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Addis Ababa, February 1966

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU OF SANCTIONS



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General

1. As stated in the report of the Administrative Secretary-General to the Fourth Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, the activities of the Bureau of Sanctions for the period up to February 1965 were, by and large, confined to the creation and Organization of the Bureau itself as well as to the evolution of an efficient working programme.
2. In the period under review, the Bureau had engaged itself in the implementation of the relevant operative paragraphs of the resolution of the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on Apartheid and Racial Discrimination and on the territories under Portuguese Domination, Lately, its activities have also embraced Southern Rhodesia. The Bureau has therefor produced some documents relating to the application of Sanctions in respect to these territories, yet, the present report will focus attention only on South Africa because only the documents relating to it are Complete.
3. By and large, the documents which are attached as annexes to this report are self-explanatory and do not require any elaborate explanation from the Bureau. Yet, a brief note of explanation on certain salient aspects of the problem would be in order since, notwithstanding the fact that many appeals have been made by both the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, there has been no marked progress in the implementation of sanctions against South Africa. This is starkly evident from the annexed documents which confirm that South Africa's trade is increasing instead of decreasing; that many states and individual companies have increased their investments, and indeed have been joined by new ones, instead of withdrawing their existing investments and that many aircraft and ships still call on South African air and sea-ports.

4. The major share of the blame rests on the major trading partners of South Africa, especially those that are also permanent members of the Security Council, since they have refused to admit that the situation in South Africa is a dangerous one which constitutes a threat to Peace, as defined in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and have totally ignored the appeals of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and World Public Opinion. In this connection it must be mentioned that Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and France which, by the way, had declined to participate in the deliberations of the Expert Committee of the United Nations, have greatly increased their investments in, and trade with, South Africa by taking advantage of the situation and filling the vacuum created by those countries which, respecting the resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations, had severed their commercial and economic ties with the Republic of South Africa. It must also be mentioned that the United Kingdom and the United States have persistently opposed any action by the United Nations under chapter VII of the charter.

5. The increase in trade and investments cannot, and should not, be taken as an isolated object of analysis since the continued and increased trade with, and investment in, South Africa facilitates, either directly or indirectly, the build-up of the South African Military and Police Force. The Major portion of the latest investments has been designed to help South Africa in the development of its military power in the attainment of Self-sufficiency in arms and ammunitions and the economic preparation to minimize the adverse effects of sanctions that may eventually be taken by the international Community.

6. It is such actions on the part of states which have completely ignored the appeals of international political Organizations and world public opinion which encourage the Pretoria Regime to obstinately carry out its practices of Apartheid and indeed introduce now measures of repression. It is these states which make the Pretoria Regime optimistic about the future.

7. Grave concern must also be expressed over the fact that racist minority and colonial governments have during this year signed agreement with the Pretoria regime for closer co-operation in the economic, military and political fields to crush the forces which are struggling to create non-racial, democratic societies.

8. Mention must be made of the trade that is or was being carried by states which have announced trade and economic sanctions against South Africa because it has diverted much attention from the main trading partners and has led to some cynicism.

9. So far as the Communist Countries are concerned the statistics show continued trade by Poland and Czechoslovakia. These States claim that the figures represent only the fulfillment of contracts signed before the breaking of trade relations and have declared that these should stop at the end of 1965. China is reported as trading in 1963 and no figures exist for 1964.

10. There is also the disquieting matter of trade between the Pretoria regime and independent African States. It will be noticed that the South African Government is not publishing full details of trade. Only a few countries in Africa are listed and the rest included under "other Africa;" the imports of the latter Category accounted for a negligible amount in 1961, but to about 2,000,000 Rands (about \$3 million) in 1962 and about 10,000,000 Rand (about \$14 million) in 1963; exports were about 3 million Rand (\$4 million) for both 1962 and 1963.

11. The above comments should ofcourse be qualified in two respects. First the figures are South African official statistics which include some indirect trade. Secondly, it should not be forgotten that the trade of all Communist Countries was less than one per cent. The statistics for African Countries also is about one-half of one per cent. If they are mentioned, therefore, it is because their existence tends to subvert the moral, psychological and Political pressure for Universal Sanctions and not; because they contribute significantly to the South African economy.

B. Build-up of military and Police Forces

12. The Pretoria Regime continues to allocate more and more money on "defence". The "defence" budget for 1965-66, presented to the South African House of Assembly on March 24, 1965 amounted to R 229,400,000 (\$321,160,000).

This year's amount is approximately the same as the expenditure in the previous fiscal year, but five and half times as much as the expenditure for 1959-60. The budget for the police has been earmarked at R 56,358,000 (\$ 78,901,200).

13. Statistical figures alone however cannot give a clear picture of the preparedness of the Pretoria regime. They have to be complemented with information regarding the confidence shown by the leadership of the regime. According to the Defence Minister, South Africa is better equipped with weapons more than ever before in its history and could put to the field 250,000 trained and fully-equipped soldiers at short notice. 70,000 soldiers had been trained during the past four years. In addition there are 70,000 in the reserves and 60,000 in Commando units. The Air Force is one of the best-balanced in the world and had enabled the Army to become so mobile that it is now possible to transport 500 troops to any point within South Africa within twenty minutes of warning.

14. Monetary expenditures and military preparations have been supplemented by laws which would make it possible for the regime to act quickly in any emergency. The latest of such laws is the Emergency Planning Bill, introduced in the House of Assembly on April 9, 1965. This bill, which is designed to enable the Minister of Justice to muster men and materials in time of emergency, provides for the establishment of an Emergency planning Division.

The Emergency Planning Division has already been established and is in the process of evolving plans for civilian "defence" in case of nuclear War and other emergencies.

15. Official and unofficial reports confirm that the arms and ammunitions industry in South Africa is growing at a great speed with foreign assistance, and new factories are being opened in addition to the expansion of existing ones. The Defence Minister Mr. Fouche, announced, in the South African Parliament, on February 11, 1965 that the Republic has almost reached "the stage in the stock-piling of ammunition where we have everything that we need for mobilization."

16. On March 22, 1965, the Defence Minister also stated that South Africa does not anymore have to purchase its war materiel from external markets since Western Government have, by themselves, come to South Africa with offers to invest in the armaments industry of South Africa and to supply the essential weapons to South African forces. In addition, it is known that South Africa has 120 licences to manufacture weapons of all types and had also received all the blue-prints to produce these arms. It is also known that one Western Government has given South Africa the necessary license to manufacture in South Africa one of the latest types of bombs.

17. The most important step taken by the South African Government in its efforts to make itself-sufficient in weaponry is the establishment of an Aircraft industry in order to minimize the possible effects of embargos on the supply of military aircrafts.

C. Recent Foreign Investments

18. It is a well-known fact that many foreign and international companies have substantially invested in South Africa and/or expanded their existing enterprises in direct opposition to the resolutions and recommendations of both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The South African Government has succeeded to restore confidence in international investors and corporations, and has managed to revive foreign investments, particularly in the manufacturing industry (so as to be able to produce locally, goods which will replace imports), to build up armaments industry and enterprises which will help make the country less vulnerable to economic sanctions.

19. Foreign investments have played important roles in the rapid development in automobile, Chemical, textile, engineering, paper, plastics, oil, aluminum, iron and steel and other industries. The foreign investment in South Africa has been so promising that the Pretoria Regime is very optimistic about the future. The Minister for Economic Affairs, Dr. N. Diederichs, who forecast sustained optimum conditions in 1965 said that "there is a new awakening among foreign investors to the industrial and economic potential of our country."

20. There is no doubt that the main attraction of South Africa for foreign investors are the high rates of profits that they can get there. In this respect, it would be opportune to quote Dr. Etienne Rousseau, Chairman of SASOL who, in an address in Johannesburg in March 1965, told foreign industrialists "if you invest in Industry in South Africa, you can expect higher returns on your initial investment that you can in most other parts of the world."

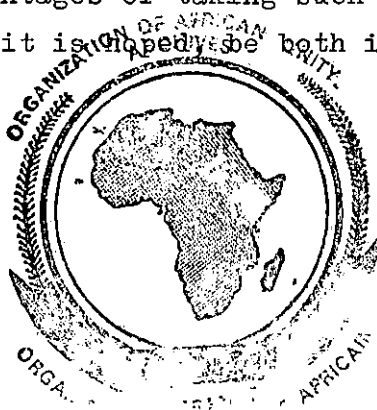
21. This rate of profits is directly related to the racial policies of the Pretoria Regime which, among other things deny by law, the Africans the right to be members of registered trade unions or to strike.

22. This is especially the case in the considerable development of the textile industry which is conveniently concentrated in the "border area" near African reserves where the Pretoria regime provides some incentives including lower minimum wages.

23. Conclusions

It must be stressed that the time has come to consider various forms of diplomatic, political or economic sanctions against those states that enable the Pretoria regime to perpetrate its racial policies. Such actions may be considered especially against those states substituting those that have severed their diplomatic or economic ties or both with the Republic of South Africa.

24. As a first measure it would be advantageous to effect sanctions against Air lines and shipping Companies which visit the territories of independent African states on their way to or coming from the Republic of South Africa. The advantages of taking such an action lies in the fact that it results can, it is hoped, be both immediate and dramatic.



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