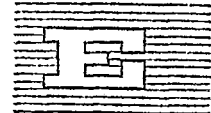


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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Forty-first session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 12 February 1985, at 10 a.m.

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. CHOWDHURY	(Bangladesh)
later:	Mr. KHMEL	(Ukrainian SSR)

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GE.85-15293

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF EXPERTS (agenda item 6) (continued) (E/CN.4/1985/8, 14 and 47; A/39/460)

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- (a) STUDY IN COLLABORATION WITH THE SUB-COMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES OF WAYS AND MEANS OF ENSURING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS BEARING ON APARTHEID, RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (agenda item 17) (continued)
- (b) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (agenda item 17) (continued) (E/CN.4/1985/28 and 29)

1. Mr. DHILLON (India) said that all colonies and their peoples had been subjected to exploitation at the hands of imperialists and one of the most repulsive attributes of such exploitation was racism. Nowhere was the manifestation of racism more virulent than in the system of apartheid practised by the minority regime in South Africa. That regime defined apartheid as a policy of separate development of whites and blacks, but it was obvious that apartheid had been created to maintain and perpetuate the stranglehold of the privileged white minority on the majority population of blacks and coloured people, including settlers of Indian origin. Apartheid was a system of institutionalized racial segregation and domination conceived in order to deny the black Africans and coloured people equal political, educational and land ownership rights. It was in direct conflict with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was in fact an insult to the world community that such a nakedly oppressive system had been allowed to survive despite universal condemnation.

2. It had been stated in one of the reports by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on violations of human rights in southern Africa that the policies of the white minority were leading to a slow but sure extermination of all the non-white majority and that the South African rulers wanted to destroy the Africans, sparing only those needed as a slave labour force. The report went on to say that the manner in which apartheid had been enforced appeared to lead to "an act of genocide", which included the denial of civil rights, disintegration of the family and the material basis of existence of non-white South Africans and the impairment of their personality and their very destruction as human beings.

3. He noted that 84.5 per cent of the population of South Africa were legally excluded from owning 86.3 per cent of the land, and that the policy of territorial apartheid and the creation of bantustans had involved the massive dislocation of the non-white population. When the oppressed masses protested, as they had done in the black townships in August and October 1984, their efforts were rewarded with unrelenting repression, imprisonment, torture and death. Thus, in the unrest between August and October 1984, over 150 blacks had been killed.
4. In the past two years, efforts had been made by the South African regime to hide its racist face through constitutional changes and elections to a tricameral legislature. In his delegation's opinion, those reforms were an attempt to perpetuate the apartheid system, whereby the ruling minority would deprive the majority of the population of any meaningful say in the political process of their own country. It was a move aimed at splitting the liberation movements and sowing discord between the coloured and Indian communities, on the one hand, and the black majority, on the other. His Government had urged all the people of South Africa, especially those of Indian origin, to take no part in those so-called elections and to maintain unity in the struggle against apartheid and racism. He was happy to state that the "elections" had not had the results expected by the Government.
5. South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia, despite the termination of its mandate in 1966 by the General Assembly, had led to a struggle by the Namibian people for independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). It was a pity that the Security Council had failed to end the illegal administration of the Pretoria regime because of the negative attitude of some of its Western members. Not only were the Namibian freedom fighters and their sympathizers terrorized and killed, but thousands of Namibians who had fled to neighbouring countries in search of shelter were also relentlessly pursued and attacked. In his delegation's opinion, the illegal occupation of Namibia could be ended by implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and should be preceded by a cease-fire between South Africa's armed forces and the freedom fighters. He regretted that the straightforward issue of the independence of Namibia had been linked to extraneous and irrelevant issues such as the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.
6. The human rights situation in South Africa and Namibia had steadily worsened from year to year. Segregation and the denial of democratic rights in the years after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1909 had been followed by a spate of racist legislation from 1949 to 1951. In the past three decades, the situation had become even worse. It was a great tragedy that, contrary to the over-all trend in the rest of the world, the march of history towards the progress of human civilization had been reversed in southern Africa.
7. The struggle of the people of India against apartheid covered a period of several decades. Well before India's independence, Mahatma Gandhi had reacted strongly against the policy of racial discrimination practised in South Africa and started a passive resistance movement there to assert human dignity and equality. The issue of racism in South Africa had first been included in the agenda of the United Nations in 1946 on India's initiative. India had complied with the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and had acceded to the

International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in October 1977. It had passed the Anti-Apartheid Act in 1981 to give effect to the provisions of the Convention.

8. Ever since its inception, the Non-Aligned Movement had steadfastly opposed the policies and practices of the Pretoria regime. At the recent summit conference in New Delhi, the non-aligned countries had strongly condemned that regime for its sustained and barbarous acts of oppression and discrimination and called for the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. The conference had also reiterated the solidarity of the non-aligned countries with the Namibian people and their support for the heroic struggle waged under the leadership of SWAPO.

9. Vested interests in South Africa were powerful and insidious enough to make some countries believe that continued economic interaction with the racist regime brought benefit to the victims of racial discrimination. Those interests sought to hoodwink the international community into believing that their motive was philanthropic: to provide employment opportunities to the blacks and raise their standard of living. It was time the international community saw through the perversity of such logic. The Commission must do everything in its power to bring justice to the people of South Africa and Namibia. It must promote even more vigorous efforts to publicize the gross violations of human rights in South Africa and Namibia and encourage world public opinion to exert its influence to stop such violations.

10. It was essential to reject all associations with the racist regime. For too many years, lip-service had been paid to the ideas of democracy and human dignity. For too many years, some had persisted in turning a blind eye to the tyranny and injustice of the situation. For too many years, countries that had supported the democratic tradition and gone to war to abolish slavery had expressed moderation with regard to the racial situation in southern Africa and had even defended the existing system as part of their policy of constructive engagement. There was no possibility of compromising with racism and apartheid, and the Commission must concern itself with the unfinished task. He appealed to all those nations that did not share the perception of the overwhelming majority of world public opinion to reconsider their position.

11. Talk of constitutional reform or a change of heart on the part of the racist regime should be treated with scepticism. It should be acknowledged that military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist regime had adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights. South Africa's trading partners must realize that by their refusal to give effect to sanctions, they were encouraging that country's Government to persist in its oppressive policies. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions must therefore be applied against South Africa without any reservation motivated by economic, political or tactical considerations.

12. It was also essential that all countries should accede to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Members must do their utmost to implement the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. All countries must lend their moral and material support to SWAPO, ANC and the other freedom fighters in southern Africa.

13. Mr. SUCRE FIGARELLA (Venezuela) said that his country categorically condemned the heinous and unacceptable practice of apartheid and the colonial domination of

Namibia. It wished to appeal to all members of the international community to provide effective support in the quest for just solutions to the problems which existed in southern Africa and were mentioned in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1985/8). That report brought out clearly the unacceptable situation of human rights in South Africa and Namibia. It also showed how the indigenous African populations were reacting with legitimate violence in order to exercise their human rights. What was occurring in universities, trade unions and churches was expressed even more dramatically in the "homelands", where millions of blacks were taken by force to live in inhuman conditions. It was indisputable that a genuine climate of terror and violence prevailed in southern Africa and that the United Nations should take steps to put an end to that situation.

14. The United Nations had sought to do everything possible to secure justice and restore peace in that part of the world. In that connection, his Government had on various occasions and in different organs of the United Nations publicly recognized the efforts made by the Secretary-General to protect the human rights of the indigenous populations of southern Africa. The United Nations was fulfilling its historical function in attempting to put into practice its ideals of freedom and justice. For many years, Venezuela had been a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia and had undertaken a number of responsibilities. It had been a member of the commission which had set up technical training centres in Angola for Namibians. Venezuelan representatives had been present at the recent celebration in Lusaka, Zambia, to mark the graduation of a group of young Namibians whose technical expertise would benefit their country once it achieved independence. Venezuela had made financial contributions to many projects organized by the United Nations Council for Namibia. One of the most important tasks of the United Nations was to establish Namibia as a nation with its own territory and national consciousness. Only the stubbornness of certain leaders had prevented Namibia from becoming a country in its own right and a member of the United Nations.

15. It was time Namibia regained its independence. The geopolitical interests of other countries had not favoured independence, but recent reports showed that initiatives by the parties concerned might eventually lead to the implementation of relevant General Assembly resolutions. The important point was to adopt realistic measures and to realize that Namibian independence, once achieved, would be irreversible. In 1983, the Simon Bolivar prize, established by UNESCO on the initiative of Venezuela, had been awarded to Nelson Mandela, one of those who had suffered most from racial discrimination.

16. The problems of southern Africa and Namibia involved not only political oppression but also racial oppression and other forms of discrimination. It was thus highly appropriate that the Commission should consider agenda items 6, 7, 16 and 17 concurrently. Political independence would not be possible until all discriminatory practices had been eliminated. The colonialist South African Government had attempted to introduce certain constitutional reforms in order to give the impression that the policy of discrimination against the black population was being modified. However, the Security Council had categorically demanded more radical reforms which would completely eliminate all discriminatory practices.

17. It was no exaggeration to say that military and economic support from abroad had helped to prevent the establishment of law and order in southern Africa. The issue must be dealt with as a whole, but a partial solution, for instance to the problem of Namibian independence, would have a positive effect on the resolution of the rest of the problem. Instead of despair or a refusal of all negotiation, there should be genuine joint efforts to create a new international legal system in southern Africa.

18. Venezuela reiterated its support for Namibian independence, and considered that the South African Government should cease the unacceptable practice of apartheid and should contribute to co-operation and mutual understanding between the ethnic groups of the region. The United Nations was the last chance for the hopes harboured by all for the future of southern Africa, but that future could only come about if all Member States showed decisiveness and political will. His Government would do everything in its power to contribute to a solution of the problem.

19. Mr. SYTENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) expressed gratitude to the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa for its report E/CN.4/1985/8). The South African regime had for many years been a very dangerous hotbed of racism and colonialism. Its policy of apartheid had been declared by the United Nations to be a crime against humanity and a constant threat to international peace and security. The 23 million black inhabitants of South Africa were unable to participate in political life. By means of exploitation and inhuman and divisive legislation, the South African regime tried to keep all power in the hands of the 4.5 million whites, especially those who represented international monopolies with vast capital and land resources. Legislation such as the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1967 and the Internal Security Act of 1982 gave wide scope for the suppression of those who opposed apartheid.

20. South Africa had long been suffering a serious social, economic and political crisis. In the autumn of 1984, the South African authorities had begun to deploy the regular army as a means of controlling anti-racist demonstrations, and such action had become a full-scale military operation. After the incident in Soweto in October 1984, where the army had been issued with Bren guns and other military equipment, medical personnel had been forbidden to give details of the number of casualties. In the words of the Johannesburg Sunday Express, the Government had declared the African areas "hostile territory". The strategy was first to drive the black population into "bantustans" or "homelands", declare them aliens in their own country, and then declare war on those who protested against such manifestations of racism.

21. The large-scale anti-racist demonstrations, conducted mostly by students and schoolchildren, were intended as a protest against the "reform" of the South African Constitution. The reform had not given coloureds or Indians any real influence over government policy and had been intended to cause a split between the various sections of the non-white population. The power of the South African Parliament had been reduced, and the Presidential Council, responsible for foreign policy, the economy and relations with the Africans, had only 10 coloured and 5 Indian members as compared with 45 white members. The reform had been condemned in General Assembly resolution 39/17. Reports in the press suggested that the country was on the verge of civil war and that a people's army was becoming increasingly active. The President of ANC, Mr. Tambo, had visited the USSR with a delegation from 11 to 19 December 1984 and had described the enthusiasm of the national liberation movement.

22. The situation in South Africa was intricately linked with international events. Imperialist circles were continuing to support the regime. They had attempted to draw South Africa out of international isolation by a policy of "constructive engagement" and calls for a "peaceful dialogue", claiming that South Africa could reform itself, but their aim was to protect their own economic, political and military interests in southern Africa. The reports by the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Khalifa, (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8 and Add.1 and 2) should be constantly updated; support for the South African regime meant exploitation of cheap African labour and enormous profits. In 1983, South Africa had received loans to the value of \$1.2 billion from the International Monetary Fund. The imperialist circles in question considered South Africa their partner in the "crusade against communism" and, with South Africa's help, they wished to sow dissension among the African States which were the main opponents of racism and colonialism.

23. With support from abroad, South Africa was waging war on neighbouring African States and maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia. Its action against SWAPO and its punitive raids into Angola and other neighbouring States would not be possible without direct foreign economic and military support. South Africa had more than 100,000 regular soldiers, special terrorist units and a battalion of mercenaries in Namibia. It still occupied part of Angola, and was continuing its attempts to bring pressure to bear on the Angolan Government and maintain contact with Mr. Savimbi, the leader of the counter-revolutionary organization UNITA.

24. South Africa and its supporters had recently resorted to "peaceful initiatives" in an attempt to consolidate their shaky position. South Africa wished to find a neo-colonialist solution to the Namibian problem in order to preserve its basic interests. The "compromises" proposed by its supporters were intended to bypass United Nations resolutions and to give the occupying forces unequal advantages. A basis for a just settlement of the Namibian problem already existed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

25. The "reforms" carried out within South Africa had not changed its policy of internal repression and its acts of aggression against neighbouring States, with concomitant mass violations of human rights. Nor had South Africa's "peaceful initiatives" led to a renunciation of its policies of State terrorism towards other States and peoples. It continued to support armed counter-revolutionary groups in neighbouring States and intended to equip its army with nuclear weapons. It posed an increasing threat both to the rest of Africa and to the world as a whole.

26. There would be tension in southern Africa as long as apartheid existed. His delegation roundly condemned the policies and practices of apartheid, the repression of the indigenous African population by the South African regime and its acts of aggression against neighbouring States. It likewise condemned the "constructive engagement" with, and widespread support for, the South African regime shown by certain western States, Israel and certain transnational corporations, which, as indicated in General Assembly resolution 39/15, showed their complicity in the inhuman practice of apartheid. The Namibian problem should be resolved forthwith in accordance with United Nations resolutions on Namibia, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Wide-ranging sanctions should be imposed on South Africa in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

27. Mrs. GU Yijie (China) said that South Africa's aggressive policies and violations of human rights had met with universal condemnation. The blacks, who formed more than 78 per cent of the population, had been denied political rights and deprived of

South African citizenship. They were confined in "bantustans", where their already harsh living conditions had worsened. Tens of thousands of children starved to death and millions were suffering from malnutrition, even in the absence of natural disasters: their right to life had been violated. After the introduction of the new Constitution and the national referendum of 1983, a mockery of an election had taken place in 1984. It could not have been a true election without the participation of the blacks. The violent repression which had taken place before and after the election showed the way in which the South African regime suppressed democracy. The reports of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1985/8 and 14) showed that the regime in South Africa was becoming increasingly brutal in its repression of the black majority's political, economic, cultural, educational and other rights. The Working Group's efforts deserved support, and its report would be of great assistance to the Commission.

28. The South African regime, not content with ruthless oppression of its own citizens, was also oppressing the people of Namibia, which it illegally occupied. The South African authorities, by means of practices such as arbitrary arrest, murder, torture, other ill-treatment, intimidation and enforced disappearances, sought to hinder the Namibians' accession to self-determination and independence and to obstruct the implementation of Security Council resolution 435(1978).

29. The world community should unanimously oppose South Africa's actions by means of appropriate sanctions. It must be noted, however, that a number of Western countries, and one super-Power in particular, continued to provide the Pretoria regime with financial and military assistance. It was high time mandatory sanctions were applied against that regime, pursuant to the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. The Commission should strongly urge the South African authorities to put an end to their violations of human rights, and to release the many innocent South African and Namibian citizens detained under the so-called "pass laws" and other legal pretexts.

30. The world community's constantly growing support for the South African and Namibian peoples in their struggle to assert their human rights had been exemplified by the General Assembly's adoption without a vote, at its thirty-ninth session, of a plan of activities for the period 1985-1989 in connection with the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. China had always supported international efforts in support of the South African and Namibian peoples and would continue to work to its utmost towards that end.

31. Mr. COLLIARD (France) thanked the members of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts for their report (E/CN.4/1985/8). He acknowledged the important role played by the African countries in the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 38/14 proclaiming the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The world had rightly condemned the institutionalization of racism in South Africa, but racism was still all too prevalent everywhere, in individuals and communities, in overt and covert forms which must be combated by appropriate means. The eradication of the age-old prejudices which offended human dignity called for the utmost energy and goodwill, as well as constant vigilance on the part of individuals, groups and States.

32. It might be asked what was being done, apart from formal denunciation of racism in its various forms, to comply with undertakings pursuant to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to give effect to the Programme of Action for the Second Decade and to combat apartheid. France's long-standing opposition to apartheid had been exemplified by the statement Mr. Cheysson, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, had made on 9 October 1984 in the Special Committee Against Apartheid and by the Committee's appreciation, expressed by its Chairman, for France's good faith in applying the arms embargo against South Africa, withholding the sale to that country of a nuclear power station and supporting the front-line States.

33. The fight against apartheid - an intolerable policy of institutionalized discrimination - rightly ranked high on the Programme of Action adopted by the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Commission, for its part, must continue its efforts to uphold the dignity of the victims of racial discrimination. Apartheid should be categorically rejected. It was certainly rejected by France, which still upheld the view, proclaimed as long ago as 1789 in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that all men were born and remained free and had equal rights - a message consonant with Mahatma Gandhi's assertion that all men were brothers.

34. In addition to condemnation and observance of embargoes, however, efforts were required to aid the victims of apartheid. France gave financial assistance to the United Nations Fund for Namibia, and contributed directly to the United Nations Training and Educational Programme for southern Africa and to the United Nations trust fund for the victims of apartheid. France's financial contribution to those two activities would be increased by 25 per cent in 1985, when it would also contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid. In addition, France had established scholarships to enable South Africans to study in France, and had established Alliance française institutes in Soweto and Cape Town in South Africa. France's often unpublicized efforts in support of victims were exemplified by the release of the writer Breyton Breytenbach and the reception in France of Toivo Ja Toivo following his release from prison.

35. France denounced the monstrous system of apartheid and expressed its condemnation of the South African authorities. It strictly observed the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) relating to the arms embargo against South Africa. However, it felt that to adopt over-all economic sanctions would be counterproductive and would completely isolate the victims of apartheid. France adopted the same stance in other cases also. Nevertheless, his Government had consistently condemned apartheid: it had called on French sports federations not to allow teams under their authority to participate in sports events in South Africa - a measure which had had an impact on public opinion. France regarded South Africa's occupation of Namibia as illegal and had spared no diplomatic effort to assert the Namibian people's right of self-determination. France supported the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and regretted that a just settlement of the Namibian problem had not yet been achieved.

36. Mr. OSNACH (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the South African racist regime's criminal acts of repression and terror against its non-white citizens had continued during the past year, and were attested to in the reports of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1985/8 and 14). The Pretoria authorities had stepped up their policy of "bantustanization", aimed at depriving the Africans - who constituted over 70 per cent of the total population - of their civil and other rights; as a result of the so-called "independent homelands" policy, some 9 million African citizens were being treated as aliens in their own country. The application

of the "pass laws" and similar measures in furtherance of the policy of apartheid served to deprive the majority population of even more of its rights. The so-called constitutional changes were merely aimed at maintaining the Pretoria authorities' control. The pretence of a constitution based on a referendum in which only the white population had participated and brought into force on 3 September 1984, served only to consolidate the existing regime and ensure the dictatorship of a white one-party executive, and gave full powers to the President. The illusion of participation granted to coloureds and Indian immigrants was intended to encourage their collaboration with the regime and weaken the struggle against apartheid. The regime's goal remained the same: to deny the indigenous African population its identity and citizenship, as well as its rights to land and property. The Special Committee against Apartheid, in its report (A/39/22), presented a list of crimes almost unparalleled in history.

37. The racist regime sought, by means of token or fictitious reforms, to distract world attention from the wretched plight of the overwhelming majority of its citizens, whose protests against the constitutional deception had been repressed with bloodshed during August and September 1984, when many Africans had been killed and hundreds, including children, injured. The world community's solidarity in condemning the constitutional farce was reflected in documentation of the United Nations, the Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and OAU. But the world was far from taking firm action against the Pretoria regime. Indeed, that regime's Prime Minister had been able, in May and June 1984, to pay official and informal visits to a number of foreign capitals. There was a widespread campaign of imperialist propaganda seeking to portray a "peaceful process" in the Pretoria regime's policy of aggression, terror and blackmail against neighbouring States, and to "humanize" that inhuman regime, weaken support for the freedom movements in South Africa and Namibia, and justify imperialist collaboration with the apartheid regime - as if any dialogue could dissuade the latter from its course of racial oppression.

38. The reason for the imperialists' support for a system which had enslaved millions in southern Africa was well known: the profit which imperialist monopolies were able to extract, under the racist regime, from activities in South Africa and in Namibia, and the benefit which the regime derived from the economic, financial, political and other assistance of certain Western circles. Foreign investment in South Africa's economy was known to exceed \$30 billion.

39. According to the updated report of the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1984/8/Add.1), over 4,000 Western banks and businesses were currently operating in South Africa, deriving huge profits from the unbridled exploitation of rich natural resources and cheap labour. Technology transfer through transnational corporations and Western banks and other financial institutions had reached such a scale that, by mid-1983, South Africa's medium-term and long-term borrowing on international financial markets had amounted to \$14.9 billion. The growing investment in South Africa's economy was clearly cushioning the crisis caused by Pretoria's aggressive policies and associated military expenditure. As shown in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/39/22), only the help received from Western imperialist circles, including Israel, was enabling the South African regime to continue to flout the United Nations. The efforts of imperialism to

disguise the alliance with the apartheid regime heightened the importance of the Special Rapporteur's task of listing the banks, transnational corporations and private businesses collaborating with South Africa, and thus shedding light on their nefarious activities.

40. International imperialism saw in the racist regime the only hope of maintaining its long-term political, military and strategic interests. And its collaboration with that regime was reflected in the current struggle against national liberation movements and in aggression against neighbouring independent States. Following the failure by South Africa's imperialist sympathizers to establish a new colonialist scenario out of events in that region, the racist regime, supported by its sympathizers, was carrying out a policy of widespread aggression against neighbouring States. Its annual military expenditure was growing, and it was undoubtedly prepared to defend its outdated racist and colonialist system at any cost in bloodshed.

41. South Africa had announced that, spurred by the arms embargo, its own military industry was now producing 143 types of weapons, but that did not mean it was independent in arms production. As the regime increased its emphasis on the production of more modern weaponry, its dependence on foreign imports of components and technology also increased. Indeed, South Africa's military industry was growing only because of the generous economic aid provided, directly and indirectly, by imperialist monopolies, banks and transnational corporations. As the report of the Special Rapporteur indicated, nearly 200 firms from the major imperialist States assisted the apartheid regime in the military and nuclear fields. The military co-operation between South Africa and Israel was especially close and was constantly expanding. Up to 70 per cent of Israel's exports of weapons and military technology went to South Africa. Israeli military advisers had taken part in planning the movements of South Africa's armed forces, while South African servicemen had learned the tactics of Israeli aggression in the occupied Arab territories.

42. In exchange for the unrestricted exploitation of Namibia's mineral resources, primarily uranium ore, several Western countries had organized the indirect supply to South Africa of nuclear reactor fuel which could be used for military purposes and were furnishing the racists with nuclear equipment and technology. The efforts of the imperialists to support the racist regime, keep it as an ally and maintain it as an aggressive nuclear power were incompatible with the interests of Africa, which had chosen to be a non-aligned non-nuclear area.

43. Apartheid was a deliberate, systematic and despicable crime against humanity and no one, not even the supporters of the racist regime, had found words to support it openly. The tragic situation of the peoples of southern Africa required more than a recital of Pretoria's evil-doings; the time had come to implement measures which would truly further the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and of their national liberation movements. It was incredible that some speakers, while condemning the South African Government for the situation it had created, expressed the hope that it would make concessions to the international community. Professions of "peaceful intentions" and remarks about the possibility of

co-operation or dialogue with South Africa must be rejected as propaganda. The apartheid system could not be changed or improved by bogus reforms: it must be eradicated. His delegation considered comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to be an effective means by which the international community could achieve that goal and called for their imposition without delay.

44. Ms. BARRINGTON (Ireland) said that her country had never had diplomatic relations with South Africa and gave no official encouragement to economic, cultural or sporting contacts with it. In addition to the arms embargo, Ireland would support the imposition of a series of graduated sanctions by the Security Council. Such measures were practical steps which could ensure that no support was afforded the South African regime until apartheid was eradicated. In the meantime, Ireland contributed to such funds as the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

45. The South African Government appeared to believe that mere tinkering would give the apartheid system an acceptable veneer so that it could proceed to consolidate and perpetuate that system. That was not a solution: South Africa must abandon the system and give all its citizens the opportunity to exercise their human rights fully. Referring to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1985/8), she said that the cruel and degrading effects of apartheid on black men, women and children had taken on inhuman proportions. The institutionalization of the removals policy was particularly pernicious. Those designated as citizens of the "homelands" had lost the right to live or work in South Africa, had become foreigners in the land of their birth, had been robbed of their share of the country's wealth and were now merely disposable sources of labour. The South African Government attempted to justify the policy by describing the discrimination as based on nation rather than race. Her delegation had noted with interest the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts that consideration should be given to requesting the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on the deprivation of citizenship in the light of international law.

46. The pass laws, which made it increasingly difficult for blacks to enter "white areas", had taken on growing importance as an instrument of apartheid. Most recent statistics showed that pass law convictions had increased from 98,700 in 1982 to 142,000 in 1983. Despite a number of rulings by South African courts in support of the right of migrant labourers and their families to live in urban areas, the South African Government continued to enact and implement restrictive legislation.

47. Other measures continued to bolster the policy of apartheid. Under the Internal Security Act, persons could be detained indefinitely without recourse to the normal procedures, meetings could be prohibited, organizations declared illegal and publications banned. In 1984, the severity of sentences had been increased and acts which had previously been described as misdemeanours could now constitute high treason. The use of torture, particularly in places of detention, and discrimination in the treatment of black prisoners, especially women, had continued. Black education could still be viewed only as an instrument for perpetuating apartheid, and the activities of black trade unions continued to be severely restricted.

48. In that seemingly endless catalogue of injustice, there was very little good news to report, but the Working Group had drawn attention to a number of events which might become more significant in the future, such as the formation of the multiracial United Democratic Front, the growing number of black trade unionists and the forceful reaction of the Churches against apartheid.

49. The South African Government nevertheless continued to impose its inhuman policy with an iron hand. Her delegation condemned it unreservedly for perpetuating one of the most indecent, pernicious and brutal violations of human rights known to man.

50. South Africa continued illegally to occupy the territory of Namibia and to commit atrocities against that people. Ireland deplored those actions and called upon South Africa to implement Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) without delay.

51. Her country welcomed the consensus on the Programme of Action for the first half of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and felt that the progress achieved at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in refocusing the international community's attention on the eradication of racism should be exploited. Every effort must be made to eradicate all forms of racism and racial discrimination. The price of failure was the survival of discriminatory societies like South Africa, the land of institutionalized segregation.

52. Mr. MOHAMED (Special Committee against Apartheid) said that the Special Committee and the Commission must work together to expose and undo the apartheid system. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1985/8) gave a balanced and detailed account of what was happening to black people under the oppression of apartheid. In document E/CN.4/1985/14, the Working Group had furnished evidence to support its conclusion that apartheid was analogous to the crime of genocide. Those reports, written in judicious and restrained language, nevertheless had a chilling effect. Dealing with several aspects of human rights violations and atrocities committed in South Africa and Namibia, they showed that the complex and subtle net of law through which apartheid was applied was shockingly similar to procedures under the Nazi system; apartheid was a travesty of justice and truth and could not endure. The Commission would undoubtedly condemn apartheid unanimously, yet the problem was to translate that condemnation into action that would eliminate it. The Special Committee appealed once more to the countries which still had relations with South Africa to join the mainstream of humanity which wanted peace, harmony and stability for that riven land.

53. The year 1984 had been full of revolutionary or potentially revolutionary developments, including the rise of the black trade union movement, the alliance of anti-apartheid forces, frequent student uprisings and increasing black militancy. The "constitutional reforms" had served only to rally the forces working for liberation and revolution in South Africa. Any regime established under such an invalid constitution was illegitimate: no Government could maintain normal relations with it and no international organization could regard it as a member State. South Africa should be expelled forthwith from the United Nations system.

54. The regime was deporting millions of black South Africans to the "homelands" in a deliberate attempt to rob them of their citizenship. South Africa's desperate attempts to fend off majority rule had also been expressed externally through armed aggression and economic pressures against its neighbours. As long as apartheid existed, there would be no relaxation of tension in the region. The Pretoria regime, with its military build-up, confidence in the protection of certain Western Powers and collaboration with Israel, constituted a greater menace than ever to international peace and security. Apartheid must be eradicated and replaced by a non-racist, democratic society. Attempts to achieve that goal must be inspired by the courage and endurance of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and of the political prisoners, particularly Nelson Mandela.

55. The Special Committee reiterated its recommendations for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions to be imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter and, in particular, for the cessation of all military, nuclear and economic co-operation and trade with South Africa, an oil embargo, and a sports and cultural boycott. Now was not the time to refrain from acting against the apartheid regime, as advocated by the collaborators: the situation demanded energetic efforts. It was especially important to incite public opinion against the Pretoria regime's crimes and to encourage the public to demand that Governments, corporations and institutions cease to collaborate with the regime and give generous assistance to the legitimate struggle of the oppressed.

56. The Special Committee commended the African, non-aligned and socialist States for their firm stance in the struggle against apartheid and their support for liberation movements in southern Africa, and expressed appreciation to States which had taken similar positions. It was particularly grateful to the individuals and groups which had contributed to the increasing success in the West of the campaign against apartheid: that change in sentiment would prove crucial.

57. The Special Committee was confident that the Commission would put the full weight of its prestige behind the struggle against apartheid, a struggle which was now entering a vital stage.

58. Mr. MEZZALAMA (Observer for Italy), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, contrary to what the Syrian delegation had claimed, Italy had never supplied weapons for South African naval vessels.

59. Mr. DOWEK (Observer for Israel) congratulated the Syrian Arab Republic on the re-election of its President by an overwhelming majority of 99.97 per cent. According to the Syrian Minister of the Interior, out of 6,522,000 potential voters, 6,522,000 had actually participated in the voting and only 376 negative votes had been cast. His delegation warmly thanked Syria for its glowing example of democracy and called upon all nations to learn that outstanding lesson of liberty. Speaking in exercise of the right of reply to allegations made by the Syrian delegation at the Commission's 11th meeting, he referred to document A/36/431, which refuted rumours of nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa, and drew attention to document S/AC.20/17, second paragraph, which indicated that the Government of Israel would comply with Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and not provide South Africa with arms or related material of any type.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.