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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 12TH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Tuesday, 14 February 1984, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. KOUIJMANS (Netherlands)

CONTENTS

Violation of human rights in southern Africa: report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (continued)

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 (continued)

Implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (continued)

- (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 (continued)
- (b) Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF EXPERTS (agenda item 6) (continued) (E/CN.4/1984/8)

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.4/1984/11; E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/6 and Add.1 and 2; E/CN.4/1984/NGO/13)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID (agenda item 16) (continued) (E/CN.4/1984/36 and Add.1-8; E/CN.4/1984/48; E/CN.4/1983/24/Add.13 and 14)

- (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) (E/CN.4/1984/37 and 38)
- (b) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (agenda item 17) (continued)

1. Mr. ABU EISSA (Arab Lawyers Union) said that the Arab Lawyers Union participated with United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations in efforts to oppose apartheid and promote respect for human rights in the legal context. The executive body of the Union had recently endorsed the Programme of Action for the second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Union closely followed events in southern Africa, which were of particular importance to it since African countries represented some two thirds of its membership. It supported the oppressed African peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence, just as it supported such efforts anywhere in the world.

2. Throughout its 40 years of existence, the Union had stood for the principles of national freedom and sovereignty. The countries represented among its membership had themselves experienced colonial oppression and foreign domination in the past, and were aware of the plight of the Arab peoples in the occupied territories such as Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Golan Heights and Lebanon. They affirmed their solidarity with the freedom-fighters in southern Africa and with the front-line States.

3. The inhuman racist policies of the apartheid system, like those of the Zionist regime, were akin to nazism and they could be stamped out just as the Nazi regime had been. Until they were, the unholy alliance of the two regimes, and the unlimited support they received from imperialist circles, would remain a blot on the international conscience. The efforts of both regimes to acquire nuclear capability increased the threat to peace and security.

4. World public opinion, expressed through an international instrument, had condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity, but the Pretoria racists persisted in their policy of oppression, including arbitrary arrests and imprisonment. One particularly heinous act had been the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, whose immediate release had been called for by the international community. South Africa's

policy of apartheid was utterly rejected on all sides, even by those who openly assisted that regime. And it was clear that the recent so-called constitutional reforms were designed not as a means to true emancipation but as a manoeuvre to perpetuate the regime's existence.

5. The international community must strengthen its efforts to overcome apartheid, by giving effect to the relevant Security Council resolutions and other United Nations decisions, including measures to boycott trade with South Africa and curtail the activities of transnational corporations. The Western Powers must withhold support from South Africa and Israel.

6. The Arab Lawyers Union supported the just struggle of the Namibian people for freedom, under its legitimate representative, SWAPO. Namibia must be allowed to accede to full and immediate independence; manoeuvres such as the attempt to link independence to a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola were utterly unacceptable. South Africa must halt its aggressive acts against the front-line States, particularly Mozambique and Angola.

7. Peace-loving circles everywhere greatly appreciated the Commission's constant efforts to remove the last vestiges of colonialism, including apartheid, and to promote peace and friendship. It was regrettable that the first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had fallen short of expectations. Clearly, greater efforts must be made; in all quarters, to give effect to United Nations resolutions and decisions aimed at forcing South Africa to abandon its current policies. To that end, the Arab Lawyers Union was urging States to ratify the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; it was encouraging to note that some members of OAU had already done so.

8. Mr. ALENCASTRO MASSOT (Brazil) said that despite all the efforts of the international community the results of the struggle against apartheid were meagre, as was clearly shown by the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on violations of human rights in southern Africa. Apartheid was today stronger and more institutionalized, repressive and aggressive than ever. It had been consolidated by population resettlement and bantustan programmes, and by repression and mass arrests. Priority had been given to the establishment of bantustans, for by creating the fiction of "independent homelands", the Government of South Africa decreed the loss of South African citizenship for more than 9 million Africans, which put an end to any entitlement to participate in the political, economic, social and cultural life of South Africa, since the persons concerned were now classified as aliens.

9. A document recently issued by FAO demonstrated the disastrous consequences of the policy of apartheid on family structures, including the break-up of households. The document concluded that Africans were dehumanized by the policy, and were left with no prospect but survival from day to day - and that in their country of birth!

10. The so-called constitutional reforms which had recently been adopted in South Africa granted limited representation to people of mixed race and Asian origin, but excluded the black majority. Far from being a first step towards the dismantling of apartheid, the measures would further consolidate the system and would alienate blacks still further, since they would have no political rights. His delegation had accordingly supported General Assembly resolution 38/11, which condemned the reforms.

11. The effects of apartheid were spreading beyond South Africa. Its influence was apparent in Namibia, whose independence had been delayed, and in recent acts of aggression perpetrated against South Africa's neighbours, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho. Action was also being taken to destabilize the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which sought to establish a system of regional co-ordination and to promote the economic independence of member countries. His Government trusted that the resolve of those countries would not weaken and that they would demonstrate still greater determination in pursuing their development goals.
12. It was unacceptable that in 1984, when the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had recently been celebrated, when the Commission completed its fortieth year of existence and at the end of a decade dedicated to the elimination of racial discrimination, the international community should be confronted by that crime against humanity, apartheid. The mere existence of the South African regime was humiliating to the majority population of southern Africa, and represented a direct insult to the principles of the Universal Declaration and an affront to all countries which respected it.
13. His Government hoped that there would soon be more action and more results in the long and bitter struggle against human rights violations in southern Africa. The Commission and its subsidiary bodies should continue to play a fundamental role in the struggle, representing those who could not speak for themselves, fighting for human dignity and denouncing apartheid until it had been banished from the face of the earth.
14. Mr. JAEGER (Federal Republic of Germany) said that his Government's policy in South Africa was aimed at defusing conflict and creating conditions for an equitable and durable order, in accordance with its principles of support for self-determination and human rights, denunciation of the use of force, non-interference, and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. His Government was therefore actively working towards Namibia's independence on the basis of an internationally-recognized act of free self-determination by the Namibian people.
15. It was deplorable that there had been no significant improvement in human rights in southern Africa, and his delegation accordingly supported the renewal of the Ad Hoc Working Group's mandate. His Government strongly condemned the policy of apartheid and had made that point to the Government of South Africa in its bilateral contacts. It would continue to work towards the goal of effecting peaceful change in South Africa as quickly as possible.
16. Social, economic and educational improvements would make it easier for the white and Coloured population to overcome the system of apartheid. The code of conduct for enterprises adopted by the European Community also served that aim. His Government was convinced that apartheid could be completely eliminated without the use of force, the principle of the renunciation of the use of force being a key element in the struggle for freedom and equal rights.
17. Once again a report had been submitted by the Special Rapporteur on alleged support for the South African Government by banks, transnational corporations and other organizations. His Government had repeatedly stated that it did not agree with the essence of the reports submitted by the Special Rapporteur. The list of enterprises and organizations in the reports was discriminatory. If the premise underlying the reports were generally accepted, normal trade relations with a country would inevitably be equated with assistance to it and with approval

of its policies. Commercial exchanges between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa did not constitute help or support for South Africa, nor did they imply approval of apartheid. His Government had firmly adhered to the provisions of Security Council Resolution 418 (1977). The Federal Republic of Germany did not deliver arms to South Africa, nor did it engage in any form of military or nuclear collaboration with that country. Any statements to the contrary were either erroneous or malicious. It was regrettable that a majority of members of the Commission had so far ignored the fact that the Special Rapporteur's reports had been included in those activities which had been identified as "obsolete, marginally useful or ineffective" in a special review of the United Nations programme of work (A/36/658).

18. His delegation was pleased that the second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the Programme of Action for the second Decade had been adopted by consensus. It was also gratifying that at the second World Conference there had been no repetition of events at the first World Conference.

19. The elimination of racial discrimination required a concerted effort by the world community. It was to be hoped that the consensus which had now been reached on the second Decade and the Programme of Action could be maintained, so that the basic evil of racial discrimination could finally be eliminated. His Government would do everything in its power to further that aim.

20. Ms. ILIC (Yugoslavia) said that, since the Commission's previous session, the South African regime had added to its catalogue of human rights violations and exploitation of South Africa's indigenous majority. Its so-called "constitutional reforms" were but a further attempt to legalize its oppressive policy, but no one doubted their true purpose of maintaining the white minority's domination by dividing the oppressed peoples of South Africa against themselves. Yugoslavia endorsed the rejection of the so-called constitutional proposals and fully supported the indigenous majority's legitimate struggle to overthrow apartheid and achieve self-determination and independence on a basis of equality and dignity.

21. South Africa's efforts to distort the situation in Namibia by imposing a so-called "internal settlement" had been rightly rejected by SWAPO as contrary to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Such attempts by the racist regime to retard decolonization in Namibia and thwart United Nations efforts should be resolutely rejected. Using Namibia's international territory, the racist regime had repeatedly committed aggression against neighbouring States, particularly Angola, killing civilians indiscriminately and causing extensive damage. Those acts stemmed from a premeditated policy of undermining the independence and territorial integrity of neighbouring States, destroying liberation movements and thus obstructing Namibia's liberation.

22. The racist regime's policies, which defied all moral and international legal principles, could not continue without the assistance of certain Governments and interests. Such assistance should be ended at once, and United Nations recommendations for the severance of all relations with South Africa should be given full effect. The extremely dangerous developments in southern Africa, which might lead to broader confrontation, showed how urgent it was for the international community to take a hand in curbing Pretoria's terrorist policies, liquidate apartheid and racial discrimination, and enable all the region's countries to enjoy independence and development. No one, especially those countries in a position to influence South Africa, could evade responsibility

for developments in that region. The international community had clear obligations in that respect. Accordingly, Yugoslavia would continue striving to give effect to the Organization's purposes and principles and to the non-aligned movement's conclusions concerning the issues involved. Until those goals had been achieved, it would continue to give assistance to the liberation movements recognized by OAU.

23. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh) said he failed to understand how a country could systematically violate all the human rights principles cherished by civilization, and yet South Africa continued to do so with impunity. It was astonishing that, in the late twentieth century, the people of South Africa were being oppressed in complete defiance of the many United Nations resolutions condemning the situation. An effective remedy must be found to the great wrong they had been done simply because of the colour of their skin. The idea of racial superiority had been universally condemned, but because of it 80 per cent of the people of South Africa had been subjected to cruelty and oppression by the minority group of less than 20 per cent.

24. The progress report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1984/8), which he had read with great dismay, showed that the South African Government had refused to co-operate with the Group in any way and that it had rejected requests to visit prisoners, who had been subjected to torture and other forms of cruelty and were compelled to live in inhuman conditions. The report further showed that the trade union rights recognized in international instruments were denied to the black population and that people who sought to exercise such rights were arrested, tortured and held incommunicado. Not only were all the individual human rights set forth in the Universal Declaration flagrantly violated, but South Africa was committing constant acts of aggression against neighbouring States. The resources of Angola, Namibia, Lesotho and other neighbouring States were being plundered and their rights violated.

25. Following the so-called constitutional reform, 70 per cent of the population was still excluded from any real participation in the administration of the country. In the new parliamentary system, which was subject to the arbitrary control of the President, there were three chambers: one for whites, another for the Coloured population and a third for Asians. The system was neither presidential nor parliamentary, but merely dictatorial. His delegation understood a presidential form of government to be one on the United States pattern, with all the desirable checks and balances. The form contemplated in South Africa had no such checks or balances, but was totally arbitrary. The so-called reform was a mere deception practised on 80 per cent of the South African population.

26. Bantustanization, whereby people of a particular colour were compelled to live in a particular place, was a supreme example of insanity. Such acts of racial discrimination were self-condemnatory.

27. The Commission had learned from the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts that people were being sentenced to capital punishment by secret trial or without trial, and that many others had been arbitrarily arrested and held incommunicado. As stated in paragraph 157 of the Group's progress report, at least 59 persons had died in detention to date. It was the duty of every civilized Government to ensure the safety of prisoners and honour their right to live. If the situation described in the report was allowed to continue, there could be little hope of world peace. The report also referred to the fate of political prisoners, who were being subjected to torture and extended periods of

interrogation, leading in some cases to death, of which their families were kept in ignorance. Captured freedom-fighters were denied their rights under the fourth Geneva Convention. There was also segregation in education, the non-white population being disadvantaged in that respect.

28. He shared the view of the Group's Chairman that depriving individuals of their human rights and perpetuating racism should be tried in international tribunals and adequately punished. He drew attention to article I, paragraph 2, of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which defined acts constituting the crime of apartheid. Persons whose names appeared on the list of those deemed responsible for the crime of apartheid under that Convention, compiled by the Group, should be tried openly and publicly.

29. The United Nations could not continue indefinitely to be a mere passive observer of the situation in southern Africa, since that would endanger world peace. It should institute educational activities in various countries to make people aware of the existence of racism and the need to eradicate it, so that future generations could be brought up in an atmosphere of goodwill, equality, fraternity and human solidarity. It must be brought home to them that there could be no superiority on grounds of colour. There were many parts of the world where people were unaware of the pernicious system of apartheid in South Africa. The mass media should be encouraged to give publicity to what was happening in that country. Seminars and studies should be arranged, and non-governmental organizations interested in the protection and promotion of human rights should be encouraged and assisted in their efforts to create an awareness of the situation.

30. It was essential to maintain international vigilance over the people responsible for the denial of civil liberties in their own country and for aggression against neighbouring States. Every effort must be made to create a true democracy, with the participation of the 80 per cent of the population whose rights had hitherto been denied. As an ideology to be cherished and upheld, democracy should be advanced in every country. If the entire population of South Africa was allowed to participate in the machinery of government and a true democracy established, as visualized in the Universal Declaration, all the evils that had plagued South Africa would become a thing of the past.

31. The Commission's discussion could be fruitful only if there was a genuine resolve to prevent the Government of South Africa from continuing to oppress the people of that country and commit aggression against neighbouring States. Transnational corporations were aiding and abetting that Government in perpetuating its policies. South Africa was bent on affronting humanity, and humanity therefore demanded that a policy of non-co-operation with the Government of that country should be strictly applied.

32. Mr. SINGH (India) said that his delegation was acutely aware of the seriousness of the human rights issue before the Commission and of the fact that there had been no improvement in the situation since the previous session.

33. The most important development in 1983 had been the convening of the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The world community, represented by more than 100 countries, had condemned the apartheid policies of the South African regime and the denial of the right to self-determination of the people of Namibia, had adopted a Declaration and Programme of Action against the South African regime, and had launched a second United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Conference had concluded that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions would be the most effective means of compelling the South African regime to change its ways. Nevertheless, some members of the international community had continued to pursue their erroneous "constructive engagement" with the South African regime. That duality of perception and action was the single major obstacle to the international community's efforts to eliminate apartheid, and must therefore not be allowed to prevail.

34. As borne out by press reports, eye-witness accounts and the information placed before the Commission by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, the situation of the black people of South Africa and Namibia had worsened. The Group had noted that repression in South Africa had increased in every respect.

35. The South African Government was applying with increased vigour its policy of dividing the country into a series of racial or ethnic homelands, or bantustans, and reserving the fertile and mineral-rich 87 per cent of the total land area for the white minority population, while the black population eked out an existence in the arid 13 per cent with no infrastructure or employment opportunities. The Ad Hoc Working Group had once again drawn the Commission's attention to the Africans' loss of one of their important fundamental rights - the right to citizenship of their own country - through the imposition of citizenship of the so-called bantustans, which the rest of the world did not recognize. The Chairman of the Group had indicated that 9 million Africans had lost their citizenship in that way.

36. The policy of territorial apartheid and bantustanization had involved the massive dislocation and forcible removal of populations. The Group had found that that policy was being continued, that individuals, whole families and large groups were often moved again and again, and that their return to the so-called white areas was rigorously controlled through strict pass laws. According to studies on the subject, more than 3.5 million persons had been relocated since 1965, 2 million were threatened with removal and over 2 million had been convicted under the influx control laws. Individuals and communities were entitled to some basic respect for their attachment to the land of their birth, their centuries-old roots and the identity they had developed from generation to generation. The design of the South African minority to turn the majority population into aliens seriously threatened the present and future of the Africans and was contrary to the basic tenets of human rights and justice.

37. The vicious policy of forcible dislocation and influx control had led to social and family disintegration, crime, violence, suppression, hunger, disease and starvation. In 1983, thousands of Africans had been arrested under the pass laws, and brutal repression had caused untold suffering to the people in the homelands. The Chairman of the Group had indicated that the leaders of the bantustans had assumed additional powers and unleashed a reign of terror in South Africa. Summary arrests and executions, inhuman treatment and sophisticated methods of torture of



detainees continued. Even women and children were not spared, and security laws had become more draconian. Many trade union leaders and political activists had been arrested and tortured, a number of them having died in detention. ANC offices had repeatedly been raided, and freedom of expression and association had been severely curbed. Press censorship was strictly exercised, and black political opponents and their white sympathizers had disappeared or were subjected to detention, torture and summary execution. Three ANC leaders had been summarily executed in June 1983 despite world-wide appeals for their lives.

38. However, the population of South Africa was astir as never before. Press reports, and the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group, clearly testified to the increasing resistance of the black population to the policies of the white minority regime. Even under pain of arrest and torture, people had refused to respond to the will of the Government and had protested against deprivation of their right to live and work in the "white areas" and against their loss of South African citizenship. With the awareness that the bantustans were being used by the whites as a source of cheap labour, the black trade union movement was growing rapidly, and repression by the South African authorities was increasing correspondingly. Undaunted by such repression, and supported by the majority of the Coloured and Indian population, the black population continued to fight for its rights and for the establishment of a multiracial and just society and polity in which the rights of everyone would be respected. It was that growing consciousness, determination to struggle and confidence that the objectives could be secured that had led the South African regime to resort to devious methods and distortions in an attempt to project itself in a more favourable international light and to make cosmetic constitutional changes. Everyone could see, however, that only a complete reconstruction of the existing order would change the situation.

39. Without consulting the black or Coloured population, the South African regime had established a new three-chamber Parliament, from which the blacks were excluded. The constitutional reform bill introduced by the racist regime claimed to give representation to the Coloured and Asian population in the political life of the country. The Coloured and Indian leaders and some white opposition parties had, however, rejected the constitutional amendments on the ground that they would lead to increased polarization between blacks and whites and that there could be no responsible constitutional development if 80 per cent of the people were to be excluded from participation in its implementation.

40. Conditions in Namibia were no better. Economic exploitation, racial discrimination and apartheid, harsh political repression of SWAPO members and supporters, and the militarization of Namibia were perpetuating the circumstances that had led the General Assembly to terminate South Africa's mandate in 1966. The South African Government had tried to impose an internal settlement which, in the Group's view, appeared to jeopardize the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia. Efforts had been made to amend the United Nations plan for such independence and to establish a link between its implementation and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Angola. The political declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held in New Delhi in March 1983, and the Paris Declaration on Namibia, adopted on 29 April 1983 by the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, had categorically rejected such a link and had viewed the attempts to establish it as retarding decolonization in Namibia.

41. The intensification of South Africa's military build-up in Namibia had been accompanied by major attacks against Angola and extermination campaigns against SWAPO. South Africa's policy of destabilizing and attacking the front-line African States continued unabated, and the threat to peace in the region had been heightened as a result of further reported advances by South Africa in the secret development of nuclear capability.
42. At the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and in the Commission, it had been persistently argued that racism was a universal phenomenon. While agreeing that racism could be found in many parts of the world, his delegation did not believe that it was universal or inherent in the nature of man or that it was a reflex action of a group of people coming into contact with people of another colour or race. His country's view, which had shaped its nationhood over centuries, had been described by the Indian poet and philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, when he had said that the inmost creed of India was to find the one in the many and unity in diversity, and that India did not admit difference to be conflict, nor did it espouse an enemy in every stranger. The fight against racism as a phenomenon, and apartheid as an institution, would be incomplete if that unity in diversity was not sought through the individual and collective consciousness. Political power, economic competition and cultural asymmetry might create temporary deviations from interracial harmony, but so long as people were inspired by the precept of "one in the many" and the State structure itself did not promote or condone racial discrimination, it should be possible to eschew racial prejudice, hatred and violence.
43. India had not only raised its voice in international forums against the aggressive apartheid regime, but had imposed comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and Namibia and given moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements struggling to advance their cause in South Africa and Namibia.
44. At the New Delhi Summit in March 1983, the non-aligned movement, which was always in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid and racism, had again expressed its solidarity with, and strong support for, the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, led by their authentic representatives, and had reiterated the view that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.
45. With the inauguration of the second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Commission must play a central role in bringing justice to the people of South Africa and Namibia and restoring their basic human rights. Tactics, political bargaining and strategic interests should have no place in the Commission, where only considerations of justice, dignity and inviolability of a people and their human rights must prevail. The truth about apartheid as the most acute and demeaning form of racism must not be clouded by talk of constitutional reform or racist propaganda or by a belief that the white minority regime would dismantle the apartheid structure because of gentle persuasion by its political and economic collaborators. To break the cordon against South Africa through collaboration of any kind would amount to underwriting a regime that traded in human life and dignity.
46. The Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group had rightly reminded the Commission that it must maintain its vigil. It must apply comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the South African regime without any reservations. It should fulfil its obligations under the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid by prosecuting those identified by the Group as having committed the crime of apartheid as defined in article II of the Convention. And lastly, it must lend its moral and material support to the

ANC, SWAPO and other parties in South Africa and Namibia which were fighting with their lives for a universal cause. What was required above all was sincerity of purpose, whose power had been preached to the dispirited people of India by Swami Vivekanand in the early part of the current century.

47. Mr. ALVARADO (Nicaragua) stated that few causes could command so broad a consensus as the rejection of apartheid and racial discrimination. That was not surprising, since such practices were in flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

48. There was general agreement that human rights were persistently and systematically violated in South Africa, that institutionalized racial discrimination was shameful, that change should be effected, that Namibia was occupied illegally, that Pretoria was destabilizing neighbouring countries and that further efforts should be made speedily to eliminate racial discrimination. Yet Pretoria continued its policies of apartheid and intimidation of the front-line States. In addition, repression of the Namibian people was being intensified, as was exploitation of their resources. Under the policy of "bantustanization" several million South Africans were being displaced to arid territories where they had a good chance of starving to death, while the patriots who rose up against that criminal policy of racial subjugation were killed, tortured or imprisoned.

49. It was not surprising that the overwhelming majority of the international community were becoming increasingly impatient and more resolute. The non-aligned countries had emphasized their determination to increase their support for the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for self-determination, as an integral part of the broader struggle of the peoples of the world against all forms of oppression and exploitation. The Commission's consideration of the implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and of the means of implementing United Nations resolutions to eliminate racial discrimination also reflected the international community's impatience.

50. Two facts were clear. Firstly, the South African regime would not end its policy of apartheid in any of its manifestations, and secondly, significant responsibility for ending that dangerous situation lay with those Governments whose level of technological, economic and military development gave them the means of influencing the regime. Those means should be mobilized in the name of justice and on behalf of the majority of countries which could not apply material pressure. It was impossible to ignore the link between the discouraging situation in South Africa and the reticence of some States which not only refrained from using their influence, but obstructed the international community's legitimate efforts to promote social justice and actually collaborated with the racist Government. Note should be taken of the gratitude expressed by the General Assembly to the Special Rapporteur, and the appeal to Governments of the countries of operation of the international enterprises and organizations referred to in his report to take effective measures to end their activities in South Africa and Namibia, whose natural resources were being pillaged.

51. It was well known that the United States in particular had repeatedly prevented the Security Council from imposing mandatory sanctions on South Africa in accordance with the Charter. Could it be coincidental that the two protégés of the United States were engaged in military and nuclear collaboration? Could it be coincidental that the Reagan Administration publicly proclaimed the South African regime to be an ally while Pretoria intensified its repression against the South African people, increased its aggression against its neighbours and became ever more intransigent on the question of

Namibia? What explanation was there for the persistent efforts by the United States and South Africa to obstruct the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence by insisting upon a parallel withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola? The non-aligned countries had condemned such an illicit approach, which could only be aimed at countering the international campaign to isolate South Africa.

52. The international community's contribution to the cause of human rights and peace and security in South Africa must begin with recognition of such considerations. In that connection, the holding of the second World Conference and the initiation of the second Decade had been important events which, his delegation hoped, would yield positive results.

53. Ultimately, however, South Africa would have to answer to its own people and the people of Namibia. Nicaragua once again expressed its solidarity with the ANC and with SWAPO, which, together with Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and the front-line States, were stoutly resisting the racist regime.

54. Mr. LEBAKIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had been marked by many efforts, at the national, regional and international levels, to implement the Programme of Action, thus asserting the overwhelming desire of the world community to bring racism and apartheid to a speedy end and to combat all forms of racial discrimination.

55. The Ukrainian SSR, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and friendship, and in accordance with decisions of the United Nations and other international bodies, had played an active part in that Programme. The progress made in implementing the Programme, and the increasing recognition of international instruments such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid testified to international solidarity in the struggle against colonialism and racism. During the first Decade, many former colonial nations had gained their freedom, and the culmination of the Decade's activities had been the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

56. However, as could be seen from General Assembly resolution 38/14, the remnants of apartheid, zionism, nazism and other forms of racism remained to be eradicated by the international community. For that reason, his delegation had fully supported the General Assembly's decision, at the thirty-eighth session, to proclaim a second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, based on a Declaration and Programme of Action.

57. The most blatant form of racism was the Pretoria regime's policy and practice of apartheid, which represented a gross violation of the Charter and many United Nations decisions. The South African racists also sought to extend the system to illegally-occupied Namibia and to keep the indigenous population of southern Africa in conditions of slavery. Many previous speakers had already condemned the Pretoria regime's practices, including the policy of bantustanization. South Africa's policies clearly showed that racism and aggression went hand in hand. The Pretoria regime even used its military potential for acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, and its military designs included efforts to develop nuclear capacity, thus creating a serious threat to

international peace and security. Responsibility for the situation rested with Western Powers, first and foremost the United States and other NATO member States, and with Israel, for their support made them accomplices in the racists' crimes.

58. The apartheid system, however, was not the only aspect of racism and racial discrimination which persisted wherever the vestiges of colonialism survived. For example, the situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel, where the population was suffering repression, humiliation and destruction under Zionist policies, could not but arouse the gravest concern. Peace-loving peoples everywhere were alarmed at the growing evidence of the political and military ties between Israel and South Africa and their activities against national freedom movements in Africa and the Middle East. Their mutual understanding was based on ideological similarities.

59. Racism and racial discrimination persisted in various forms in many other capitalist countries, and were reflected in the practices of exploitation and discrimination against foreign workers, national minorities, indigenous populations and immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The symptoms of such practices had been seen in the racial conflicts in the United States, resulting from discrimination against the non-white population, including Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other nationalities; even more tragic was the situation of the indigenous Indians. Another feature of Western countries was the resurgence of groups and organizations openly proclaiming racist ideologies, including nazism, fascism and neo-fascism.

60. The success of the second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would depend to a large extent on the will to implement the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. His delegation shared the concern, expressed by the Group of Three in its report (E/CN.4/1983/25), that too few States had so far become parties to that instrument. It also shared the Group's conviction that ratification of, or accession to, the Convention and execution of its provisions were essential to its effectiveness. Indeed, accession by States to major human rights instruments was of great moral and political importance and was a true test of willingness to share in the effort to prevent or put an end to human rights violations.

61. The fact could not be overlooked that the United States, which claimed to be the chief "protector" of human rights throughout the world, and its NATO partners had not yet acceded to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Moreover, the United States ignored other important international human rights instruments and in practice had not supported a single relevant United Nations resolution. And the United States refusal to take part in the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and other activities relating to the second Decade was consistent with that country's policy of aiding racists and thwarting the international community's efforts to eradicate racism. It was significant that the United States had opposed General Assembly resolution 38/19, which called on all States to accede to the aforementioned Convention. That fact, and the "constructive engagement" approach, revealed the true nature of the United States attitude to the apartheid regime. Also significant was the fact that, had the resolution relating to the second Decade not been adopted by consensus at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, the United States would have voted against it.

62. It was still being asserted in United Nations forums that racism was to be found in all States and societies. Western delegations were fond of referring to the "natural human inclination" to make distinctions according to colour of skin, ethnic origin and so on. His country strongly rejected such an unscientific and reactionary view. Racial discrimination was a product of social structures based on exploitation and private ownership of the means of production; its eradication was an essential step towards social progress and equality. The experience of his own and other socialist countries showed convincingly that the elimination of exploitation paved the way to progress on the basis of fraternity and equality among nations and races. The Ukrainian SSR, throughout its history, had steadfastly opposed all forms of racial discrimination. It had signed and ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and, pursuant to the relevant provisions, submitted information on the measures it had taken in that connection. Its most recent periodic report pursuant to article VII of the Convention appeared in document CERD/C/91/Add.20.

63. It also supported the work of the Group of Three appointed by the Commission; in particular, it endorsed the view that article III of the Convention should apply also to the activities of transnational corporations in southern Africa. Periodic reports formed one of the most effective means of reviewing compliance with United Nations decisions against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination. Such compliance, including legislative measures to outlaw racist ideologies and organizations, were a prerequisite for international progress in giving effect to the Programme of Action for the second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The Ukrainian SSR would do all it could to support the Programme, and would continue to play an active part in its fulfilment by the United Nations and specialized agencies.

64. Mr. HABIMANA (Rwanda) said that apartheid still afflicted the conscience of the international community. Human rights violations in South Africa were manifold and included death, ill-treatment, forcible displacement of the population, violation of sovereignty, and racial discrimination. Even though apartheid had been declared a crime against humanity by the international community, it was still applied in South Africa and Namibia.

65. The Commission should once again solemnly proclaim that the peoples of southern Africa had the right to live in freedom, dignity and equality without any discrimination, the right to maintain their cultural diversity and the right to genuine justice. Rwanda condemned any policy aimed at perpetuating apartheid and had made it its responsibility to work towards the elimination of that scourge.

66. It was in that spirit that Rwanda had become a party to all the international instruments against discrimination. It was regrettable that several States Members of the United Nations had not done likewise, and that some countries persisted in investing on a massive scale in South Africa, thus providing succour to the racist regime in its defiance of the international community. Rwanda supported the call for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, since that was the only kind of pressure which the racist regime would understand. His Government did not agree with those who advocated dialogue and negotiation, which had already failed. Rwanda also rejected the policy of bantustanization, under which the racist Government was exiling the black population to regions devoid of resources.

67. The Commission on Human Rights was the conscience of the international community and had an obligation to ensure respect for human rights everywhere. World opinion should not be allowed to perceive its resolutions as pious wishes which would never lead to tangible results. It should devote its efforts to specific measures which would make the racist regime understand that the world would no longer tolerate its arrogance.

68. Mrs. ABDALLA (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the international community had been endeavouring for many years to put an end to the countless violations of human rights committed by the regime in South Africa. Unfortunately, in spite of the adoption of numerous resolutions, the establishment of governmental and non-governmental bodies, and efforts to mobilize international public opinion, that racist regime was persisting in its odious policy which, in many ways, was similar to that pursued by its counterpart in the Zionist entity. Both regimes were continuing their flagrant violation of human rights and were preventing the exercise of the right to self-determination by the exploited peoples under their domination, in blatant disregard of all United Nations resolutions and notwithstanding the fact that their inhuman practices had been condemned by most countries and international institutions.

69. Attempts to combat apartheid through the international isolation of its proponents were being frustrated by various transnational corporations, by countries such as the United States of America and, in particular, by the racist authorities in Israel, which were continuing their political, economic, military and nuclear co-operation with the regime in South Africa. The dangers inherent in the close co-operation between the Zionist and South African racist regimes and their protectors, who did not hesitate to use their right of veto in the Security Council, had been emphasized in numerous international resolutions. The General Assembly had condemned Governments which denied peoples the right of self-determination. The non-aligned countries, meeting in New Delhi in 1983, had expressed their concern at the co-operation between those racist regimes and had condemned the unlimited support the United States was giving to their policy of expansion, occupation and racist practices. The Islamic conference in Casablanca in 1983 and the international conference on co-operation between Israel and South Africa, held in Vienna in 1983, had both condemned that co-operation, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, and had emphasized their support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine. The Vienna conference had, moreover, expressed its conviction that, through strategic co-operation with Israel and continuing links with the racist regime in South Africa, the United States was supporting the co-operation between those racist regimes and thereby obstructing the attempts that were being made to preserve the African continent as a nuclear-weapon-free zone, to complete the process of decolonization and to establish world peace. The atomic energy conference held in Vienna in 1983 had also stressed the danger of nuclear co-operation between the racist regimes in South Africa and Israel.

70. Close co-operation with Israel and with transnational corporations, and protection by the United States had enabled South Africa to increase its military force and intensify its acts of aggression, in defiance of all international condemnation. Consequently, the Syrian Arab Republic fully supported the efforts being made by the international community to isolate the racist regimes in South Africa and Palestine with a view to putting an end to their criminal acts and violations of human rights.

71. Mr. MACCOTTA (Italy) said the Italian Government and people held the profound conviction that all individuals should enjoy the same rights without any distinction on grounds of race, colour, national or ethnic origin or religious belief. The principle of non-discrimination was fundamental to the Italian legislative system and characterized its action at the national and international levels. Article 3 of the Italian Constitution stipulated clearly that all citizens were equal in dignity and before the law. The Constitutional Court had confirmed that that provision applied to Italians and aliens alike.

72. Italy, which was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had made the **optional declaration provided** for in article 14 thereof believed that, one form of racism which had assumed particularly serious dimensions was apartheid. South Africa, by making racism the basis of its political, social and economic structure, had created a situation which called for a response from the international community. It was with some bitterness that his delegation noted that all the efforts made thus far by the international community had achieved little and that the tragic situation in which millions of men and women were discriminated against in their own country simply because of the colour of their skin had been neither eliminated nor alleviated. His delegation considered the constitutional proposals extending limited political rights to the Coloured and Asian populations in South Africa to be inadequate and contradictory, and had therefore voted in favour of the General Assembly resolution rejecting the proposals and declaring that only the total abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society could lead to a just solution of the South African situation. A further matter for concern was the continuation of the policy of establishing bantu homelands through the forcible removal of the population.

73. The measures provided for in United Nations resolutions concerning South Africa were scrupulously applied by Italy, as his delegation had stated at the preceding session of the Commission. One of the criticisms directed by African countries specifically at the Western countries was that they maintained trade relations with South Africa. It should be remembered, however, that it was not only the Western countries which had trade relations with South Africa and that, in any event, Italy did not engage in official trade with South Africa.

74. Italy contributed regularly to various United Nations funds for assistance to the victims of apartheid and had also demonstrated its readiness to participate in ILO technical co-operation programmes aimed at combating apartheid in South Africa. Italy also provided humanitarian aid from time to time to refugees in Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania, Mozambique and other neighbouring countries.

75. Despite the lack of results thus far, his delegation was confident that the United Nations had a role to play in furthering the peaceful struggle for the elimination of apartheid.

76. Mrs. SLAMOVA (Observer for Czechoslovakia) said that the situation in southern Africa constituted one of the most tragic in the world. The second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in August 1983, had concluded that racism remained one of the greatest problems facing mankind, and that the policy of apartheid represented the most gross and massive form of racism and was a crime against humanity.



77. As evidenced by the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts, (E/CN.4/1984/8), gross and flagrant violations of human rights continued to be perpetrated in southern Africa. The Government of South Africa continued to violate every provision of the Charter and to display a cynical disregard for United Nations resolutions and world public opinion. The South African regime continued its illegal occupation of Namibia and persisted in its efforts to extend the illegal system of apartheid to that Territory. It also continued to perpetrate acts of aggression against neighbouring States, in particular, Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique, and the international community had expressed concern at the widespread slaughter and damage caused as a result.

78. The actions of the South African regime also affected countries situated far from Africa. For example, in March 1983, a number of Czechoslovak technical experts working in Angola as part of the technical assistance programme to that country had been abducted, together with their families, by an anti-Angolan counter-revolutionary group supported by the racist regime in South Africa. Twenty of those Czechoslovak citizens were still in the hands of their abductors.

79. The debate at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly had shown that the international community was becoming increasingly aware of the irrefutable fact that South Africa was able to persist in its policy of racism and its acts of aggression because of the co-operation, support and political protection extended to it by the NATO countries, in particular, by the United States of America. That fact could not be changed by the use of the euphemism "constructive engagement", when the States involved voted against United Nations resolutions concerning the pernicious consequences of the policy of apartheid for southern Africa, and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Angola and the cessation of South African hostilities against the front-line States. Those Western States had also failed to vote for the Security Council resolution stressing the illegal occupation of parts of the sovereign State of Angola, which presented a threat to international peace and security.

80. The progressive countries of the world believed that the time had come to put an end to the racist regimes in southern Africa. Czechoslovakia would continue to grant assistance to peoples struggling for their independence and against racism and apartheid, and to provide political, material and moral support to national liberation movements, including SWAPO. Her delegation resolutely condemned the racist and aggressive policy of South Africa and fully supported the struggle of the people of Namibia to achieve independence. Angola, the other front-line States and the national liberation movements of southern Africa would not be subdued by the sinister plans of South Africa and its protectors. She earnestly hoped that the United Nations and its organs, including the Commission, would assist those in the forefront of the heroic struggle and that, by the end of the second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, racism and racial discrimination would be eliminated.

81. Mr. OGURTSOV (Observer for the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) recalled that, in resolution 473 (1980), the Security Council had stressed that the policy of apartheid was a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, incompatible with the rights and dignity of the individual, with the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it

represented a serious threat to international peace and security. Many documents, including the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1984/8), contained convincing evidence that the apartheid regime was continuing its policy of exploitation, tyranny and repression towards the majority of the population of that country. The continued existence of apartheid constituted an insult to the international community and to the conscience of mankind. Apartheid was the basic means used in South Africa to perpetuate the racist-colonialist system and the exploitation of the black majority. The result of the policy of apartheid was that the population was deprived of all rights and reduced to the status of slaves, as evidenced by the policy of the removal of the population to bantustans, where a tragic fate awaited them.

82. The racists had long since transformed South Africa into a military-police State. An apparatus for oppression and the gross violation of human rights, with the participation of the police, the military and the legal system, had been set up. Over the past 20 years, more than 7 million Africans had been arrested for "offences" against that regime. South Africa had carried out more death sentences than any other country, all of them involving Africans. In June 1983, three ANC members had been executed despite the protests of the international community, the Security Council, OAU, and other international and national organizations.

83. No one was deceived by the cosmetic operation undertaken recently by the racist regime. What was currently taking place in South Africa in no way constituted a cessation of apartheid. The so-called constitutional "reforms" prohibited the black majority from participating in the political process and were simply a device to mask apartheid and adapt it to changing circumstances. As a result, the process of "reform" would lead to the intensification of repression against the opponents of the regime and the militarization of all aspects of community life, thus increasing South Africa's military potential. However, despite the manoeuvres of the racists and their brutally repressive measures, resistance to the apartheid regime was growing. For example, in its report, (A/38/22) the Special Committee against Apartheid referred to national movements for unity and freedom in South Africa made up of trade unions, students and young people, religious organizations and community associations. The Committee praised the ANC and the national liberation movements of South Africa for stepping up their armed struggle.

84. The racist regime in Pretoria was redoubling its acts of aggression against neighbouring sovereign States and was continuing its occupation of Namibia, whose population was still suffering under an increasingly cruel reign of terror and inhuman exploitation. The Security Council had repeatedly condemned South Africa's acts of aggression against neighbouring countries as a threat to international peace and security, and had warned that, if there was any repetition, the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter would be implemented against South Africa. Despite all the resolutions of the United Nations and the demands of the international community, the apartheid regime continued its acts of armed aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other African States.

85. South Africa was able to continue its acts of aggression because of the political, military and economic support of the United States and a number of other Western countries. The policy of so-called "constructive engagement" encouraged new acts of aggression by South Africa and the perpetuation of the

system of apartheid, in complete disregard for the opinion of the international community. That policy had been condemned in various international forums, in particular in the communiqué issued by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on 28 June 1983.

86. South Africa had in fact become a stronghold for the struggle against the national liberation movements on the African continent. The ties between Pretoria and leading Western countries had developed to such an extent that they could be considered as constituting a special, permanent and firm alliance between leading circles in South Africa and the imperialist countries and the transnational corporations. The South African authorities were rapidly acquiring not only increasingly sophisticated conventional weapons, but also weapons of mass destruction. South Africa already possessed non-selective weapons considered as inhuman, such as napalm, agent orange - which had been widely used by the United States in Viet Nam - and phosphorus bombs. In the northern province of Transvaal, so-called "ethnic" weapons, capable of causing disease only to black-skinned persons, were being tested. Such weapons were monstrous and had not been thought of even by the Nazi regime.

87. His delegation considered the task of eliminating racism, racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism as one of the most important aspects of the struggle of peoples for international peace and security and social progress. Accordingly, it had actively participated in the implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and of other important related decisions. The Byelorussian SSR supported the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, as well as the proclamation of the second Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The proclamation of the second Decade was the result of an awareness by most States of the need for the struggle against racism and massive violations of human rights and of the obvious dangers presented by racism and racial discrimination to the cause of international peace and co-operation. His delegation also shared the concern expressed at the second World Conference that racism, racial discrimination and apartheid showed no sign of diminishing.

88. The stubborn refusal of the United States and Israel to participate in the second World Conference was further evidence of their negative attitude towards the efforts of the United Nations and the international community as a whole to eliminate racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in all their forms and a recognition of their responsibility for the non-implementation of United Nations resolutions within the framework of the Decade.

89. At its fortieth session, the Commission must decisively condemn, not only the repressive apartheid regime in Pretoria, but also the actions of those States which co-operated with the racist regime in the political, economic, military, nuclear and other fields and extended to it diplomatic and political protection.

90. Mr. ALVAREZ VITA (Observer for Peru) said that the problem of racial discrimination did not exist in Peru. Ever since it had been founded, the Peruvian nation had always been a racial mixture and no Government had ever pursued a policy which might be described as racially discriminatory. On the contrary, official policy had been opposed to racial discrimination, as demonstrated by Peruvian legislation and the Constitution, which rejected all forms of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, and declared national solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world.

91. Unfortunately, the struggle for independence still continued in territories where colonialism had not yet been eliminated, and in some areas of the world racial discrimination had become institutionalized. In accordance with its long-standing tradition, Peru had consistently supported the struggle against apartheid and all forms of discrimination in all forums of the United Nations. The international instruments to which Peru was a party included the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which under Peruvian law had the status of constitutional norms, so that apartheid was considered in Peru as a crime against humanity.

92. In keeping with its opposition to all forms of racism and racial discrimination, Peru had supported the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations and other international forums calling for the elimination of apartheid, and, as a member of the Special Committee against Apartheid, it participated actively in the Special Committee's efforts to eliminate that system. Peru did not maintain political, cultural, sporting, trade or cultural relations with South Africa. It had no official investments in South Africa and did not provide credit guarantees or authorizations for private enterprise to invest in South Africa. Moreover, there was no emigration of Peruvian nationals to South Africa, and tourism to that country was neither promoted nor facilitated.

93. Because of its economic situation, Peru was unable to extend economic aid to African countries. Nevertheless, it was constantly aware of the problems they faced. Namibia must be freed from illegal occupation, which continued in open defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions and the opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice. The situation must be resolved in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the South African Administration must withdraw from the Territory in order to enable it to proceed towards independence and full territorial integrity.

94. His Government did not recognize the bantustans and had no capital investments in them, but recognized the efforts of the liberation movements and workers of the black majority who were struggling for the establishment of human rights in South Africa and Namibia. However, that recognition should not be interpreted as support for the use of violence.

95. In Peru, no obstacles were placed in the way of trade unions wishing to participate in demonstrations of solidarity with workers struggling against apartheid and, in keeping with that spirit, a regional tripartite seminar on non-discriminatory employment practices for Latin American countries, organized by ILO had been held in Lima, in October 1983, as stated in document E/CN.4/1984/37.

96. Mr. RAMLAWI (Observer, Palestine Liberation Organization) said that the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1984/3) clearly showed that the people of South Africa were still suffering from odious forms of racism and racial discrimination, as manifested in the inhuman policy of apartheid, at the hands of the white minority regime which was arrogantly persisting in its disregard of United Nations resolutions and international law, with the support of a number of Western countries and international economic institutions. That people, struggling for its freedom and the exercise of its rights, particularly the right to self-determination, was being subjected to detention and torture in prisons and concentration camps under various so-called "security regulations".

97. Although the system of racial discrimination and apartheid applied against the vast majority of the people of South Africa had been condemned by the international community, the racist white minority regime was continuing to violate fundamental humanitarian principles laid down in the Charter and the Universal Declaration. Moreover, that racist colonial regime was continuing to apply its policy of apartheid in Namibia, which it was occupying with a view to eventual annexation. Consequently, the overwhelming majority of the people of Namibia, whose black inhabitants constituted more than 80 per cent of the population, were being ruthlessly denied their most basic human rights and fundamental freedoms through the subordination of their interests and prosperity to those of the white minority. The racist regime in Pretoria was openly engaging in the murder, arbitrary detention and mass expulsion of the indigenous population, many of whom had been banished to desolate areas for the greater benefit of the white majority.

98. Those violations of human rights, which were being committed under conditions of military occupation in total defiance of the principles of international law and United Nations resolutions, had been made possible by the economic, political and military support provided by countries such as the United States and Israel. The United States, which had protected Israel from Security Council resolutions condemning its racist crimes, was also extending the same protection to the minority regime in Pretoria, which it was supporting economically through its companies and international financial institutions. It was also evident that Israeli military support and nuclear co-operation were instrumental in promoting racist domination, repression, military aggression and occupation in southern Africa, thereby jeopardizing international peace and security. The regimes in Israel and South Africa were, in fact, based on the same racist colonial ideology aimed at the displacement of peoples by foreign groups through the use of force and criminal acts of injustice. The international community had frequently expressed its concern at the continued military and nuclear assistance that South Africa was receiving from Israel and some Western countries, which had thereby become accomplices in the criminal racist practices of the Pretoria regime. Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, had in fact admitted the colonial nature of his project during his consultations with Cecil Rhodes while the latter was formulating similar plans for southern Africa. The strengthening of relations between Israel and South Africa in 1975 and the agreement concluded between Israel and the European Economic Community had enabled South Africa to avoid the effects of the economic sanctions by exporting its products and obtaining modern weaponry through Israel.

99. Since the peoples of Palestine, South Africa and Namibia were suffering under similar types of aggressive, racist regimes, the PLO fully supported the liberation struggles in which SWAPO and the ANC were engaged. The people of Palestine were convinced that solidarity in their common struggle for liberation from colonialism and racist oppression, with assistance from other peace-loving peoples, would ensure the final triumph of their cause.

100. Mr. KEYES (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, noted that the Commission had heard charges from several delegations, including those of Nicaragua and the Ukrainian SSR, concerning alleged United States military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa and support for its acts of aggression against neighbouring States. As the members of the Commission were well aware, the facts did not support or justify those charges. More than a decade before the imposition of the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa, the United States had unilaterally imposed its own embargo, which it had observed ever since.

101. United States policy towards South Africa in the nuclear field was in line with the over-all efforts being made to restrain the proliferation of nuclear weapons and was designed to ensure South African observance of the safeguards against the diversion of nuclear materials to military uses.

102. With regard to regional security, he was sure all members of the Commission were aware of the persistent efforts made by the United States, both individually and in co-operation with the Western contact group, to reduce regional tension and conflict in Southern Africa and to achieve the independence of Namibia. The United States continued to be committed to those efforts, which it believed were bearing fruit, despite the complexity of the issues involved.

103. Mr. BENDAÑA (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation maintained what it had said in its statement, which was consistent with the position adopted by the non-aligned countries.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.