions and trial balances)

In order to reflect the exact situation of cash in bank, a book shall be kept for all disbursements (cheques drawn following drafts or payment orders). This book shall show the balance after each transaction, on a daily basis.

Article 18

The accounts for any particular year shall be closed as soon as all expenditures pertaining to that financial year have been liquidated. This shall be done not later than 31 August of the following financial year.

Article 19

For the custody of funds, the Committee shall open one or several accounts in one or several banks situated in the host country.

Article 20

A reserve fund shall be established to:

- meet authorised expenditure before the regular in-come is received.
- finance investment accounts
- absorb possible annual deficits

The reserve fund shall be financed from budgetary surpluses from the financial year.

b) Property Records

Article 21

The Officer in charge of administration and finance shall keep a record of the Committee's property.

An inventory book shall be opened and shall show:

- all movable assets
- furnitures
- fixtures and equipment costing more than US\$ 12.

Each of the articles shall be given a reference number. The inventory shall also give the description and purchase or construction value of each piece of property; mention shall be made of any transfer, theft, loss or disposal of property which shall be certified in a statement drawn up by the Head of administration and Finance and countersigned by the Permanent Secretary General.

Article 22

The outgoing and incoming documentation acquired by the Committee shall be recorded in a book open specifically for that purpose.

Arti CHAPTER VII: FINANCIAL REPORTArticle 23

At the close of each financial year, a financial report shall be prepared. This report shall describe the financial management of the past financial year. It shall provide all useful information on the financial situation of the organization, the execution of the budget, the collection of income, etc. It shall be accompanied by a study showing by column:

- the appropriations
- the expenditure
- unencumbered balances
- income estimates
- unrecovered income

Article 24

The financial report shall give the balance of accounts of the financial year, the conclusions to be drawn from the management as well as all the proposals envisaged for the future.

CHAPTER VIII: AUDITORSArticle 25

The Committee's accounts shall be audited by the Financial Board appointed by the Committee.

Article 26

The Financial Board shall certify whether expenditures have been made in accordance with the rules and regulations and shall ensure that:

- the financial position as stated in the financial report complies with the corresponding accounting documents;

- the accounting operations as regards income and expenditure correspond to the supporting documents
- expenditures have been charged to the proper budget headings;
- the financial report submitted by the Permanent Secretary General is in conformity with the various accounting documents.

Article 27

The Financial Board shall draw up for the Committee, a report attesting to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the accounts and shall adopt or reject the financial report. It shall point out any discrepancies noted in the course of the audit.

Article 28

The adoption of the financial report shall constitute an approval of the Permanent Secretary General's management of the financial year under review.

CHAPTER IX : PROCEDURE FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE FINANCIAL REPORT

Article 29

The financial report shall be prepared at the close of the financial year fixed at 31 May. The said report shall be immediately forwarded to the members of the Financial Board who shall subsequently audit the Committee's accounts. The members of the Financial Board shall submit their report to the Committee with a copy to the Permanent Secretary General.

Article 30

Not later than one month before the prescribed date of the Committee's meeting, the financial report and the corresponding report of the Financial Board shall be communicated to the members of the Committee for consideration.

CHAPTER X : AMENDMENT TO THE PRESENT RULES

Article 31

The Committee may amend the present Financial Rules and Regulations by a 2/3 majority of members present and voting.

Introduction

1. The report we have been asked to submit to the meeting of the OATUU comprises the activities of our Committee since its foundation. Let it be remembered that that document had been asked to us by a telegram received in Kinshasa at 5 p.m. on March 23rd, 1975 while we were getting ready to go to the Meeting of the African Ministers of Labour which had been held in Freetown from March 29 to April 2nd, 1976.
2. You will understand that we have had an extremely short time to be able to present a more thorough and exhaustive document. That is why we take the liberty to ask you to kindly forgive us for all the gaps you will certainly find in it.
3. The report which is submitted to your appreciation will analyse, after the introduction, the essential problems of our activities. So we shall review the period before the settlement of the seat, the problems of the settlement of the seat, the statutory meetings, the actions unto trade union organizations, governments, the OAU, the United Nations, the ILO and other organizations. It also deals with our participation to miscellaneous meetings, the problems of apartheid and the means set to work to solve them. Lastly, the last part of this report deals with the financial problems and our plans of action.
4. As we have already underlined it in some other occasions, the foundation and the functioning of a new organism raises always many practical problems. These latter concern among other the setting up of structures, the financial means, the execution of the program of action, the choice of associates for the good functioning of the secretariat, etc ... So, it is generally admitted that the starting of an undertaking whatever it may be, rarely occurs without difficulties. Only the will to succeed and the perseverance in the action can diminish and progressively eliminate the impediments inherent in this state of things.

5. The complexity of the problems to be solved required from us a great deal of imagination. First of all we had to record all the difficulties, secondly we had to classify them according to the order of importance in order to plan a good seeking of solutions.

6. Our action goes against powerful economic interests of the capitalist world. In fact, as everybody knows, the South African Republic takes advantage of the economic recession which is rampant in the African countries to weave, in the dark and under the cover of multinational corporations, many economic ties with many independent African States. That is why our action required a great deal of tact so as not to make it useless. As this action seriously threatens the established interests, it is easy to understand the motives which rouse some people to inflict prejudice to it.

7. This situation reinforce our determination to go ahead for the freedom and the dignity of Africa are not to be hegociated. So, we shall try to analyse objectively all the problems, particularly those we have begun to solve. Moreover, we shall examine those which are still to be solved so that, together, we can try to start concretely the activities of the committee.

PRE-SETTLEMENT PERIOD

8. After the foundation of the Committee, we have immediately set to work to make the credibility of the committee and its activities prevail to institutions as well as to comrades. We have thus materely prepared the actions which the OATUU could have had control upon in the execution if the labourers grouped within it had known how to make them operative. We are sorry for this situation because we are sure that with the determination to win, the labourers can, by the acting fact of solidarity, obstruct, stufle and everthrow apartheid.

9. This chapter briefly presents to you what we have done before the settlement of the seat in Kinshasa.

10. After the foundation of the committee in Nairobi on December 1st. 1973, we went in many African countries to make known the aims of our organism.

11. The authorities of these countries had then assured us of political, moral and financial assistance they wouldn't fail to give to our action. With that assurance and that support, we went to Banjul to have the activities of the Committee started with the means of the time. It is useless to underline here the difficulties met to obtain the gathering of the starting funds.

12. The accomplishment of this delicate and difficult task had obliged us to ascertain that faith, good will and devotion by themselves are not enough. We needed means then to launch our action. That is why, thanks to facilities resulting from our preceding position we had managed to achieve some actions of strict necessity. These latter consisted of, at that time, the draft and the broadcasting of documents on the foundation of the Committee, the elaboration of circulars and the documents relating to the preparation of the second meeting of the Committee in Kinshasa.

13. As for the gathering of the starting funds, according to the broad lines which had been given to us in Nairobi, we had written to all the Heads of State to ask them voluntary subventions.

14. All this action had been vigourously criticised by some comrades at the meeting held in Geneva on June 21st, 1974. Fortunately for us, most of the comrades had found those criticisms groundless because they did not think that we had taken initiatives beyond the framework of action defined by meetings of Geneva and Nairobi. They had also insisted on the fact that we had been guided by the above cited meeting effective. On this point, we must remind the following:

- a) The foundation of national anti-apartheid committees is required by the resolution of June 1973 in Geneva. It is not a matter of founding parallel trade union organizations as some comrades pretended.

- b) The dispatching of letters to all the Heads of State to ask them voluntary subventions to the starting funds of the activities of the Committee had been decided together during the first meeting held on December 7, in Nairobi. It is not all a matter of a personal initiative of the Secretariat of the Committee.
15. This period had been for us the most difficult because it was full of misunderstandings and most regrettable contradictions. That is why we kept ourselves from replying to some criticisms the consequences of which would be detrimental to all of us and would thus impede the whole of our actions.

SETTLEMENT OF SEAT

16. In spite of the difficulties that all our countries meet, Zaire undertook to progressively fulfill its obligations. He has put at the disposal of the Permanent Secretary General a three-roomed flat which temporarily serves as lodging and as office. He has granted to the secretariat a villa which is not yet used because of refitment works still to be done.
17. Finally, on October 18, 1975, an agreement of seat had been executed between the Government of the Republic of Zaire and the African Committee of Trade Union Coordination and Action against Apartheid and colonialism.
18. This agreement defines the legal framework of the functioning of the secretariat in Kinshasa. It grants diplomatic privileges and immunities to the Committee. Under this agreement, the government of Zaire undertook to put furniture facilities to the disposal of the Committee. It also undertook to facilitate within its possibilities all diplomatic like representations or other which may be imposed on the committee in the course of its activities.

19. The text of this agreement had been prepared and submitted to the government of Zaire by your committee.

STATUTORY MEETINGS.

20. Since its foundation, the African Committee of Trade Union Coordination and Action against Apartheid and Colonialism has held 3 ordinary meetings and 2 extraordinary meetings. The first meeting took place in Nairobi, on December 7, 1973. Its agenda was the following:-

1. Speech on the actions to be undertaken, by the comrade Gilbert Pongault,
2. Debates,
3. Formulation of the resolutions,
4. Calendar of actions to be undertaken,
5. Resources and financement of the Committee,
6. Date and place of the next meeting,
7. Election of the President proposed by comrade Akumu, Secretary-General of the OATUU upon recommendation of the members of the Executive Bureau of the OATUU,
8. Dispatching of delegation to the seat of OAU.

21. The minutes of that meeting had been sent to all the trade union organizations.

22. Were present in Nairobi, the comrades Liondjo for Zaire, Babacar Diagne for Senegal, Albert Epondet for Congo, A.H. Simwanza for Zambia, P.E. Omido for Kenya, Robel Blaise for Madagascar, Akpon for Nigeria, Ennafghi for Libya and El Hadji Bakir for Algeri

23. Had attended the meeting as observers: M. Mfuni, delegate of the OAU, Theo Grinewald delegate of the ILO.

24. Were absent or apologized: Egypt, Guinea, Liberia and Tanzania.

25. The second ordinary meeting was held in Kinshasa, from March 28 to March 29, 1974. Its agenda was the following:

1. Adoption of the minutes of the preceding meeting,
2. Report of the Permanent Secretary General on the foundation of the Committee, its role, its programme and its means of action.
3. Choice of seat,
4. Presidency of the Committee,
5. Date and place of the third meeting.

26. The countries members of the committee the delegates of which were present in Kinshasa are ~~Guinea~~, Senegal, Libya, Congo, Zaire, Tanzania and Madagascar.

27. Algeria, Kenya and Zambia apologized.

28. The following were absent: Liberia, Nigeria and Egypt.

29. Had been invited as observers, the delegates of the OAU, the President of the Special Committee of the United Nations on Apartheid and the Director General of the ILO. The United Nations and the ILO had been respectively represented by M. Alonso, residing delegate of the United Nations to Zaire and M. Leo Mannaert, delegate of the ILO for Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi as well as by M. Ibrahim Chaouch, regional expert of the ILO in charge of labour education. The President of the Special Committee of the United Nations on Apartheid had sent at the 2nd meeting of the Committee a telegram in which he apologized for not being able to be personally present at the meeting and he expressed his support to the works of the Committee.

30. Everyone of the items of the agenda was presented by special introductive note prepared by the Permanent Secretary-General and sent a month before the date of the meeting. All the delegates

were satisfied by the atmosphere of the work as well as by the welcome of the UNTZ and the authorities of Zaire.

31. After the meeting, the delegates went to Brazzaville on March 30, 1974 for a courtesy call to the comrades of the "C.S.C." and to the government of the People's Republic of Congo where they were met with an extremely warm welcome. The minutes of that meeting had been sent to all the African trade union organizations.

32. The third ordinary meeting of the committee was held in Tripoli from November 25 to November 28, 1974. Its agenda was the following:

1. Adoption of the minutes of the meetings of Kinshasa and Geneva,
2. Report of the activity of the Permanent Secretary-General,
3. Programme of action, namely the application of our air boycott,
4. Project of organization of an anti-apartheid seminar,
5. Situation in the countries still under colonial or racial rule,
6. Situation in the Middle East and the problems of the Palestinian People,
7. Raw materials particularly energetic products in the struggle against apartheid, colonialism and imperialism,
8. Revision of the status of the Committee,
9. Project of the agreement of the seat,
10. Budget,
11. Financial reglementation,
12. Choice of the place of the next meeting,
13. Miscellaneous.

33. Had participated to the works of that meeting hereafter named:

- South Africa	Aaron Pemba
- Algeria	Abdourahmane Bouzar
- Angola	Jackson Lukoki
- Congo	Joseph Campouo
- Egypt	Mouktar Abdel Hamid
- Guinea	Sekou Camara Dekazi
- Namibia	Solomon Mifima
- Zaire	Liondjo W'lyella.

34. The following countries members of the Committee were absent at that meeting: Senegal, Nigeria, Madagascar, Liberia, Tanzania, Zambia and Kenya.

35. Comrade Mohamed Sekeik, trade union delegate of the Palestinian Liberation Organization had attended that meeting as observer.

36. As usual at all the ordinary settings of the committee, everyone of the items of the agenda was presented by an introductory note sent to the participants a month before the date of the meeting. As in Kinshasa, all the delegates were satisfied by the atmosphere of work as well as by the welcome of the Libyan comrades and the authorities of the country.

37. Lastly, the delegates had adopted a thanksgiving motion addressed to brother Moammar El Qaddafi, President of the Libyan Arab Republic, underlining the satisfaction they had felt for the quality of the hospitality which had been offered to them and the thousand delicate cares of which they were the object. The members of the committee had mostly appreciated the moral and material support granted to them by the host country.

38. The minutes of that meeting which are as bulky as those of Kinshasa had been sent to all the French speaking organizations members of the Committee. That document could not be sent to all the organizations because of financial difficulties. The texts in English and Arabic are not yet sent to the concerned organizations because of translation difficulties. However, the declarations of Tripoli had been sent to all the Organizations, English speaking as well as French speaking.

39. The first extraordinary meeting was held in Geneva on June 21st. 1974. Its agenda was the following:

- Report of activity of the Permanent Secretary-General,
- Debate and adoption of temporary status of the committee.

40. Were present:-

-	Algeria	Abdourahmane Bouzar
-	South Africa	Marc William Shop
-	Angola	Jackson Lukoki
-	Congo	Charles Madzous
-	Guinea	Sekou Camara Dekazi
-	Kenya	James Denis Akumu
-	Madagascar	Blaise Robel
-	Senegal	Babacar Diagne
-	Tanzania	Peters S. Macha
-	Zaire	Liondjo Wilyellakongo
-	Zambia	Raphael David Hang'ambina.

41. Absent:

- Egypt
- Nigeria
- Liberia.

42. The minutes of that meeting had been sent to all the trade union organizations, in English and in French.

43. The second extraordinary meeting was also held in Geneva, on June 20, 1975. Its agenda had two points: the report of activity of the Permanent Secretary-General and the survey of the 11th Special Report of the Director General of ILO on the application of the declaration of the ILO concerning the South African Republic policy of apartheid.

44. ~~We were present:~~

-	Algeria	Belhadj Bakir Hassane
-	South Africa	Aoron Pemba, Moses M. Mahbida, John Gaestsewe and J.D. Nyaoose
-	Guinea	Sekou Camara Dekazi
-	Egypt	A.F. Karawi
-	Kenya	Fred Omido
-	Libya	Hadji Al El Nefishi
-	Madagascar	Elaise Robel
-	Namibia	Solomon Mifima
-	Nigeria	E.O.A. Odeyemi
-	OATUU	Ali Ibrahim

45. Apologized:

- Congo
- Senegal
- Zaire

46. Absent

- Zambia
- Liberia
- OAU.

47. The minutes of that meeting had been sent to all the trade union organizations, in French as well as in English. The text in Arabic had not been sent because of translation difficulties.

48. As one can see, some countries have not paid a great interest to the meetings of the committee. We mean namely Nigeria, Liberia and Zambia which have not attended any of the ordinary meetings of the committee. Yet, at the meeting of Tripoli, airplane fares had been sent to them. It is a problem we must discuss to find a satisfactory solution.

Actions unto trade union organizations:

49. We have achieved a survey on the air boycott of South Africa. It had been transmitted to all the trade union organizations to realize an action which should cut off the air relationship between South Africa and some independent states of Africa.

50. We have, on several occasions, insisted unto national trade union organizations in order to have them found national anti-apartheid committees with some other mass organizations operating in the country. In order not to allow to organizations other than trade union organizations to seize up the activities of those committees, we had suggested to trade union militants to control the initiatives in that field.

51. All the actions recommended by the anti-apartheid committee and its secretariat can have positive effects but if national anti-apartheid committees really undertake to carry them out, that's why it is highly necessary to found these committees. Our action will remain ineffective as long as homogeneous, dynamic national committees capable of leading a coherent and concerted fight will not have been constituted in every African country. Is it possible or not? If it is, what do we wait for? If no, what are the obstacles to it in your country? We are here to discuss about it and draw the necessary conclusions.

52. Let us insist on some aspects of the actions of the national anti-apartheid committees. In fact, in the specific case of apartheid, the action of political parties and governments had not managed to get the expected results because of the facility with which South Africa had managed to avoid most of the economic pressures taken against her by the OAU and the United Nations thanks to complicities which could not be hidden. It is in the framework of the reinforcement of that struggle that these two Institutions have associated labour and mass movements to the application of the measures taken against South Africa.

53. Because the action of anti-apartheid committees indisputable political incidences, it must be led in cooperation with the governments of the independent states of Africa. That is why we vigorously wish that these governments help trade union organizations in the foundation of those committees. Their role and their composition had been largely explained in our circular Note No. 2 of May 1974.

54. Besides, since the seat of the Committee has begun to function in Kinshasa, we regularly send circulars to national trade union organizations, to women and youth movements, all the information about our activities in order to sensibilibize and mobilize them on this problem.

55. We have asked to all the trade union organizations to participate in the activities of the Committee. Rare are those which have bothered to react. It is a duty for us to say this truth and it must be well said. Up to now, the Permanent Secretariat may rightly declare that it has done what it had to do. However, we are obliged to ascertain that all the broad lines of action have come to the addresses without starting the expected moves. We must make together an auto-criticism capable of leading to concrete actions.

ACTIONS UNTO GOVERNMENTS

56. Our action unto governments consisted essentially on reminding them of the problem of the complete boycott of South Africa. As for the air boycott, Morocco, the Congo and Uganda had applied the decision. We take the opportunity to congratulate these 3 governments and we hope that other will follow the example.

57. On the event of the decision taken by the People's Republic of Mozambique to close its border lines with Rhodesia, we had reminded to all the governments of the necessity of mediating on the sacrifices agreed by this country.

58. All the African Heads of State and Government who have received us since the foundation of the Committee have been informed of our concerns.

59. Lastly, we have sent our programme of action to all the governments and we have asked them to support our activities.

ACTIONS UNTO OAU

60. We have transmitted to the OAU a detailed survey on the air relationship between South Africa and some independent African States and we have asked her to convene a meeting of Ministers of Transport on the boycott of South Africa. This idea is on, we hope that it will be carried out shortly.

61. Let it be reminded that the said survey had been published in the report of the Secretary-General on the state of the application of sanctions against the white minority regimes of Southern Africa submitted to the 25th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers (Kampala, July 18 - 25, 1975), document No. CM/658 pages 60-73). Let it be also reminded that the facts pointed out by that survey as well as their analysis had not been contexted by the delegates of the incriminated member states.

62. We have also submitted to the OAU a project of the realization of a seminar on the air boycott of South Africa. Finally, we have sent a memorandum to the Secretariat of the continental organization on the problem of the application of the sanctions against South Africa.

63. We shall not insist on other actions we had undertaken unto the OAU to get from African countries a firmer position toward South Africa and Rhodesia.

ACTIONS UNTO THE UNITED NATIONS

64. Our actions unto the United Nations consisted on disputing the role of the great powers on the keeping of the policy of apartheid in Southern Africa. We have mostly asked to this institution to associate the organizations of labourers to its action.

ACTIONS UNTO THE ILO

65. It is only since the year 1974 that the attention of the meetings of the ILO had been drawn on the importance of the Special Report of the Director General of the ILO on the application of the Declaration of the ILO concerning the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

66. Thanks to the status of official observer which had been granted to the Committee by this Institution, we had managed to break and upset the tradition which consisted for ten years, on adoption of the ~~report~~ report without debate, on June 24, 1974. At that occasion, Comrade Gilbert Pongault had refuted the argument according to which a certain evolution was taking place in the South African Republic in the field of employment as well as in that of the standard of life of the black South Africans.

67. In 1975, he had also intervened on this report which had raised a debate to which took part the comrades of Holland, Tanzania, USSR and the Secretary General of OATUU to reply to the delegate of Great Britain.

68. The Permanent Secretary-General of the Committee presently leads an action to the African Ministers of Labour to have them pay an increasing interest to the study of the Special report of the Director General of the ILO on the policy of apartheid of the South African Republic.

69. This declaration, adopted by the meeting of the ILO since 1964 obliges the Director General of the ILO to make a yearly report on the evolution of the problem of apartheid in South Africa.

70. For this purpose, the secretariat of your committee has realised a study relating to the evaluation of the action of the African Group to the meetings of the ILO on the abolition of apartheid in Southern Africa.

71. We have also submitted to the ILO a request for the finance of seminar on the air boycott of South Africa.

ACTIONS UNTO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

72. Our action unto other organizations consisted essentially on the vulgarization of our positions by the exchange of documents. We have mostly established a fruitful cooperation with all the anti apartheid committees existing in all the industrialized states. It is namely the case with the Dutch trade union S.O.S.V. which is peculiarly dynamic and concerned by our fight. We hope that this action will develop and lead someday on the realization of common actions at the international level.

PARTICIPATION OF THE SECRETARIAT TO MISCELLANEOUS MEETINGS

73. Since its foundation, the committee had been represented to all the meetings of the OAU. Thanks to the presence of its delegate to these meetings, the committee has broaden its audience to African States and has managed to put progressive positions in some deliberations.
74. The Committee had taken an active part to the seminar organized in Paris by the United Nations on apartheid as well as to the meeting on Namibia organized in Dakar.
75. At the meeting of the Ministers of Labour in Libreville, it has managed to make adopted a resolution on apartheid. One of the provisions of that resolution states that labourers must not be penalized if they refuse to discharge or to charge ships or planes going to or coming from South Africa. You will find that resolution enclosed.
76. As to come back to the Meeting of Dakar, let it be reminded that it had been organized with the invitation of the government of the Republic of Senegal, under the sponsorship of the Commissioner of the United Nations for Namibia by the International Institute for the Rights of Man in consultation with the Democratic Lawyers International Commission.
77. That Meeting had elaborated a programme of action and it had kindly proposed it to the organizations, to the states, to non-governmental organizations, to socio-professional movements of information as a set of measures to be taken to assure to Namibians to use their right to auto-determination. Finally, it had been specified that the governments and the organizations participating to the meeting of Dakar would be bound by the final declaration and the programme of action of that meeting but if that document

was approved and adopted by the competent authorities of the government or the organization. That is why, we take the OATUU. You will also find it enclosed herewith.

78. Lastly, the Committee had participated to the works of the symposium of Dar es Salaam on the conditions of work in the countries under colonial or racist rule, its report on the conclusions of that conference had been appreciated. However, because of the fact that it had not been associated to the conception and the realization of that symposium, it could not guide the preparation of the symposium toward a trade union meeting for the concrete actions of the African labourers on the debated problem.

79. While we recognize the importance of such conferences, we go on thinking that, at the present state of things, they should be centred on the actions and not on the analyses.

80. Many seminars organized up to now on apartheid have been centred on the themes of critical analyses of this scourge, but very few if not none, on the study of ways and means enabling the setting of a system of action really threatening the interests of the South African Republic.

81. The efforts endeavoured in this field by the organizers and impact and the impact these seminars had in the international opinion are worth of praise. But it is absolutely indispensable to get over the stage of wailings and resolutely take that of concrete, efficient and freeing actions.

82. Our concerns lie in the framework of this new orientation of the struggle and its intensification in Africa.

PROBLEMS OF THE STATUS OF OBSERVER TO THE OAU

83. Although our Committee is a specialized institution of the OATUU, it should get a status of observer to the OAU in order to increase the pressure of the labourers that is of the OATUU, upon this continental institution. This situation has ~~been~~ denied to the committee a means of action to the conferences of the liberation committee.

84. We hope that the meeting will support our action likewise in order to increase the credibility of the OATUU within the OAU. Besides, the Committee has already got the status of observer to the meetings of the ILO. It had never been detrimental to the OATUU. On the contrary the Committee reinforces and develops the prestige of the OATUU by its active participation to the works of the ILO..

PROBLEM OF APARTHEID AND MEANS SET TO WORK TO SOLVE IT

85. Since its foundation, the OAU has dealt with the problem of apartheid in Southern Africa, particularly in the South African Republic. This problem is one of its priority concerns. Up to now, there are more than 26 resolutions, recommendations and declarations adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU during its Ordinary and Extraordinary sittings. The texts of these documents speak of economic sanctions, increased assistance to the liberation movements, the necessity of the unity of action of African States toward the South African Republic, the air and sea boycott, the foundation of an organism in charge of following the application of the sanctions by the member states and the expulsion of South Africa from the UNO and other international institutions, the oil embargo and so.

86. All that is a voluminous sum of work which is a contribution of the OAU to a sacred cause for Africa.

87. Let us try to examine concretely the reply given to the whole of these resolutions, recommendations and declarations.

A) Cancelling of diplomatic relations.

88. This measure is strictly applied by all the Member States of the OAU against South Africa.

B) Economic Sanctions.

89. Most of the Member States of the OAU have applied this measure. Anyhow some do not apply it. This situation is understandable especially when it comes from economically viable or geographically distant states from the South African Republic.

90. There is an office of the application of the sanctions at the Secretariat of the OAU. The official in charge of this task is extremely dynamic and efficient but his eagerness to work is impeded by the very nature of the functioning of the OAU as its members want it.

91. This official has established a fruitful cooperation with our Committee in order to try to strengthen the action on the application of the sanctions.

92. The will of the OAU to realize the application of the sanctions taken against South Africa is often reaffirmed but remains inefficient in the facts.

93. One of the provisions of the resolution ECM/Res.22 (IX) adopted by the Council of Ministers convened to its 9th Extraordinary Sitting in Dar es Salaam appoints the Secretary-General "to control and to assure the respect of the economic sanctions against South Africa" (Section (a) of paragraph 16 of the said resolution).

94. The debates which had ended on the adoption of that resolution show that the will of the Council of Ministers as far the foundation of the Committee for the application of the sanctions had gone against practical difficulties with clear political implications. In fact, the said committee should normally comprise Ministers of some states and it would be difficult to denounce their own governments or that of other states. That is why this delicate task had been given to the Secretary-General.

95. In order to get over difficulties and make operative the provisions of the said resolution as for the progressive realization of the whole of the actions decided in paragraph 10, we have proposed to the Secretary-General to set up a commission for this purpose. This commission will be in charge of assisting the Secretary-General in the accomplishment of his task.

96. In order to enable the Secretary-General to be beyond any suspicion, it is suggested to associate the mass organizations recognised by the OAU to this commission. A study achieved by your Secretariat has been sent to the Secretariat of the OAU for this purpose.

C) Assistance to Liberation Movements

97. This assistance is already appreciable but it does not cover all the requirements of the armed struggle. In spite of their financial difficulties, the African states should allow some sacrifices in this field. As the citizens of independent states of Africa do not participate directly in the armed struggle, the states should take from national defense budget a certain percentage as a compulsory subvention to be given to the Liberation Movements. This idea is to be followed and encouraged in process of the total liberation of our continent.

D) Air Boycott

98. As for the air boycott, we may underline that since 1963 the OAU forbids the South African planes to overfly the independent territories of Africa and to call in them. As this measures has been applied, it is time to pass to the second stage of this action. That is to extend this interdiction to all the planes of the companies that serve South Africa.

99. In fact, these companies which serve South Africa contribute highly to the keeping of apartheid because they help to create a favourable image of South Africa capable of attracting American and European tourists and businessmen. They help finally to the promotion of cultural and sports exchange between South Africa and the rest of the world. For these companies, what is important is for the racist state of South Africa to present a favourable image through a false propaganda, in order to develop trips toward the country of apartheid.

E) Expulsion of South Africa from all the institutions.

100. This action has already recorded many success in most of the specialized institutions of the United Nations. It must go on till the total elimination of South Africa from all the international institutions, government run as well as private.

F) Oil Embargo

101. This sanction does not seem to frighten South Africa for the time being. However the OAU has set up a committee to follow this important question. Nonetheless, we think that this committee should, while investigating the miscellaneous aspects of this question, make a survey on the possibility of founding a Pan-African corporation of the distribution of hydro-carbons and also forbid the present international private corporations to operate at the

same time in the independent African states and in South Africa. The corporations which shall not abide by this measure will be nationalised and bought back.

102. The foundation of a Pan-African corporation for the distribution of hydro-carbons has political as well as economical advantages.

103. In fact, at the political level, this corporation can serve as a pressure means to the foreign corporations of distribution in order to oblige them to stop their activities in South Africa. At the economical level, there is no need to demonstrate its profitability because some states have already taken this initiative at the national level.

104. We think that the oil embargo is a dangerous weapon against South Africa since it can make all the planes, the military vehicles and war ships of the South African Republic harmless.

G) Role of the United Nations

105. We have spoken of the United Nations in the course of the action of the committee to this institution. But the point we are speaking of now concerns its role in the elimination of apartheid.

106. Among all the institutions which work for the elimination of apartheid in Southern Africa, the United Nations is the most active and radical institution.

107. It is up to the African Group to take meticulously advantage of the action of the United Nations in this field. In fact, the impact of its positions on this problem is highly important at the political as well as at the moral level to all.

the nations even if some of them continue to maintain relationships with South Africa. For this purpose, we must follow and support the action of the Special Committee of the United Nations on Apartheid in this field.

H) Other institutions

108. In the other international institutions, the action against apartheid follows the impulsion given by the OAU, the United Nations and the ILO.

109. In the field of sports, the Superior Council of Sports in Africa, under the dynamic direction of its Secretary-General and the chiefs of that organization, South Africa has suffered many defeats in a great deal of sport events organized throughout the world. This action is restlessly pursued with a determination which does not tolerate any compromise.

THE WEST TOWARD APARTHEID

110. The responsibility of those who govern the states of the West in the keeping and the reinforcement of the policy of apartheid in Southern Africa is at the same time considerable and deplorable. It is considerable because it has stopped an international action of governments and peoples of the world tending to avoid the outburst of racial tensions in South Africa and to avoid thus South Africa to become someday a bloody field battle with the countless consequences that that implies for peace and security.

111. It is deplorable because the sale of weapons by the western states to South Africa is also dictated by the will of illegal and immoral benefit. That is why, France, Great Britain, the United States of America and their likes are very much like those groups of heroin or morphine retailers.

112. Certainly these 3 great powers, members of the Security Council of the United Nations treat with the white racists of South Africa to assist businessmen and financial groups of their countries to take advantage of the existence and the keeping of slavery system imposed on black populations of southern Africa.

PROBLEMS OF DECOLONISATION

113. Now the big problems of decolonization concern but Namibia, Zimbabwe, the territory of Afars and Issa, the Isle of Mayotte which is part of Comoro Islands, the Seychelles Islands and finally the Western Sahara, point of misunderstanding between Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria.

114. For us, our action is guided by the principle of the auto-determination of peoples, essential element to the complete decolonization of Africa.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

115. It is always uneasy to raise financial problems, especially in this period of world-wide economic crisis. It is however a duty for us to raise them not only so as to be thorough in our report, but mostly because financements give the shape to an understanding.

116. As for the Committee, its situation on this matter is not all encouraging since its foundation. In fact, its budget voted in Tripoli in 1974, had been decided to come up to 182,130 US dollars. The financement of this budget should come from the subventions of national trade union organizations and the subventions of OATUU and the OAU may grant to the Committee. It should also come from voluntary subventions of the African States.

117. After a year of tiresome and hopeful representations it is regrettable to ascertain now that, not only we have not got the expected returns but three states only out of forty-six have contributed and no trade union organizations has given a subvention whatsoever.

118. This is very far from nice promises and solemn decisions made at the foundation of the committee. Instead of 182,130 US dollars provided, the secretariat of the committee has got but 20,661,16 US dollars actually granted by the Congo in 1974.

119. In 1975, we have received 30,000 US dollars granted by the Libyan Arab Republic, 7,000 US dollars by the OAU and 2,235 US dollars by Senegal.

120. In 1976, the People's Republic of Congo has once again granted 21,739,13 US dollars to us and we have received the remainder of the subvention of the OAU which comes up to 13,000 US dollars.

121. In reality, two states out of 47 undertook really to grant us a regular subvention. We mean the Congo who grant us 5,000,000 (five million) CFA francs and Senegal 500,000 (five hundred thousand) CFA francs. Neither the OATUU nor its national organizations have granted to the Committee whatever financial contribution. Yet the Committee is their own work !

122. In order to change this situation, we ask to the meeting that a serious study on the financement of the activities of the OATUU and its anti-apartheid committee be realized in order to find definite solution to this problem. As a matter of fact it is not fair to put comrades in a permanent financial insecurity to direct organizations which have their budget but on the texts without being sure that the financial resources will be given.

123. We have written to all the Heads of State to beg them voluntary subventions for the activities of the Committee. This request had been sent to all the national trade union organizations so that these latter would follow its evolution to their Head of State. We had also asked them to communicate the results of their representations. Needless to tell you that up to now, we have got no answer on this matter.

124. Moreover, we have asked to national organizations to intervene to their Ministers of Foreign Affairs so that these latter may kindly support our requests of subvention to the budgetary sitting of the OAU. There too, our representation remains without reactions.

125. You will forgive us for the force of our criticisms on this point. It is a sincere auto criticism.

126. We hope that the meeting will take its responsibilities to solve this problem which has the success of our action at stake.

PERSPECTIVES OF ACTIONS

127. We think that labourers can, by petty actions, start a chain of solidarity in favour of the comrades of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the South African Republic.

128. We can begin by what may be realized now. It is mostly the problem of the foundation of national anti-apartheid committees in charge of drawing public opinion on this problem. We do not think that their foundation really difficult to be realized. If they are founded those committees would help to sensibillize the African masses on the existence and the keeping of the policy of apartheid in southern Africa and rouse thus good wills to start concrete actions against this situation.

129. Committee or not, the African trade union organizations can already realize the boycott of planes going to or coming from South Africa. That is possible because of the existence of several resolutions adopted by the different conferences of the Council of Ministers of the OAU on this matter.

130. As we have already underlined it, our committee has managed to put into the hands of labourers a legal instrument which guarantees their action in this field. It is, we come to it, the resolution adopted by the Meeting of the African Ministers of Labour in Libreville a provision of which specify vigourously that the labourers will not in any case be subjected to any disciplinary sanction if they refuse to charge or discharge plane or ships coming from or going to South Africa.

131. This action, once realized, we would pass to the second stage which consist on obliging our governments to withdraw the right to exploit African lines from the airlines companies that would continue to serve South Africa by skirting the independent States of Africa.

132. Some other easy action to realize would be, for the postmen, to refuse to deal with the mail coming from or going to South Africa and the complete stop of any telegraphic and telegraphic contact between the independent African States and South Africa.

133. To achieve them, the simple resolutions are not enough. We must organize panafrican gatherings with the responsables of concerned trade unions. That is why the first Council of the Organization of African Trade Union-Unity convened in Accra from March 18 to March 21, 1975 has, in an unanimously adopted resolution, invited the African Committee on Trade Union Coordination and Action against Apartheid and Colonialism to organize as soon as possible, in consultation with the Secretaria

of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, a seminar of action for the air and sea boycott of the South African Republic.

134. This seminar, according to the instructions of the Council, should group the responsables of the airport and the seaport trade unions of all the African countries.

135. It is regrettable to ascertain today that this seminar is not yet realized despite some possibilities given by the ILO.

136. For this matter our Committee presently studies a whole plan of action likely to warrant the realization of this initiative. In fact, your committee intends to have adopted the financemement of a programme of seminars by the Council of Ministers. The seminars will be as follows:

1. We can organize a seminar of the responsables of African airport trade unions. This seminar will study the setting of a continental system that will lead to the air boycott of South Africa. The OATUU will take advantage of that meeting to found the panafrican federation of air-line labourers.
2. The same formula will be used for the labourers of the mercantile marine, the posts and telecommunications and so on.

137. To enable all the mass organizations to follow the evolution of the problem of apartheid, the Secretariat of your committee publish now circulars note which are regularly sent to them. As soon as the financial means allow it, we can improve the content and the presentation of these circular notes which shall be sent to the organizations as well as to the political responsables or others.

CONCLUSION

138. It comes out without doubt from this report that the problem of the existence, the keeping and the reinforcement of the policy of apartheid in Southern Africa has not deeply sensibilised the African opinion to the point of starting wide range of actions against this scourage.

139. The responsibility of this lack is shared among the trade union organizations, the political parties and the African governments.

140. The trade unionist tend to give this responsibility to the sole African governments whereas themselves, in a resolution adopted at the unanimity in Nairobi, have solemnly undertook to realize concrete actions against apartheid. Most of our comrades think that if they have voted a resolution in an international meeting, their task is over and they can quietly go back home. Everybody can draft resolutions, everybody can adopt them. The problem is how to apply the decision taken. There is the job.

141. Another element which must increase the capacity of mobilization of the labourers at the international level is the foundation at this level of a trade union committee grouping the trade union organizations of the whole world. On this matter, we have not managed to take advantage of the elections of last year to the Board of Directors to impose the foundation of this committee.

142. In the chapter of our report which treats of the realization of the conferences of the committee, we have deliberately outlooked the decisions taken during these conferences.

143. The reason is that these decisions have never been applied. Besides, they concern the application of the provisions of the resolutions of Geneva and Nairobi by the African trade union organizations. These two resolutions constitute by themselves a whole programme of action.

144. The Permanent Secretariat of the Committee had been founded to put in facts the intentions and the aims of the Meeting of Nairobi. It represents the conscience of the working class of Africa on this problem. That is why it will look for some, regard to their public declarations against apartheid as a vivid moral constraint which always reminds them that the word must be linked to the act.

145. Let us not forget, comrades, that our committee is a committee of action and not of mere speeches. It will disappear once its task is fulfilled. That is why on the financial matter, we must give an actual and dynamic content.

146. Consequently, the subvention of the trade union organizations to the activities of our committee is an act of their engagement to the action decided together. It puts their will to support efficiently the struggle for the patriots of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in concrete form. It may be important for some and symbolic for the others but all the trade union organizations of Africa must necessarily fulfill this act of solidarity.

147. It is often believed that you have but to found an organism to have the problems which had called for its foundation resolved. Very good results are expected from it but nothing is granted to it to get them. It is a contradiction we must solve if we want to reach the aims of the mission Africa had given us.

148. It is for us the opportunity to thank the comrades of Senegal, the Libyan Arab Republic and the Republic of Congo for the decisive action they have launched to their respective governments which presently favour and support the activities of your committee.

149. The comrades of the UNTZA are particularly associated to these thanks for the decision their organizations - as an African trade union organization - has just taken to participate financially to the settlement of the seat of the committee in Kinshasa and to assist the development and the intensification of its activities.

150. It is finally the opportunity to thank all the comrades who have encouraged us and given us advice in the fulfillment of our task. These thanks are meant also to the militants of SWAPO, the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa whose advice have vigourously comforted us.

151. We know that there are many anti-apartheid committees throughout the world that do not stop to agitate and to keep the public opinion of their country on the wake on this problem. We know also that this kind of committees are almost inexistent in the African states. One of the tasks of your committee, at the level of the continent, will be to catch up with the delay of Africa in this field as soon as possible as it may be.

152. If the trade union organizations of the other parts of the world have not yet mobilized their labourers in the anti-apartheid actions, it is perhaps because they have noticed that the African trade unions that should start a vast action, the force of which would call for the solidarity of their comrades throughout the world, have done nothing. It is doubtless, comrades, that in this case, the responsibility of the labourers

of Africa in the happy end of the anti-apartheid struggle is extremely great. We must, from now, undertake it with courage, perseverance and devotion.

153. The events that are presently taking place in Rhodesia, in Namibia and even in South Africa, constitute for us an omen of the time. They prove that the structure of apartheid is threatened of collapse.

154. The honour of victory is near then. It is up to us comrades to quicken its event so that our brothers of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa be reintegrated in the dignity of man upon the soil of their forefathers.

PROJECT S.A.A.B. (South Africa Aviation Boycott)Objective

Following the OAU ban imposed in 1963 on South African aircraft over flying and landing in independent African States, it is strongly felt that the ban on landing and overflying should be extended to ALL aircraft flying to and from South Africa.

The present situation is that South African aircraft are banned from landing in and overflying African States whilst aircraft of other airlines are exempted from the ban and therefore continue to fly to and from South Africa, landing in and overflying African States. When it is realised that all the major European airlines flying to South Africa are described as both inconsistent and ludicrous.

It further appears that the present situation is in conflict with the relevant UN Resolutions, confirmed at the last session of the General Assembly, which have clearly called for the termination of air and sea links with South Africa.

It could be argued that the UN Resolution only applied to countries whose airlines actually operate services to South Africa and consequently did not concern African States who do not in fact allow their national airlines to fly to South Africa, with the exception of Malagasy and Malawi who do operate such services. We contend that this narrow interpretation of the UN resolution is erroneous as in fact air links are being maintained between African States and South Africa but these links are being maintained by European and American foreign airlines who are in most cases in partnership with South African Airways.

It can be said that the OAU ban has been neatly countered by South Africa, whilst the UN resolution has been either misunderstood or disregarded.

It is imperative that the following measures be implemented by all African governments to reinforce the OAU ban and the relevant UN resolutions:

1. The total interdiction of transits and overflying rights to ALL aircraft flying to and from South Africa.

2. A stipulation that countries allowing their airlines to operate traffic rights to South Africa (by using the route of South African Airways and TAP around the bulge of Africa to Luanda and South Africa) would not be allowed to operate traffic rights to African independent States. This particular aspect may be more difficult to implement but should be studied if an aviation boycott of South Africa is to be made effective.

An analysis of air transport in relation to South Africa and the independent African States.

The OAU ban of 1963

When the OAU decided in favour of a total ban against all South African aircraft in 1963, the member states gave their full backing to this decision acted swiftly to interdict transits, stop-overs and overflying of their territories by all South African registered aircraft. South African Airways and Trek Airways were effectively banned from the whole of Africa.

However South African Airways had been planning for such a contingency and immediately rerouted her flights via Luanda in Angola to SAL and Las Palmas in the Atlantic on its way to Lisbon and other European destinations. This new route entailed flying around the bulge of Africa over the sea.

The new route of South African Airways proved a rather costly operation which added approximately 3 flying hours to their flights to Europe. If we estimate the cost per flying hour at £600, the present route of S.A.A. costs this airline an extra £2.25 millions per year.

Although these extra costs have been a burden for South African Airways they have been absorbed in the accounts of South African Railways and very little publicity given to this problem. But S.A.A. and the South African government prided themselves of their efficiency in countering the OAU ban and turned the whole affair into a success story for the ingenuity and efficiency of South African Airways.

Development of air transportation after the ban

In order to compensate for the extra costs involved in flying her new routes, South African Airways looked for new solutions. At that time, South African Airways had a general pool agreement with B.O.A.C. and Central African Airways whilst imposing restrictions on the traffic rights of the other European airlines which operated to Johannesburg.

Soon after the OAU ban, S.A.A. entered into POOL agreements with all the major airlines operating to South Africa: Alitalia, KLM, UTA (French airlines), Lufthansa, etc... At the same time the restrictions which formerly applied to these airlines were lifted to enable them to carry greater loads of passengers out of Johannesburg.

In this way, South African Airways was able to share in the revenue of these European airlines which were operating through the African States. This was another clever way of getting around the OAU ban. In fact, when a BOAC flight lands in Nairobi, it is a 50% S.A.A. flight which lands in Nairobi and this applies to an Alitalia flight which lands in Kinshasa or a U.T.A. flight which lands in Brazzaville.

These pool agreements with the European airlines had the following positive results:

- a) Financial compensation for the longer route being flown by S.A.A.,
- b) Involvement of all the foreign airlines involved with the problems of South African Airways,
- c) Using the foreign airlines as a front to continue operations through Africa,
- d) Strengthening the ties with the European governments involved who became their partners in defying the OAU ban.

South African Airways itself did not lose much business in spite of the longer flights. An intensive propaganda campaign was launched with a variety of themes such as:

- The air is fresher over the sea,
- You don't land in African countries hostile to South Africans,
- Be patriotic and support South African Airways,
- Start your holiday in beautiful Las Palmas or Lisbon.

These and other slogans were used to counteract the longer flights and had the desired effect of maintaining the passenger loads of S.A.A.

At the same time pressure was exerted on South African Travel Agents to ensure their support for South African Airways.

The role of Airlines in support of Apartheid South Africa

Foreign airlines operating to South Africa play an important role in support of the apartheid regime of South Africa. They help create a favourable image of South Africa to attract tourists, businessmen and sponsor cultural and sports exchanges.

- Airlines as ambassadors. Airlines act as informal ambassadors in the countries which they serve and the case of apartheid South Africa is not exception. The foreign airlines help to strengthen the ties between their governments and the regime of Pretoria and also represent South African interests in their respective countries. It is important to them that South Africa should have a respectable image in order to encourage travel to the land of apartheid. Journalists are invited on inaugural flights, groups of travel agents are guided on conducted tours of sunny South Africa under the very best conditions and even politicians encouraged to go and see for themselves.

- Business traffic. To increase the business traffic, both freight and passengers, the foreign airline offices in South Africa act as trade counsellors. Their representatives meet South African businessmen, discuss possible ventures, suggest markets for South African products which they hope to transport, they act as intermediaries between businessmen from their countries and South African businessmen. The airlines organise tours by specialised groups of businessmen, such as motorcar dealers, wine merchants, farmers, etc... These tours are organised in both directions and greatly help to develop trade between South Africa and the European countries.

- Tourism. It is obvious that airlines are the main promoters of tourism in the countries where they operate - here again apartheid South Africa is no exception. All the foreign airlines which operate to South Africa are very active in their promotion of tourism to the land of apartheid. They advertise in the press, on radio and television holidays and tours to "sunny South Africa". The land of apartheid is pictured as a paradise for holiday-makers; no mention being made of the colour bar imposed on tourism, whilst the Kruger National Park and the All-White beaches, hotels, and golf courses are preeminently displayed. Film shows of White South Africa are organised for travel agents in Europe and the United States.

Thousands of airline offices and travel agents around the globe become active promoters of tourism to White South Africa which is presented as a holiday paradise with great weather, beautiful girls, prosperity, politically stable and the friendliest people in the world.

We can venture the opinion that airline links have done much to create a favourable picture of South Africa and that airlines like BOAC, Alitalia, U.T.A., K.L.M., Lufthansa and the other European carriers are the most vital propagandists for the South African regime.

- Cultural traffic. It is also in the interests of the foreign airlines in South Africa to promote cultural exchanges between their respective countries and South Africa, often in close liaison with their embassies in the case of scholarships, etc...

Sports exchanges are actively encouraged, often at special reduced fares (either within or outside I.A.T.A. regulations). Airlines often act as intermediaries in the preparation of such tours. Journalists are invited by the airlines on inaugural flights or for special assignments - to cover sports tours or visits by theatrical groups, to write special features in newspapers and magazines etc..

competitions with airline tickets as prizes are organized - the winners being awarded holidays in South Africa. This is usually part of an extensive publicity campaign in the mass media extolling the wonderful aspects of apartheid South Africa.

For example when the French Rugby team was touring White South Africa, a press and radio campaign was launched in France by UTA (French airlines) calling on the French youth to show support for their team by sending postcards to the airline for onward transmission to the players who were taking part in strictly segregated sport.

Airline ban, a tremendous blow to apartheid

It is obvious that a total ban on foreign airlines operating in South Africa would be a tremendous blow against the regime of Pretoria which will be a big step towards its isolation from the world community. There is no doubt that there will be far reaching effects in trade, tourism and cultural links.

H However such a proposed ban raises a number of problems affecting African States which we will try to analyse with a view to showing that such a ban is both feasible and desirable.

The case in favour of a total ban by African States on all flights to and from South Africa

We contend that a total ban by all African States of all flights by all airlines flying to and from South Africa is both desirable and possible and will be of great assistance to the liberation movements, in its struggle against the racist regime of Pretoria. We shall endeavour to deal with most aspects of the problem but it is obvious that some of our statistics will have to be complemented by the Independent African States.

We shall cover the following aspects:

- i) the implications for South Africa
 - ii) the economic implications to the African countries involved
 - iii) the choice facing the foreign airlines involved
 - iv) the possible countermeasures by the governments of countries whose airlines are involved
 - v) the position of South African Airways
 - vi) the danger of air transport to South Africa developing further if ban is not imposed soon.
- i) The implications to South Africa of an airline ban.

There is no doubt that a ban by African States on all flights by foreign airlines to South Africa would be the most severe blow so far against the apartheid regime. It would have the effect of isolating South Africa from its closest allies in Western Europe. But in order that the ban be effective it would have to be a total ban and come into force at a specified date for all African States -- preferably with the minimum of warning in order to avoid counter-measures. South Africans will still be able to fly to Europe by South African Airways and foreign visitors will also be able to get there by S.A.A. However the foreign airlines will close their offices in Johannesburg and airlines will no longer be interested in promoting business, tourism or cultural ties with South Africa. The advertising by foreign airlines in South Africa amounting to over 1 million yearly will be stopped suddenly. The psychological impact of the white South African population will be tremendous after the series of sports bans which they have had to face because of the apartheid policy of the Vorster regime.

Businessmen who, at present visit a number of African States on their way to or from South Africa would be forced to make separate trips. Tourists would have to choose between South Africa and the rest of Africa. They would be unable to do both on the same tickets. The tourist industry in South Africa would suffer greatly with only South African Airways promoting tourism to South Africa whilst all the foreign airlines would switch their efforts to promote tourism to independent Africa in order to make their flights economical. (This aspect will be dealt with in greater detail further on).

South African Airways will benefit as they will carry all the passengers to and ^{from} Europe but this will be a reduced number compared to the present traffic.

The cancellation of the pool agreements will reduce South African diplomatic and economic ties with her Western European partners.

(ii) The economic implications to the African countries involved. Fourteen foreign airlines fly to South Africa and they make 66 stops weekly in African airports on the way to and from Johannesburg.

The details of stops are as follows:

<u>Nairobi</u>	B.O.A.C.	18	transits	weekly
	Olympic	4	"	"
	Alitalia	2	"	"
	Lufthansa	2	"	"
	EL AL	2	"	"
	S.A.S.	2	"	"
	Swissair	2	"	"
		<u>32</u>		
<u>Kinshasa</u>	Alitalia	2	"	"
	Pan Am	2	"	"
	U.T.A.	2	"	"
	Iberia	2	"	"
	Swissair	<u>2</u>	"	"
		10		

<u>Brazzaville</u>	U.T.A.	2 transits weekly		
	K.L.M.	<u>4</u>	"	"
		6		
<u>Entebbe</u>	B.O.A.C.	4	"	"
<u>Lagos</u>	Pan Am	4	"	"
<u>Dar-es-Salaam</u>	Swissair	2	"	"
<u>Monrovia</u>	Pan Am	2	"	"
<u>Dakar</u>	Pan Am	2	"	"
<u>Rabat</u>	Pan Am	2	"	"
<u>Libreville</u>	U.T.A.	2	"	"

It is clear from the above figures that Nairobi is the most important airport with 32 transits followed by Kinshasa with 10 stops, then Brazzaville with 6 stops.

In the case of the implementation of a total ban on transits to and from South Africa there is no doubt that the African States involved would suffer a certain financial loss through the cancellation or reduction of flights operated by the foreign airlines to their airports. This would be in airport landing fees, catering and other airport revenue.

It must however be realised that Nairobi for example would not lose all these flights - their numbers would only be reduced - BOAC would most probably only reduce their Nairobi flights by three or four flights weekly and maintain the others by changing their terminal points to Lusaka or Dar-es-Salaam or Mauritius. The other foreign airlines will most probably maintain all their present flights.

But it is very likely that East African Airways will benefit by carrying a larger share of the traffic from Nairobi.

In the case of Kinshasa, the five airlines involved will most probably maintain their flights for purely commercial reasons and also for diplomatic reasons. In most other cases the flights will probably be maintained by the airlines who will terminate their flights in either Nairobi or Dar-es-Salaam, Kinshasa, Lusaka or Blantyre.

One positive aspect for Africa is that most of the airlines involved will look for other traffic points in Africa to make up for the lost South African traffic. We may see them operating more flights across Africa from west to east and ~~vice-versa~~ - which would serve a real need.

We feel that any financial lost suffered by the African countries will not be a very high price to pay for the most important concerted action which has ever been taken against the racist government of South Africa.

(iii) The choice facing the foreign airlines

Should a decision to ban all transits to and from South Africa be taken by OAU members the airlines involved will be faced with the following alternatives:

a) The cancellation of their South African operations terminating their flights in other African countries. This will probably entail a reduction in the overall number of flights in order to allow for the lost South African traffic.

b) The rerouting of their flights along the route presently used by S.A.A. and TAP around the western bulge of Africa. This would entail much fewer flights than at present as they would not pick up any passengers in route. This would be countered by the African countries imposing a ban on any airline which continued its operations to South Africa via any other routes.

These possibilities would have to be studied carefully but at first sight it seems obvious that when airlines are faced with the choice of South Africa or Africa they will have to choose Africa for purely economic reasons.

The total air traffic to Europe from South Africa amounts to approximately 80,000 long distance passengers a year in each direction. These passengers are distributed as follows:

	<u>Estimated</u>	<u>Figures</u>
South African Airways	35%	28,000
B.O.A.C.	25%	20,000
U.T.A.	7%	6,000
Alitalia	6%	5,000
Olympio	5%	4,000
K.L.M.	4%	3,000
Lufthansa	4%	3,000
Sabena	4%	3,000
SAS, TAP, EL AL, Pan Am, Swissair, Iberia	<u>10%</u>	<u>80,000</u>
	100%	

These figures show that the only foreign airline which would face a difficult choice is BOAC with 20,000 passengers in each direction. However there is no doubt that the overall BOAC traffic from other African countries far exceeds this figure. BOAC has agreements both commercial and technical with a number of African airlines: East African Airways, Ghana Airways, Nigerian Airways. It can safely be said that these agreements are more important to BOAC than their 11 weekly flights to South Africa.

In the case of U.T.A., the South African traffic carried 6,000 passengers, is a very small proportion of its overall traffic in Africa. Furthermore U.T.A has a partnership agreement with Air Afrique which is the backbone of U.T.A.'s operations on the African continent. The South African operation is a mere extension of one hand as far as this airline is concerned.

The next largest operator is Alitalia with approximately 5,000 passengers. In this case, it is also safe to say the Alitalia will choose Africa and adjust her programme accordingly. Her interest in Africa is an extension of her government's commercial and technical programme which is growing steadily. Alitalia has recently signed a technical agreement with Zambian Airways.

The traffic of the remaining airlines is not important enough to influence their decision in favour of South Africa.

Please refer to annexure B showing the comparative figures between the South African flights of the foreign airlines and their other African flights. Annexure B shows that the overall importance of Africa as a whole is far greater than South Africa as far as the foreign airlines are concerned.

The foreign airlines which operate to South Africa have 145 transit or terminal flights in African States and only 32 terminal flights to South Africa.

It can be estimated that 50% of the passenger revenue on the 32 flights to South Africa is supplied by the South African stop and 50% by the other African stops on route. This varies according to the airline but can be considered a fair estimate.

This in effect means that these airlines will have to reduce the number of their flights by half to maintain the profitability of their operations but as Africa is an area of great expansion for air traffic it is likely that the reduction in flights will not be important. As mentioned earlier these airlines will also look for additional stops in Africa to make up the loss and this could be a positive factor for Africa.

(iv) The possible countermeasures by the Governments of countries involved.

There are numerous precedents of similar restrictions being imposed on international flights in recent years such as:

- a) Flights to Arab .. countries are not permitted to transit in Israel en route;
- b) Flights to Israel cannot transit in Arab countries;
- c) Flights to Cuba cannot transit in the U.S.A. ;
- d) Flights to North Vietnam are barred from stopping in a number of South East Asian countries.

In Africa there is the precedent of Rhodesia. After UDI flights to Salisbury were barred from Kinshasa, Nairobi and Lusaka. All flights to Johannesburg via Lusaka in Zambia have also been terminated.

There is therefore no reason why similar restrictions should not be imposed by African States on transit flights to apartheid South Africa, but one must still consider the possibility of counteraction by the European countries involved.

Traffic rights negotiations between European countries and African States are linked with offers of aid from the Western countries involved and such a ban as the one under discussion may have repercussions on some of these agreements which are unknown to us.

However, it is clear that if such a ban was imposed simultaneously by all African countries, which could possibly be backed by a resolution proposed by African States at the General Assembly of the United Nations, it would make it much more difficult for countermeasures to be applied against African States. This becomes even more unlikely when it is realised that the airlines concerned will still be maintaining their operations to the African airports involved but with the restrictions on transits to and from South Africa.

(v) The position of South African Airways.

As mentioned earlier, South African Airways would benefit directly from the ban on foreign airlines. However, it would take some time for them to acquire the extra aircraft necessary for the increased frequencies which will be required to transport all the traffic from South Africa.

One would have to ensure that the foreign airlines involved do not enter into secret agreements, supplying the necessary aircraft under South African Airways colours. This aspect would have to be covered by a special clause in any OAU resolution to be enforced by the member States.

It is felt that the psychological impact on South Africa as well as the loss of international airline would far outweigh the benefits which accrue to South African Airways.

(vi) The danger of expanding air-traffic to South Africa if ban is not imposed:

In 1967, we witnessed the opening of a weekly service between Madagascar and South Africa, operated by Air Madagascar.

The following airlines are planning new flights to South Africa; Swissair, Olympic Airways, Iberia and there are rumours that Japan Airlines are also contemplating air links with South Africa.

South African Airways is planning new services to Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and New York.

There is a danger of greatly expanding relations between South Africa and other countries if a ban is not imposed by African countries on transits to South Africa./.

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

The Meeting of the African Ministers of Labour convened in ordinary sitting in Libreville (Gabon) from March 24 to March 30, 1975,

Whereas the policy of apartheid leads unrelentingly to the division of the world in hostile races because of the antagonism and the rancour its develops between those who practise this policy and their victims;

Whereas it is painful for the conscience and for the reason that a man be treated differently and unhumanly solely because of his race, his colour, his ancestry or his national or ethnic origin;

Convinced of the pressing necessity to grant an increased and peculiar attention to the situation existing in South Africa, South West Africa and in Rhodesia which are the main areas of Africa where the policy of racial segregation is applied;

Reminding all the resolutions of the OAU, the United Nations and all the institutions on this problem;

THE MEETING

1. HAILS the victories of the African Peoples under colonial rule and reaffirms its total solidarity to the fighting peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia and encourages them to carry on their struggle of liberation until the elimination of power of the minorities of the white racists of Salisbury and Pretoria;
2. EXPRESSES its deep gratefulness to all the States and the international organizations for their misoellaneous aids to the struggle of liberation of the peoples victims of apartheid, racism, colonialism and zionism and encourages them to continue their support to this political armed struggle;

3. ASKS to all the independent States of Africa to apply individually and collectively all the sanctions taken against South Africa and the unlawful regime of Rhodesia;
4. DEEMS that the workers must not, in any instance, be subjected to disciplinary measures when they refuse to discharge, to charge or to supply ships and aircrafts coming from or going to South Africa;
5. ASKS all the independent States of Africa and the workers, youth and women organizations to intensify their support to the struggle of the oppressed victims of apartheid and racism;
6. IS PLEASED by the foundation of an African Committee of Trade Union Coordination and Action against Apartheid and Colonialism by the O.A.T.U.U. under the OAU;
7. ASKS all the States Members of the OAU to favour and support the activities of this committee in order to enable the workers to contribute efficiently to the struggle against apartheid.

DECLARATION OF DAKAR

ON

NAMIBIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The participants at the International Conference on "Namibia and Human Rights" which was held in Dakar from 5 to 8 January 1976,

Considering that the right of the peoples to self-determination is an inalienable and imprescriptible right,

Considering that the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination is the sine qua non of enjoyment of the fundamental rights and freedoms deriving in particular from the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants on Human Rights,

Considering, in particular, the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States,

Considering resolution 2145, of 27 October 1966, revoking the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa,

Considering that the International Court of Justice has affirmed that the presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal,

Considering that the Security Council has declared that such presence is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and security in the region,

Convinced that the armed struggle of the people of Namibia, supported by progressive and democratic forces will inevitably triumph,

Noting with satisfaction the creation by the United Nations General Assembly of the United Nations Council for Namibia,

Hoping that the implementation of action by the United Nations Council for Namibia, in particular its Decree No.1, will accelerate the process of the decolonisation of Namibia,

Firmly resolved to support by their words, deeds and studies the struggle for the liberation of Namibia,

Adopt the following Declaration and Programme of Action annexed thereto:

I.

1. Like all peoples, the people of Namibia have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right it must be able to determine freely its political status and ensure its economic, social and cultural development.
2. The exercise of that right by the people of Namibia is a prerequisite for their enjoyment of human rights. It involves the liberation of the people of Namibia from the yoke of South Africa's colonialism and the restoration of its fundamental national rights, which are independence, sovereignty, the right to dispose of its natural resources and the unity and integrity of its territory.
3. Any attempt to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The policy of "Bantustanization" is contrary to those purposes and principles. It aims at denying to the people of Namibia the exercise of its right to self-determination.
4. It is necessary to denounce and condemn the so-called constitutional conference convened by South Africa, the composition and purpose of which have been illegally determined by the South African Government. By virtue of that right it must be able to determine freely its political status and ensure its economic, social and cultural development.
5. South Africa has deliberately violated the obligations deriving from its Mandate over South West Africa. Its refusal to place South West Africa under the Trusteeship System, in spite of a number of resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly requesting it to do so, reveals its annexation intent. The determination of its Mandate by the United Nations General Assembly on 27 October 1966 makes its presence in Namibia illegal and integrity of its territory.

3. Any attempt to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia is inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The policy of "Bantustanization" is contrary to those

6. The presence of South Africa in Namibia is all the more intolerable in that it is subjecting the people of Namibia to the detestable system of apartheid, a deliberate negation of the most elementary human rights which has been universally condemned.

7. Namibia has been split into an arid and economically useless zone of "reserve" (homelands) where the great majority of the Black population is being parked on a third of the Territory, and a "police" zone exclusively reserved for Whites and comprising the major part of the plateau, suitable for agriculture and rich in mineral resources, including uranium. The Blacks are excluded from the "Territorial Government", which itself has very limited authority. They are deprived of freedom of movement and cannot leave their reservation without a pass. They do not have the right to choose either their employment or their employer. When forced to work in the "police" zone, they have to leave their wives and children and live separated from their families. They do not have either the right to organize or the right to strike.

8. Such a system, which reduces a whole people to slavery, constitutes a crime against humanity.

III.

9. Maintenance of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa and of the system of apartheid is a continuing threat to peace and security in Southern Africa, the whole of Africa and the world. Consequently, South Africa, and its colonialist, racist and aggressive policies must be strongly denounced and vigorously combatted by the international community as a whole.

10. The recent reinforcement of the military presence of South Africa in Namibia must be condemned as a means of consolidating the illegal occupation of that country and of repressing the legitimate resistance of the people of Namibia. What is more, the use of the territory of Namibia as a base for intervention in the internal affairs of African countries,

as is at present the case in Angola, aggravates the threat to international peace and security and must cease immediately.

11. It is regrettable that the triple veto of the United States, the United Kingdom and France paralyzed the Security Council by preventing it from taking effective action and, more precisely, from applying the sanctions provided for by Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The attitude of these three States has rightly caused and is still causing indignation among the people of Africa and the other peoples of the world.

12. The military and economic assistance furnished to South Africa by certain States must also be openly denounced and manifestly combatted by all the forces of progress. Arms sales, nuclear co-operation agreements and economic activities by multinational companies in South Africa or Namibia constitute acts of sheer complicity with the policies of apartheid.

13. It is high time for the States of Africa to make it clear to the countries which are supporting South Africa in this way that they cannot continue to do so while claiming the friendship of the peoples of Africa.

IV.

14. Unquestionably, substantial efforts have been exerted by the United Nations, the specialized agencies and governmental and non-governmental organizations to bring South Africa to its senses and to obtain improvements in the life of the people of Namibia and its gradual accession to independence. Among the many varied measures taken towards those ends, the termination of the Mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and the creation of the United Nations Council for Namibia undoubtedly mark important stages towards the independence of Namibia.

15. Decree No.1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia was lawfully issued by that body under its powers as laid down in resolution 2248 (S-V) of the United Nations General Assembly, and it should be possible to use

it judiciously to "protect the natural resources of the people of Namibia and to ensure that these natural resources are not exploited to the detriment of Namibia, its people or environmental assets".

16. Also to be welcomed is the firm attitude of the Organization of African Unity towards the problem of Namibia and that attitude, together with the efforts of the United Nations and the struggle of the people of Namibia, will not fail to have its effects.

V.

17. The facts are inescapable, however, and it must be acknowledged that all these efforts have been incapable of fundamentally modifying the policies of South Africa on Namibia or of bringing about a qualitative change in the situation of the people of Namibia.

18. There is no doubt that a large-scale diplomatic offensive has lately been launched by South Africa in the form of an alleged policy of "overture" and "dialogue" towards the African States, and offensive which has been strongly supported by the mass media, mostly under imperialist control, which is attempting to give it great play by the world-wide dissemination of cleverly controlled "news".

19. However, this policy of South Africa is a snare because it is alien to the true interests of the people of Namibia and is part of a global imperialist military and politico-economic strategy. What is more, the facts show that South Africa has neither in principle nor in practice abandoned its policies of annexation and domination of Namibia.

20. Under these circumstances, as was recommended by the special meeting of the Foreign Ministers of OAU Member States, held at Dar-es-Salaam in April 1975, the policy of concertation and the so-called détente as regards the African States, advocated by South Africa and aimed at causing confusion in international public opinion as well as at undermining African Unity and the struggle for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa must be categorically rejected.

VI.

21. It must be realised that South Africa will never willingly end its illegal occupation of Namibia and will never of its own accord abandon its policies of oppression and enslavement of the peoples of southern Africa.

22. That is why it must be compelled to do so by all means available to the international community, in which the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and the States of Africa - each according to its means - have their special role to play.

23. Economic or other measures of compulsion should be taken to oblige South Africa to comply with the decisions of the international community. In that connexion, the activities of trade unions and of social and information bodies should reinforce and stimulate the action of international governmental and non-governmental organizations.

24. Obviously, however, so long as the international community does not use the means with which it has endowed itself, or can endow itself, to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, all means, including armed struggle, are justified to liberate the country. Consequently, to that end it is necessary to enlist the effort of the international community and more particularly that of the countries of Africa, by giving SWAPO all the political, moral and material support it so sorely needs.

25. Accordingly, those Governments which have not yet done so should recognize SWAPO as the only authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

ADOPTED BY THE DAKAR CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA AND
HUMAN RIGHTS

AND

PROPOSED TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, STATES,
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL, PRO-
FESSIONAL, TRADE UNION AND INFORMATION ORGANIZATIONS
AS A SET OF MEASURES TO BE TAKEN TO SECURE FOR THE
PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT TO
SELF-DETERMINATION.

1. The Security Council could follow up its resolution 366(1974) by adopting the following measures:

- (a) Determining, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, that the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa and, in particular, the use of that Territory as a military base, constitute a threat to international peace and security.
- (b) Deciding on a complete embargo on the sale, gift or transfer of arms and of all other forms of military equipment to South Africa, such embargo to include existing and future agreements for the provision of radar and telecommunication systems for strategic or military purposes between South Africa and any other country of military alliance.
- (c) Considering steps to be taken to prevent the training or equipment by the South African authorities of

1. The Security Council could follow up its resolution 366(1974) by adopting the following measures:

Portuguese or other mercenaries to be used against liberation movements in Namibia or elsewhere in Africa.

(d) Restraining any attempts by South Africa to alter the borders of Namibia or to fragment or partition any portion of the territory.

(e) Requesting the European Economic Community and the European Free-Trade Association and all States having financial relations with South Africa to suspend them so long as South Africa continues illegally to occupy Namibia or to practice the system of apartheid.

(f) Requesting the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to close its consulate in Windhoek and to undertake an education campaign for the re-orientation of the German population in Namibia so as to enable them to live in a free Namibia.

(g) Requiring all States to refrain from extending facilities directly or indirectly to enable South Africa to undertake the production of uranium, plutonium and other nuclear materials or reactors.

2. The Security Council could, in addition, take the following measures:

(a) Declare that in order that the people of Namibia be enabled to freely determine their own future, it is imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity; the date timetable and modalities for such elections to be decided upon by the United Nations as soon as possible,

providing always that a period of not less than eighteen months should elapse between the time at which the date of the elections is determined and the actual date for the holding of such elections in order to enable the people of Namibia to organize politically for the elections and in order that the United Nations may have adequate time to establish the necessary machinery within Namibia to enable it to supervise and control such elections.

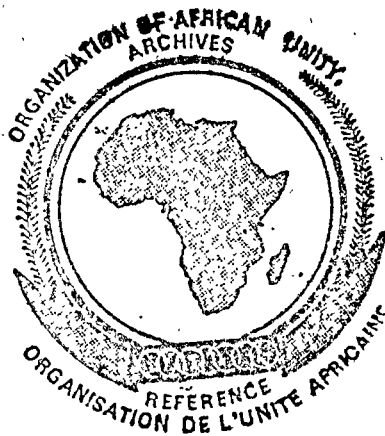
- (b) Demand that South Africa now make a solemn declaration accepting the foregoing provisions for the holding of free elections in Namibia under the United Nations' supervision and control and undertaking to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 in regard to Namibia and that it recognised the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia as a nation; such declaration to be addressed to the Security Council of the United Nations.
- (c) Demand that South Africa take the necessary steps to effect the withdrawal, in accordance with resolutions 264(1969), 269(1969) and 366(1974), of its illegal administration maintained in Namibia and to transfer power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations.
- (d) Demand again that South Africa, pending the transfer of powers provided for in the preceding paragraphs:
 - (i) Comply fully in spirit and in practice with the provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights;

- (ii) Release all Namibian political prisoners, including all those imprisoned or detained in connection with offences under so-called internal security laws, whether such Namibians have been charged or tried or are held without charge and whether held in Namibia or South Africa;
 - (iii) Abolish the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically repressive laws and practices, particularly bantustans and homelands;
 - (iv) Accord unconditionally to all Namibians currently in exile for political reasons full facilities for return to their country without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment.
3. Should the Security Council fail to take effective action to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, the General Assembly should exercise its legal authority, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to implement the previous decisions it adopted in its resolution 2145 (XXI) (1966) terminating South Africa's mandate over Namibia.
 4. Beginning in 1976, an international week of solidarity with the people of Namibia will be organized in the week following 27 October, the anniversary of the ending of South Africa's mandate in Namibia.
 5. In order to organize the international week of solidarity with the people of Namibia, there will be set up National Aid to Namibia Committees in all countries where they do not already exist.
 6. Each year, parliaments and inter-parliamentary organizations should include in their agenda, as an item for discussion, the question of the liberation of Namibia.

7. The State Members of the United Nations must fully enforce Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia concerning protection of the natural resources of Namibia, and in particular:
 - (a) Where necessary, take the measures required for application of the Decree by their domestic authorities and prohibit, under pain of punishment as a criminal offence, the import, without the authorization of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, of goods emanating from that country;
 - (b) provide the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia with all facilities for exercising the judicial activities vested in him by Decree No. 1;
 - (c) disseminate information concerning the unlawfulness of importing goods emanating from Namibia in violation of the provisions of Decree No. 1, and give full publicity to violations committed by enterprises operating under their jurisdiction.
8. The United Nations Council for Namibia must do its utmost to ensure respect for human rights in Namibia and, in particular, consider the possibility of adhering to the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
9. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights should make an investigative body responsible for looking into violations of human rights in Namibia and preparing cases for future legal prosecution.

10. Governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations as well as public opinion must give maximum political and material support to SWAPO, the authentic representative of the people of Namibia in its liberation struggle.
11. Trade unions should organize themselves to oppose by every means available to them the continuation and expansion of economic dealings between South Africa and other States.
12. United Nations bodies and international organizations must ensure that political prisoners are provided with effective defence and their families are given financial support.
13. Organizations and public bodies must extend their support to the churches in Namibia in their opposition to the racist colonial administration and assist the victims of South African oppression in Namibia, including prisoners and dependents.
14. In the project it has undertaken, the International Institute of Human Rights should prepare and publish a compendium of all basic documents relating to Namibia.
15. A United Nations radio transmitter will be established in a free country of Africa to transmit, in all languages spoken in Namibia, United Nations broadcasts on racism, decolonization and Namibia.
16. All nations should contribute to the United Nations Fund for Namibia to promote the training and education of Namibians so as to fit them for assuming the administration of their country.

17. The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia should ensure the preparation and publication of special studies on the following questions:
- (a) The production and exploitation of uranium in Namibia;
 - (b) The production and export of diamonds from Namibia;
 - (c) The export of Swakara fur;
 - (d) The Cunene Dam Scheme (designed to provide power for mines and water works).
18. Each year, at the end of the international week of solidarity with the people of Namibia, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia should review the efforts made and results obtained in connection with this Programme of Action and report thereon to the United Nations Council for Namibia.



1977-02

Consideration of Applications for Subventions by African Committee of Trade Union Coordination and Action Against Apartheid and Colonialism

Organization of African Unity

African Union

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