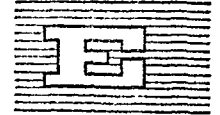


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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Thirty-fifth session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 1495TH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Monday, 26 February 1979, at 10.00 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. BEAULNE

(Canada)

CONTENTS

Violations 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 régimes 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 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)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF APARTHEID (agenda item 16) (continued) (E/CN.4/1277 and Add.1-16; E/CN.4/1326; E/CN.4/1327 and Add.1; E/CN.4/1328)

(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/L.1430; E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.679 and L.680; A/33/262; A/RES/3057 (XXVIII))

1. Mr. ALLANA (Pakistan) said that his delegation supported the draft decision on the treatment of immigrants proposed by the delegation of India under item 20 (b) (E/CN.4/L.1430).

2. Mr. BARROMI (Observer for Israel) said that, at the previous meeting, the representative of Syria had sought to mislead the Commission by attempting to create the impression that the report of the ILO mission to Israel and the occupied territories in 1978 had been an indictment of Israel and had affirmed that zionism was racism. Nothing could be further from the truth. That report, which he was prepared to circulate to the Commission, was a fair and impartial document and contained not a single reference to the merits or demerits of zionism. It confirmed the tremendous improvement that had taken place in the condition of Arab workers. Eight months previously, at the sixty-fourth session of the International Labour Conference, the Syrian delegation had inveighed against the report concerned, accusing the ILO mission of bowing to Israeli pressure, and had joined the delegation of Libya in sponsoring a draft resolution reiterating charges of discrimination and racism against Israel. However, contrary to what had been insinuated at the previous meeting, that draft resolution had been rejected by the International Labour Conference, an act which had prompted the Syrian representative to call the Conference a farce and to charge the delegates with having succumbed to the pressures imposed by world zionism. The Commission should take a most serious view of that unbecoming attempt to counterfeit the historical record.

3. At another point in his statement, the Syrian representative had protested against the listing together of Arabs, Jews and Negroes in the context of a paper referred to in the UNESCO report on racial discrimination (E/CN.4/1332/Add.1, para. 27). The Israeli delegation found no fault with that presentation and felt that the Syrian representative's objection smacked of a segregationist attitude.

4. As to the Syrian representative's demand for a study of zionism and Israel's immigration system, he noted that Israel was an open country which had been visited and studied by countless international, scientific and humanitarian institutions. It collaborated in matters of immigration with United Nations bodies such as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. He wondered whether Syria was ready to admit a commission of inquiry into its own territory to study its treatment of minorities and its discriminatory anti-Jewish emigration laws and practices, and whether it was ready to answer the charges of gross human rights violations made in the most recent Amnesty International report.

5. The representative of Syria had labelled zionism as nazism, thereby intensifying a defamation campaign which had rightly been termed obscene in the Commission. He might well reply that Syria, with its brutal totalitarianism, rabid nationalism and pseudo-socialism, had Nazi-like features, but refrained from doing so because nazism was a word that should be pronounced only in connexion with past events in order to prevent their recurrence, and never without thinking in silence and humility of the agony of its victims. The Zionists had been the first to unmask the true face of Hitlerism and to fight it when the world stood aside.

6. The Syrian representative, drawing upon the shibboleths of modern anti-semitism, had accused the United Nations and the Commission of fearing zionism rather than combating it, and had revived the ominous clichés of Jewish domination and greed and the need to stamp out the Jewish danger forever. He had also said that the Arabs were not responsible for the holocaust, and with some reservations, the Israel delegation agreed. Why, then, had the Syrian representative addressed the Commission in the same language of infamy of yore, and what was the purpose of his calumnies? Was he trying to prepare the ground for a new onslaught on the Jews and Israel? If so, he should know that times had changed. Israel was a nation which had reconquered its freedom and had already proved that no sacrifice was too great to retain it, although it was always ready to put an honourable end to war and to participate in the building of a new era of friendship with all the peoples of the Middle East.

7. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) said he agreed with the observer for Israel that the report of the ILO mission should be circulated as a document of the Commission. The report contained many positive elements because it unmasked Israeli practices with respect to the treatment of Syrian workers. For instance, it referred to the need to preserve their cultural identity, which clearly implied that their cultural identity was not being preserved. It also mentioned the fact that Arab workers had to be transported as early as 4 a.m. in order to work in their own country, without any compensation for the long hours spent travelling. There were 15,000 to 20,000 Arab workers in Israel working on kibutzim without any protection whatsoever. The report called attention to the need for measures to correct the situation, one aspect of which was the use of child labour in the occupied territories.

8. The equation of zionism and racism was not merely an opinion. It was a fact, because zionism distinguished between the rights of Jews and of non-Jews. The General Assembly had recognized that reality in its resolution 3379 (XXX). As to the reference to Syria's 'pseudo-socialism', he noted that Syria had the highest gross national product in the Middle East after the oil-producing countries and that it had made tremendous social and economic progress in spite of Israeli occupation and the military expenditures which had thereby been imposed upon it. Syria did not have to go begging for dollars to the United States, as did the Zionist entity, which received the highest per capita assistance in the world.

9. Mr. MEZVINSKY (United States of America) said that the reference to zionism as racism was a disservice to the person who had used it and to the Commission as well, because it diverted it from the issues that it should be discussing. No justification for equating zionism with racism could be found in the background to United Nations instruments against racial discrimination. The United States had refused to participate in the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and a number of representatives had walked out of that Conference, precisely because of the attempts to equate zionism with racism. The United Nations had been established in the wake of Hitler's genocide and now efforts were being made in the Commission to make victims of its survivors.

10. Mr. KHALIFA (Special Rapporteur, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities), referring to agenda item 7, said that paragraph 4 of Commission resolution 7 (XXXIII) had provided him with a new mandate to prepare a provisional general list of individuals, institutions and representatives of States whose activities constituted assistance to the racist régimes in southern Africa. He hoped that in his report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/415) he had clearly established the link between the increase in assistance to the racist régimes in southern Africa and the further deterioration of conditions and repression of the population in the area. At the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, one representative in the Third Committee had stated that the report was tendentious, selective and intellectually dishonest and that its conclusions were unacceptable, and two other representatives had expressed their disapproval in milder terms. However, the General Assembly was more representative of world public opinion than was one delegation, and the concern with which the General Assembly viewed the subject was reflected in General Assembly resolution 33/23, particularly the sixth preambular paragraph and paragraph 9. The General Assembly wished to consider the subject again at its thirty-fifth session as a matter of high priority and did not intend to exclude the item from the agenda of human rights bodies while apartheid régimes were still in existence.

11. All bodies dealing with questions of human rights should draw inspiration from world public opinion, as reflected in the Declaration of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The World Conference had urged Governments and international organizations, particularly the Security Council, to face up to their obligations to combat racism and racial discrimination. It had maintained that a total embargo against the racist régimes, the severing of all relationships with those régimes and the withdrawal of all financial interests were the minimum requirements for any change likely to bring about the end of apartheid.

12. When dealing with the subject under discussion, it became evident that hypocrisy was rife. Some States appeared to be paying lip-service to the desire to abolish apartheid and racial injustice, while their actions belied their words. For example, could a State which provided nuclear technology to South Africa really be considered to be opposed to the racist régime? Similarly, could those who supplied South Africa with oil be really serious in their condemnation of apartheid? It was well known that an effective oil embargo against South Africa would have a strong impact. The country might be able to last out for two years, but during that period there would be enormous economic and social disruption and white emigration from South Africa would increase.

13. The list referred to in paragraph 4 of Commission resolution 7 (XXXIII) was both timely and appropriate, and the Commission was to be commended for having requested it. However, he was encountering some difficulty with the terminology used in the resolution and needed the help and guidance of the Commission in order to determine exactly the terms of his mandate. His first difficulty was with the word "identifying" in paragraph 4. He wished to know whether it was sufficient to refer to the documentation already available, mainly in the United Nations, or whether he should conduct further investigations and use material which had not as yet been gathered. It would be helpful to him to know the purpose of the identification requested. The deliberations of the Sub-Commission had made it clear that no legal process was involved and that there was therefore no question of conviction or prosecution based on the evidence accumulated. The provisional list already contained almost 2,000 names of firms and institutions, and more would be added before its completion in 1980. An in-depth judicial investigation would be an almost impossible task when over 2,000 cases were involved. The Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) found its task endless, and it had relatively few cases to deal with. He did not in fact think that the Commission had had such a process in mind when drafting its resolution. The Sub-Commission had urged him to use his discretion in investigating cases, but he would like more specific guidelines. He intended to continue his investigations with the help of the Secretariat, using available United Nations documentation as far as possible, and to contact the Governments of countries whose firms or organizations were included on the list in order to ascertain their views on his findings and reflect them in his report. He hoped that such a method of work would meet with the Commission's approval.

14. The Commission had already anticipated his need for assistance in obtaining information in paragraph 6 of resolution 7 (XXXIII), which invited intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to provide useful information. The Secretary-General had already contacted those organizations which might have relevant information, but with, as yet, disappointing results. Partial lists concerning violations of fundamental human rights in southern Africa drawn up by other United Nations bodies would be helpful, but according to paragraph 4 of document E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.681, there was no indication that such lists existed. The Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa had drawn up lists of individuals guilty of violations of human rights and he would take into account any relevant material from those lists. He appealed to all those who had any pertinent information to provide the Secretariat with

substantiated evidence. At the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the representative of Israel in the Third Committee had stated that he had neglected to refer in his report to many countries which should have been mentioned. She had said that her delegation could furnish a detailed list of such countries and he would be very grateful for that information.

15. His second difficulty was with the phrase "representatives of States" in paragraph 4 of resolution 7 (XXXIII). Should representatives who, in international forums, made statements which might be interpreted to favour assistance to South Africa be included in the list? He assumed not, since to include them would be contrary to freedom of speech and the freedom of States to instruct their representatives as they saw fit. He intended to make a distinction between two categories of representatives. Government officials who held office and committed crimes and atrocities should be included in the list and could not invoke orders from their superiors as an excuse. However, those who represented their State or Government in a diplomatic, political or economic capacity were a separate category and he did not know whether the Commission wished them to be included in the list. Nor did he know whether the list should include the Governments or States which were behind the repression of the legitimate aspirations of the southern African population, or merely the organizations and institutions actually involved, for which the State or Government should be held responsible.

16. The Commission had entrusted him with a very difficult task which he could accomplish with the help and guidance of its members, beginning with a clarification of the points he had raised.

17. Mr. M'BAYE (Senegal), referring to agenda item 7, said that the problem of political, military, economic or other forms of assistance granted by States, institutions or individuals to the racist régimes in southern Africa had been of concern to the Commission since its twenty-ninth session, when such assistance had been equated to complicity in acts constituting the crime of apartheid. At that time, the general feeling had been that the only way to make those régimes abandon their policy of apartheid and racial discrimination was to attack their weak point, namely, to take economic action. There were **several** States and other entities whose continued economic aid enabled the régimes concerned to persist in their policy; in that connexion, the Special Rapporteur had quite rightly stated that they would soon fall if unanimity could be achieved regarding the application of economic sanctions against them.

18. The Commission had taken the view that all forms of assistance should continue to be investigated with a view to determining the most appropriate ways and means of combating such assistance and its consequences. The preparation of a list of individuals, institutions and other organizations or groups which were directly or indirectly involved in the crime of apartheid was indeed a very complex task, all the more so as a political aspect was involved. In the view of his delegation, the Commission should continue to assist the Special Rapporteur in that task. Indeed, the list would never be perfectly complete and up to date, for its contents were bound to vary with time; that was no doubt why it was referred to in Commission resolution 7 (XXXIII) as a "provisional general list".

19. Turning to paragraph 11 (i) of the Special Rapporteur's working paper (E/CN.4/Sub.2/415), he said that his delegation did not consider that the word "identifying" should give rise to any difficulty. The list was to be used at a later stage to identify sources of assistance to the racist régimes, and the Commission had no doubt had in mind the subterfuges used by certain bodies and States for the establishment and maintenance of economic relations with those régimes. The aim was to alert both national and international public opinion, for the citizens of a country were not always aware of the scope of their State's relations with South Africa. Furthermore, the list in question would be a useful supplement to the list of persons considered as having been guilty in Namibia of the crime of apartheid, to which reference was made in paragraphs 441-444 of the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1511).

20. His delegation was somewhat surprised to note that the Special Rapporteur had received so little support from non-governmental organizations, which were usually extremely active where human rights issues were involved, and appealed to such organizations to lend every possible assistance to the Commission and the Special Rapporteur in respect of the problem under consideration.

21. With regard to the term "representatives of States", his delegation considered that nobody who acted on behalf of an institution or State could decline all personal responsibility for his acts. Consequently, the term should encompass all State representatives or civil servants involved in the granting of political, military, economic or other forms of assistance to the racist régimes in southern Africa. The associations, private groupings and other individual or legal entities whose involvement in such assistance was public exposed from time to time should also be taken into account in that context.

22. Finally, his delegation considered that the sources of information used for the preparation of the list should not be limited to the three which were mentioned in paragraph 14 of the working paper. Information contained in books, newspapers and other publications or obtained from any reliable person or source should also be used.

23. Mr. NSANZE (Burundi) said that while there was perhaps a natural tendency to classify human rights in different categories, that approach led to the convenient but somewhat illogical conclusion that man was entitled to enjoy only certain rights while being deprived for all time of the others. In the view of his delegation, it was essential to avoid any approach based on a dichotomic concept of the human person. First, the problem should be seen in its proper context. While it was true that human rights violations could take different forms and involve different methods, the economic, social and cultural rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were central to the issue with which the Commission was now concerned. With very few exceptions, human rights were abused for the purpose of safeguarding economic and social interests, and apartheid was the most blatant example of such abuse. Racism had been born in South Africa with the discovery of economic and mineral resources there, and the wealthier the country had grown the more eager the white population had become to monopolize

that wealth through the creation of racial barriers. It was clear that economic egoism was at the root of the inhuman conditions imposed on the black populations of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Human values such as cultural and intellectual development and the enjoyment of basic freedoms were sacrificed to the economic interests of the white monopolists.

24. Economic, social and political rights were closely interrelated, but economic rights were clearly of primary importance. Apartheid would have no raison d'être if it did not serve to perpetuate the impoverishment of the indigenous population, which was struggling to achieve equal rights in its own land. The moral and political affronts to which that population was subjected were exacerbated by the contrast which existed between black poverty on the one hand and racist opulence on the other.

25. The peoples under colonial, alien or racist domination were not the only ones to suffer from such inequality in respect of economic rights. To varying degrees, the third world countries too felt an urgent need to remedy the existing imbalance. The measures recommended for the Second United Nations Development Decade and embodied in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States were aimed at the achievement of a new international economic order, the establishment of which should not, however, be to the detriment of the main beneficiaries of the existing order. On the contrary, the new order should ensure the equitable distribution of the world's natural resources among all members of the human race.

26. Racist and colonialist fanaticism would already have been banished from the African continent were it not for the political, economic and military support of the western world. However, the latter's vital interests were not limited to Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa; many other African countries contributed, in economic and trade terms, to its prosperity. Indeed, neither the full exercise by the blacks of their human rights nor their accession to national sovereignty was necessarily incompatible with foreign interests. There were many examples of young States which had intensified their relations with foreign investors and Governments instead of opting for self-sufficiency, and there was no reason why southern Africa should not follow suit once it had gained its freedom.

27. Both man and his rights were indivisible, and violation of any one human right automatically affected the integrality of the human person. When the Arabs were subjected to military occupation, when the Palestinians were rendered homeless, when racism reigned in southern Africa, when colonialization was accompanied by racial discrimination as in Rhodesia and Namibia, when the Sahrawi people was deprived of its right to independence, the violation of a single right affected the human being as a whole and severed the chain of his natural or juridical rights. Those who undermined the sacred principles of international law and the right of peoples to self-determination continued to flout the recommendations made by the United Nations. Thus apartheid continued to be the political and economic citadel of exploitation and the primary perpetrator of offences against human dignity. The gravity of the situations brought to the Commission's attention called for a lucid approach and joint reflection on the ways and means of finding genuine solutions to the suffering of peoples under the yoke of injustice.

28. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) commended the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts (E/CN.4/1311) for its contents, approach and general structure. The conclusions and recommendations it contained should be translated into specific action at the national, regional and international levels. If faithfully developed and implemented, the recommendations were likely to mobilize wider sectors of the international community in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid in southern Africa, the termination of the racist occupation of Namibia and the liquidation of the Ian Smith régime. They complemented and reinforced the legitimate struggle of liberation movements against the enclaves of racism and colonial exploitation in southern Africa. His delegation was confident that victory was at hand and that, before the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, millions of black Africans would have achieved their freedom and joined the ranks of those who were struggling for the establishment of a new international economic order.

29. Both the Group's report and a number of previous reports contained ample and incontrovertible evidence of crimes against humanity. It was no longer possible for anyone to plead ignorance of the situation. Apathy, silence and inaction were to be construed as participation in the crime against humanity. The situation was one that concerned every human being, every people and every nation, for it sapped the foundations of the principle that all human beings were born free and equal in dignity and rights.

30. Moreover, the situation in southern Africa posed an imminent danger to peace and security. A number of Western Powers were now speaking of a peaceful transfer of multinational concerns, and of condemning apartheid; however, their sincerity was doubtful, since they stood to reap greater benefits in that part of the world than anywhere else.

31. In paragraph 11 of its conclusions and recommendations, the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts had noted the growing strength of the black people's unity. The Group had also noted a considerable increase in racist terrorism by groups of whites and the unprecedented amount of evidence of detentions, torture and deaths. It was clear that the South African Government, by its policy of terror and oppression, had forfeited all claim to legitimacy. An armed struggle, along racialist lines, was clearly being waged by South Africa in collusion with white terrorist groups. Therefore, it was understandable that the Group had suggested, in paragraph 17 of its conclusions and recommendations, that the General Assembly should be asked to have a study made of the problem of the South African Government's legitimacy in view of its policy of apartheid and in particular its systematic refusal to apply the principles of the Charter, and then to draw from that study all appropriate conclusions of law and of fact. The Syrian delegation fully supported the suggestion, since its Government had never recognized the legitimacy of the South African régime.

32. The suggestion made in paragraph 25 of the conclusions and recommendations was important since, without an international penal tribunal of the type envisaged in the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, persons found guilty under article II of that Convention might receive differing punishments on account of variations in different countries' legal systems. In that connexion, it might be useful to hold a preparatory conference with a view to adopting a common standard of punishment.

33. While supporting all the report's conclusions and recommendations, his delegation believed that only mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter would induce South Africa to cede power to the majority of its people and thus end the system of mass slavery. As President Nyerere of Tanzania had noted in an interview published in the International Herald Tribune of 24/25 February 1979, South Africa would be highly vulnerable to effective economic sanctions applied with genuine political will; whereas the United Kingdom, for example, could surely survive the severance of economic ties with South Africa, the latter country could not last without such ties.

34. The question with regard to South Africa was how to change, without a racial war, a structure based on exploitation of the majority by a minority. Without political will on the part of those at present supporting the South African régime, a peaceful transfer of power was impossible. In that connexion, the international community had noted with appreciation that one of the first acts of the new Revolutionary Government of Iran had been to end all exports to South Africa and Israel - a true demonstration of political will which, if emulated by certain Western countries, would be of benefit to black and white peoples alike and would prevent a war which could still be avoided but whose outcome, should the event occur, was not in doubt.

35. It was for the national liberation movements in Africa to decide on their peoples' future, and the Syrian delegation resolutely supported their just cause.

36. The Ad Hoc Working Group, in its report, had noted the similarity between settler colonization in southern Africa and the policy of settlements in Palestine, although one important difference - which the participants at the Camp David meetings wished to conceal - was that, whereas the apartheid system kept and exploited the population whose land it had expropriated, the Zionists sought not only to seize the land but also to drive out the people. The parallel between the two systems was inescapable and it was not surprising, therefore, to find Israel mentioned in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/415. Israel's co-operation with the South African régime was well known and amply documented. It was important to understand the situation clearly, because the new holocaust was one which involved Africans and Arabs.

37. Mr. OLSZOWKA (Poland) said that, during the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic had declared Poland's condemnation of all forms of racism and racial discrimination and its support for the full implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Non-discrimination and equality were among the main principles of the Polish social and political system and were upheld by Polish legislation. Poland had on many occasions voiced its strong condemnation of racial practices and had actively contributed to the formulation of international instruments to suppress and punish such crimes against mankind. Poland's dedication to the eradication of apartheid stemmed from its experience during the Second World War, when millions of Poles had been victims of nazism - an ideology based on racism and racial discrimination. Poland had likewise fully observed all relevant United Nations measures in the struggle against racism and apartheid and fully supported the objectives of the United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, having participated in the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Poland had also supported the inclusion, in the text of the

declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 33/73, of provisions which sought to eliminate racism and racial discrimination. Poland likewise proposed that the future convention on the rights of the child should contain specific provisions to protect children from all forms of discrimination based on race or ethnic origin.

38. The Polish Government had ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and the report submitted by Poland under article VII of the Convention had been assessed positively by the group established under article IX, at its previous session. The Convention should be ratified by all States without undue delay, and his delegation suggested that the resolution which the Commission was to consider on that subject should contain an appeal to all States not yet parties to the Convention to ratify or accede to it as soon as possible.

39. Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus) said that, more than three decades after the General Assembly had first called for an end to policies of apartheid and racial discrimination, the situation with regard to those policies had not improved, as the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts had noted in its report (E/CN.4/1311). South Africa remained a country where the anachronistic collective negation of human values persisted in an institutionalized form and where the minority Government intended to perpetuate its abhorrent doctrines of enforced segregation with a view to establishing so-called independent homelands such as the Transkei. Such practices were, as the Group had noted in paragraph 10 of its conclusions and recommendations, an attempt to destroy the black people's cultural identity and unity and to confine them within puppet states in a sort of slavery. The Cypriot delegation fully subscribed to the Group's statement that the practice was the gravest imaginable violation of the right to self-determination; indeed, the practice violated other human rights too.

40. The policy of separate development was as inhuman as the uprooting of peoples; both sought to perpetuate minority domination and to deprive the majority of its inalienable rights. Cyprus was opposed to such morally untenable policies. Separate development of communities within a single country reflected not the exercise, but a contravention, of the right to self-determination; the latter was meant to apply to a country as a whole, not to groups within it.

41. The Cypriot delegation fully shared the Ad Hoc Working Group's concern over the human rights problems in the so-called bantustans, and also noted with appreciation the references to the situation in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Group, in paragraph 64 of the conclusions and recommendations, had reiterated all its previous recommendations, particularly the one for the installation of a majority Government and the creation of a multiracial society; and in paragraph 45 it had again recommended the adoption of specific measures, including those provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, with a view to ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the South African authorities' practice of granting power in the Territory to elements favourable to their policy of bantustanization.

42. The Cypriot delegation also expressed its support of the front-line African States, which suffered greatly on account of their active part in the struggle against minority domination in southern Africa.

43. Mr. TOŠEVSKI (Yugoslavia) said that the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts deserved the highest praise for its report (E/CN.4/1311), which provided a clear insight into the current processes in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and showed that the situation of the black population in those territories was still deteriorating as a result of repressive measures aimed at strengthening apartheid policies. The report's real value stemmed from the wealth of personal testimony on which it had been based. The Yugoslav delegation supported the Working Group's recommendations.
44. South Africa, in direct contravention of decisions adopted unanimously by the Security Council and the General Assembly, was intensifying its policy of segregation and bantustanization, clearly intending to establish reserves of slave labour not only for the white economy but for use by transnational corporations and other foreign investors in South Africa. The close link between apartheid and exploitation of blacks had been noted at the Maseru symposium, at which the maintenance of foreign economic relations had also been recognized as an important aid to South Africa in continuing its exploitation of black workers. In that connexion, the provisional general list in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/415 was impressive not because of any new situation revealed but because of the effect of its accurate description of the assistance being given to the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa by foreign enterprises.
45. During the past 30 years, the international community had utterly failed to produce effective results in the struggle against apartheid; the explanation lay in the massive economic, military and political support that the segregationist régimes enjoyed in some sections of the international community. Any assistance, deliberate or not, to those régimes generated a disregard of the most morbid and inhuman phenomenon of the age and was thus a gross insult to millions of black people. The Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries had recently concluded that the continued economic, military and nuclear co-operation of certain Member States with the racist régimes effectively maintained the latter in existence and encouraged them to pursue their current policies. The same view had been reiterated at Maputo during the non-aligned countries' ministerial conference on the problems of racial discrimination and apartheid in southern Africa.
46. Yugoslavia, in keeping with its consistent support for the struggle to eradicate colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid, would continue to support all United Nations measures to combat and eliminate those evils, including the application of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, and would continue to give political, moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements of southern Africa.
47. It was important to remain alert to instances of racial discrimination no matter where they occurred. In that connexion, his delegation fully shared the Indian delegation's indignation at the alleged discriminatory treatment of immigrants and would support action along the lines proposed in draft decision E/CN.4/L.1430.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.