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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Wednesday, 9 February 1983, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda)

later: Mr. BARAKAT (Jordan)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF EXPERTS (agenda item 6) (continued) (E/CN.4/1983/10, 37 and 38; A/AC.115/L.571 and L.586)

THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (agenda item 7) (continued) (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/10)

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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 18) (continued) (E/CN.4/1983/27 and 28)
- (b) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (agenda item 18) (continued) (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/7).

1. Mrs. ANDERSON (Ireland) said that, year after year, the United Nations and other international bodies discussed and condemned the policies of the South African Government. Nevertheless, the black people of South Africa continued to be treated in a most degrading way and the violations of human rights and the institutionalized racial discrimination meted out to them were an affront to human dignity everywhere. Ireland unreservedly condemned the immoral and indefensible system of apartheid, which was at the root of the dangerous and tragic situation currently prevailing in southern Africa. Only when apartheid had been completely dismantled could dignity be restored to the people of South Africa and peace to the region as a whole.

2. The conclusions presented in the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1983/10) amounted to a forceful indictment of the policies of the South African Government. The Group had paid particular attention to the question of the treatment of political prisoners and of capital punishment in South Africa. The scale of capital punishment in that country and the racial breakdown of those executed demonstrated yet again that the entire political, administrative and legal system in South Africa was based on discrimination. Her Government had urged, like those of other countries, that the death sentence imposed on several members of the African National Congress should be commuted and had also repeatedly expressed its concern at the plight of political prisoners some of whom, like Nelson Mandela, had spent over 20 years in prison. The report of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts should encourage the international community to condemn such practices once again and should help to bring to public attention the fate of some lesser-known detainees.

3. The "Bantu homelands" policy was merely a device of the South African Government to maintain white supremacy. The "homelands", apart from being economically unviable, were also unacceptable from a social and humanitarian point of view. Artificial creations, based on the concept of "separate development", they could never provide a way forward in South Africa. What was needed instead was the elaboration of policies of integrated development for all the people of the country.
4. As for the situation in Namibia, her delegation had already had occasion to state that it was a matter of the greatest urgency to find a political settlement in that country, within the framework provided by resolutions 385 and 435 of the Security Council, and that South Africa had to demonstrate the political will to reach such a settlement.
5. The Working Group's additional information on the effects of the policy of apartheid on black women and children in South Africa (E/CN.4/1983/38) was also deeply troubling. Ireland had voted in favour of the United Nations resolution on that subject. The lives of black women were being distorted by the apartheid system and black children were likewise being affected, both materially and psychologically.
6. As for the adverse consequences of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa, Ireland still believed that the international community should apply pressure on South Africa in a careful, graduated and co-ordinated manner so as to persuade that country to change its apartheid policy. Her delegation had supported the General Assembly resolution which reflected that approach, particularly the call for Security Council action to strengthen the arms embargo against South Africa, to institute an oil embargo and to ban new investments in and loans to South Africa. The subject of agenda item 7 should be approached in a constructive way, without selectivity or prejudice. It was thus regrettable that, as other delegations had pointed out, Mr. Khalifa's report was not entirely without shortcomings.
7. Her delegation had noted with interest the reports submitted by States Parties under article VII of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as well as the Report of the Group of Three (E/CN.4/1983/24 and Add.1-13 and E/CN.4/1983/25). Nevertheless, the reasons which had led her Government to abstain when the General Assembly voted to adopt the 1973 Convention were still valid.
8. Ireland remained attached to the original aims and objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Her delegation would continue to promote them at the second World Conference on Racism and Racial Discrimination, and at other meetings devoted to that question. It welcomed the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr. Jonah, to prepare for the Conference and regretted that not all regional groups had been able to participate in the first session of the Preparatory Sub-Commission. It was an encouraging fact that the General Assembly had agreed upon an agenda which would make it possible for all to participate in the preparatory work for the Conference.
9. Many white South Africans undoubtedly felt that they were unfairly accused by international opinion, which they accused of hypocrisy. It was easy for people to heap guilt on the shoulders of South Africa instead of casting a critical eye on human rights conditions in their own countries. It was none the less true that the institutionalized racism of South Africa was in a category by itself in the sordid catalogue of human rights violations and the harshness of the criticism levelled against that country was thus fully justified.

10. Mr. SEBAZUNGU (Rwanda) said, with regard to agenda item 6, that the Pretoria racists were persisting in their crimes and continuing to defy the international community, as clearly emerged from the excellent report on Violations of human rights in southern Africa by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1983/10). By refusing black people the right to vote, the right to freedom of movement, the right to work and to free choice of employment, freedom of association and even the right to life, South Africa placed itself in the forefront of the States violating human rights. That situation was made still worse by the aggressive incursions it committed to destabilize the neighbouring States. The creation of bantustans, the forced displacements of black peoples in South Africa and Namibia and the curbs on the activities of student movements were other serious forms of repression. All those crimes demonstrated that the Pretoria authorities rejected the principles on which the United Nations was founded.
11. In order to combat the apartheid system, which was comparable to nazism and zionism, the States Members of the United Nations should abstain from all relations with South Africa, and the international community should condemn that country's acts of aggression, the massacres which it had committed to maintain apartheid and the tortures inflicted on detainees as described on pages 24 and 25 of the Report (E/CN.4/1983/10). His own Government condemned the racist policy practised by South Africa within the country itself and in Namibia. It condemned the bantustan policy, which was tantamount to depriving the black populations of South African citizenship. His Government supported the efforts and initiatives made by the Contact Group under resolution 435 (1978) of the Security Council. It called for a halt to all political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural co-operation with South Africa and hoped that the States Members of the United Nations would, at long last, fully respect the relevant international instruments, particularly the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.
12. Mrs. DUBRA (Uruguay) said that the events which had occurred in southern Africa constituted a flagrant violation of the principle of equality set forth in article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequently recognized in all the relevant conventions and declarations. The apartheid system institutionalized contempt for that principle in an appalling way and, consequently, her country strongly condemned it. In particular, her Government rejected the "bantustan" policy, taking the view that those territories were incapable of acquiring genuine political, social, and economic independence but remained dependent on South Africa. Their inhabitants were compelled to become migrant workers who had to go and earn their living in "white" South Africa, leaving their families behind them.
13. The Special Committee against Apartheid had organized an International Conference on Women and Apartheid during which it had been stressed that that separation of families had a serious effect upon the women, both as wives and as mothers, and also upon the children.
14. Uruguay, which had been the first country to make the solemn declaration provided for in article 14 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, had taken part in the first World Conference for Action against Apartheid, held at Lagos, and in the first World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The second conference on the latter topic was to be held at Geneva in the course of the year and her Government wished it every success. To conclude, she wished to thank the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts for its report on Violations of human rights in southern Africa (E/CN.4/1983/10). She agreed with the statement by the Rapporteur, when introducing it, that "there can be no peace in the world as long as human beings believe in their racial superiority".

15. Mr. KHMEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that there was no agenda item relating to violations of human rights that did not concern southern Africa. The documents submitted on that subject by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1983/10 and E/CN.4/1983/38), as well as the Report prepared in accordance with resolution 5 (XXXVII) of the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1983/37), were really frightening. It was impossible not to be appalled when reading, for example, of the tortures inflicted on detainees (see E/CN.4/1983/10, para. 122). That information, though only partial, gave an accurate idea of what was happening in the South African prisons and internment camps. Countless detainees had died under torture or were executed every year. The South African authorities also carried out reprisals against the families of the victims. The repression spared nobody and the Pretoria regime tried to keep itself in power by terror and genocide.
16. Moreover, the policy of establishing bantustans involved mass movements of population. It was estimated that more than 3 million persons had thus been displaced over some 20 years and it was planned to move a million others. The black inhabitants were prisoners in their own country and subjected to methods similar to those of the nazis. His delegation categorically condemned those violations of human rights and the Pretoria regime itself. It supported the steps that had been taken to remedy that situation, particularly in the context of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Those measures were well known and the United Nations had frequently urged that they be applied. Nevertheless, quite a number of the decisions taken had remained dead letters.
17. The imperialist countries continued to support the South African regime through the transnational corporations. The policies pursued by the Pretoria regime were in keeping with the imperialist policies practised at the global level. It might be thought, for instance, that the "homelands" were similar to the colonies formerly created by the Western countries. Like the latter, the "homelands" offered a source of labour and markets for the sale of products. In a way, South Africa was a "mini-empire". The imperialist countries linked with South Africa naturally refused to admit that de facto situation and presented the apartheid system as an ethical illogicality based on prejudice. Nevertheless, if the Pretoria regime remained in place, it was due to assistance from those countries.
18. In his report on The adverse consequences of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/10), Mr. Khalifa had given a list of some 70 foreign banks and companies which had opened up establishments in South Africa over the past 5 years. In 1978, 1,888 undertakings from 14 developed countries had been enumerated in South Africa. In 1981, 1.6 times as many had been counted, from 22 developed countries. It was clear, therefore, that help in strengthening the economic underpinnings of the Pretoria regime was being given. For their part, the Experts had demonstrated in their report that the codes of conduct applicable to national and multinational companies which were sometimes invoked by the Western countries were nothing more than a smokescreen (E/CN.4/1983/10, paras. 284-287). In actual fact, the massive investments of the multinational corporations in South Africa had only aggravated the situation of the workers in that country.

19. Thanks to the assistance of some countries, particularly the United States, other NATO countries and Israel, South Africa was developing its military potential, including its nuclear potential, and thus increasing the threat hanging over the region. The Pretoria policy extended to the occupied territory of Namibia, where the South African regime was doing everything possible to delay independence.
20. His country condemned the co-operation between South Africa and the United States and the acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against the neighbouring States. It supported all the countries that were helping the peoples of southern Africa to free themselves. Incidentally, his delegation rejected the attempts to justify the existence of economic relations between South Africa and the Western countries on the pretext that they were private relations beyond the control of governments. Those were nothing more than very clumsy subterfuges.
21. His delegation approved in the main the conclusions of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts. It would nevertheless have liked them to recall the need to respect the embargo on the deliveries of weapons to South Africa, and the necessity of adopting against that regime in order to eliminate apartheid the sanctions provided for in chapter VII of the Charter. Moreover, it would be advisable to broadcast more widely information concerning the criminal nature of the Pretoria regime. The United Nations Information Service could prepare a brochure on the subject, that would be published in all the official languages.
22. Mr. Barakat (Jordan) took the chair.
23. Miss ILIĆ (Yugoslavia) said that it was the Commission's duty to unveil to the world the full facts concerning the abhorrent policies and practices of apartheid. In addition, it should look into all the circumstances assisting the racist regime of South Africa to pursue its apartheid policy in defiance of the international community, so as to determine the real causes of the problem and to find effective remedies. An attitude of "constructive engagement" was an acceptable one, provided that the racist regime showed itself ready to negotiate, and that its friends used all the peaceful means at their disposal to induce it to abide by the Charter of the United Nations. That approach should not, however, serve to shelter the racist regime from the pressure of international public opinion and give it time to impose still more inhuman treatment on the African majority. In that connection, she regretted that the policy of some countries towards South Africa was determined by political, economic and military considerations, which failed to take account of the exploitation and sufferings being endured by the African majority in Azania.
24. While it was to be hoped that the efforts by the Group of Five to secure the independence of Namibia would be crowned with success, some new difficulties had arisen. An endeavour was currently being made to link that independence to questions which had nothing to do with Namibia. It was most surprising that an obstacle to the self-determination of the Namibian people should have been raised in that way, virtually on the eve of independence. It was to be hoped that the current period of grace would not enable South Africa to face the international community with an entirely new and still more serious situation. According to certain rumours,

South Africa intended to use the time it had gained to organize new elections to ensure the return to power of the "Turnhalle Alliance" or a similar group of collaborators, and thus give credence to the fairy tale of a white-black alliance asking for independence. It was essential that an authentic solution be found to the Namibian question. That would strengthen the conviction that the most knotty problems could be resolved by negotiation and make it clear that the international community was determined to implement the principle of the equality of all human beings, without discrimination of any kind. The independence of Namibia would also strengthen the independence of Africa as a whole, and would encourage its economic and social development.

25. Mr. HERDOCIA ORTEGA (Nicaragua) said that the suppression and exploitation which characterized apartheid, racism and discrimination were the inevitable products of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Nicaragua, which had itself suffered much from forms of internal and external domination, was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and its Protocol, and the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The rights that were recognized to Nicaraguan citizens were based on the two International Covenants and the Protocol to the latter of those instruments. By its Decree No. 438, his Government had established a National Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights which had the duty, inter alia, to mobilize public opinion against any manifestation of discrimination and to hold seminars and conferences on the subject.

26. In December 1981, his Government had acted as host for the third regional Seminar on Recourse Procedures and Other Forms of Protection available to Victims of Racial Discrimination, which had been sponsored by the United Nations Division of Human Rights and in which more than 30 delegations had participated. The conclusions of that Seminar had enabled unquestionable progress to be made in the struggle against discrimination and, in addition, the Director of the Division of Human Rights and the representatives of the various countries had been able to familiarize themselves with the Nicaraguan situation in that regard.

27. With regard to the extremely serious problem of racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa, he referred to the report of the Secretary-General on apartheid as a collective form of slavery (E/CN.4/Sub.2/449) which made it clear that various elements of the apartheid system could be regarded as slavery-like practices and in which the conclusion was set forth that the black population was subjected to a quasi-colonial exploitation regime, for the benefit of white South African and foreign investors. As for the bantustan policy, it confirmed an unjust distribution of lands resulting from the colonial conquest and was tantamount to the establishment of African "reservations" which were primarily sources of cheap labour.

28. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1983/10) made mention of the assassination of a number of opponents of apartheid in South Africa and abroad. In general, the report made it plain that South Africa practised a policy

of demoralizing the South Africans opposed to apartheid and of destabilizing the independent African States (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Seychelles and Zimbabwe). The information collected by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts revealed that, in South Africa, 57 persons had been hanged during the first six months of 1981, and 39 others in the second six months. There had been an average of 130 executions per year for the past three years. Moreover, again according to the Group's report, 1,237 persons had died at the hands of the South African police between 1970 and 1979, excluding the many hundreds of persons killed during and after the 1976 uprisings. Torture was practised systematically, particularly in the "homelands" and more especially on trade unionists, journalists and students, although women and children had not been spared. Furthermore, millions of persons had been forcibly removed in connection with the policy of territorial apartheid.

29. His Government strongly condemned the criminal and systematic violation of human rights practised in South Africa and also condemned the political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa. Consequently, his delegation intended to contribute, in its capacity as a member of the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights, to the efforts being made to encourage ratification of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It also welcomed the reports on racial discrimination submitted by ILO and UNESCO.

30. Nicaragua fully supported SWAPO in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia and endorsed all the efforts being made by the international community to implement the various United Nations resolutions on the right to self-determination of the Namibian people. In its view, apartheid, a slavery-like system, could not be reformed but had to be liquidated by a complete restructuring of political, economic and social relationships in South Africa. For its own part, since 19 July 1979, the date of the triumph of the Sandinist People's Revolution, his country had ended all economic, political and military relations with the South African racist regime.

31. Lastly, his delegation welcomed the fact that the Commission had decided to be represented at the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by the Chairman of its thirty-ninth session and was convinced that the Conference would assist in the speedy liberation of the peoples that were still oppressed in southern Africa.

32. Mrs. WYNTER (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that, without intending to review all the various items covered by the report which her Organization had submitted to the Commission in accordance with resolution 1588 (L) of the Economic and Social Council (E/CN.4/1983/28), she nevertheless wished to recall UNESCO's spheres of action and highlight a few recent initiatives in the area under consideration.

33. UNESCO was active at the normative level (it set standards and monitored the implementation of the conventions and recommendations falling within its purview); engaged in operational activities (it aided the liberation movements of southern Africa recognized by the OAU); informed public opinion, particularly youth, on the situation in southern Africa; carried out study and research (it had just published a work entitled Racism, Science and Pseudo-Science); participated in the activities of organs such as the Human Rights Committee and the Special Committee against Apartheid and co-operated with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.



34. The programmes undertaken in that field had affected the Fourth Special Session of the UNESCO General Conference which, in December 1982, had adopted a Medium-Term Plan for the years 1984-1989.

35. Recalling the obligations placed upon UNESCO by its Constitution, which had been drafted shortly after the Second World War, she noted that the General Conference, at its most recent session, had taken the view that it was currently just as vital as at the time of its foundation to combat racism, discrimination, prejudices and tensions; to promote understanding; and to mobilize all available forces in the struggle for the ideals of co-operation and tolerance.

36. To that end, UNESCO would analyse and expose the mechanisms of apartheid and would critically analyse those concepts, beliefs and values that sustained prejudice, intolerance and racism. Apartheid would thus be the subject of a special programme made up of four sub-programmes.

37. First of all, historical, sociological and economic studies would seek to elucidate the interaction between colonialism, racism and apartheid and, in particular, the interaction between the emergence of Afrikaaner industrialization and the collapse of agricultural production in the areas reserved for the Africans. Secondly, a study would be made of the theoretical and ideological foundations of apartheid, in an endeavour to show how apartheid systematized inequalities and perpetuated political and economic domination, using linguistic and cultural characteristics and geographical situations to isolate entire communities and groups. The third sub-programme would aim at combating apartheid in education, science, culture, communications and information. In the fourth place, UNESCO would co-operate with the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU and also with the front-line States.

38. UNESCO hoped that those new approaches would provide the international community with an accurate knowledge of the causes of intolerance and of racial practices and prejudices, including the evils of institutionalized racism, and of the systems which engendered and propagated them, and that they would provide a solid theoretical basis for its own actions, and those of other organizations, aimed at changing the attitudes and behaviour of individuals, groups and nations. It was also hoped that those approaches would help to ensure that education, the sciences, culture, communications and information were used to establish a climate of tolerance and greater mutual understanding in the world, and to rally the international scientific and intellectual community in the struggle against apartheid.

39. Mr. JACOBY (Amnesty International) reminded the members of the Commission that Amnesty International had, on several occasions, supplied the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts with information on human rights violations in Namibia, most recently in July 1982, but that there had since been further developments which should be brought to the attention of the Commission.

40. Amnesty International had sought continually to draw the attention of public opinion to the detention without trial of real or suspected opponents of the continued South African exercise of power in Namibia; to allegations of torture, particularly of uncharged detainees; to the imprisonment of political prisoners sentenced after trials which did not meet international standards of due process; to the incidence of disappearances and extra-judicial executions; and to the use of the death penalty.

41. Amnesty International had received, in the last three months, some disturbing information about the arrests carried out by a special police counter-insurgency unit. Two of the Namibians that had been arrested were reported to have died in police custody on 18 November 1982. So far, Amnesty International had been unable to obtain any information concerning the findings of the post-mortem that had been scheduled nor concerning the progress of the investigation announced by the Commissioner of the South-West Africa Police. In January 1982, another person had died in custody without any investigation being made into the circumstances of his death.
42. For many years, Amnesty International had been documenting torture and ill-treatment of detainees. At least 24 political prisoners had died in South Africa, since the beginning of 1976, while they were in the hands of the South African security police and there were even fewer safeguards against the ill-treatment of detainees in Namibia. The safeguards adopted in South Africa after the death in detention of Steve Biko in 1977 were inadequate, but they might help to prevent some abuse. In Namibia, Proclamation AG.26, which provided a basis for preventive detention, offered a few safeguards but it had been little used since 1979. Persons detained under Proclamation AG.9, on the other hand, had no protection. They might be held incommunicado at any place designated by the South African authorities for an unlimited period. They were not regularly visited by doctors or magistrates and there was an almost total absence of safeguards against torture and ill-treatment.
43. Amnesty International had obtained confirmation of the existence in 1982 of one secret detention camp, to which detainees were taken blindfolded, held indefinitely and subjected to torture. Other such secret camps were believed to exist, but it was not known how many there were or where they were located.
44. Proclamation AG.9 conferred on all commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the South African security forces, whether military or police, powers to detain any person for questioning for an initial period of 30 days. All such detainees were held incommunicado, denied access to legal counsel, had no right to know the reasons for their arrest and had no means of appeal. Members of the security forces possessing such detention powers were given legal immunity, both criminal and civil, for any action carried out "in good faith". Further detention after 30 days could be authorized by the Administrator-General with the result that it could last for unlimited periods. Indeed, one group of about 120 persons, held under Proclamation AG.9, had almost completed five years in detention without trial. The South African authorities had still not released the names of those persons, who had been abducted from Angola in May 1978 when South African military forces had attacked Namibian refugee camps.
45. In November 1982, Amnesty International had written to the Prime Minister of South Africa detailing its concerns and inviting him to take immediate action to prevent further abuses by South African forces in Namibia. In particular, it had recommended the repeal of Proclamation AG.9 and the introduction of a series of safeguards to ensure that all persons in custody were effectively protected against possible ill-treatment. It had urged the immediate establishment of an independent judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations that had been made with respect to torture, alleged "disappearances" in police custody, and extra-judicial executions. It had also called upon the Prime Minister of South Africa to order the release of all prisoners of conscience in Namibia and to initiate a

full review of the cases of all other political prisoners. In so doing, Amnesty International had drawn attention to the fact that all the parties involved in negotiations for a political settlement in Namibia, including the South African Government, had already agreed that the Constitution of an independent Namibia should contain a Declaration of Fundamental Rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

46. Mr. KHOURI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) drew the attention of the members of the Commission to the many similarities that existed between the situation of the Palestinian people and that of the peoples of southern Africa. Both the State of Israel and the apartheid regime were based on a colonized settlement, i.e. on the expropriation of the territories of the indigenous peoples for the benefit of settlers from the four corners of the earth and on appropriation of political power by those settlers. The negation of the right to self-determination of the indigenous peoples and the practice of racist and discriminatory policies were characteristic of them. That was why the General Assembly had assimilated zionism to a form of racism. The General Assembly also regularly expressed its concern at the development of relationships, particularly on the dual military and nuclear level, between those two States. Moreover, the question had formed the subject of several reports, the latest being that of the Special Committee Against Apartheid (A/37/22/Add.1) according to which (para. 8): "Israel's Defence Minister, Mr. Ariel Sharon" (the same man whose responsibility for the massacres of Sabra and Chatila had been recognized by an Israeli commission of inquiry) "visited the 'operational areas' in Namibia in December 1981, during large-scale aggression by South Africa against Angola, and was reported to have made a strong appeal for South Africa to be supplied with sophisticated arms." The report added that, according to information received, the South African Navy had seven Israeli-built fast-attack craft, armed with Israeli missiles, and that seven more were under order. It also indicated (para. 12) that Israel and South Africa were developing a cruise missile with a range of 1,500 miles, a neutron bomb and various nuclear delivery systems. That co-operation fell within the context of the Israeli authorities' desire to develop the production and exports of weapons to the detriment of the cause of human rights in the world. In that connection, he read out paragraph 6 of the same report, according to which the Minister of Economy of Israel had appealed to the United States Government not to compete with Israel in Taiwan, South Africa, the Caribbean or any other country to which the United States could not export directly.

47. The international community should thus pay particular attention to that collaboration in view of the danger it represented not only to the cause of human rights in occupied Palestine, southern Africa and other parts of the world, but also to international peace.

48. Mr. OGURTSOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was to be marked in 1983 by the holding of the second World Conference, at which further measures would be adopted with a view to eliminating racism and apartheid. The decision adopted in 1973 by the General Assembly and the implementation of the Programme for the Decade had helped to mobilize public opinion against racism. Although many colonial territories had succeeded in freeing themselves from the racial yoke, there were still some major hotbeds of racial discrimination, particularly in South Africa, where racism had been erected into an ideology and a political system. The South African racists stopped at nothing: peaceful demonstrations were fired upon, opponents were tortured, and the prisons were packed with political detainees.

49. The racists remained deaf to the appeals launched by, inter alia, the General Assembly and the Security Council. They did not hesitate to remove 3 million blacks to the "homelands" so as to free 90 per cent of the land for the whites, obliging the blacks to live in ghettos. In addition, the South African racists were using the territory of Namibia as a springboard to launch attacks against the neighbouring States.

50. Pretoria would not be able to show such contempt for United Nations decisions without the support of NATO countries and of their corporations; apartheid would not be possible without the help of the West. It was as the result of help from Israel that South Africa had been able to develop its military and nuclear potential and establish a powerful police apparatus. Foreign investments in South Africa amounted to \$35 billion, while external trade was numbered in tens of billions of dollars. The United States had recently developed its financial and other relations with the racists of South Africa: it had relaxed the restrictions imposed on trade and authorized the sale of non-military products which could serve for military purposes such as computers and communications equipment. In addition, some countries had endeavoured to oppose sanctions against South Africa or had resorted to sanctions which could not be verified, as in the case of the United States.

51. For its part, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic supported the struggle of the peoples for self-determination and national liberation; it was in favour of sanctions to isolate the South African regime and thought that the campaign against racism and racial discrimination, inspired by theories of the fascist and zionist type, should be intensified. It appealed to all States to implement the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and hoped that the second Conference would help to achieve the objectives of the Decade.

52. Mr. BIKOU-M'BYS (Observer for the Congo) said he would confine himself to agenda items 6 and 7. Once again, his delegation had been constrained to note that the principles set forth in the initial articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were still being regularly flouted by the apartheid regime of South Africa. Racial segregation and discrimination were institutionalized in that country with a view to maintaining the domination of one racial group over another and systematically oppressing it. However, a series of conferences of specialists and scientists (anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists) had stated and demonstrated that the division of the human species into races was a purely arbitrary and conventional device and should not imply a hierarchy of any kind, since all men belonged to a single species and there was no such thing as a pure race, i.e., there was no genetically homogeneous population.

53. Nevertheless, South Africa obstinately continued to erect apartheid into a political, economic and social system. Bantustanization, or the "homelands policy", was but a further manifestation of racism. In applying that system, the South African Government was trying to give the impression that it was applying the principle of self-determination since - it stated - it was recognizing the independence of such and such a black people; in fact, what it was doing was purely and simply depriving the blacks of their lands and of South African nationality. That was not all, however; statistics showed that South Africa headed the list of countries for judicial executions and that, of the 2,740 persons

executed between 1910 and 1975, less than 100 had been white while, for instance, no white had been hanged for raping a black woman. The victims of the arrests and arbitrary detentions, of the tortures and the summary executions were freedom fighters, trade unionists, students, religious leaders, journalists and those who, in one way or another, opposed the criminal policy of apartheid. Black women were also suffering in particular from humiliating oppression and practices and were being subjected to exactions of every kind such as deportation and forced separation from their families. Lastly, income inequalities forced the black peoples to live in the most extreme poverty.

54. However, the violations of human rights committed by the Pretorian racist regime were not aimed solely at the black peoples of South Africa but also extended to Namibia, which was being refused the inalienable right of self-determination. The Pretorian racists were also sowing destruction, terror and desolation in the neighbouring States, particularly the front-line States: thus South African troops were currently occupying some areas of southern Angola. Moreover, according to an official statement by the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, as reported by the magazine Jeune Afrique of 26 January 1983, the South Africans were ready to intervene anywhere that the "terrorists" found asylum. "Terrorists" meant the freedom fighters. That statement had been made only a few weeks after the bloody raid by white commandos on Maseru, the capital of Lesotho.

55. The Pretoria racist regime could permit itself those practices because it was encouraged by certain Western Powers which scoffed at the United Nations resolutions decreeing an embargo against the South African regime. The report on that subject (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/10) by Mr. Khalifa, the Special Rapporteur, was eloquent enough. Some delegations had, nevertheless, tried to put over the idea that the fact of maintaining relations with Pretoria might lead South Africa to soften its apartheid policy. That was an aberration. His own delegation was, on the contrary, convinced that any diplomatic, economic or military collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa helped to intensify the violations of human rights in southern Africa and to encourage that regime to pursue its policy of destabilization and aggression against the neighbouring independent States. In that way, international peace and security were threatened. For its part, the People's Republic of the Congo unreservedly supported the struggle of the suppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

56. Mr. KNIGHT (Baha'i International Community) said he wished to address himself to agenda item 18 (b) on the implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Although it was true that an impressive number of States had become parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and that there was an impressive number of States whose Constitutions and laws rendered illegal practices designed to discriminate on the grounds of race, legislation could not change hearts and prejudices had to be tackled at their roots, in the hearts and minds of human beings. It was the Baha'i view that all prejudices, of whatsoever kind, were divisive and the cause of war and strife. It would not be possible to attain peace and justice in the world until prejudice was removed and the fact was recognized that all beings were created equal and should have equal opportunity to develop their potentialities in the service of mankind.

57. The elimination of racism and racial discrimination could not be achieved overnight but required proper long-term education. In a written statement submitted to the Commission (E/CN.4/1983/NGO/3), the Baha'i International Community had emphasized the need for the spiritual education of children. It was true that education and national programmes were an important part of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, but his Community hoped that the second World Conference on Racism and Racial Discrimination would place even greater emphasis on education. It would also like to recommend to Governments that they encourage the adoption of an in-depth educational programme intended for all peoples on the vital principle of the organic oneness of humanity, and give particular emphasis to such teaching in the earliest years of the child. That would contribute to the eventual acceptance by all peoples that racial, religious, political, economic and patriotic prejudices were destructive and could have no universal value in an age which demanded global solutions to human problems.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.