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held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Friday, 23 February 1979, at 10 a.m.

Chairman

Mr. BEAULNE

(Canada)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF EXPERTS (agenda item 6) (continued) (E/CN.4/1311; E/CN.4/NGO/243; ST/HR/SER.A/1)

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.2/415; E/CN.4/NGO/233)

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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;  
(b) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (agenda item 20) (continued) (E/CN.4/1332 and Add.1; E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.679 and L.680; A/33/262; A/RES/3057 (XXVIII))

1. Mr. DAVIS (Australia) said that the failure of the international community to prevent the introduction of the iniquitous policy of apartheid 30 years previously, when the question had first arisen in the General Assembly, and the inability of the United Nations to deal with the problem since then were regrettable, particularly since 1979 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In 1948, South Africa had been one of the few countries not to support the adoption of the Universal Declaration, and its people now lacked any indication that they might be able to exercise the rights and freedoms enshrined in that instrument. The policy of apartheid prevented the extension of human rights through institutionalized subjugation and harsh, unjust legislation to maintain the system.

2. The Commission had done much to spread awareness of the evils of apartheid, and the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts had played an important role in providing information and focusing international attention on the plight of the South African people. It was clear from the analyses prepared by the Working Group and from other objective sources that apartheid deserved to be described as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind.

3. His Government unreservedly supported the aim of eradicating apartheid and looked forward to the day when the South African people as a whole would be able to take their rightful place in the community of nations and join in the common effort to advance the principles and purposes of the Charter. In his delegation's view, the South African Government must recognize the inevitability of the demands of the people. If it did not, it would have to accept that the world would be unable and unwilling to wait for it to come to terms with reality. Unless the South African Government was willing to undertake fundamental changes in policy, violence was bound to increase. His Government, while not condoning violence, was well aware of the limits of human tolerance. South Africa was approaching the point where the possibility of conciliation and compromise would be lost.

4. His delegation hoped that the draft resolutions to be tabled under items 6, 7, 16 and 20 would reflect the need for the Commission to take a sober and realistic view of the problems facing it and that the necessary consensus among its members could be achieved. Racial discrimination was unfortunately an endemic disease among human beings and the will to take concrete and meaningful measures to deal with it was essential. The Commission had important work to do concerning the problems of apartheid in South Africa, the search for independence and peace in Namibia and Zimbabwe and the international effort to eliminate racism as a factor in human relationships. Its success would depend on the stimulus given to nations and peoples all over the world to join together in a common endeavour. The provision of unifying themes would surely bring ultimate victory closer.

5. Mr. ROKOSZEWSKI (Poland) said that few problems had been discussed at such length and with so little practical effect as the question of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. Despite the vast number of resolutions and decisions adopted within the United Nations and at the various international conferences and symposia on the subject, the South African régime had remained unresponsive to international pressure. The Pretoria régime was growing more tyrannical towards the black population of South Africa and Namibia and more contemptuous of the world community. The tragedy of the people of South Africa was the result of an ideology imposed by a fanatic minority. Apartheid was the negation of all the ethical victories mankind had gained.

6. The views of his Government and people on the matter were very well known. They stemmed from Poland's bitter experiences during the Second World War as a result of nazism, and from the principles of the socio-political system of modern Poland based on the socialist ideals of equality and social justice. Consequently, his Government fully supported the struggle against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and would continue to do so until those policies were completely eradicated.

7. As the Prime Minister of Jamaica had stated at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, it was impossible to understand apartheid and the structure of oppression in southern Africa without understanding the origin and continuing nature of imperialism. The South African régime had made it absolutely clear that it was not prepared to renounce its policies of apartheid. In recent years it had intensified reprisals against its black population, had increased its military build-up and conducted advanced research on nuclear weapons, and had committed acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, notably Angola. South Africa's attitude towards the legitimate demands of the world community had long been an open challenge to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Therefore, effective measures must be taken under the provisions of the Charter to eradicate the evils of apartheid.

8. The total eradication of apartheid would have been much closer were it not for the disregard for United Nations resolutions and the assistance and support afforded the South African régime. Foreign investment in South Africa had steadily increased. The documents before the Commission listed the foreign firms dealing with the régime and the countries of origin of those firms. Foreign co-operation with, and investment in, South Africa had played a crucial role in building up and financing the military industrial complex which had enabled South Africa's minority Government to perpetuate its oppressive rule over the majority.

9. The Government and people of Poland fully supported the oppressed victims of apartheid. Poland had always strictly observed United Nations resolutions and other international instruments against apartheid. It had no relations whatsoever with the South African régime and was firmly resolved to adhere to all decisions in that regard until the shameful policies of racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa were eradicated. It would therefore support any action by the Commission to that end.

10. Mr. AMOR M'HAMED (Morocco) said that the objective report of the Ad Hoc Working Group (E/CN.4/1311) constituted an important basis for understanding the situation of the black populations of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Not only were their human rights violated, but frequently their very right to life was denied. White right-wing terrorism was on the increase in South Africa and had been responsible for many deaths. The situation of Africans in the so-called homelands was deplorable and women were tortured in prisons. He referred in particular to the case of Ms. Sisulu (paragraph 72 of the report), who had been subjected to both physical and mental torture.

11. In Namibia the situation was no better. The right to life was violated, and there had been mass round-ups of thousands of people in the north of the country by the security forces, with many detainees subsequently reported to be missing.

12. The position in Zimbabwe was similar. He referred to the incident in which four children and a teacher had been killed by the security forces, ostensibly during an attack on guerrillas in a school building (paragraph 480 of the report). The very right to existence was threatened. There could be no hope of persuading the leaders to abide by the law, since they considered the existence of the Ad Hoc Group established by the United Nations illegal.

13. Obviously the only solution was to be firm with the racist régimes of southern Africa and to appeal to all Governments to terminate any political, economic or military assistance granted to those régimes. Those problems required urgent attention, and no effort should be spared to ensure constant support for the peoples of southern Africa, who were fighting for their right to life and for freedom from fear of annihilation and from a situation which constituted an affront to the entire human race.

14. Mr. DANELIUS (Sweden) said that his statement on item 6 was made on behalf of his own country and Denmark, Finland and Norway. Once again, regrettably, the situation in southern Africa had shown no improvement and promised none, particularly in South Africa, in the near future. Oppression and discrimination could be found in many parts of the world, but nowhere in such an institutionalized form as in South Africa, where the denial of the principle of equality of all men had been openly proclaimed as a fundamental element of Government policy. In that respect, the situation in South Africa was unique.

15. The cruel, inhuman and degrading policy of apartheid had been rightly condemned on many occasions by the United Nations and the whole world. The apartheid system made the black South African a second-rate citizen subject to restrictions on his freedom of movement, poor working and housing conditions and general arbitrariness. It could even deprive him of his citizenship, since the aim of the apartheid régime was to make the black South Africans citizens of so-called homelands, reducing them to the status of alien workers in their own country.

16. Oppression bred opposition and resistance, and when they had become strong enough to constitute a threat to the social system, the régime had taken further oppressive measures. In addition to the racial discrimination laws, the South African Government had enacted a number of oppressive laws aimed at stifling any opposition, whether from blacks or whites, to the apartheid system. Those laws constituted a further violation of human rights such as the right to personal freedom, freedom of movement, freedom of association and freedom of expression. Under section 6 of the Terrorism Act, detention without trial could be imposed by administrative decision for an indefinite period on persons suspected of terrorism (a very broad notion indeed in South Africa) or possession of information about terrorists. A person detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act could be held incommunicado, had no possibility of appeal and could not be released by a court order. He was therefore an easy victim of torture or ill-treatment by interrogators, and there was ample evidence that such methods were frequently used. Under the Internal Security Act, the Minister of Justice could order the detention of persons in a very arbitrary manner. The rights of the defendant were not guaranteed and there was no right of appeal to a court. Similarly, a "banning order" could be issued which confined a person to a specific area and restricted his freedom to participate in gatherings and even to associate with other people. Those were but a few examples of the degeneration of the South African legal system and its disregard for the freedom of the individual. Important laws affecting the right to personal freedom could no longer be applied by the courts, and arbitrary detention had become a regular practice.

17. The report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1311) provided further examples of oppressive methods used by the white rulers of South Africa. His delegation was particularly concerned by the high number of death sentences and executions, the many cases of prisoners who had died during detention in circumstances which remained unclear, and the reports of torture and other harsh treatment of detainees. However, ultimately the apartheid régime could not triumph over the

aspirations of the African population to freedom, justice and the equality of all men. The apartheid system contained the seeds of its own destruction, but in the short run, prospects were not bright for peaceful change in South Africa. The South African Government had not heeded the unanimous verdict of the international community and had chosen confrontation rather than compromise and adjustment. His delegation therefore believed that the United Nations must turn from words to action. The mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in 1977 against South Africa should be followed by further action. Since South Africa was largely dependent on foreign investments, foreign capital and imported oil, a Security Council decision to curb further foreign investments in, and loans to, South Africa or to impose an oil embargo against that country would have important economic as well as psychological effects. That was why the Nordic countries had initiated a resolution to that effect, adopted by a large majority at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. The Nordic countries also hoped that the Security Council would reach a decision on that important matter.

18. The Swedish Government intended to assume its share of the responsibility by proposing to parliament the adoption of a law prohibiting new Swedish investments in South Africa. His delegation sincerely hoped that other Governments would take similar action.

19. Mr. FRAMBACH (Observer for the German Democratic Republic) said that the racist régimes in southern Africa were escalating their brutal policy of mass and gross human rights violations and thus endangering international peace and security. In the light of that alarming development, the General Assembly at its thirty-third session had adopted important resolutions which lent greater weight to demands to eliminate dangerous sources of conflict in southern Africa, gave full support to the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe in their just struggle, and reflected the determination of national liberation forces and of the socialist and non-aligned States to banish colonial and racial oppression and exploitation from Africa once and for all.

20. There was a growing awareness that the final liquidation of colonialism and racism formed an integral part of the struggle for peace, security and détente. Accordingly, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, in their Moscow Declaration, had reaffirmed their solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and had appealed to all States to eliminate as soon as possible the last remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialist exploitation and to root out national and racial oppression. Numerous tokens of world-wide solidarity had lent greater momentum to the courageous struggle of the African National Congress of South Africa, the South-West Africa People's Organization of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, which had proved to be the genuine representatives of their peoples' interests. The International Anti-Apartheid Year proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 32/105 B had met with a remarkable response; all over the world progressive forces had rallied to support the peoples fighting for their freedom in southern Africa, and the movement against racism and apartheid had become a strong force. The Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination set out guidelines for the struggle against racism in the second half of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. During the first five years of the Decade, it had become very clear who were the friends and supporters of the oppressed peoples and who were their foes.

21. The German Democratic Republic had consistently supported peoples struggling for their national, political and economic self-determination. That solidarity was official government policy but it was also dear to the hearts of the people, all sections of which had participated in a wide range of activities organized in the context of International Anti-Apartheid Year. In 1979 alone, 40 million marks had been donated by the working people for the purchase of foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing sent to African countries and national liberation movements. The Chairman of the Government Commission on the International Anti-Apartheid Year had recently assured the representatives of ANC (South Africa), SWAPO and ZAPU/Patriotic Front that the German Democratic Republic would persist in its efforts to promote the struggle against racism and apartheid.

22. Apartheid stood for the total negation of human rights and dignity and also served to enslave more than 20 million people. Every day the world learned of new atrocities committed by the apartheid racists, whose policy was synonymous with violence, repression and colonialism and constituted a permanent threat to sovereign African States.

23. Pretoria's acts of aggression against independent African States, the preparations under way to wage war on the People's Republic of Angola from Namibian territory, and South African support for the Southern Rhodesian régime's armed incursions were an affront to the African peoples and to the United Nations and a challenge to the humanist conscience of mankind as a whole. Awareness of the nature of the policy pursued by the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa was bound to lead to the conclusion that effective measures must be taken to isolate those régimes and that a world-wide political, economic and military boycott must be imposed on them. Moreover, the Security Council must take action in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations with a view to imposing clear limits on the imperialist monopolies' search for profits.

24. The approach adopted to those problems must be based on the demands of the national liberation movements as the genuine representatives of their peoples. Those who presumed to sit in judgement over the implementation of human rights must be denounced, for those who collaborated with the racist régimes were obstructing realization of the rights of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. That was a fact which could not be obscured by so-called initiatives in favour of a "peaceful settlement" of southern African problems. All attempts to brand the true liberation forces as terrorists would prove futile. United Nations documents provided information about those who supplied the South African and Southern Rhodesian régimes with arms and military equipment and with fuel for their war machinery. The general public was aware that more than 1,400 imperialist monopolies and banks supported the racists economically and financially. Such co-operation had been strongly condemned at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, which had called for the immediate cessation of all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa, including the supply of material and equipment and the exchange of scientific and technical data and personnel. Relevant resolutions emphasized that political, economic, military and atomic collaboration with the racist régimes was a major obstacle to the realization of self-determination and independence by the oppressed peoples, and enabled Pretoria and Salisbury to pursue their policy of terror and aggression.

25. Imperialist circles were reluctant to accept the positive changes which had taken place on the African continent and they were endeavouring to promote neo-colonialism in southern Africa. The intention to continue imperialist monopolist exploitation of peoples and their natural resources by means of puppet régimes was evidenced by the election farce in Namibia. South Africa was to be maintained as a colonialist stronghold with a view to protecting imperialist military and strategic interests. All possible steps must be taken to scotch manoeuvres aimed at preventing the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe from exercising their right to self-determination in order to counter the world-wide isolation of the racist régimes.

26. The Commission could and should make an effective contribution to unmasking the methods employed by the racist régimes to violate human rights. By highlighting the root causes of apartheid and racism and the main obstacles to the exercise of the right to self-determination, the Commission could lend greater weight to the powerful movement for the final liquidation of all forms of colonial and racist exploitation and oppression.

27. Mr. CALERO-RODRIGUES (Brazil) commended the members of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts for the comprehensive report they had produced (E/CN.4/1311), although it would of course have been infinitely preferable for there to have been less to say on the subject. Unfortunately, the human rights situation in South Africa had not improved at all in the 12 years since the Group's establishment; on the contrary, the record of human rights violations by the South African authorities appeared to be worse than ever.

28. An uninformed person would find it difficult to believe that the contents of the report referred to a real present-day society. Apartheid and the odious practices it engendered to thwart the legitimate aspirations of those who dared to oppose it were the denial of mankind's most cherished values and principles. Apartheid and racial discrimination found no justification in any acceptable doctrine of human behaviour and deserved to be condemned from every standpoint. Yet the peoples of southern Africa still suffered in their daily lives from the evils of apartheid, despite repeated appeals and expressions of indignation by the international community. His delegation considered that the anachronistic survival of racial discrimination, one of the most brutal forms of human rights violations, should encourage the international community to redouble its efforts and to take more effective measures with a view to banishing racism from the world once and for all. The international community could not elude its responsibility in that connexion; despite the obstinacy of those who still benefited from the present situation, advantage should be taken of every opportunity for negotiation and of all the possibilities provided by the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed his Government still considered, perhaps unjustifiably, that a peaceful solution was possible.

29. By words and deeds, Brazil had consistently demonstrated its solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against the oppressive régimes under which they lived. His country had benefited from a long, deep-rooted process of peaceful and harmonious racial integration, and nothing could be more alien to its ethos than theories which preached the superiority of one race over another. Brazil therefore considered that it had a duty to contribute in every possible way to endeavours to bring to an end the hateful practices of apartheid and racial discrimination, the persistence of which in southern Africa constituted a grave threat to international peace and security.



30. Mr. BOISSON (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that the Director-General of his organization attached the highest importance to the human rights situation in southern Africa and made a point of taking part in all the important events organized by the United Nations in that connexion, the most recent of which had been the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

31. In his statement to the World Conference, the Director-General of UNESCO had emphasized that recent history demonstrated how racism, as exemplified by nazism and apartheid, could be used to justify the domination and exploitation of others. The Director-General had gone on to state that despite the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, implicit and unformulated prejudice as to colour, ethnic origin and religion tended to rear its head when group frustrations were exacerbated by crisis situations. Therefore, in the view of the Director-General, the struggle against racism and racial discrimination was multidimensional and should be pursued simultaneously on the political, scientific, cultural and information fronts.

32. The General Conference of UNESCO, at its twentieth session in Paris in November 1978, had adopted by acclamation the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, article 4 of which stated inter alia that one of the most serious violations of the principle of equality in dignity and rights was represented by apartheid which, like genocide, was a crime against humanity, and gravely disturbed international peace and security. Article 9, paragraph 1, stated that the principle of the equality in dignity and rights of all human beings and all peoples, irrespective of race, colour and origin, was a generally accepted and recognized principle of international law and that, consequently, any form of racial discrimination practised by a State constituted a violation of international law giving rise to its international responsibility. The resolution relating to the implementation of the Declaration invited Member States of UNESCO to consider the possibility of ratifying, if they had not yet done so, the international instruments designed to aid in countering and eliminating racial discrimination; to take appropriate measures with a view to preventing and punishing acts of racial discrimination and ensuring that fair and adequate reparation was made to the victims of racial discrimination; and to communicate to the Director-General all necessary information concerning the steps they had taken to give effect to the principles set forth in the Declaration. Furthermore, the Director-General had been invited, inter alia, to prepare a comprehensive report on the world situation in the fields covered by the Declaration for submission to the General Conference, to ensure the widest possible dissemination of the text of the Declaration, and to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to place before the General Assembly appropriate proposals for strengthening the methods of peaceful settlement of disputes concerning the elimination of racial discrimination.

33. The most original concept embodied in the Declaration was, however, to be found in article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, which stated inter alia that all individuals and groups had the right to be different, to consider themselves as different and to be regarded as such, and that identity of origin in no way affected the fact that human beings could and might live differently. That recognition by the

international community of a right to be different was the outcome of long years of reflexion and study in the cultural and scientific fields. The concept had been studied at a meeting of experts convened by UNESCO at Montreal in July 1978 and would continue to be the subject of consultations and research. The Commission would be kept informed of developments in that regard.

34. The International Anti-Apartheid Year proclaimed by the United Nations had given UNESCO a further opportunity to intensify its activities in that field. A round-table of journalists and intellectuals held on 21 March 1978 had focused on the identification, denunciation and punishment of apartheid and on redress for the damage it caused. The round-table had been followed by a public meeting in which two well-known South Africans, Mrs. Myriam Makeba and Mr. Donald Woods, had taken part. Future activities planned by UNESCO in the framework of the International Year included the publication of two works regarding the effects of apartheid on the situation of women in South Africa and on the press, a study of the effects of apartheid on culture and education in Namibia, the preparation of a publication on the theories underlying race relations policies, assistance to international youth organizations engaged in activities to combat apartheid, and a study on the falsification of history in the apartheid ideology.

35. Five specific proposals had been made at the round-table meeting to which he had referred earlier: first, that a convention for the protection of the natural resources of the countries governed by the racist régimes of southern Africa should be drawn up under United Nations auspices; second, that a convention should be drawn up providing for the virtually automatic granting of asylum to members of southern African liberation movements; third, that a transmitter should be set up in an appropriate region of Africa to broadcast round the clock to southern Africa in African languages; fourth, that institutes similar to the Institute for Namibia should be established for training southern African liberation movement leaders; and fifth, that diplomatic, economic, trade and financial relations with the racist régimes of southern Africa should be severed.

36. Projects under way in UNESCO included a review of the methods used by South Africa to establish and maintain pressure groups in various countries and a comparative study of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the actual situation in South Africa. UNESCO also intended to publish a third edition of its reference work concerning the effects of apartheid on education, science, culture and information and a critical study of the representation of the apartheid ideology in South African school books.

37. Much remained to be done to rid Africa of the scourge of apartheid. UNESCO would remain untiring in its efforts to contribute to all United Nations activities aimed at eliminating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

38. Mrs. DAMBENZET (Women's International Democratic Federation) said that, during the International Anti-Apartheid Year, WIDF called on its members to make every effort to eliminate the crime of apartheid by urging their respective Governments to sever economic and political ties with the South African régime and to induce that régime to withdraw its illegal occupation forces from Namibia. The various forms of assistance given by the Western Powers to the racist and colonialist régimes in South Africa were a major obstacle to the exercise, by the black peoples of the area, of their full rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The withdrawal of assistance to those régimes would enable the region's subject peoples to benefit from their immense natural wealth, which at present was being exploited for the sole benefit of the racists and their allies. The Western Powers' steadily growing investment in South Africa was in stark contrast to the wretchedness of the peoples struggling for independence. The racist régimes' acts of aggression against the front-line African States - such as the raid carried out by Rhodesian forces into Zambia on 19 October 1978 - were seriously weakening those States' economies by forcing them to divert valuable resources for defence purposes.

39. The bantustan policy, which condemned thousands of women and children to poverty and malnutrition, and the torture, ill-treatment and other malpractices of which the tragedy at Soweto was a reminder, were examples of the policy of domination pursued by the racist minority, which maintained a climate of tension and thus threatened world peace.

40. WIDF resolutely opposed the continuance of assistance to those régimes, and called upon progressive forces everywhere to show solidarity by taking measures to oblige the Western Powers and the transnational corporations to cease collaborating with the régimes of southern Africa. It supported the just cause of the women of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe in their struggle against neo-colonialism and racism, and had been steadily increasing its efforts to that end since the declaration of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It rejected the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid as being flagrant denial of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and it denounced the attempts in Namibia and Zimbabwe to establish fraudulent and neo-colonialist régimes aimed at maintaining minority rule in those countries.

41. WIDF, on behalf of the thousands of women it represented, appealed to all progressive forces to take forceful measures with a view to ending all assistance to the racist régimes of southern Africa and to achieving independence for Namibia and Zimbabwe.

42. Mr. ZAKARIA (World Federation of Trade Unions) said that every year the General Assembly condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity; the Security Council had many times described the practice as abhorrent; and all relevant United Nations bodies, and specialized agencies within their particular spheres of competence, had denounced it. Many resolutions had been passed on the matter, and much had been

written about it. But the Fascist régimes in southern Africa still existed, and the situation of the peoples in that area was worsening, as the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts had shown.

43. Murders of indigenous citizens, including leading trade union officials, the violation of trade union and other human rights, the stifling of the press and incursions into neighbouring African countries were all features of the policy which South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were able to pursue because of the support they continued to receive from a number of Governments, despite the United Nations' call to boycott those two régimes. During the General Assembly's thirty-third session, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States had voted against the resolution to impose sanctions against the South African régime. Those Powers were in effect still supporting apartheid, chiefly for the purpose of protecting the interests of their transnational corporations and other investments.

44. In the political field, the imperialist Powers not only supported enslavement of the peoples of southern Africa but were even plotting the establishment of neo-colonialism in the entire continent.

45. For those reasons, WFTU had actively contributed to the International Anti-Apartheid Year. In March 1978 a week of solidarity and united action had been organized by the three international trade union organizations and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity. Representatives attending the ninth World Trade Union Congress at Prague in April 1978 had expressed their full support for the peoples of southern Africa and had welcomed the results achieved particularly at the first and second International Trade Union Conferences on Apartheid. The Congress had stressed the need for united action by the three international trade union centres and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity to combat apartheid and racism, and had called upon workers everywhere to support implementation of the resolutions adopted at those conferences. WFTU had participated in the International Labour Conference's special tripartite meeting on the struggle against apartheid. In that connexion, it warmly supported the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Working Group that, at every session of every United Nations body, a special meeting should be devoted to the struggle against apartheid. At such meetings, time should be devoted to examining how Member States were complying with the relevant resolutions of United Nations bodies and specialized agencies.

46. The other recommendations contained in the report were equally important. In that connexion, the international trade union movement was taking action in three directions. Firstly, it gave direct moral and material support to the workers in southern Africa. Secondly, it sought to mobilize world opinion and support. Thirdly, it took action against those who aided the racist régimes in southern Africa, particularly the transnational corporations and other investors who assisted those régimes' economies. In that connexion, WFTU welcomed the recent collapse of the régime of the Shah of Iran, which had been South Africa's principal supplier of petroleum.

47. WFTU would continue to co-operate fully with United Nations bodies and other trade union organizations in the international struggle against apartheid.

48. Mr. DURHAM (International Indian Treaty Council) said that the International Indian Treaty Council had worked closely, for several years, with other non-governmental organizations, and with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, as part of the world-wide movement against apartheid.

49. Indian peoples throughout the Americas felt a special brotherhood with the indigenous peoples of southern Africa and made common cause with them in their struggle. The United States Government was a prime supporter of the racist South African régime, and the transnational corporations which caused such harm in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa had had their beginnings in the theft of the American Indians' resources. South African officials had in fact studied the methods of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Bantu Development Act was modelled on the United States Indian Reorganization Act and Indian Self-Determination Act. The atrocious effects of bantustans - commendably described in chapter I.G of the Ad Hoc Working Group's report (E/CN.4/1311) - and of the proposed Israeli-controlled Palestinian "homeland" could be understood by anyone who visited a United States Indian reservation. Apartheid was a crime against humanity which all Governments, peoples and organizations working with the United Nations should condemn, and his organization would continue to support the United Nations' work against apartheid.

50. Ms. von ROEMER (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) said that the struggle against apartheid continued to grow in strength. The ICFTU Special Co-ordinating Committee on South Africa was engaged in helping African workers inside South Africa to establish their own trade unions and in informing workers in industrialized countries about the situation there. In addition, ICFTU had launched trade union campaigns in 1977 and 1978. The second one, referred to in paragraph 285 of document E/CN.4/1311, had aimed at action to exert pressure on companies trading with South Africa; an example of the solidarity achieved had been shown at the works of British Leyland in England, where production of vehicles sold to South Africa had been blocked for two weeks. Paragraph 264 of the document mentioned referred to the British firm of Smith and Nephew, the only firm to have signed a collective agreement with a black union. In 1977 it had refused to renew that agreement, but in October 1978, as a result of pressure applied by the international trade union movement, it had signed a collective agreement with the National Union of Textile Workers. No other company had yet taken such a step.

51. International trade union action had likewise been taken against the firm of Unilever, which, however, still refused to recognize the black workers' right to form trade unions. He cited other instances of the refusal by many companies to recognize such workers' trade union rights. In the case of the firm of Forbo-Krommenie, the parent company in Switzerland had informed ICFTU, in connexion with the recognition of the Transport and General Workers' Union, that the local management alone was responsible in the matter and was in any case awaiting publication of the South African Government's White Paper. The latter had still not been published, and there was little hope that its conclusions would further the cause of black trade unions.

52. The EEC code of conduct seemed the most comprehensive of the various codes recently elaborated, and could be a useful step forward if it contained an enforcement clause. No code would be effective unless it provided for sanctions and Governments, employers and trade unions acted jointly at the national and international levels to ensure compliance with it. ICFTU was planning a seminar with representatives of EEC countries to discuss the matter.

53. ICFTU and its affiliates would apply increasing pressure on companies operating in South Africa, and it urged the international community to take effective measures aimed at ending a régime which for so long had been universally condemned.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.