

## APPENDIX A

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)** is a non-profit corporation founded in 1909 and seeks to ensure the political, educational, social and economic equality for all persons and to eliminate racial hatred and discrimination. The NAACP has a long history of supporting anti-apartheid resolutions, legislation and direct action.

**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES** was founded in 1950, and is currently the leading force for ecumenical cooperation among Christians in the United States. The NCC's member faith groups — representing a wide spectrum of Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox, historic African American and Living Peace churches — include 45 million persons in more than 100,000 local congregations in communities across the nation. The NCC has a long history of involvement in the anti-apartheid movement.

**TRANSAFRICA FORUM** serves as a major research, educational, and organizing institution for the African-American community offering constructive analyses of issues concerning U.S. policy as it affects Africa and the Diaspora in the Caribbean and Latin America. A center for activism focusing on conditions in the African World, TransAfrica Forum sponsors seminars, conferences, community awareness projects and training programs. These activities allow the organization to play a significant role in presenting to the general public alternative perspectives on the economic, political, and moral ramifications of U.S. foreign policy. TransAfrica, Inc. was founded in July 1977 as an African American lobby on Africa and the Caribbean and was one of the leading forces in the U.S. organizing around the issue of the apartheid regime in South Africa and was instrumental in the fight for U.S. sanctions against the apartheid regime. On November 21, 1984, its founder and executive director Randall Robinson began a series of sit-ins and demonstrations outside South African embassies and consulates. By the end of 1985, more than 3,000 people were arrested in these protests. TransAfrica worked closely with the Congressional Black Caucus, which had been involved in its founding, in devising legislative strategy for the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. TransAfrica Forum was founded in 1981, and worked with TransAfrica, Inc. to build the anti-apartheid movement in the United States. In part for his work against apartheid, TransAfrica's founder Randall Robinson, will receive the Harvard Law School Medal of Freedom in September 2005.

**AFRICA ACTION** is the oldest U.S. organization working for political, economic and social justice in Africa. Through the provision of accessible information and analysis combined with the mobilization of public pressure, it works to change the policies and policy-making processes of U.S. and multinational institutions toward Africa. The work of Africa Action is grounded in the history and purpose of its predecessor organizations, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), The Africa Fund, and the Africa Policy Information Center (APIC), which have fought for freedom and justice in Africa since 1953. Africa Action's predecessor organizations took strong action to support African efforts to defeat apartheid, including public education, humanitarian assistance, organizing college and university divestment campaigns, testimony before state legislatures and city councils, and direct advocacy to businesses investing in South Africa.

**MAYOR DAVID DINKINS.** On January 1, 1990, David N. Dinkins was sworn in as the first African American mayor in New York City history. Born in Trenton, New Jersey on July 10, 1927, Dinkins graduated cum laude from Howard University with a degree in mathematics and later received his law degree from Brooklyn Law School. He served in the Marines in World War II and later married Joyce Burrows, the daughter of Harlem Assemblyman Daniel Burrows. He practiced law in New York City and began his steady ascent in politics. He served as a district leader, was elected a New York State Assemblyman in 1966, served as President of the Board of Elections from 1972-73, and City Clerk from 1975-85, before winning election as Manhattan Borough President in 1985. Mayor Dinkins helped fulfill his prediction that the "bells of freedom will ring in South Africa" by being a national voice in favor of anti-apartheid sanctions. He fought to have the city divest itself of \$500 million worth of pension fund stock invested in companies that do business in South Africa and secured passage of a bill that allowed the city to rate banks on their opposition to apartheid. Mayor Dinkins was an official observer of the 1994 South African elections. Among his other accomplishments were creating the office of Special Commissioner of Investigations for schools, creating a system of after hour youth centers called Beacon Schools, and working to create an all civilian police complaint review board. Mayor Dinkins' term ended in 1993. He remains active in New York City politics, hosts a weekly radio show, and teaches public affairs at Columbia University.

**PROFESSOR CHARLES OGLETREE** is the Harvard Law School Jesse Climenko Professor of Law, and Founding and Executive Director of the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice. Professor Ogletree is a prominent legal theorist who has made an international reputation by taking a hard look at complex issues of law and by working to secure the rights guaranteed by the Constitution for everyone equally under the law. Professor Ogletree is a prolific writer and lecturer on issues of racism, civil rights and reparations. Professor Ogletree has received numerous awards, including being recognized as one of the "100 Most Influential Lawyers in America" by the National Law Journal in 2000 and receiving the National Bar Association's prestigious Equal Justice Award in 2002.

**AFRICA COMMITTEE (SWITZERLAND),** Since its inception in 1972, the Africa Committee acted against apartheid and in other struggles for equal rights. After 1976, the group protested the violent suppression of the Soweto student movement, organised rallies in support of the anti-apartheid struggle, and campaigned for support of banned trade unions and for the South African liberation movements. As part of the broader Swiss anti-apartheid movement, the Africa Committee was a founding member of the South Africa Boycott Action, a coalition mounting powerful lobbying campaigns for consumer boycotts of South African goods, which also advocated that the Swiss Government adhere to international sanctions against South Africa.

**AFP (COALITION MONITORING SWISS BANKING),** The Coalition Monitoring Swiss Banking (Aktion Finanzplatz Schweiz - AFP) is an independent organization monitoring the Swiss financial system on human rights and development issues, capital flight and bank secrecy. It was founded by a coalition of NGOs from churches, trade unions, relief and development organizations and the Anti-Apartheid-Movement in 1978. Between 1982 and 1993, AFP was involved in the international campaign for financial sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

**AKTION BUNDESSCHLUSS** is a network of church related groups in Germany and communities in South Africa who were threatened with forced removal or were forcefully removed because of apartheid policies. Aktion Bundesschluss campaigned against these actions and also raised awareness in Germany about South African apartheid. Aktion Bundesschluss dates back to the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1983 at Vancouver, when that body called for people to form covenants based on the process of justice, peace and integrity. Aktion Bundesschluss continues to strive for justice, peace and reconciliation in South Africa and Germany and lobbies for sustainable development and land reform for people who have been deprived of their livelihood and are still struggling today for justice and reconciliation.

**ALLIANCE SUD** is the advocacy organization of the six largest Swiss private development aid agencies: Swissaid, Catholic Lenten Fund, Bread for All, Helvetas, Caritas and Swiss Interchurch Aid. These organizations are supported by over 500,000 private Swiss citizens donating funds for development aid and humanitarian assistance; Alliance Sud is independent of any political party or economic interest. Alliance Sud's mission is to undertake research and action focused on influencing Swiss foreign policy in the interest of the developing countries. During the three decades of intimate relations between Apartheid South Africa and the Swiss government and business elite, Alliance Sud agencies supported anti-apartheid movements in South Africa by maintaining relationships with banned organisations, by providing scholarships to activists and their children, and by inviting witnesses of gross human rights violations to Switzerland. Agencies of Alliance Sud provided an important network for disseminating information about apartheid to church congregations and to the general public and contributed to the funding of the Anti-Racism Programme of the World Council of Churches.

**REV. LENI ALTWEGG**, Former Vice-President of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement, was an influential anti-apartheid activist within the Swiss protestant church advocating for active solidarity with the black and coloured wings of the Dutch Reformed Church, criticizing the white wing of the Dutch Reformed Church on account of the latter's support for apartheid. Rev. Alwegg began work concerning South Africa in 1970 as a delegate to the General Assembly of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and in 1975 began regular visits to South Africa to meet with the Christian Institute, Christian Council of South Africa and political anti-apartheid leaders. Rev. Alwegg authored appeals for solidarity with the black majority in South Africa, and requested the Swiss government to apply sanctions against South Africa. In 1994, Rev. Alwegg was an election observer with the Ecumenical Monitoring Programme.

**ATTAC (Switzerland)**, is a social movement of young people funded by its members and independent of any political party or economic interest. ATTAC speaks out for the globalization of social justice, political, economic and social human rights, democracy and the respect of the environment. ATTAC is concerned with the history of apartheid and the role that certain Swiss corporations and banks played in this history by supporting the policy of apartheid. As young people, members of ATTAC feel they have a responsibility in dealing with this inherited past.

**BERNE DECLARATION (BD)**, The Berne Declaration is a Swiss non-governmental organization with more than 19,000 members. Through research, public education and advocacy work, it has been promoting more equitable, sustainable and democratic North-South relations

since the late 1960s. The Berne Declaration derives most of its revenues from individual membership fees and donations; it is completely independent from any other institution or government. The BD monitors the role of Swiss corporations, banks, and government agencies. It addresses the problems of unequal international trade and financial relations, lack of corporate accountability, Third World debt, unsustainable consumption patterns and cultural prejudices. It calls on all Swiss actors - the private sector and the state, citizens and consumers - to assume their responsibility in resolving these problems. The BD was instrumental to the formation and growth of the Swiss anti-apartheid movement. It acted as a co-organiser of the international Seminar on Loans to South Africa in April 1981 in Zurich, and was one of the most important actors organizing boycott campaigns against major Swiss Banks dealing with South Africa (today UBS, Credit Suisse) and against the sale of South African products in Switzerland.

**BREAD FOR ALL (BFA)** is the Development Service of the Swiss Protestant Churches. Operating since 1961, BFA supports over 400 development projects and programs in 60 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America and lobbies governmental authorities, Parliament and the economic sector in Switzerland and worldwide for a more equitable and sustainable development framework. BFA is committed to justice in North-South relations, improving living conditions for disadvantaged people, human rights and Christian values. BFA is committed to represent the concerns of their partner churches of South Africa. In Switzerland it supports the Swiss ADR Campaign which seeks justice and reparation for apartheid victims.

**BREAD FOR THE WORLD (Germany)** is a campaign of church-related development aid organizations operating under the auspices of the Evangelical Regional and Free Churches in Germany. In 1959, Bread for the World was entrusted by the Social Service Agency of the Protestant Church in Germany (Diakonisches Werk der EKD) with overseeing the campaign. Funded by donations and independent of any political or economic interest, Bread for the World builds partnerships with people in other parts of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Bread for the World supported partners in South Africa in their struggle to overcome apartheid and was also deeply involved in lobbying and advocacy work in support of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

**CÉCILE BÜHLMANN**, Member of Parliament, Berne, Switzerland, is President of the Green parliamentary party, Vice President of the Federal Commission against Racism and member of the Parliamentary Caucus Switzerland – South Africa.

**MHIZHA EDMUND CHIFAMBA**, Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa and the Washington Office on Africa Policy Research Institute, was formerly the Chief Executive Officer of the Zimbabwe National Council of YMCAs and has held senior positions at the Abraham Lincoln Center and the Westside Association for Community Action in Chicago. The Washington Office on Africa was a prominent voice in Washington, D.C. against apartheid, and was founded in 1972 to support the movement for freedom from apartheid. The group works in partnership with colleagues in Africa, the advocacy community in the United States and grassroots organizations concerned with African affairs, and continues to publish regular newsletters and action alerts which urge U.S. Congressional or Executive action.

**COTMEC**, the Third World Commission of the Catholic Church, in Geneva, Switzerland, is mandated with raising public and church awareness with respect to just North-South relations. The commission's activities focusing around information dissemination and raising public awareness, and for many years, COTMEC actively opposed apartheid.

**DR. ULRICH DUCHROW** is currently a professor at Heidelberg University in Heidelberg, Germany. From 1970 to 1977, Dr. Duchrow was Director of the Department of Studies in the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva. Between 1979 and 2000, Dr. Duchrow was ecumenical officer of the Protestant Church in Baden, Germany. In both capacities he was intensively involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Dr. Duchrow's department was responsible for preparing the decision of the General Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in 1977 that declared apartheid a *status confessionis* for the Lutheran churches around the world, which is the strongest action churches can take. Along with several church partnerships between persecuted people in South Africa and the South African Council of Churches, Dr. Duchrow and his organizations supported the anti-apartheid struggle of South Africans.

**EUROPE-THIRD WORLD CENTRE (CETIM)**, Ever since its creation in 1970, CETIM worked against apartheid and the support given to it by the Swiss government and Swiss corporations. In 1972, CETIM published a paper about Swiss economic and political relations with South Africa, partly based on research conducted in Swiss subsidiaries in South Africa; this publication triggered the first public debate about the nature of Switzerland's relations with South Africa. It was followed by another publication in 1974 entitled "Switzerland-South Africa: End of Dialogue." CETIM continues to work for reparations from the Swiss government and corporations and in 2003 organized a series of conferences on the relationship between Switzerland and South Africa during the apartheid regime.

**FASTENOPFER** (Swiss Catholic Lenten Fund or SCLF) supported the opposition against the apartheid regime in South Africa and acted in solidarity with the South African Bishops Conference, and raised awareness within Switzerland. In 1986, SCLF invited representatives of the South African Bishops Conference to Switzerland to talk to the Swiss Government about changing their policy towards South Africa. Between 1986 and 1989, it participated in the talks between the Swiss churches (Catholic and Protestant) and the three major Swiss banks doing business in South Africa. SCLF is the most important Catholic relief and development organisation and seeks to bridge the gap between rich and poor and is committed to working for just and sustainable development.

**FfG (Germany)**, Women for Justice in Southern Africa, is a women's network involved in solidarity work in Southern Africa. It originated with the boycott of citrus fruits imported from Apartheid-South Africa in the early nineteen-eighties. Since the first democratic elections in 1994, FfG has continued its commitment in partnership with women's groups in the region for a just and equitable transition process in South Africa and neighboring countries.

**DOMINIQUE FROIDEVAUX**, was a leading member of the anti-apartheid movement in the French speaking part of Switzerland. He was at the origin of a petition by 27,000 signatories submitted to the Federal Council (Swiss Government) in 1978 demanding that the Federal

Council stop granting risk coverage for exports to South Africa, and terminate the double taxation convention with South Africa. As former desk officer for COTMEC, Third World Commission of the Catholic Church in Geneva, he headed numerous pickets, demonstrations, meetings condemning apartheid, lobbying for the release of Nelson Mandela, lobbying for a change of Swiss politics towards the apartheid state, and condemning Swiss banks and corporations for supporting the apartheid state.

**FUND FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PARTNERSHIP IN AFRICA (FEPA)**, was funded in 1962 as a small relief agency, initially working in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). In the 1970s, the organization firmly condemned apartheid. FEPA witnessed in particular South African military interventions in the neighboring states in the 1980s and their devastating effect on development. FEPA became part of the broader Swiss anti-apartheid movement and therefore signs the present *amicus curiae* brief.

**REMO GYSIN**, Member of the Swiss Parliament, Basel-City, is a Member of the Foreign Policy Committee, with a policy focus on the promotion of Human Rights and Democracy. Remo Gysin is a member of the former anti-apartheid movement and has made two visits to South Africa, including as a 1994 UN election observer, and is a member of the Parliamentary Caucus Switzerland – South Africa, and a board member of Aktion Finanzplatz.

**PIA HOLLENSTEIN**, Member of the Swiss Parliament, St. Gall, is founder and co-president of the Parliamentary Caucus Switzerland – South Africa. Pia Hollenstein was the author of more than twenty Parliamentary initiatives relating to the issue of Swiss-South African relations between 1948 and 1994.

**JUBILEE USA NETWORK** is an alliance of 70 religious, faith-based, labor, environmental, human rights, community and solidarity organizations working for economic justice, including freedom from debt, for nations across Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Founded in 1997, Jubilee USA Network is the U.S. arm of the global Jubilee movement and it engages in public education, communications, policy and research, and public mobilization. Jubilee USA Network is based in Washington, DC.

**KAIROS EUROPA** is a European network of ecumenical organizations and grassroots groups in the majority of European Union member states. Kairos, as an international organization, began in South Africa during the height of the apartheid years. In 1985, in a ground-breaking document entitled "A challenge to the churches," grassroots Christians and intellectuals in South Africa challenged the churches to join the struggle against apartheid. Founded in 1990, Kairos Europa was the European response to the 1985 South African Kairos document. Kairos Europa provides a platform for addressing the injustice and violence of global economic apartheid and challenging the European Union to side with those groups advocating just and sustainable alternatives. Over the years, Kairos Europa has maintained a strong relationship with churches, ecumenical organizations and social movements in South Africa working for socio-economic justice.

**KASA** is the Ecumenical Service for Advocacy Work on Southern Africa, in Heidelberg, Germany, and is supported by eighteen church organizations and groupings, including the four

main aid agencies of German Catholic and Protestant churches involved in South Africa. KASA is a department of the non-governmental organization Werkstatt Ökonomie (WÖK), and since its foundation in 1983, KASA has been one of the key research centers involved in the church-based Anti-Apartheid Movement in Germany. KASA's coordinator, Theo Kneifel, was deported from South Africa in 1986 on account of his participation in the democratic opposition to the apartheid regime.

**KOSA (KOORDINATION SÜDLICHES AFRIKA, COORDINATION SOUTHERN AFRICA)** is a German non-governmental, non-profit organization, which succeeded the former German Anti-Apartheid Movement (1974-2001). KOSA cooperates with peoples and social movements in Southern Africa for a peaceful and sustainable development of the Southern African region. Members of KOSA consist of developmental organisations, networks of groups supporting a particular country in the Southern African region, international solidarity groups and more than 200 individual members. Beginning in 1974, AAB/KOSA organised campaigns, seminars, conferences and public events, published reports, information leaflets and other material for the public in order to fight against apartheid in South Africa.

**JOSEF LANG**, Member of the Swiss Parliament, Zug, and was a Local Councillor and anti-apartheid activist from 1982-1994. He has also been a board member of the organization, Swiss Peace. As a historian he conducted research on a company owned by the Swiss businessman Mark Rich denounced by the UN for delivering oil to South Africa.

**MARGRIT LIENERT**, was a union activist and served as vice-president and an active committee member of the French speaking branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Switzerland from 1973 to 1991,. She advocated before the Swiss government, including for sanctions and boycotts against South Africa, and organized numerous actions, meetings and conferences on a local level, and co-operated on the bi-monthly newsletter published by the Movement. Her contributions included key participation in a petition signed by 17,454 citizens and submitted to the Federal Government in 1985 against Switzerland's cooperation with South Africa.

**MASCHA MADÖRIN**, is an economist (MA), working as a consultant on financial systems and human rights, economic politics, public finance and gender. During the 1980s she was a coordinator of the very influential South Africa Boycott Campaign lobbying for economic sanctions against apartheid, for consumer boycotts of South African products and calling for the withdrawal of assets from Swiss banks dealing with South Africa. She has participated in research on the effects of sanctions against Rhodesia, on migrant labor to South Africa, and has published several articles and studies about the relationship of Swiss banking with apartheid, and at the moment is doing research for the International Apartheid Debt and Reparations Campaign. She is a member of an independent research group on the history of relations between Switzerland and the apartheid regime.

**MAKSA** is a church-based organisation in Germany which played a major role in the foundation of the German Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1974 and in its further development. Most of its members are pastors and theologians who worked for many years in South Africa and Namibia. MAKSA provides a platform for their continued involvement in creating a just and democratic

transition process in South Africa and the region. From its beginning in 1972, MAKSA promoted the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches and its Special Fund in support of the liberation movements in Southern Africa. MAKSA presently works within the German churches to promote an open accounting for the apartheid past and for justice and reparations for the victims of apartheid in South Africa and the region. The declaration of apartheid as a "crime against humanity" by the international community was paralleled by the declaration of apartheid as "a heresy," and as constituting a "status confessionis" by major church bodies.

**OLIVIER DE MARCELLUS**, President, APCM (Popular Action against Globalisation) is a researcher in education who has been an activist for 30 years, among other things against the collaboration of Swiss banks with apartheid.

**MEDICO INTERNATIONAL** is a major German nongovernmental organization founded in 1968 that supports grass roots processes and campaigns on psycho-social justice, health and healing in Europe, Africa and Asia. Because of its involvement in the International Campaign Against Landmines, Medico International was one of the recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997. Since its founding in 1997, Medico International supported the South African coalition against apartheid debt and worked for reparations of victims and survivors of apartheid in the context of the South African Commission of Truth and Reconciliation.

**MERS** was created in 1999 as the successor organisation to the "Academy for Human Rights" (Akademie für Menschenrechte). The association's goal is raising awareness of human rights in the Swiss population. MERS supplies human rights experts for conferences and seminars, prepares expert opinions and positions on draft laws and helps non-governmental organizations in drafting and coordinating shadow reports on human rights agreements. MERS has become an important resource centre for nongovernmental organizations dealing in the sector of human rights and international law.

**METROPOLITAN BLACK BAR ASSOCIATION (MBBA)** is a New York city-wide organization of mostly African American and other minority attorneys. The MBBA is 21 years old; however, it was formed from the merger of two of the oldest minority bar associations in the country. The MBBA's purpose is to aid the progress of attorneys of color and to assist the progress of the legal profession generally. The MBBA is committed to equal justice for all and preventing state sanctioned discrimination. Since the founding of its predecessor organizations, when Black attorneys were prevented from joining most mainstream bar associations, Black attorneys have been at the forefront of the fight against discrimination on all fronts. This work included civil rights and human rights work both globally and locally. Black attorneys, leaders and the community in New York repeatedly, through mass protests, condemned South Africa's systematic state sanctioned practice of apartheid.

**NORWEGIAN COUNCIL FOR AFRICA** (formerly the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa – NOCOSA) was the Norwegian arm of the international anti-apartheid movement from 1967 until the end of apartheid in 1994. The Norwegian Council for Africa organized a broad specter of the Norwegian society, including churches, trade unions, individuals, and all but one of the political parties. The South African struggle against apartheid had wide support both in the



Norwegian government as well as in the society at large. Norway, together with the other Scandinavian countries, was among the first to recognize the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime and to implement sanctions. The Norwegian Council for Africa drove the successful boycott campaign against the South African Government in Norway.

**PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY – NEW YORK --** The New York City Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSRNYC) is a 1500 member local chapter of the Physicians for Social Responsibility, which was founded in 1961 and was a co-recipient of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize. PSRNYC was launched in the early 1980s as a part of the national nuclear freeze movement. PSR's mission is to end nuclear weapons proliferation, promote sustainable environments free of chemical toxic contamination and environmental racism, and end interpersonal violence through rational gun regulation.

**PAUL RECHSTEINER**, lawyer, Member of Parliament, St. Gall, former President of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement and author of a number of parliamentary interventions on the Swiss-apartheid relations in the 80s, President of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, Member of the Board of the Paul Grüninger Foundation.

**LAURENCE FEHLMANN RIELLE**, President of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement (French speaking part) from 1984-1989. At present, he is Councillor of the Geneva Parliament.

**BALDWIN SJOLLEMA**, First Director of the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches (WCC) (1970-81). During that period WCC, as part of its policy and programs to substantially contribute to the liberation of the victims of racism, developed a policy of disinvestment from South Africa, selling the Council's existing holdings and discontinuing investments in corporations that were investing in or trading with South Africa. WCC also supported a call for withdrawing money invested in banks and companies that aided and abetted apartheid. Later Sjollema joined the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and was responsible for the ILO's Anti-Apartheid Programme (1982-87). In 2004, he received from South African President Thabo Mbeki the Order of the Companions of Oliver R. Tambo, the highest honor bestowed on foreigners.

**SOLIFONDS** is a foundation created by the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions (SGB), the Socialdemocratic Party of Switzerland (SPS), the Swiss Labour Assistance (SAH) and several development organizations. The objective of SOLIFONDS is to support human rights movements in the Third World. Since its foundation in 1983, SOLIFONDS was in close contact with a number of COSATU trade unions in South Africa and actively supported their struggle against apartheid. In 1990 SOLIFONDS published the study "Im Windschatten der Apartheid" (In the Slipstream of Apartheid) which analyses the policy and activities of Swiss business in the apartheid state.

**SWISS ASSOCIATION OF LAWYERS AND JURISTS FOR DEMOCRACY**, is a Swiss association of attorneys, judges, legal experts and senior university fellows. The aim of the organization is to promote the implementation of all human rights obligations of states deriving from international human rights instruments and to act against human rights violations. One of

the central concerns is to advance the protection, rehabilitation and adequate compensation of victims of human rights violations.

**SWISS LABOUR ASSISTANCE (SLA)** is a Swiss nongovernmental organization founded in 1936. SLA is committed to developing a socially, politically and economically just society and supports people in shaping their life in dignity and safety. SLA promotes individuals and organizations in their pursuit of self-determination and in the implementation of human rights. In its international cooperation, SLA supports development programmes and humanitarian aid projects, currently in over 15 countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and South-Eastern Europe. SLA international cooperation supports sustainable development, the reduction of poverty and the promotion of respect for human rights. The most important mandate of SLA is the strengthening and empowerment of representative and democratic organizations of civil society. As part of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement, SLA has participated in actions and campaigns in Switzerland opposing apartheid. In South Africa, SLA has been supporting smaller projects of South African partner organizations since the end of the 1980's, and in a more systematic way since 1990/1991, especially with trade unions and labor support organizations advocating for full respect and enhancement of labor rights.

**TERRE DES HOMMES SWITZERLAND (TDH)** is a Swiss NGO founded in 1960, working for global social justice with a focus on children and youth, human rights and the recognition of the rights of marginalized groups and individuals. In co-operation with partners in 11 countries, including South Africa, TDH is active in raising public awareness in Switzerland. In the 1980s during apartheid, TDH supported the call for sanctions and was an active part of the boycott movement in Switzerland. In 1988, TDH published documentation on apartheid and Swiss – South African relations and provided humanitarian assistance to refugees and victims of apartheid.

**FRANZISKA TEUSCHER**, Member of Parliament, Berne, Switzerland, is President of the Swiss Association for Transport and Environment, Member of the Commission for Women of the Swiss Trade Union Congress, and a Member of the Parliamentary Caucus Switzerland – South Africa.

**DANIEL VISCHER**, Lawyer, is a Member of Parliament, Zurich, Switzerland and President of a Trade Union Section, President of the Association Switzerland – Palestine, and member of the Parliamentary Caucus Switzerland – South Africa.

**APPENDIX B:  
INTERGOVERNMENTAL AND GOVERNMENTAL  
ACTION AND STATEMENTS ON APARTHEID  
1946-1993**

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\*Documents are organized within each section in chronological order.

## 1) Security Council Resolutions

- **Security Council resolution: Question relating to the situation in the Union of South Africa.** (recognizing that the “large-scale killings of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators against racial discrimination and segregation” is the result of the “continued disregard by that Government of the resolutions of the General Assembly calling upon it to revise its policies and bring them into conformity with its obligations and responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations.”)

S/RES/134 (1960), 1 April 1960,

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/157/23/IMG/NR015723.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Security Council resolution: Question relating to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (stating that the Security Council “strongly deprecates the policies of South Africa in its perpetuation of racial discrimination as being inconsistent with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to its obligations as a Member of the United Nations” and “Solemnly calls upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa.”)

S/RES/181 (1963), 7 August 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#25>

- **Security Council resolution: Question relating to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (“Expressing the firm conviction that the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination as practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa are abhorrent to the conscience of mankind.”)

S/RES/182 (1963), 4 December 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#31>

- **Report of the Group of Experts established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 182 (1963).** (“The conscience of the world has been stirred, and there is a recognition in world opinion generally that the South African problem is unique, demanding exceptional treatment. There is an international crisis of conscience...” and commerce, industry and banking “should feel an exceptional responsibility, for it is largely from the cheap labour maintained by the policies of apartheid that their profits derive.”)

S/RES/5658, (1964), 20 April 1964, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#34>

- **Question relating to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa** (“Recalling General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) of 11 October 1963, which condemns the Government of the Republic of South Africa for its failure to comply with the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and which requests it to abandon the arbitrary trial in progress and forthwith to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners...”)

S/RES/190 (1964), 9 June 1964.

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/211/48/IMG/NR021148.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Security Council resolution: Question relating to the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (Appealing “to the Government of the Republic of South Africa; (a) To renounce the execution of any persons sentenced to death for their opposition to the policy of apartheid; (b) To grant immediate amnesty to all persons detained or on trial, as well as clemency to all persons sentenced, for their opposition to the Government's racial policies; (c) To abolish the practice of imprisonment without charges, without access to counsel or without the right of prompt trial.”)

S/RES/191 (1964), 18 June 1964, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#36>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (condemning the Government of South Africa for continuing its policies of apartheid in violation of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nation.)

S/RES/311 (1972), 4 February 1972, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#59>

- **Security Council resolution: Situation in South Africa - Killings and violence by the apartheid regime in South Africa in Soweto and other areas.** (condemning “the South African Government for its resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people including schoolchildren and students and others opposing racial discrimination” and reaffirming “that the policy of apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbs international peace and security.”)

S/RES/392 (1976), 19 June 1976, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#77>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of South Africa.** (noting “with deep anxiety and indignation that the South African racist regime has continued violence and massive repression against the Black people and all opponents of apartheid in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council.”)

S/RES/417 (1977), 31 October 1977, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#83>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of South Africa.** (Announcing that a “mandatory arms embargo needs to be universally applied against South Africa” because of its “policies and acts of the South African Government are fraught with danger to international peace and security.”)

S/RES/418 (1977), 4 November 1977, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#84>

- **Statement by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in the Security Council after the adoption of resolution 418 (1977) concerning a mandatory arms embargo against South**

**Africa.** (recognizing that “adoption of this resolution marks the first time in the 32-year history of the Organization that action has been taken under Chapter VII of the Charter against a Member State” and that “policy of apartheid as well as the measures taken by the South African Government to implement this policy are such a gross violation of human rights and so fraught with danger to international peace and security that a response commensurate with the gravity of the situation was required.”)

S/PV.2046 (1977), 4 November 1977, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#85>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of South Africa.** (reaffirming “that the policy of apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously disturbs international peace and security” and strongly condemning “the racist regime of South Africa for further aggravating the situation and its massive repression against all opponents of apartheid, for killings of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees and for its defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 417 (1977).”)

S/RES/473 (1980), 13 June 1980, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#92>

- **Statement by the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council, concerning the proclamation of the "independent" State of Ciskei.** (condemning “the purported proclamation of the 'independence' of the Ciskei and declares it totally invalid,” declaring that the “action by the South African Regime...denounced by the international community, is designed to divide and dispossess the African people and establish client States under its domination in order to perpetuate apartheid.”)

S/14794, 15 December 1981, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#99>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of South Africa.** (Declaring that “the so-called ‘new constitution’ is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”)

S/RES/554 (1984), 17 August 1984, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#108>

- **Security Council Resolution 556** (“convinced that racist South Africa’s defiance of world public opinion and the imposition of the rejected so-called ‘new constitution’ will inevitably lead to further escalation of the explosive situation and will have far-reaching consequences for Southern Africa and the world” and “reiterating its condemnation of the apartheid policy of the South African regime and South Africa’s continued defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and designs further to entrench apartheid, a system characterized as a crime against humanity.”)

S/RES/554 (1984), 23 October 1984

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/487/86/IMG/NR048786.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of South Africa.** (condemning the “arbitrary arrests of hundreds of persons,” “the practice by the South African Government of detention without trial and of forcible removal, as well as the discriminatory legislation in force,” “acknowledging further that the very cause of the situation in South Africa lies in the policy of apartheid and the practices of the South African Government.”)

S/RES/569 (1985), 26 July 1985, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#111>

- **The Question of South Africa** (condemning "racist South Africa's policy of the uprooting, denationalization and dispossession of three and a half million indigenous African people to date, thus swelling the ranks of the other millions already doomed to permanent unemployment and starvation" and "strongly" condemning the "Pretoria regime for the killing of defenseless African people protesting against their forced removal...")

S/RES/560 (1985), 12 March 1985.

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/488/97/IMG/NR048897.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Statement by the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council, expressing grave concern over the killing and wounding of innocent people by the South African police in the town of Uitenhage, 21 March 1985.** (condemning the 21 March 1985 incident where the “South African police opened fire on innocent people proceeding to a funeral, killing and wounding scores of them.”)

S/17050, (1985), 22 March 1985, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#110>

- **Statement by the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council, on the situation in South Africa.** (condemning “the Pretoria regime for its continued failure to heed the repeated appeals made by the international community including Security Council resolution 569 of 26 July 1985 and in particular the demand made in that resolution for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency.”)

S/17413, (1985), 21 August 1985, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#112>

- **Resolution 581** (“gravely concerned at the tension and instability created by the hostile policies and aggression of the apartheid regime throughout southern Africa and the mounting threat they pose to the security of the region and its wider implications for international peace and security.”)

S/RES/581 (1986), 13 February 1986.

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/729/05/IMG/NR072905.pdf?OpenElement>

- **The Question of South Africa** (“Strongly condemning the racist regime of South Africa for further aggravating the situation and its massive repression against all opponents of

apartheid, for the killing of peaceful demonstrators and political detainees, and for its defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions...”)

S/RES/591 (1986), 28 November 1986,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/729/15/IMG/NR072915.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Statement by the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council, calling upon the South African authorities to revoke the decree of 10 April 1987, under which protest against detentions without trial or support for those detained are prohibited.** (calling upon the “South African authorities to revoke the decree of 10 April 1987, which is contrary to fundamental human rights as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations and to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.”)

S/18808, (1987), 16 April 1987, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#115>

- **Resolution 610** (“gravely concerned at the deteriorating situation in South Africa, [and] the worsening human suffering resulting from the apartheid system.”)

S/RES/610 (1988), 16 March 1988,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/729/15/IMG/NR072915.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Resolution 615** (1988) (“gravely concerned at the deteriorating situation in South Africa, [and] the worsening human suffering resulting from the apartheid system.”)

S/RES/615 (1988), 17 June 1988,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/541/42/IMG/NR054142.pdf?OpenElement>

- **Security Council resolution: The question of South Africa.** (condemning “the escalating violence in South Africa and in particular the massacre at Boipatong township on 17 June 1992, as well as subsequent incidents of violence including the shooting of unarmed protesters.”)

S/RES/765 (1992), 16 July 1992, <http://www.anc.org.za/icons/doc.gif>

## 2) General Assembly Resolutions

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa.** (stating that the “treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments, and the relevant provisions of the Charter.”)



A/RES/44 (I), 8 December 1946, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#1>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa** (considering the policy of apartheid as “necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination,” and recommending India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa to proceed with plans of holding a round table conference bearing in mind provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration, and recommending governments concerned from taking “any steps which would prejudice the success of their negotiations, in particular, the implementation or enforcement of the provisions of The Group Areas Act.”)

A/RES/395 (V), 2 December 1950,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/059/93/IMG/NR005993.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of people of Indian Origin in the Union of South Africa** (Noting the promulgation of the Group Areas Act in contravention of resolution 395 (V), calls upon the governments of India, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa to carry on appropriate negotiations regarding this issue, and calls upon South Africa to “suspend the implementation or enforcement of the provisions of the Group Areas Act.”)

A/RES/511 (VI), 12 January 1952,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/067/66/IMG/NR006766.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of people of Indian Origin in the Union of South Africa** (reaffirming prior resolutions 44 (I), 265(III), 395 (V), 511 (VI) relating to the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, noting South Africa’s failure to enter into negotiations with Pakistan and India, and continuing to call for the suspension of the implementation of the Group Areas Act.)

A/RES/615 (VII), 5 December 1952, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/4511843.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa.** (establishing commission to study Apartheid policies in light of legal obligations of UN charter and resolutions of the United Nations on racial persecution and discrimination.)

A/RES/616 A (VII), 5 December 1952, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#7>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa.** (affirming that policies of states that perpetuate or increase discrimination are inconsistent with Article 56 of the UN charter.)

A/RES/616 B (VII), 5 December 1952, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#8>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa** (recalling each prior resolution concerning the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, and expresses with regret South Africa's refusal to make use of any of the provisions for settlement of the issue provided by the Commission, its continued implementation of the Group Areas Act, its "proceeding with further legislation contrary to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.")

A/RES/719 (VIII), 11 November 1953,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/085/84/IMG/NR008584.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (Noting with concern the conclusion reached by the Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa that the racial policies of South Africa and their consequences are contrary to the Charter and the Declaration, "that the continuance of this policy would make peaceful solutions increasingly difficult and endanger friendly relations among nations," and reaffirming the high interests to humanity to put an immediate end to racial persecution and discrimination.)

A/RES/721 (VIII), 8 December 1953, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/7105776.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (Noting with apprehension the adoption of new laws in South Africa which are also incompatible with the obligations required under the Charter, "noting further the profound conviction of the Commission that the policy of apartheid constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful relations between ethnic groups in the world, and invites the South African government to reconsider its position in light of the high principles expressed in the Charter.)

A/RES/820 (IX), 14 December 1954, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/7105776.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (Noting with regret that the South African government has again refused to cooperate with the Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, expressing concern at South Africa continuing to "give effect to the policies of apartheid," reminding the government of the "Union of South Africa of the faith it had reaffirmed, in signing the Charter, in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person and calling on the government to "observe the obligations contained in Article 56 of the Charter.")

A/RES/917 (X), 6 December 1955,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/10/ares10.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (Noting prior resolution 616 B (VII) that declared that governmental policies designed to perpetuate discrimination are inconsistent with the Charter, deploring the South African government's failure to observe its obligations under the Charter, and affirming "its conviction that perseverance in such discriminatory policies are inconsistent with not only the Charter but with the forces of progress and international co-operation in implementing the ideals of equality, freedom and justice.")

A/RES/1016 (XI), 30 January 1957, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/10/ares10.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (appealing to the South African government to revise its policy in light of the purposes and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.)

A/RES/1178 (XII), 26 November 1957, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/180921.2.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa** (Appealing on the South African government "to participate in negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view of solving this problem in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.")

A/RES/1179 (XII), 26 November 1957, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/6101264.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (affirming prior resolutions calling upon South Africa's obligations under the Charter and expressing regret and concern at the South African government's failure to respond to the General Assembly's appeals to reconsider its governmental policies.)

A/RES/1248 (XIII), 30 October 1958,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/746/92/IMG/NR074692.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** ("Noting with concern that the policy of apartheid is still being pursued, and expressing deep regret and concern over South Africa's failure to respond to appeals to reconsider its policies that "impair the rights of all racial groups to enjoy the same fundamental rights and freedoms.")

A/RES/1375 (XIV), 17 November 1959,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/141/98/IMG/NR014198.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa** (Noting repeated appeals to the Government of South Africa to enter into negotiations regarding this matter with Pakistan and India and South Africa's repeated failures to respond to negotiation efforts.)

A/RES/ 1460 (XIV), 10 December 1959,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/142/83/IMG/NR014283.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa.** ("Deprecat[ing] policies based on racial discrimination as reprehensible and repugnant to human dignity" and affirming "that the racial policies being pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa are a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and are inconsistent with the obligations of a Member State.")

A/RES/1598 (XV), 13 April 1961, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#19>

- **General Assembly resolution: Treatment of People of Indian and Indo-Pakistan Origin in the Union of South Africa** (reiterating provisions of prior resolutions concerning the same issue, including South Africa's continued failure to respond to negotiation efforts initiated by Pakistan and India.)

A/RES/1597 (XV), 13 April 1961,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/198/12/IMG/NR019812.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa** (Condemning "policies based on racial superiority as reprehensible and repugnant to human dignity," and reaffirming that "the racial policies being pursued by the Government of South Africa are a flagrant violation of the Charter of United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," and calling upon the government to change its policies and conduct.)

A/RES/1663 (XVI), 28 November 1961,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/167/16/IMG/NR016716.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (Requesting that member states break off diplomatic ties with South Africa, boycott its goods, close their ports to its vessels because of the "continued and total disregard by the Government of South Africa of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations")

A/RES/1761 (XVII), 6 November 1962,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/192/69/IMG/NR019269.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: Release of political prisoners in South Africa.** (condemning “the Government of the Republic of South Africa for its failure to comply with the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council calling for an end to the repression of persons opposing apartheid.”)

A/RES/1881 (XVIII), 11 October 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#29>

- **General Assembly resolution: The Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa** (Appealing to all States to take the appropriate measures “with a view to dissuading the Government of the Republic of South Africa from pursuing its policies of apartheid.”)

A/RES/1978 (XVIII), 17 December 1963,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/167/16/IMG/NR016716.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: The Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa** (Stating its grave concern at the “aggravation of the explosive situation in the Republic of South Africa as a result of the continued implementation of the policies of apartheid,” and considering “prompt and effective international action is imperative in order to avert the grave danger of a violent racial conflict in Africa,” and appealing to major trading partners of South Africa to cease increasing economic collaboration with the government, “which encourages that Government to defy world opinion and to accelerate the implementation of the policies of apartheid.”)

A/RES/2054 (XX), 15 December 1965,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/218/17/IMG/NR021817.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly Resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (Terminates the South African mandate for Namibia and places the territory under UN administration. Passes by a margin of 114 to 2, with 3 abstentions.)

A/RES/2145, 21 October, 1966,  
<http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.** (Proclaiming 21 March as International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.)

A/RES/2142 (XXI), 26 October 1966, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#42>

- **General Assembly resolution: Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories.** (requesting “the Secretary-General to establish a unit within the Secretariat of the United Nations to deal exclusively with policies of apartheid...in order that maximum publicity may be given to the evils of those policies.”)

A/RES/2144 A (XXI), 26 October 1966, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#43>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.** (Condemning “the policies of apartheid practiced by the Government of South Africa as a crime against humanity” and reaffirming that “the situation in South Africa and the resulting explosive situation in southern Africa continue to pose a grave threat to international peace and security.”)

A/RES/2202 A (XXI), 16 December 1966, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#44>

- **General Assembly resolution: The Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa** (Reiterating its condemnation of the policies of apartheid as a crime against humanity and its conviction that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security, condemning particularly the states that are main trading partners of South Africa, who through their “political, economic and military collaboration with the Government of South Africa” are encouraging its persistence in its racial policies.)

A/RES/2307 (XXII), 13 December 1967,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/236/42/IMG/NR023642.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.** (reiterating its “condemnation of the policies of apartheid practiced by the Government of South Africa as a crime against humanity,” and “condemns the Government of South Africa for its cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of political prisoners.”)

A/RES/2396 (XXIII), 2 December 1968, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#51>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Noting the continued intensification of South Africa’s inhuman and aggressive policies of apartheid, and stating its conviction that the “international campaign against apartheid must be intensified urgently in order to assist in securing the elimination of these inhuman policies,” and reaffirming the urgent necessity of elimination the policies of apartheid.)

A/RES/2396 (XXIII), 2 December 1968,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/243/56/IMG/NR024356.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa** (“Considering it appropriate and essential to continue to increase humanitarian assistance to the victims of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.”)

A/RES/2397 (XXIII), 2 December 1968, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/5952659.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on the Treatment of Political Prisoners in South Africa** (Expressing grave concern at the evidence of “the intensification of inhumane practices by the Government of South Africa against the opponents of the policies of apartheid,” and condemning “any and every practice of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of detainees and prisoners in South African police custody during interrogation and detention.”)

A/RES/2440 (XXIII), 19 December 1968, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/6889030.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Noting South Africa’s continued persecution of opponents of apartheid, subjecting detainees to brutal treatment leading in several cases to death, and condemning the Government for “its repressive acts against the political movement of the oppressed people of South Africa and, in particular, for its enactment of the Terrorism Act.”)

A/RES/2506 (XXIV), 21 November 1969, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/2114174.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Expressing grave concern about the “continued build-up of the South African military and police forces and the consequent aggravation of the situation in southern Africa,” and calling upon states to implement Security Council resolution 282 (1970), which calls upon states to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa.)

A/RES/ 2624 (XXV), 13 October 1970,  
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/348/89/IMG/NR034889.pdf?OpenElement>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.** (Declaring “that the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa are a negation of the Charter of the United Nations and constitute a crime against humanity,” condemning “the establishment by the racist minority Government of South Africa of ‘bantustans’ in so-called African reserves as fraudulent, a violation of the principle of self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the State and the unity of its people.”)

A/RES/2671 F (XXV), 8 December 1970, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#55>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Apartheid in sports.** (condemns the actions of the Government of South Africa in enforcing racial discrimination and segregation in sports.)

A/RES/2775 D (XXVI), 29 November 1971,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#56>

- **General Assembly resolution: The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Establishment of Bantustans.** (recalling the “principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, and the judgment of the Tribunal,” the “obligations of all States under international law, the Charter of the United Nations, the human rights principles and the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949” and “noting further that under the aforementioned resolution crimes against humanity are committed when enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts are enforced against any civilian population on political, racial or religious grounds;” condemning “the establishment by the Government of South Africa of Bantu homelands (bantustans) and the forcible removal of the African people of South Africa and Namibia to those areas as a violation of their inalienable rights, contrary to the principle of self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the countries and the unity of their peoples.”)

A/RES/2775 E (XXVI), 29 November 1971, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#57>

- **General Assembly resolution: United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa** (Recognizing the “continuing need for humanitarian assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa,” and stating its concern at the actions of the government in “persecuting persons engaged in providing humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid.”)

A/RES/2774 (XXVI), 29 November 1971,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/26/ares26.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Situation in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid.** (condemning the racist Government of South Africa for continuing and intensifying the implementation of its inhuman policy of apartheid, and subjecting the opponents of apartheid to ruthless repression, in violation of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, thereby creating a grave threat to the peace.)

A/RES/2923 E (XXVII), 15 November 1972  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#60>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid.** (appealing “to all national and international trade union organizations to intensify their action against apartheid.”)



A/RES/2923 F (XXVII), 15 November 1972,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#61>

- **General Assembly resolution: Political Prisoners in South Africa** (Condemning the Government of South Africa for its failure to comply with repeated requests for the release of all persons imprisoned for their opposition to apartheid.)

A/RES/ 3055 (XXVIII), 26 October 1973,  
<http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/7468600.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.** (In the context of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, declaring that “apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, are crimes violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.”)

A/RES/3068 (XXVIII), 30 November 1973, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#65>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Stating its conviction of the importance of the participation of the trade union movement in the international campaign against apartheid,” “considering the need to intensify United Nations efforts towards the eradication of apartheid in South Africa.”)

A/RES/3151 (XXVIII), 14 December 1973,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/28/ares28.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Relationship between the United Nations and South Africa.** (reaffirming that the “policy of apartheid and racial discrimination of the Government of South Africa is a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”)

A/RES/3207 (XXIX), 30 September 1974,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/29/ares29.htm>

- **Ruling by the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria), concerning the credentials of the delegation of South Africa.** (rejecting South African delegation to the General Assembly.)

A/PV.2281, 12 November 1974, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#69>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Noting that “continued collaboration by certain States and by economic and other interests with the South African regime impedes efforts for the eradication of apartheid,” and further noting that the actions of states in “strengthening political, economic, military and other relations with the South African regime are in flagrant violation of the resolution of the United Nations.”)

A/RES/ 3324 (XXIX), 16 December 1974,  
<http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/6525939.html>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Solidarity with the South African political prisoners.** (“Condemning the ruthless repression by the racist regime of South Africa against the leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of *apartheid*,” and “*strongly condemn[ing]* the Terrorism Act and other repressive legislation designed to suppress the legitimate struggle of the South African people for freedom and self-determination.”)

A/RES/3411 B (XXX), 28 November 1975, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#73>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa.** (reiterating “its determination to devote increasing attention and all necessary resources to concert international efforts, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, for the speedy eradication of apartheid in South Africa and the liberation of the South African people.”)

A/RES/3411 C (XXX), 28 November 1975, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#74>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Situation in South Africa.** (appealing “to all States concerned to take the necessary measures to impose an effective embargo on the supply of petroleum, petroleum products and strategic raw materials to South Africa.”)

A/RES/3411 G (XXX), 28 November 1975, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#74>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - The so-called “independent” Transkei and other Bantustans.** (condemning the establishment of bantustans as designed to consolidate the inhuman policies of apartheid, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate White minority domination and to dispossess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable right.)

A/RES/31/6 A, 26 October 1976, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#80>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Investments in South Africa.** (urging “the Security Council, when studying the problem of

the continued struggle against the apartheid policies of South Africa, to consider steps to achieve the cessation of further foreign investments in South Africa.”)

A/RES/31/6 K, 9 November 1976, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#80>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Recognizing the “imperative need for stepping up the international campaign against apartheid,” proclaiming the year beginning March 21, 1978 International Anti-Apartheid Year, involving among others, the “intensification of the international campaign against apartheid.”)

A/RES/32/105, 14 December 1977,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/32/ares32r105.pdf>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International mobilization against apartheid.** (recalling its “resolution 32/105 B of 14 December 1977 proclaiming the year beginning on 21 March 1978 International Anti-apartheid Year,” “reaffirming that apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind,” and declaring that “the righteous struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa has led to an international consensus against apartheid.”)

A/RES/33/183 B, 24 January 1979, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#87>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Declaration on South Africa.** (“Reaffirming that apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind,” “Noting with concern the continued intransigence of the South Africa regime, which has defied and disregarded numerous resolutions of organs of the United Nations for a just, peaceful and lasting resolution of the situation, including unanimous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,” and declaring that “all States shall solemnly pledge to refrain from overt or covert military intervention in support of defence of the Pretoria regime in its effort to repress the legitimate aspirations and struggle of the African people of South Africa against it in the exercise of their right of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.”)

A/RES/34/93 O, 12 December 1979, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#91>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Cultural, academic and other boycotts of South Africa.** (requesting “all States to take steps to prevent all cultural, academic, sports and other exchanges with South Africa.”)

A/RES/35/206 E, 16 December 1980, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#95>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Women and children under apartheid.** (endorsing “the Declaration and Recommendations

of the International Seminar on Women and apartheid and the relevant recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, and commends them to the attention of Governments and organizations” and “urges all organizations of the United Nations system, Governments, international and regional intergovernmental organizations, women's organizations and anti-apartheid groups, non-governmental organizations and other groups to give the highest priority to the question of measures of assistance to women in South Africa and Namibia during the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women.”)

A/RES/35/206 N, 16 December 1980, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#96>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (“Reaffirming that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security,” and “recognizing that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally eliminated,” and condemning “all military, nuclear and other collaboration by certain Western States and Israel with South Africa,” as well as “the collaboration by transnational corporations and financial institutions with South Africa.”)

A/RES/36/172, 17 December 1981, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/36/a36r172.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: South Africa's application for credit from the International Monetary Fund** (Requesting the International Monetary Fund to “refrain from granting any credits or other assistance to South Africa.”)

A/RES/37/2, 21 October 1982, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/37/a37r002.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist regime of South Africa** (“Reaffirming that any collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence and a contemptuous defiance of the United Nations and of the international community.”)

A/RES/37/39, 3 December 1982, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/37/a37r039.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Situation in South Africa.** (“Strongly” condemning “the apartheid regime of South Africa for its brutal repression and indiscriminate torture and killings of workers, schoolchildren and other opponents of apartheid, and the imposition of death sentences on freedom fighters;” and “vehemently” condemning “the apartheid regime for its repeated acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African States, designed to destabilize the whole of southern Africa.”)

A/RES/37/69 A, 9 December 1982, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#101>

- **Programme of Action against Apartheid, adopted by the General Assembly on 5 December 1983 in A/RES/38/39 B.** (declaring “Apartheid in South Africa, which has been denounced by the United Nations for over three decades, has become a grave menace to international peace and security” and “has caused immense suffering to the people of South Africa and has been condemned as a crime against humanity” and that the South African government “acts as an outlaw in constant and flagrant violation of international law” and that “despite the universal condemnation of apartheid and repeated calls for action by the United Nations, the apartheid regime has been able to survive and pose an ever greater threat to humanity.”)

A/38/539-S/16102, 8 November 1983,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/38/a38r039.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Proposed new racial constitution of South Africa.** (“Reaffirming that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security;” and declaring “that the so-called ‘constitutional proposals’ are contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”)

A/RES/38/11, 15 November 1983, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#105>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (“Condemning the racist minority regime of South Africa for its repeated defiance of the United Nations, its oppression of the great majority of the people of South Africa and its ruthless repression of all opponents of apartheid,” and “condemning, in particular, the increased collaboration by the Government of the United States of America with the racist regime of South Africa, in pursuance of its policy of so-called ‘constructive engagement’, which has encouraged the racist regime to entrench apartheid, intensify repression and escalate aggression against and destabilization of independent African States.”)

A/RES/38/39, 5 December 1983, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/38/a38r039.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Situation in South Africa** (Expressing alarm “by the aggravation of the situation in South Africa, in particular the wanton killing and the maiming of defenseless demonstrators and workers on strike as well as the imposition of virtual martial law conditions intended to facilitate the brutal repression of the black population.”)

A/RES/39/2, 28 September 1984, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/39/a39r002.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist regime of South Africa** (“Reaffirming that any collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa constitutes a hostile act against the oppressed peoples of southern Africa,” and requesting the Security Council to consider complete and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.)

A/RES/39/15, 15 November 1984, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/39/a39r015.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** ("Reaffirming that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security," and "condemning the actions of those transnational corporations that continue, through their collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa, to enhance its military and nuclear capabilities.")

A/RES/39/72, 13 December 1984, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/39/a39r072.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.** (adopting the "text of the International Convention against apartheid in Sports and opened it for signature" and "recognizing, in particular, that participation in sports exchanges with teams selected on the basis of apartheid directly abets and encourages the commission of the crime of apartheid.")

A/RES/40/64, 10 December 1985, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#113>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Expressing grave concern "at the institutionalized and continuing escalation of the reign of repressive and increasing state terror by the racist regime, the maintenance of the state of emergency, the virtually limitless powers of the police and security forces to arrest, detain, torture and kill opponents of apartheid, the use of regime-sponsored death squads and vigilantes to spread fear," and strongly condemns the policies and practices of apartheid, in particular "its brutal oppression, repression and genocidal violence against the people of South Africa.")

A/RES/41/35, 10 November 1986, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r035.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa.** (condemning "the policy and practice of apartheid and, in particular, the execution of patriots and captured freedom fighters in South Africa and demands that the racist regime: (a) Stay the execution of those now on death row; (b) Abide by the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol I of 1977.")

A/RES/42/23 A, 20 November 1987, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#117>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (Expressing its "outrage at reports of the detention, torture and inhuman treatment of children in South Africa," and calling "upon the South African authorities urgently to release children held in detention in that country.")

A/RES/42/124, 7 December 1987, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/42/a42r124.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Imposition, coordination and strict monitoring of measures against racist South Africa.**

(urging “all States that have not yet done so, pending the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to adopt legislative and/or comparable measures to impose effective sanctions against South Africa.”)

A/RES/43/50 D, 5 December 1988, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/43/a43r050.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa.** (Declaring “indignant at the continued non-implementation of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions by South Africa.”)

A/RES/43/50 G, 5 December 1988, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#117>

- **General Assembly resolution: Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist regime of South Africa.** (Expressing deep concern that “the major Western and other trading partners of South Africa continue to collaborate with that racist regime and that their collaboration constitutes the main obstacle to the liquidation of that racist regime and the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of apartheid.”)

A/RES/43/92, 8 December 1988, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/43/a43r092.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid** (“Reaffirming its conviction that apartheid constitutes a total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, a gross violation of human rights and a crime against humanity, seriously threatening international peace and security.”)

A/RES/43/97, 8 December 1988, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/43/a43r097.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa.** (Condemning “the regime's continuing practice of sentencing to death and executing its opponents and demands that it annul the capital punishment imposed on opponents of apartheid...and confer prisoner-of-war status on captured freedom fighters in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol I of 1977.”)

A/RES/44/27 A, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#119>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International support for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa through genuine negotiations.** (“Condemning once again the policy and practice of apartheid” and declaring “that the system of apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eliminated.”)

A/RES/44/27 B, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#120>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.** (“recalling its earlier resolutions and those of the Security Council calling for concerted international action to force the racist regime of South Africa to eradicate apartheid” and reaffirming “that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security, and that it is a primary responsibility of the United Nations to assist in efforts to eliminate apartheid peacefully without further delay.”)

A/RES/44/27 C, 22 November 1989,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/44/a44r027.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Imposition, coordination and strict monitoring of measures against racist South Africa.** (“Noting with concern that a number of transnational corporations, including banks, continue to provide support to the apartheid economy by maintaining financial and technological and other ties with South Africa.”)

A/RES/44/27 D, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#122>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International financial pressure on the apartheid economy of South Africa.** (stating “that the maintenance of the apartheid economy and the expansion of military and police expenditures substantially depend on the supply of further credits and loans by the international financial community” and “strongly” urging “Governments and private financial institutions to deny new bank loans to South Africa, whether to the public or private sectors.”)

A/RES/44/27 E, 22 November 1989,  
<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/44/a44r027.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (Authorizing Special Committee to “mobilize international action against apartheid, inter alia, through collection, analysis and dissemination of information, through liaison with non-governmental organizations and relevant individuals and groups able to influence public opinion and decision-making, and through hearings, conferences, consultations, missions, publicity and other relevant activities.”)

A/RES/44/27 G, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#124>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Oil embargo against South Africa.** (urging “the Security Council to take action without further delay to impose a mandatory embargo on the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa” and requesting “all States concerned...to adopt effective measures and/or legislation to broaden the scope of the oil embargo in order to ensure the



complete cessation of the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa ...”)

A/RES/44/27 H, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#125>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Military collaboration with South Africa.** (Noting “with ‘alarm and great concern that large quantities of arms and military equipment, including highly sophisticated materiel, were still reaching South Africa directly or via clandestine routes;’ and deploring “the actions of those States and organizations which directly or indirectly continue to violate the arms embargo and collaborate with South Africa in the military, nuclear, intelligence and technology fields...”)

A/RES/44/27 I, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#126>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.** (Stating that it is “[a]larmed by the continued detentions without trials, forced removals, bannings, restriction orders, political trials, death sentences imposed on opponents of apartheid and harassment of trade unions, church and other organizations and individuals involved in peaceful protest and dissent...” )

A/RES/44/27 J, 22 November 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#127>.

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid.** (“strongly” condemning “the policy of apartheid that deprives the majority of the South African population of their dignity, fundamental freedoms and human rights. . . strongly condemn[ing] the South African authorities for the killings, arbitrary mass arrests and the detention of members of mass organizations as well as other individuals who are opposing the apartheid system and the state of emergency, and for the detention of and even the use of violence against children...”)

A/RES/44/27 K, 22 November 1989 [Support for freedom from racism and colonialism], <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#128>

- **General Assembly resolution: Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.** [A call for negotiations with the people of South Africa to end apartheid] (“Affirming that apartheid, characterized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanize entire peoples and has imposed a brutal war on the region of southern Africa, which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality.”)

A/RES/S-16/1, 14 December 1989, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#130>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.** (“Gravely concerned with the escalating violence in South Africa resulting largely from continued existence of the apartheid policies, practices and structures, and actions of those opposed to the democratic transformation of South Africa.”)

A/RES/44/244, 17 September 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#132>

- **General Assembly resolution: Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist regime of South Africa** (Calling “upon all Governments and organizations to maintain sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa until the total dismantlement of the apartheid system has been achieved.”)

A/RES/45/84, 4 December 1990, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/45/a45r084.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - International efforts to eradicate apartheid.** (Stating that it is “[g]ravely concerned at the continuing repression of the majority population in South Africa through the apartheid system, manifested, inter alia, by detentions without trial, continued possibility of executions of political prisoners, absence of full implementation of agreements regarding the return of political exiles without restrictions and repressive provisions in the Internal Security Act.”)

A/RES/45/176 A, 19 December 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#134>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Concerted and effective measures aimed at eradicating apartheid.** [crimes against humanity and condemning specific acts in which defendants in this case likely engaged] (reaffirming that “apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of humankind and a threat to international peace and security, and that it is a primary responsibility of the United Nations to assist in efforts to eliminate it without further delay.”)

A/RES/45/176 B, 19 December 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#135>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Military collaboration with South Africa.** (stating that it “[s]trongly deplores the actions of those States which, directly or indirectly, continue to violate the arms embargo and collaborate with South Africa in the military, nuclear, intelligence and technology fields, and calls upon those States to terminate forthwith such hostile acts and honor their obligations under Security Council resolution 421 (1977).”)

A/RES/45/176 C, 19 December 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#136>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Oil embargo against South Africa.** (“Convinced that an effective oil embargo against South Africa would contribute to the efforts of the international community to bring about a

negotiated settlement and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.”)

A/RES/45/176 F, 19 December 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#138>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Support for the work of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports.** (calling upon: “those international sports organizations and federations which have not yet expelled South Africa or suspended its membership to do so without further delay.”)

A/RES/45/176 G, 19 December 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#139>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.** (Stating that it “[r]emain[s] seriously concerned by the continued existence of basic laws sustaining the apartheid system and other discriminatory and repressive laws, rules and regulations in South Africa.”)

A/RES/45/176 H, 19 December 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#140>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa - Oil embargo against South Africa.** (asking member states to “impose penal action against companies and individuals that have been involved in violating the oil embargo, and to publicize cases of successful prosecutions in conformity with their national laws.”)

A/RES/46/79 E, 13 December 1991, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs3a.html#145>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (“Reaffirming the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and the need for the full and immediate implementation of the provisions not yet fulfilled,” and noting that “international pressure, both that exerted by Governments and by individual citizens and organizations, has had and continues to have a significant impact on developments in South Africa.”)

A/RES/46/79, 13 December 1991, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/46/a46r079.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa** (“Noting that while positive measures have been undertaken by the South African authorities, including the repeal of key apartheid laws and the revision of major security legislation, important obstacles to achieving a climate conducive to free political activity remain.”)

A/RES/47/116, 18 December 1992, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r116.htm>

- **General Assembly resolution: Elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa** (“Expressing grave concern “that continued and

escalating violence threatens to undermine the process of peaceful change, through negotiated agreements, to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.”)

A/RES/48/159, 20 December 1993, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r116.htm>

### 3) Other UN Bodies

#### A) *Special Committee on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa*

- **Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (Conclusions and Recommendations).** (stating that South Africa deserves “particular condemnation in the light of Article 25 of the United Nations Charter;” that the United Nations should “consider, with no further delay, possible new measures in accordance with the Charter which provides for stronger political, diplomatic and economic sanctions, suspension of the rights and privileges of the Republic of South Africa as a Member State, and expulsion from the United Nations and its specialized agencies;” and noting “the increasing abhorrence by world public opinion of the racial policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the growing recognition that the continuation of these policies would seriously endanger the maintenance of international peace.”)

A/5497, 16 September 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#26>

#### B) *Special Committee against Apartheid*

- **Opening statement by Secretary-General U Thant at the first meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (affirming General Assembly and Security Council’s determinations that the “racial policies of the South African Government were not only not in conformity with its obligations and responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, but that they were also a source of international friction and a danger to the maintenance of international peace and security.”)

UN Press Release SG/1453, 2 April 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#22>

- **Letter dated 3 February 1967 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Achkar Marof (Guinea), to the Secretary-General concerning the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa.** (concluding that “the ruthless measures of the South African Government seem to be increasingly designed to wreak vengeance against the opponents of apartheid” and that “...such measures contravene international standards of behaviour and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”)

UN Press Release GA/AP/88, 3 February 1967,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#45>

- **Paper by Mr. Achkar Marof (Guinea), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, entitled "The crisis in southern Africa with special reference to South Africa and measures to be taken by the international community", presented to the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held at Kitwe, Zambia, from 25 July to 4 August 1967.** (stating that international corporations "assist the racist and colonial régimes by loans and investments. They help develop arms and strategic industries to enable these régimes to resist sanctions.")

A/6818, 29 September 1967, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#48>

- **"The Present Stage of the Struggle against Apartheid in South Africa": paper prepared by Mr. Oliver Tambo, acting President-General of the African National Congress, at the request of the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (drawing attention to the "countless resolutions condemning and demanding the abandonment of the policies of apartheid which have been adopted over a period of at least two decades by the United Nations, by its many committees and agencies, by individual Governments, organizations, conferences and groups of men and women in every quarter of the world; to the numerous times that the apartheid regime has ignored and defied these resolutions and appeals; to the mountains of documents and paperwork embodying studies revealing the horrors of white rule in South Africa, all of which make...[the] freedom struggle one of the most thoroughly documented in history.")

A/AC.115/L.222, 2 July 1968, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#50>

- **The Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa** ("reiterating its condemnation of the evil and abhorrent policies of apartheid and the measures being taken by the Government of South Africa to enforce and extend those policies beyond its borders" and "recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa in pursuance of their human and political rights set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.")

S/RES/282 (1970), 23 July 1970, <http://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/2208624.html>

- **Programme of action adopted by the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa (Oslo, 9-14 April 1973).** (declaring that "the policy of apartheid, which is a crime against humanity, a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations and a massive and ruthless denial of human rights, constitutes a threat to peace. It amounts to a serious and grave threat to the peace and security of Africa and the world...")

A/9061, 7 May 1973 <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#63>

- **Statement by Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, at the opening meeting of the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid, Geneva, 15 June 1973.** (stating that "it has long been proved

that this situation constitutes not only a breach of the United Nations Charter but a threat to international peace and security. Apartheid is a crime against humanity.”)

A/9169, 1 October 1973, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#64>

- **Statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria), at a meeting of the Anti-Apartheid Committee of New Zealand, held at Victoria University in Wellington on 13 September 1974.** (calling apartheid one of the “scourges of our time and one of the major impediments to genuine cooperation between broad segments of humanity, “a cancer that can destroy our hopes for the future of humanity.”)

UN Press Release GA/AP/413, 16 September 1974,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#67>

- **Paper presented by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria), to the Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Dar es Salaam, April 1975.** (stating that “Apartheid in South Africa has become a matter of universal concern. Many Governments have imposed sanctions against South Africa at some sacrifice, and are giving substantial assistance to the victims of apartheid and to their liberation movements. Many public organizations, especially in Western countries, have devoted commendable efforts in support of African aspirations. This world-wide support is of crucial importance for the Black people of South Africa in their struggle for liberation.”)

United Nations Unit on Apartheid Notes and Documents No. 11/75,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#71>

- **Statement by Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cisse (Guinea), Chairperson of the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (stressing “that apartheid in South Africa is not only a crime against the South African people or an affront to Africa, but also a grave threat to the peace which is of concern to all humanity” and also stating that “Apartheid has come to be universally condemned, as a unique and most abhorrent crime. It has been recognized that the problem in South Africa is not a problem of a mere violation of human rights or arbitrary imprisonment of a few people but the oppression of the great majority of the people by the racist regime. There have been resolutions and declarations, with overwhelming majorities, committing the United Nations and Member States to the struggle of the South African people.”)

UN press release GA/AP/523, 21 January 1976,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#76>

- **Special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on "The Soweto massacre and its aftermath".** (Declaring that “numerous Governments and public organizations all over the world have expressed shock at the callous killing of Africans, demanded that the Pretoria regime abandon apartheid and repression, and called for more energetic international

action to eradicate apartheid” and that the “inhuman brutality of the regime in resorting to wanton killings of African children underlines its determination to continue on its present course, which can only be catastrophic.”)

A/31/22/Add.1, 3 August 1976, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#78>

- **Introduction to the First Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, published by the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (condemning the policies of apartheid in sports.)

United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 18/81, May 1981  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#97>

- **Statement by Mr. Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, at the meeting of the Committee on 13 January 1983.** (condemning the “obstinate moves of the Pretoria regime to consolidate white domination, to the enormous suffering caused by its policies and actions, and to its resolve to escalate repression in the hope of suppressing the legitimate resistance of the majority of the people of the country.”)

Published by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid,  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#102>

- **Introduction to the First Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa, published by the Special Committee against Apartheid, October 1983.** (declaring that artists “who profit from the system of inhuman oppression of the black people in South Africa...will not be allowed to benefit from the patronage of countries and peoples committed to the struggle against apartheid.”)

United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 20/83, October 1983 <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#104>

- **Appeal by the Special Committee against Apartheid to the cities of the world, issued on 21 March 1984.** (declaring that “Apartheid, an affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind, and indeed a crime against humanity, must be eradicated. The cities of the world can make an important contribution in meeting the supreme moral challenge of apartheid.”)

A/AC.115/L.606, 4 April 1984, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#107>

- **Telegram dated 27 November 1984 from the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, Major-General J. N. Garba, to Mr. Walter Fauntroy, Mrs. Mary Frances Berry and Mr. Randall Robinson, Washington, D.C., commending non-violent direct action in support of the oppressed people of South Africa.** (declaring that the “brutality of apartheid regime is an outrage against conscience of humanity, and international community must stay the hands of that criminal regime which does not hesitate to kill even little children in order to perpetuate itself in power.”)

- **Report by the Secretary-General on progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa; includes statement by Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the African National Congress, in the Special Committee against Apartheid on 22 June 1990.** (Statement by Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the African National Congress, to the 641st meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid on 22 June 1990 (“We hold it as an inviolable principle that racism must be opposed by all the means that humanity has at its disposal. Wherever it occurs it has the potential to result in a systematic and comprehensive denial of human rights to those who are discriminated against. ...This is why it was correct to characterize the apartheid system as a crime against humanity and appropriate that the international community should decide that it should be suppressed and punishment meted out against its perpetrators.”))

A/44/960, 1 July 1990, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#131>

- **Statement by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at the first meeting in 1992 of the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (noting that “the Special Committee against Apartheid has, over the years, played an important role in stirring the conscience of the international community” and that “the system of apartheid in South Africa, which has rightly been on the agenda of the United Nations for many years, is crumbling under the combined pressure of internal and external forces.”)

UN Press Release SG/SM/4700 - GA/AP 2064, 18 February 1992  
<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs3a.html#147>

### ***C) International Conferences***

- **Declaration of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 27 May 1981.** (declaring that “the continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist regime of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of apartheid in South Africa” and that “a consensus has emerged on the fact that apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, incompatible with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”)

A/CONF.107/8, 1981, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#98>

- **Declaration of the International Conference on Women and Apartheid, held at Brussels, 17-19 May 1982.** (declaring that “apartheid, especially as it affects women and children, is an international crime and an intolerable affront to the conscience of mankind” and condemning “the actions of those governments, multinationals and interests which continue to collaborate with the apartheid regime and, in endorsing the relevant resolutions of



the United Nations General Assembly, it calls upon the countries in question to end such collaboration.”)

A/AC.115/L.571, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#100>

- **Declaration adopted by the International Conference of Trade Unions on Sanctions and Other Actions against the Apartheid Regime in South Africa, held at Geneva on 10 and 11 June 1983.** (Recalling that “apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity and that the Security Council of the United Nations, since its resolution 182 (1963) adopted unanimously on 4 December 1963, has affirmed the conviction that the situation in South Africa is seriously disturbing international peace and security;” and condemning the “systematic violation of human and trade union rights in South Africa;” and calling for “mandatory economic sanctions” and a severance of all political, economic, social and cultural ties with South Africa.)

A/38/272-S/15832, 16 June 1983, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2b.html#103>

#### D) *UN Commissions*

- **Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa ("Summary of the Commission's conclusions").** (declaring that the “doctrine of racial differentiation and superiority on which the apartheid policy...is contrary to ‘the dignity and worth of the human person’” and that these policies run contrary to Articles 55, 56, the preamble of the UN Charter, and the general purpose of the UN charter.)

A/2505 and Add.1, 1953, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#9>

- **Third report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa.** (reiterating the “conflict between the principles of *apartheid*, on the one hand, and the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” and stating that the “policy of *apartheid* is a seriously disturbing factor in international relations,” in violation of Article 14 of the charter and agreeing with independent groups that apartheid is “irreconcilable with the moral principles and the respect for human dignity which the civilized world has accepted as standards of national and international conduct...”)

A/2953, 1955, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#11>

- **Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.** (“Strongly deploring the continued flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations by the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the actions of that Government which are contrary to international law and international morality.”)

E/CN.4/RES/2 (XXIII), 6 March 1967, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#47>

#### **E) *United Nations Center on Transnational Corporations***

- **Transnational Corporations in South Africa, Second United Nations Public Hearings, 1989.** Volume I: Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons Background Documentation, p 74, 96 (panel of eminent persons hear arguments for the end of apartheid in South Africa, analysis of the current situation, the economic impact of sanctions, and the future of the nation, including suggestions for future action.)

1989, <http://unctc.unctad.org/data/unstctc0632p8.pdf>

- **Policies and Practices of Transnational Corporations Regarding their Activities in South Africa and Namibia** (examines investment policies and transnational employment practices in South Africa; also describes the contributions of transnational corporations there.)

1989, <http://unctc.unctad.org/data/e84iia5.pdf>

#### **F) *Other Statements & Resolutions***

- **Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa ("Summary of the Commission's Conclusions")** (Declaring that the "doctrine of racial differentiation and superiority on which the apartheid policy" is contrary to "the dignity and worth of the human person" and Articles 55, 56, the preamble, and the general purpose of the UN Charter)

UN Doc. A/2505 and Add.1, 1953, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#9>

- **World Health Assembly May 1963 resolution** (adopting "that the conditions imposed upon the non-white population of South Africa seriously prejudiced their physical, mental and social health, and was contrary to the principles of the Organization.")

A/AC.115/L.13, <http://w3.whosea.org/gb/mwha.htm>

- **Forty-seventh International Labour Conference and the Governing Body Resolutions of June 1963** (deciding "inter alia that the Republic of South Africa be excluded from meetings of the International Labour Organisation.")

A/AC.115/L.12, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/index.htm>

- **Economic and Social Council Resolution 974 D (XXXVI), part IV, adopted on 30 July 1963** (deciding that the Republic of South Africa "shall not take part in the work of the Economic Commission for Africa" while apartheid policies exist.)

July 1963, <http://www.un.org/docs/ecosoc/>

- **Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, Paris, 20 June 1986.** (Urging the Security Council to take on exhaustive sanctions against South Africa and declaring that “the present threat to international peace and security posed by the racist regime of South Africa arises...from its ever increasing internal repression and brutality in the perpetuation of apartheid” and that the “South African regime continues, moreover, to commit numerous acts of aggression, subversion, destabilization and terrorism against independent African States, including deliberate massacre of refugees, causing enormous human and material damage, as well as against the ships, aircraft and nationals of other countries” and that the regime “acts as an outlaw, persistently violating the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and defying the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council” and that “apartheid is not only a crime against the people of South Africa and Namibia, but one of universal concern. The General Assembly has condemned the policy of apartheid as a crime against humanity.”)

A/CONF.137/5, 1986, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2c.html#114>

#### 4) The European Community

- **Statement by Mr. Peter Smithers, representative of the United Kingdom, in the Special Committee against Apartheid.** (regarding the crime of *apartheid* “as being now so exceptional as to be *sui generis*.”)

A/SPC/SR.242, 5 April 1961, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#18>

- **Statement by Mr. Per Haekkerup, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, in the General Assembly.** (stating that “apartheid must be abolished as contrary to the principles of the Charter and to human rights.”)

A/PV.1215, 25 September 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1b.html#27>

- **Declaration made by the newly elected British Labour government** (bans all arms exports to South Africa.)

October 1964, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **British Commonwealth nations adopt Gleneagles Agreement** (calling for ban on sports contacts with South Africa.)

1977, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Norway, UK ban sale of North Sea oil to South Africa**

1979, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Eleven of the Twelve EC nations agree on package of limited sanctions** (including tighter enforcement of arms embargo, ban on all nuclear, military cooperation with South Africa; UK withholds approval pending assessment of sanctions' impact. UK also objects to recall of military attachés, "discouraging" of cultural, scientific exchanges. In Basel, Switzerland, central bankers meeting at Bank for International Settlements reportedly refuse to consider request from de Kock to put together official "rescue" package for South Africa.)

10, September 1985, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Commonwealth of Nations overcomes UK objections** (adopts sanctions package similar to that adopted by US, EC. Commonwealth package also includes ban on government loans to South African government, threatens increased sanctions if progress on dismantling apartheid is not made within six months. Package falls short of Commonwealth's Third World members' call for immediate comprehensive, mandatory sanctions.)

20, October 1985, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **EC votes to ban imports of iron, steel, gold coins, and new investments in South Africa** (investment ban does not extend to reinvestment of retained earnings. Ban on coal imports, most significant of proposed sanctions, is blocked by West German, Portuguese opposition.)

17, September 1986, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **British anti-apartheid coalition launches campaign to pressure three British banks not to reschedule South Africa's debt** (also calls for tighter enforcement of existing oil, arms embargoes, as well as additional trade, financial sanctions.)

September 1989, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Thatcher calls for meeting of EC foreign ministers to consider community-wide lifting of voluntary sanctions** (Bush says US sanctions cannot be lifted until South Africa has met conditions outlined in CAAA.)

12, February 1990, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

## 5) Other Country Sanctions

- **Letter dated 12 July 1948 from the representative of India to the Secretary-General concerning the treatment of Indians in South Africa.** (stating that the "treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa continues to be a serious violation of the purposes and principles of the principles on which the United Nations is founded," and that not addressing this treatment would be a "denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, on purely racial grounds, to an important section of the population of the Union of South Africa, and would gravely undermine the prestige of the United Nations, which ultimately depends upon

the effectiveness with which its Members carry out the obligations which they have assumed under the Charter.”)

A/577, 16 July 1948, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#2>

- **Letter dated 12 September 1952 addressed to the Secretary-General by the permanent representatives of Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.** (stating that the South African race-based policies of forced re-location, segregation, suppression of political discourse, exclusion from military service, disenfranchisement, restriction of movement and labor, and education and housing discrepancies are a “threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.”)

A/2183, 12 September 1952, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#4>

- **Resolution adopted by the Second Conference of Independent African States.** (appealing to various world bodies, including the Conference of Independent African States, the Arab states, the British Commonwealth, and the United Nations to “persevere in the effort to put an end to the terrible situation caused by apartheid and racial discrimination.”)

24 June 1960, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#15>

- **Resolution adopted by the Conference of Heads of African States and Governments, Addis Ababa, 22-25 May 1963, on apartheid and racial discrimination.** (supporting “the recommendations presented to the Security Council and the General Assembly by the special Committee of the United Nations on the apartheid policies of the South African Government” and appealing “to all Governments who still have diplomatic, consular and economic relations with the Government of South Africa to break off those relations and to cease any other form of encouragement for the policy of apartheid.”)

A/AC.115/L.11, 27 June 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#23>

- **Manifesto on Southern Africa adopted by the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States, Lusaka, 14-16 April 1969.** (declaring that the “apartheid policy adopted by its Government...is based on a rejection of man's humanity.”)

A/7754, 7 November 1969, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1c.html#52>

- **The Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid, 26 August 1977.** (reiterating the “universal abhorrence of apartheid and racism in all its forms and manifestations and the determination of the international community to secure its speedy elimination” and that Apartheid...is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It rests on the dispossession, plunder, exploitation and social deprivation of the African people since 1652 by colonial settlers and their descendants. It is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind. It has resulted in immense suffering

and involved the forcible moving of millions of Africans under special laws restricting their freedom of movement; and the denial of elementary human rights to the great majority of the population, as well as the violation of the inalienable right to self-determination of all of the people of South Africa.”)

S/12426, 28 October 1977, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs2a.html#82>

- **Organization of Arab Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OAPEC) imposes oil embargo on South Africa** (Iran refuses to comply, becomes South Africa’s major oil supplier.)

November 1973

<http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Japan bans imports of iron and steel from South Africa** (the ban does not include iron ore or coal.)

20, September 1986 <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

## 6) U.S. Statements

- **Statement by Francis T.P. Plimpton, US representative to UN, 19 October, 1962** (criticizes efficacy, potential use of economic sanctions against South Africa, states US “will continue to oppose” specific sanctions.)

19 October, 1962

<http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **"Appeal for action against Apartheid" issued jointly by Chief Albert J. Lutuli and the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on 10 December 1962.** (A statement, initiated by Chief Lutuli and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that was signed by many prominent Americans and promoted the public campaign for sanctions against South Africa.)

Published by the United Nations at the request of the Special Committee against Apartheid in a pamphlet in tribute to Dr. King.

<http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#21>

- **Statement by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, representative of the United States of America, in the Security Council, announcing the decision of the United States to stop sales of arms to South Africa.** (stating that “apartheid is abhorrent” and that the American “belief in the self-evident truths about human equality is enshrined in the Charter. Apartheid and racism, despite all of the tortured rationalizations that we have heard from the apologists, are incompatible with the moral, social, and constitutional of our societies,” and announcing an end of military sales to South Africa because of its failure to “discharge its obligations under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter.”)

S/PV.1052, 2 August 1963, <http://www.anc.org.za/un/undocs1a.html#24>

- **At US instigation, IMF refuses to purchase gold from South Africa at prices in excess of \$35 per ounce.**

June 1968, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Sec. of State Henry Kissinger, in 1976 speech** (“The world community’s concern with South Africa is not merely that racial discrimination exists there. What is unique is the extent to which racial discrimination has been institutionalized, enshrined in law, and made all pervasive.”)

The Study Commission on U.S. Policy toward Southern Africa, *South Africa: Time Running Out* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); p. 393.

- **The United States Senate in 1978, “What sets South Africa apart from other countries which have equally oppressive,** (and, in some cases, quantitatively worse records of human rights violations is that 1) South Africa’s policies are based on race as the sole criterion of discrimination, 2) its human rights violations have been made ‘legal’ through legislative and regulatory actions that have institutionalized racism into the fabric of society, and 3) its policies are justified in the name of defending the Free World of which South Africa claims to be a member.” The Senate, in the same report, concluded that that “the net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa’s apartheid regime...” Committee on foreign Relations, Subcommittee on African Affairs, US Corporate interests in Africa.)

Report. Washington, DC, US government Printing office, 1978, 12-13,  
<http://www.gpo.gov/index.html>

- **Jimmy Carter, President of the US, issues regulations on exportation to South Africa** (deny export or re-export of any item to South Africa or Namibia if exporter “knows or has reason to know” item will be “sold to or used by or for “military or police in South Africa.)

22 February, 1978, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **US reduces staffs of US military attaché in Pretoria, South African military attaché in Washington.**

1979, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Congress passes legislation codifying prohibition on Emibank loans South African government firms, as well as US firms that do not adhere to Sullivan code.**

1979, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Expansion of the Sullivan principles in the US** (Of approximately 350 US companies operating in South Africa, 119 agreed to expansion of the Sullivan principles, committing themselves “to press for broad changes in South African society, including the repeal of all apartheid laws and policies.”)

12 December 1984, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **US House, Senate agreed on compromise bill** (imposed sanctions similar to those called for in French UN resolution, would also ban all new bank loans to South African government, which most American banks voluntarily suspended seven years before. Legislation would also make observance of Sullivan principles mandatory for US companies with operations in South Africa employing more than 25 people. Citing economic, not political, reasons, Chase Manhattan Bank confirms that it has decided to stop lending to South Africa, will not renew maturing short-term loans, which reportedly total around \$400 million. South Africa recalls its ambassador-designate to US, Herbert Beukes, for consultations; bans public funerals for victims of unrest, political statements at any funeral.)

31 July, 1985, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Reagan imposes limited economic sanctions by executive order** (Executive order bans exports of US-manufactured computer hardware, software to agencies that administer or enforce apartheid; exports of nuclear goods, technology; loans to South African government, except for educational, housing, or health facilities open to all races. Order also mandates compliance with Sullivan principles as called for in congressional legislation and calls for discussions of possible legal problems of krugerrand ban under General Agreement on Tariffs.)

9, September 1985, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Legislation imposing trade embargo against South Africa** (By voice vote, House approves, sends to Senate requiring all US companies with operations there to disinvest within 180 days. US, UK veto UN Security Council resolution that would impose limited sanctions against South Africa. World Council of Churches reports that nearly 3,000 persons have been detained in week since state of emergency was declared.)

18, June 1986, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Sanctions Bill passes Senate 84-14, sponsored by Richard Lugar (R-IN)**

15, August 1986, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

- **Regan renews executive order (authorizes limited sanctions for another year.)**

4, September 1986, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>



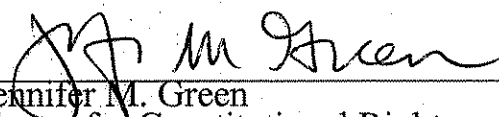
- **Senate overrides Reagan's veto of sanctions bill** (following House vote to override earlier in week (313 to 83). Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) extends and expands existing sanctions: it bans all loans to, new investment in South Africa (ban does not extend to letters of credit, loan rescheduling, reinvestment of retained profits); bans imports of iron and steel, coal, uranium, textiles, agricultural products, goods produced by government-controlled firms except for strategic materials for the US military; transfers South Africa's sugar quota to Philippines; bans export of petroleum and products, weapons and munitions; severs air links; prohibits US banks from accepting South African government deposits; prohibits government agencies from cooperating with South African military, promoting trade or tourism in South Africa. In addition, Act authorizes \$40 million in aid for disadvantaged South Africans, \$4 million a year in scholarship funds for victims of apartheid; calls on ANC to suspend "terrorist activities"; threatens to impose additional sanctions if "substantial progress" toward dismantling apartheid is not made within a year of enactment. Act also restricts US military assistance to countries that do not join UN arms embargo, provides for sanctions against countries that "benefit from or take commercial advantage of" limitations imposed on US business. CAAA also sets five conditions for lifting of sanctions).

2, October 1986, <http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/southafrica.cfm>

## DECLARATION OF SERVICE

I, Jennifer M. Green, being over 18 years of age and not a party to this action, declare, under penalty of perjury that I did cause the attached Brief of *Amici Curiae* in Support of Plaintiffs-Appellants to be served upon counsel for all parties in this action by causing two copies of the same to be posted to counsel for each party via regular United States mail on August 30, 2005. I further certify that I caused to serve by first class mail 10 copies of said Brief to the Clerk of the Court, United States Court of Appeal, Second Circuit, 40 Foley Square, Room 1803, New York, New York 10007.

New York, New York  
August 30, 2005

  
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I certify that I served two copies of said Brief by first class mail upon the following counsel:

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